



THE TEACHERS' CONFLICT IN THE PERUVIAN PRESS

The 2017 teachers' strike

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KEYWORDS

*Teacher conflict
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ABSTRACT

The press builds a set of media representations on the facts of reality. The teachers' strike of 2017 marked a substantial milestone in the construction of the news in the Peruvian press, due to the informative singularity and prevalent discourses. Based on the analysis of the informative treatment of the journalistic notes, the underlying media intentions are revealed to present the teachers' conflict, from the conjuncture or anecdote, avoiding its causes; on the contrary, they highlight the scandal or spectacularism of the news. In fact, the media opted for sensationalism, linking the teachers' crisis with violence, anarchy and urban chaos.

PALABRAS CLAVE

*Conflicto docente
Huelga de profesores
Crisis social
Tratamiento mediático
Medios de prensa
Opinión pública
Perú*

RESUMEN

La prensa construye un conjunto de representaciones mediáticas sobre los hechos de la realidad. La huelga magisterial del 2017 marco un hito sustancial en la construcción de la noticia en la prensa peruana, por la singularidad informativa y discursos prevalentes. Basado en el análisis del tratamiento informativo de las notas periodísticas se desvelan las intencionalidades mediáticas subyacentes al presentar el conflicto magisterial, desde lo coyuntural o anecdótico, soslayando sus causas; por el contrario, destacan el escándalo o espectacularidad de la noticia. Propiamente, los medios optaron por el sensacionalismo, vinculando la crisis docente con el violentismo, anarquía y caos urbano.

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1. Introduction

The media brings the news closer to the reader, allowing them to be aware of the occurrences; as a result, audiences develop their own unique appreciation of the facts. The news that is conveyed to us is conceptualized and contextualized by the media. „It is obvious that [...] they must explain as precisely as possible and disclose to the reader what occurs in their particular setting, attempting to employ proper ideas in each case“ (Miguel-Gil, 2019, p. 119). When it comes to creating, altering, or implementing news, everyone has a responsibility. The treatment of information, according to Benavides (2005), impacts „individual socialization, substantially influencing the symbolic systems of representation and culture of social collectives“ (p. 90). As an audience, it is exposed to a variety of sources, a combination that amplifies influences that do not necessarily correspond to media transmission (Diez-Gracia & Sánchez-Garca, 2022).

Because it is hard to approach a topic from all nuances, with all potential sources, the media interpret reality through news texts that contain omissions, whether planned or not. The news in the written press attempts to be comprehensive and critical in tone, using a language of quick comprehension to highlight the fascinating or remarkable, and using media transmission codes of rapid attention to do so (Solans-Domènech et al. 2019). They hope to explain the role of the actors directly and indirectly involved in this way (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015), bringing us closer to everyday reality knowledge that is out of our immediate access (Califano, 2015). Press discourses are essential for comprehending social, political, and educational issues, among other things. According to De Diego (2017), the goal of news building is to validate facts while solidifying the political and representative function.

The aspects of textual coherence are documented and displayed in the journalistic treatment through images that recreate the facts, either by adaptation or creation, adding extended meaning. „They are not simply mediators between facts and audiences, but social actors with certain interests,“ according to the media (Califano, 2015, p. 76). They communicate huge discourses of a symbolic character, as well as a sense of influence and dominance of positions in front of others with whom they disagree. Mas (2011) claims that the process has three levels: informational, structural, and superstructural, and that it expresses various news sensitivity about events that influence and imply interests and opportunities that suit specific social sectors. The news takes on an emotional tone, giving it a dramatic quality, driven, in many cases, by its mercantilist structure, which is geared to develop interpretations that are advantageous to their interests (Sola-Morales and Rivera, 2017).

1.1. *The media context of the 2017 teachers' strike*

By attaching a certain style and orientation, „for or against the protagonist or protagonists of the fact, as well as a greater care for giving it a naturalistic or spectacular treatment,“ the news discourses reveal the impact of the editorial guidelines (Morales, 2014, p. 192). When it comes to social conflicts, such as strikes, the presentation of information necessitates a narrative or emotional language strategy. „Some features of events or situations are selected and highlighted, and linkages are established between them to promote an interpretation, an appraisal, and or a particular solution“ (Sádaba, 2001, p. 39) in the news construction. In this light, the 2017 Peruvian teacher strike disrupted the usual news method, with the development of new social and political actors, bypassing the linear explanation of the social event.

The 2017 teachers' strike, spearheaded by public-sector teachers, lacked reference frameworks for a fair analysis of the magisterial crisis by the press; by disrupting the information treatment's regularity. The social struggle marked a paradigmatic shift in news production, as it moved away from a centralized national leadership and toward multi-actor protagonists with dispersed regional leaderships. It progresses from a single narrative of labor demands to a diverse set of claims. As a result, information assumptions were disrupted, resulting in an endless number of discourses, some antagonistic, others more conciliatory; in essence, news no longer constituted objective and solid truths; since they changed the rationality of information from a single union source to several, demonstrating the limitations of use, from a „total source of information on all public affairs“ to a „total source of information on all public affairs“ (Lippmann, 2003, p. 291).

The Peruvian press's customary assumption of information centrality was challenged by a developing complexity: a one-of-a-kind teachers' strike. The clash brought to light the voids created by a single social construction. The strike exposed a new set of interactions, with a wide cast of characters and multiple agendas. In the absence of a numerous and diverse treatment, news discourses revealed informational frames of a dominant „look“ on the conflictive discourse, choosing for narratives that lauded violence as a significant part of collective protest measures (Morales, 2014). The press demonstrated the potential for more coverage and breadth of information on the strike's new character; it also demonstrated the dose of cynicism and lack of significance in the news (Turpo-Gebera, 2017). In this approach, he reduced the most powerful players to simple adversaries, disregarding his protests and recommendations.

„The analysis of the breadth and dynamics of the processes of confrontation [...] obliges us to take into consideration the incidence and relative weight of each of the protagonists involved in the defining of the educational agenda“ in the discursive construction of the news (Gentili et al., 2004, p. 1270). Instead of focusing on the substance and assertions regarding the character of the conflict, the media orchestration based on

confrontations and aggressive attitudes of the opposing sides was ignored. This instructive projection skips over the protests and focuses on the destruction, thereby criminalizing the strike (Morales, 2014). The Peruvian press assumed a single point of view or medium positioning, orienting the audience toward conjunctural and non-transcendent interpretations, ordered in a variable length of time, as an intentional construction to ignore the strike's goals, with insignificant aspects and little public interest, through biased informative frames.

The teachers' strike in Peru, which took place between June and August 2017 and was sponsored by state teachers' collectives and represented by regional unions, was an uncommon struggle. The first strike shifted the leadership of the national union (Sindicato Unitario de Trabajadores de la Educación del Peru, SUTEP), which had previously been dominated by a left-wing political group (Patria Roja). The conflict disrupted the strike's „natural“ character, which is generally conducted by the central committee; on this occasion, due to their inaction, the regional unions took over (Ombudsman's Office, 2018). The teachers' crisis revealed traits and dynamics raised by provincial teachers, to the detriment of the national union's customary guide, demonstrating the „loss of leadership at the national level and the atomization of the union across the various areas“ (Canessa, 2017).

Despite assuming the special and historical demands of teaching, the teachers' protest stressed the „three challenges of national public education: low teacher salary, teacher hostility to meritocracy, and internal political fight to control the union“ (Caviglia, 2017). By expressing the strike from the territorial levels, these particularities, taken regionally, provided a „breath of fresh air“ in the teachers' struggle (from the province to the capital). The strike was organized in response to dissatisfaction with national leadership and the growing and gradual radicalization of public-school teachers, with the goal of gaining awareness for regional educational issues. The openness allowed for the rise of new leaders, some of whom now hold or have held representative positions in the state hierarchy, including the presidency of the country.

Given the press's function in informing the public about social conflicts like the teachers' strike, it's critical to separate the components of news representation and privileged hegemonies from the „pictures“ created by the conflict and participants (Corrales, 1999). It's about recognizing the media discourses that are broadcast to the audience, such as how the 2017 teachers' strike was portrayed in the media. In this approach, from „the representation of the event that is presented, contains models of representation of the world that refer directly to the characteristics and commissions of the media itself,“ „portraying“ the attributes of the phenomenon examined is possible (Bacallao, 2010, p. 118). The study acknowledges the media's political intents, their „true“ function, incomplete news interpretation, the mixing of information and opinion, the building or distortion of interest, and apparent journalistic investigations such as leaks and partial constructions (Guillamet, 2018).

2. Method and materials

This study takes a qualitative approach, based on an analysis of informative documents, namely the informative notes relating to the 2017 teachers' strike. The news analysis begins with the particular recovery of the news from the digital repositories of Peru's major printed newspapers (CPI, 2017). The discourses were categorized according to the research aims after recognizing the belonging and relationship of the news obtained with the object of investigation. Through the possibility of an easy and serendipitous intuition of the information, the stimulus of the newsworthy message and the researcher's interpretative reaction become palpable, and it is intended to stimulate the structuring of an explanatory model of the item researched (Bardin, 1986; Ortiz, 2015).

2.1. Selection process and analysis of the study corpus

The procedure for organizing the information was based on the collection of:

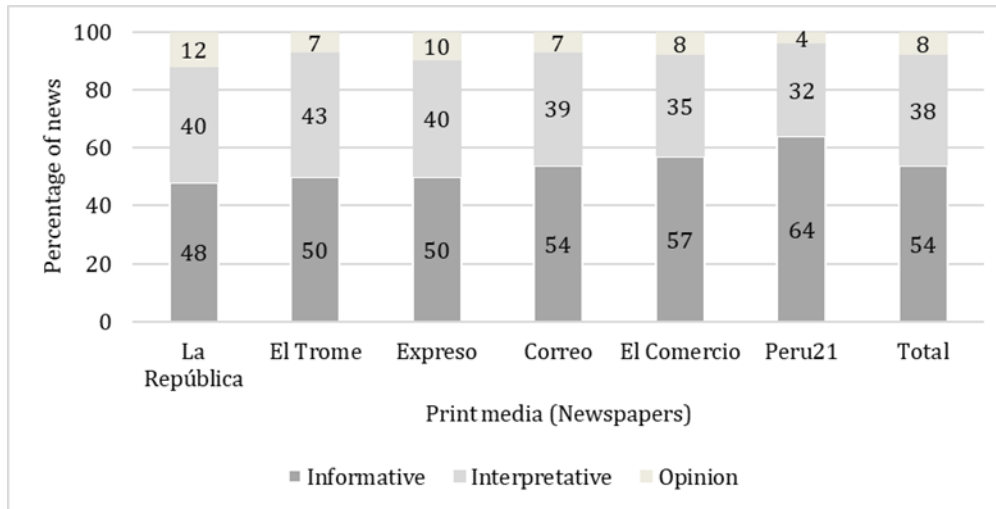
1. News from the main media regarding the 2017 teachers' strike (which lasted from June to August). The criterion for recovery included news from a variety of journalistic genres (informative, interpretive and opinion).
2. Categorization and coding of the informative notes as a study corpus, systematized from the informative variables and organized into response categories, along with the frequency associated with them (reiteration of observables).
3. Identifying emerging categories and integrating data, as well as connecting the discursive categories that build the explanatory model.

„Models of representation of the world that refer exactly to the qualities and commissions of the media themselves“ are formed due to the inductive character of approach to the environmental news story as a representation of the magisterial conflict (Bacallao, 2010, p. 118). This goal employs „information about production (or maybe reception) conditions, as well as indicators (quantitative or not)“ (Bardin, 1986, p. 29). In this sense, the journalistic data retrieved was the result of an analysis that considered quantifiable aspects of the content of journalistic texts, as well as the creation of a data classification system based on the determination of the media representation strategies devised by the national press during the 2017 teachers' strike.

I assess the relevance and pertinence of the informational material when selecting the examined notes.

Positive discrimination was used to reach its decision, which meant that the media notes that had the parts that make up the corpus of analysis to a larger extent were given priority.

Figure 1. Distribution of selected notes from the main print media of national readership (%)



Source: Own elaboration

The analysis of the news allowed for the identification of the information's contents (Figure 1), which included „comments from certain experts and enhanced with some graphs or statistics tables“ (Esteve, 2004, p. 269). Also taken into account was the contextualization, elaboration, and interpretation of the causes and repercussions of the teachers' strike. Similarly, the selection valued stories with more worked points of view (Valecillos, 2008), differentiated, and current styles. Finally, the event's focus and synthesis were examined. In this regard, 106 journalistic notes were recovered from the six newspapers with the highest circulation (54 percent of informative notes, 38 percent interpretative and 8 percent of opinion). Four of the media outlets (Peru21, El Comercio, Correo, and El Trome) are owned by the same company.

The criteria for categorizing the news were considered in the interpretative-comparative analysis of the study sample (Figure 2) (Ferrer et al., 2006).

Figure 2. Criteria for the representational determination of the news

Criterion	Provision of information	Type of information	Implicit message
Sub-	Informative correction	Emphasis on results	Alarmist language
criteria	Technical explanation	Emphasis on causes and effects	Coping with challenges

Source: Adapted from Ferrer et al. (2006)

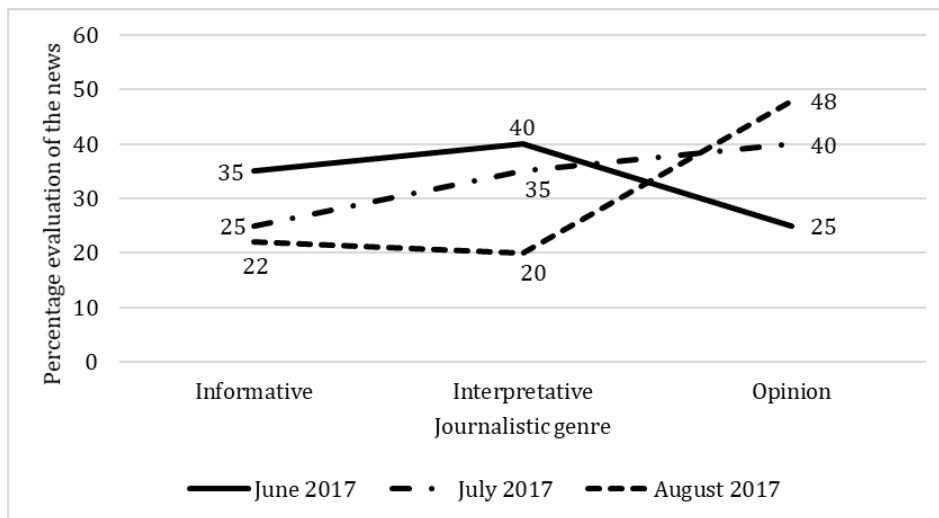
3. Results

The informative approach emphasizes ways of perceiving and disseminating news, and serves as an agent in the shaping of public opinion, particularly in contentious areas like teacher strikes. According to this line of reasoning, media discourses create social settings that are mediated „by subjectivities and can be evaluated using their techniques“ (Soler, 2019, p. 15). From the subjectivity of journalism, the emphasis on mediations allows us to regulate and justify the transfer of meanings, perpetuating social links.

3.1. Media representations of the teachers' strike over time

The flow of the information genre (35%) is observed in the analysis of journalistic articles on the 2017 teachers' strike (Figure 3); it increases towards half of the same (40%) at the beginning of the crisis, then decreases (25 percent). As a result, a social dynamic loses its informative value with time, while interpretive (48%) and opinion (40%) analyses grow.

Figure 3. Temporal evolution of the news about the teachers’ strike, according to journalistic genre (%)



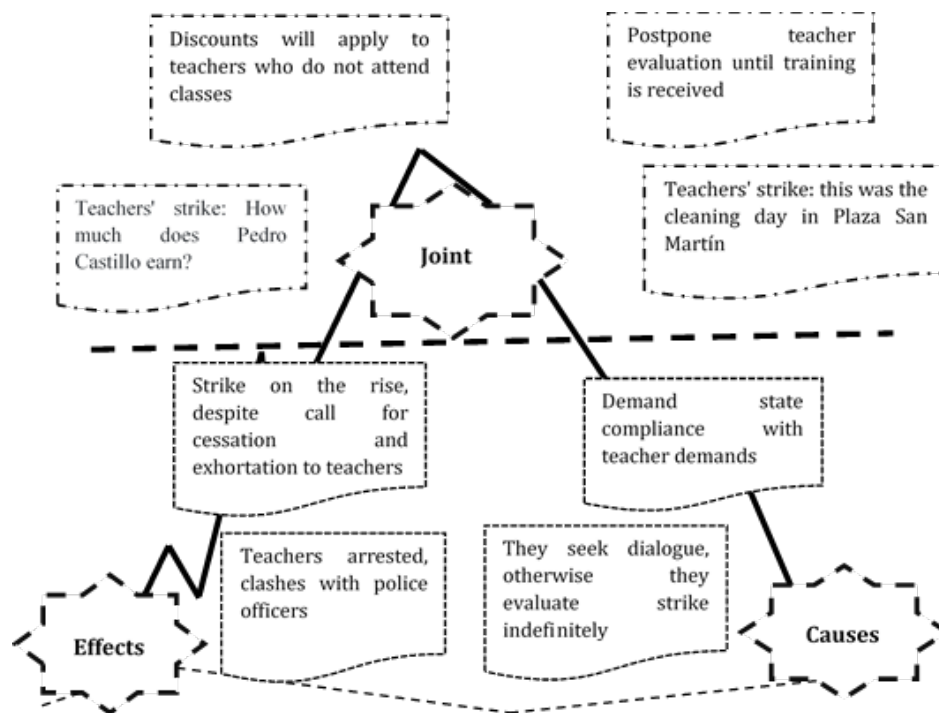
Source: Own elaboration

The media, like every other form of news production, shape public opinion and, as a result, the discursive hegemony that places the social fact (Figure 3). The report emphasizes the „unviability and contradictions in the key requests that the teachers’ union makes to the government,“ underlining the „unviability and contradictions in the primary requests that the teachers’ union makes to the government“ (El Comercio, 18/09/2017). They also point to anecdotal evidence, such as „they only managed to burn the banner with an image of the president while warning that the strike will not be lifted“ (La República, 17/09/2017). In other words, the news portrays the conflict’s violence and consequences through discourses that justify, perpetuate, or legitimize the actions of the power estates.

3.2. Media representations on the informative emphases of the teachers’ strike

On the other hand, how did the media portray the 2017 teachers’ strike? The domination of information shifts a slew of duties from the 2017 teachers’ strike to teaching collectives, while disregarding the root reasons of any social dispute. In this light, approaching the informative correction entails assessing the degree of informative contribution and how they are conveyed to society, in order to assess the information’s reliability and unquestionability. Approaching this process requires a complete picture, not just of the conditions or contextual facts, but also of the causes and effects, a situation that has been conditioned or skewed in the Peruvian press’s journalistic analysis.

Figure 4. Representations of the informative correction of the Peruvian press in the teachers' strike of 2017



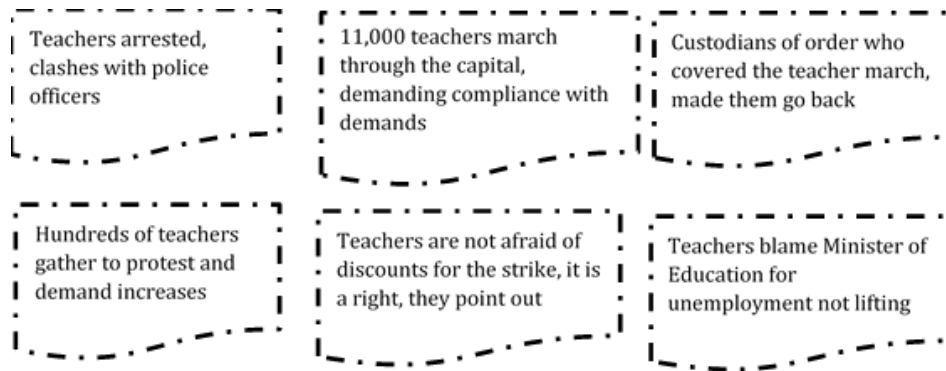
Source: Own elaboration

The information about the 2017 teachers' strike is analyzed as a conjunctural topic, with circumstantial narratives that barely go into the reasons, let alone the effects and their impact on education and society (Figure 4). The media emphasizes the insignificant „Teachers' strike: this was the cleaning day in the Plaza San Martín“ (El Comercio, 31/08/2017), and „Teachers' strike: How much does Pedro Castillo [union leader of the Cusco region] earn?“ (The Republic, 24/08/2017) in their representations of the teachers' strike. The media's headlines reflect a news reductionism that is more oriented to sensationalism and speculative in nature. In this approach, they demonstrate a preference for the newsworthy through headlines that elicit an interest distortion, with the goal of „manipulation and deceit, therefore mocking the public's good faith“ (Herrán and Restrepo, 2005, p. 51).

3.3. Media representations about the informative types of the teachers' strike

The sensationalist depiction of the events is emphatically centered towards the informing discourse of the strike, with no more clarification or interpellation on the strike's future: „The teachers of national schools throughout the country today abide by a national strike...“ „The SUTEP teachers' indefinite national strike continues...“ (Correo. 13/07/2017). „Dozens of teachers from across the nation continue to come in Lima to join the walkout...“ (Express 01/08/2017). (Peru21, 17/08/2017); the media has the ability to interpret and lead some decisions. According to Cervantes (2001), they can tell us “What to think“ by defining the agenda around „what to think about,“ a relationship created in the presentation of information, and, allegedly, about „the concerns that audiences call out as essential“ in this way (p. 52).

Figure 5. Media representation of the type of information about the teachers' strike in the Peruvian press

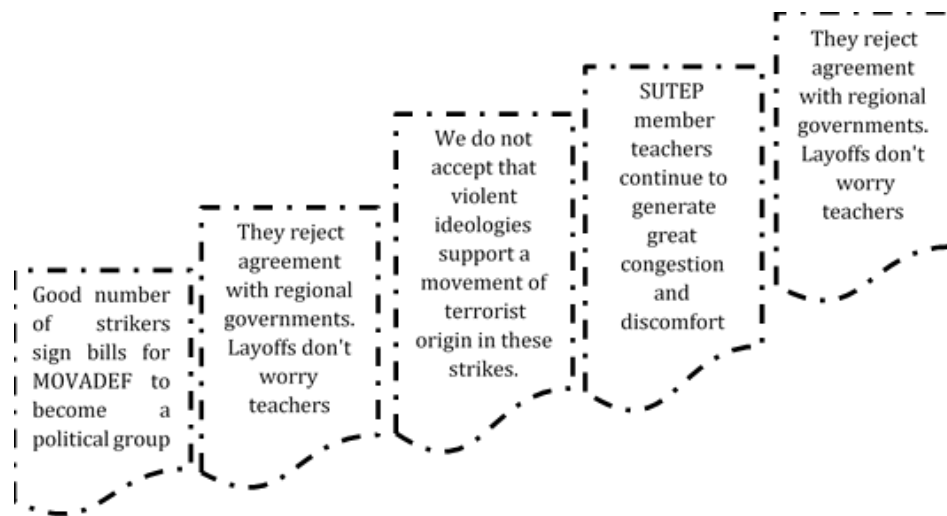


Source: Own elaboration

Political interests were accentuated in the treatment of information in the media agenda, in order to create a sense of misgovernment and social overflow. These goals are highlighted throughout the news set, from news production through dissemination (Figure 5). The prioritized information method reacts to the editorial policy of the medium, which is essentially a corporate organization interested in the government's political actions. The media played an important part in the conflict's outcome, exaggerating or speculating on news. A subtlety that denotes a journalistic bias toward the scandalous, indiscreet, and negligent, as well as the irrelevant in general (Capellini, 2004). The press, protected by the right to freedom of expression, distorted and exaggerated information about the teachers' strike, ignoring the context, the social context, and the long-term effects (Figure 5). As a result, the news evaluation concentrates a narrative of the social struggle, based on the frequency and protagonist scope of particular incidents, thereby prevailing over the strike's true character.

The type of „insider“ information translates to „scandalous“ consequences, rather than explanations of causes or effects, to a higher extent. „Teachers... indicate that they will defend themselves legally if the discounts or dismissals are reached,“ „[Minister] urges teachers to start classes on August 7 while protests intensify in Huancavelica, Piura, and Puno,“ „Teachers from the south of the country carried out various mobilizations, and in some cases some riots were registered,“ and „Teachers from the south of the country carried out various mobilizations, and in some cases some riots In this sense, the press summarizes the evolution of the teachers' strike without highlighting progress on union and social demands; ignore the validity of an agenda of problems that requires a reflective analysis, such as the need to „increase the education sector's budget item to 6% of GDP and suspend [punitive] teacher evaluations“ (Canessa, 2017).

The denaturalization of the strike shifted the focus of the protest to the violence of the facts, ignoring historical union demands for wage increases, better working conditions for teachers, punitive sanctions based on the results of teacher performance evaluations, and, most importantly, the democratization of the teaching profession's representative bodies. Internal conflicts and clashes for control of union assets, as shown by the press. A media translation that denigrates the strike's political leadership, which was led by regional unions in opposition to the national leadership, as a righteous action that liberates them from union traditions and empowers them to push their own demands.

Figure 6. Media representation of the implicit messages of the teachers' strike in the Peruvian press

Source: Own elaboration

The sensationalist nature of the teachers' strike is emphasized by the journalistic media, which links the teachers' mobilization with terrorist movements in order to create urban chaos, among other alarmist or catastrophic senses, in an attempt to resurrect trips from the bloody past caused by terrorism. (Figure 6) The public was persuaded to „think“ of the teachers' strike as aggressive activities directed by leaders who advocate anarchy and societal chaos due to superficial representations of the strike's end. In this way, the press turned to the terror vocabulary, depicting media reports of the strike as emotions of suspense and social dread. In this way, they create „pictures“ in the audience that misrepresent the facts by drawing attention to expressions that label instructors as intransigent, terrorists, and so on.

The editorial strategies of the media in response to the strike enabled the (re)creation of conditions of rejection of the teachers' requests, so creating the backdrop for the authorization of the strike, as well as discounts for days of stagnation and the imposition of disciplinary consequences. As a result of such efforts, scenarios linking teacher protest to subversive movements are promoted. A common approach in the past (under the Fujimori regime), and used to portray the strike as a coordinated terrorist attack. All of this is being done in order to criminalize the teacher shortage (Caviglia, 2017).

4. Discussion and conclusions

The format of the 2017 teachers' strike informational presentation responds to a confluence of journalism with a well-known consumer market orientation and audience desires for sensationalism (Rodrigo, 1989). The media bias aimed at „breaking“ the strike was an indelible mark of a press serving the political aims of power groups, a brand of information fabrication. According to Sigelman (1973), the media treatment of the strike made explicit the strategic management of technical demands in the production process, i.e., the framing of the news; also, I demonstrate editorial control of the news, implying different types of information treatment, which emphasizes the violent and anecdotal; and, finally, the selection and socialization aimed at the (re)creation of the news, in the sense established by the editorial line. In conclusion, the media's presentation of the 2017 teachers' strike distorted the protestors' demands, turning them into violent acts with terrorist overtones.

The power groups' editorial line hegemonizes the Peruvian press's media viewpoints, which represent the features of a „unique“ thought in a critical perspective. On the one hand, they develop naive and dogmatic notions based on information segmentations that adhere to ideological preconceptions, according to which it is good to avoid social turmoil (Turpo-Gebera, 2017). As a result, they avoid using conflict as a „gateway“ to understanding the change requirements that define social dynamics. The lack of alternatives to those highlighted in information treatments, on the other hand, led in a flawed media perception of magisterial conflict as the social order changed. To accomplish so, they advocate an informational portrayal that ignores the narrative of the interaction of social forces and individuals involved, as well as the tensions and contradictions that are characteristic of social revolutions.

The media's informational will functioned as a tool to achieve specific political objectives (Müller, 2012). The quest for immediacy and instantaneity in the information flow has generated an overflow, according to the national press. In this way, I choose to put my understanding of the magisterial issue on hold in order to meet my

need for timely information. As a result, I do not contribute to or create a deeper understanding of the teachers' requirements. He encouraged allusions to the strike, from regulating the breadth of the news to the deepening of the causes of the teachers' crisis, of it, he demonstrated an apparent proximity to the conflict, but it was a resource to turn the primary facts into strike tales. Such actions are part of a Manichean strategy for dealing with time and reality.

There are difficulties in integrating or recognizing the relevant information about the teachers' strike as a social conflict process, which needs the press's declared objectivity and media distance for a coherent judgment and accepted appraisal of the facts. As Tiramonti (2001) points out, judging and reporting on social disagreements needs complete independence, regardless of one's sympathies or dislike to protest organizations. None of this, without a doubt, indicated a well-informed treatment by the Peruvian press. Narodowski (2013), on the other hand, emphasizes numerous „ways of viewing“ the news, not as a normal practice, but as an alternative, for treatments that avoid the strike or, in the best of conditions, as „high points“ of the media agenda committed to teaching.

The nature of the 2017 teachers' strike broke the monotony of reporting the progression of facts, which were previously affirmed from a single strategy to carrying out the strike, with defined actors and standard demands. Because the understanding of the new social phenomenon, with its own bounds, regional leaderships, and disparate claims, was muddled at the time by the change of protagonists, I ignore the understanding of the new social phenomenon, with its own edges, regional leaderships, and disparate claims. In general, the press lacked development frameworks, de alternatives analysis of teaching issues, as well as the development of proposals and alternatives for reporting on real-world occurrences.

Despite superficial examination, the story of internal difficulties among teachers' unions prevailed in the lack of comprehensive and informative frames of reference on the genesis of social conflicts, such as the 2017 teachers' strike. In summary, the informative treatment revealed the well-known lack of awareness of the magisterial problem' territoriality, or, more specifically, the issues raised by regional and local educational administration. The insightful research was based on facts that were predicted to be comparable to previous strikes, protest situations, and national leadership-positioned trajectories. The media regarded trivialization, the fleeting, and „yellowish,“ immediacy over reflection, and notable above citizen engagement as a result of the fact's singularity. All to persuade the audience through simplistic conceptions, Manichean news, and interspersed; rather than elucidating the genuine meaning of the teachers' strike, to sow confusion.

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