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THE SOCIO-PROFESSIONAL PROFILE OF TEACHERS IN MEXICO: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF TWO DOCUMENTARY FILMS

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The main purpose of this thesis is to critically analyze two documentary films, “De Panzazo” and “Grain of Sand”, both about the educational situation in Mexico and both focusing on the profile of the Mexican teacher and its activities that have helped either to “damage” or to “defend” the educational system. This research aims to question the role of the teacher and the relationship with standard educational practices that serve dominant interests by questioning how are the roles of teachers and their accountability represented in both documentaries, and what is the critical social analysis behind each representation?

The work of Teun A. van Dijk in Critical Discourse Analysis is used as the main method and theory of the research that puts into perspective different forms of power control through the media. The method establishes the use of four categories (Text and Speaker, Context, Meaning, Form and Style and Topics) that allows determining the different ways in which domination and control is established during the discourse of the films. Later on, a comparison between the two films is utilized in order to find the differences of both discourses.

The results of the study provide a critical perspective towards one of the films “De Panzazo” in which teachers are represented as “authoritarians”, “irresponsible”, “well paid professionals” and “failure” providing certain responsibilities are considered “desirable” for teachers such as evaluations to measure their performances that at the end will determine the privatization of the education in Mexico. On the other hand, the film “Grain of Sand” provides a different discourse in which teachers are perceived as “social leaders”, “political actors”, “fighters” and teachers that are “oppressed” by different social, political and economical matters.

In conclusion this study reflects the position in which teachers are constantly misunderstood and attacked by mass media, including the production of documentary films that lack to present the other analysis of the Mexican teachers as main contributors of the fight towards the rights of their students, the communities in which they live, and the rights of their own profession.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Purpose and aims of the research

The mass media, and more specifically, documentary films have created a trustworthy source of information where the public audience becomes closer to topics that are treated by experts in the area. However, rarely is the audience critical of what the screen is valuing as true or important. Education and more precisely teachers do not escape from this matter, a certain profile being created that not only discredits teachers all around the world, but that at the same time fails in providing a more critical and deeper analysis towards the teachers profession and persona.

Mexico has a long trajectory of putting teachers in a low position in relation to other professions in the country; due this, until recently teaching still was considered to be an occupation rather than a profession, and it was described by the same teachers as an art rather than a job (Arnaut, 1992). Later on, the discrediting of the Mexican teachers continued after the emergence of a teachers’ union that was synonymous with the corruption perceived in the country (Moreno-Valle, 2003, p. 224). However, even though the teachers’ union, still today, is considered to be one of the biggest and most powerful unions in Latin America, it does not attend to the teachers’ needs and necessities, but rather, attends to those “needs” that ensure the political power and magnifies its economic budget for “personal” purposes of its members.
Based on the above, the main purpose of this thesis is to critically analyze two documentary films, “De Panzazo” (an idiom utilized in Mexico to express the idea of passing an exam with the lowest grade - scraping through) and “Granito de Arena” (Grain of Sand), both about the educational situation in Mexico, and both focusing in the profile of the Mexican teacher and its activities that have helped either to “damage” or to “defend” the educational system. Therefore the aim of this study is to discover the interests behind each film production, the teacher’s profile that is portrayed and the discrepancies related with the nature of the problems presented by the films.

The principal concern of the analysis, in both films, is the topic of teachers and the representations each film conceives to them. Consequently, beforehand an historical review of the Mexican educational system, documentary films in Mexico and teachers are presented in order to locate the analysis in the same line of discussion. After this review, the methodology presents a more profound explanation in relation to the objectives and justification of the study, followed by a pre-analysis of the production and characteristics of the two documentary films, this without analyzing their content since this is part of the core analysis in Chapter 4.

The analysis part of the research examines critically the treatment of the information presented in both films with the use of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as the main theory and method of the study. As a result, the research is constructed in the analysis of terms such as power control, oppression and dominance of beliefs and ideologies. The analysis looks at the oppression that teachers have been subjected to in Mexico, a topic that both documentaries treat in an implicit or explicit manner. Consequently, this research aims to question the role of the teacher and the relationship with standard educational practices that serve dominant interests by questioning how are the roles of teachers and their accountability represented in both documentaries, and what is the critical social analysis behind each representation?

During the analysis, the work of Teun A. van Dijk in Critical Discourse Analysis is used as the basic form of theory and method due to the extensive work he has developed in relation with involvement of political, economic, and cultural forces in the media. The contribution of van Dijk allows recognizing in the discourses of different forms where power domination is present. In this way, the study is conducted through the use of the Grounded Theory, and as noted in Hernández, Fernández and Baptista, the analysis is a comparison
of each documentary using categories and units that emerge from the data or films, (2008, p. 629). However as explained by Hernández, Fernández and Baptista (2008), the use of Grounded Theory is not reflected in the idea of a purely objective study, but as a method whereby the researcher’s interpretations are constantly affecting the results of the study; therefore this analysis will not be based on conclusions from the use of Grounded Theory, which here is only used as a categorization method, but from the use of CDA, that allows the interpretation to be critical, taking a position during the research. In this exercise, the representations of teachers, such as teachers’ roles and accountabilities will be founded in the different discourses of the film in order to compare the different assumptions that each film provides.

In this study, the author’s position, in relation to the above, favorites one film in relation to the other, for different reasons such as the involvement of powerful actors in the realization of the film “De Panzazo” such as Grupo Televisa, a powerful broadcasting channel that represents a monopoly in Mexico, and at the same time the possible participation of the PRI party during times of presidential elections. On the other hand, the film “Grain of Sand” represents the work of a small house production, Corrugated Films, that “works to build solidarity and understanding between communities of action, through the grassroots production and distribution of documentary films” (Corrugated Films-Granito de Arena, n.d.). In this brief comparison, the author’s perspective is justified by the understanding that this study will focus on those possible discourses in which power control and domination are utilized in order to create different beliefs that correspond to certain ideologies.

1.2 Theoretical assumptions
This study takes into consideration the conception of different realities based on the assumption that there are multiple subjective realities that vary in form and content between cultures, groups and individuals. This study is developed under the assumption that a phenomenon can be understood through the perceptions and meanings produced by the experiences of a participant (Hernández, Fernández-Collado & Baptista, 2008, pp.11-12), in the case of this study, the participants are the “actors” whose comments and participation are included during the realization of both films. Therefore, the study focuses in a qualitative research that bases its understandings in the relation of the author with the data that it is used and in which the author’s beliefs and values are considered part of the study.

1.3 Motives for the choice of a critical approach

By the use of criticism in the realization of this study, the principles of “results” and “findings” is aiming for multiple-perspectives where the author does not provide a general conclusion about the analysis of the data, instead the “results” are a non-generalization of the data in where other and multiple perspectives can and are taken into consideration in order to accept different beliefs. In this way, the main goal of this study is embrace a process of criticism in the research as a possibility to accept other’s perspectives, often those that are not taken into consideration in a dominant culture or sub-culture.
2.1 Context of education in Mexico

Mexico, a country with 114,975,406 inhabitants (Center of Intelligence Agency -CIA, 2013) faces nowadays various forms of inequality all over the country. Education is one main manifestation and source of inequality, presenting clear differences in quality and creating social exclusion in the cover of basic education, above all primary and secondary education. The discrepancies in the quality of education that each child receives can be seen in the different regions of the country, in urban and rural areas, in private and public schools, and: within the latter category there are discrepancies in quality between the general schools, indigenous schools, community colleges, and schools for migrants (Treviño, 2006, p. 226).

Based on data from the UNESCO Institute of Statistics (2010), 98 per cent of boys and girls start primary education. However only 73 per cent of girls and 70 of boys continue their studies to secondary education, and only the 28 per cent of the population of tertiary age are in tertiary education. The average level of schooling on a national level is between first and second grade of secondary school, and as a result almost 50 per cent of the population is in an educational gap (Moreno-Valle, 2003, p.226).

Still, after years of effort, Mexico continues to have 6.6 per cent of adults and 1.5 of youth as illiterate, even thought the Ministry of Education (Secretaría de Educación Pública-SEP)
and some Non-Governmental Organizations, such as UNICEF, continue striving to meet the challenge of creating a society 100 per cent literate. (UNESCO, 2010)

One vulnerable group is indigenous students, a population that nowadays encounters higher levels of inequalities in education. This is not just represented by standardized assessments as the lowest group performer, but they have been marginalized through history as the most neglected communities in Mexico and Latin America. During 2002, in Mexico, 90 per cent of the indigenous population lived in conditions of extreme poverty. “In terms of school attendance, 15 per cent of boys and girls between 6 and 14 years old do not attend school in communities where the indigenous populations represent 70 per cent or more of the total population” (Treviño, 2006, p.225-226).

It is important to mention that all of these statistics bring with them an important historical background. It is not the intention of the research to explore the historical background of all the educational processes, however, as George Santayana said “those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it”. Therefore, in the next section will discuss the historical background of the educational system in Mexico with an emphasis on the policies, the teachers’ union, the educational reform of 2012 and the teachers’ profile in the country. This examination will provide a connection with the research questions and the documentary films’ topics in order to discuss and critically analyze them in the later sections of this thesis.

2.1.2 The educational system in Mexico: A brief introduction through history

The history in relation with the educational system in Mexico could be described from the beginnings of pre-Columbian history, when Mayas and Aztecs developed a type of
education for the nobility, priests and slaves who attend different types of schools with
different purposes (Reagan, 1994). However, the education system nowadays is based on a
type of schooling that started with the colonialism and later on with the western
perspectives of global organizations. In this section the history of the educational system in
Mexico will be presented since the time when Mexico became an independent nation in
1821, and the politics of the country started to be oriented towards independence itself.

According to Moreno-Valle (2003) after the liberation movement that accomplished the
political release of what it was called “Nueva España” (New Spain), all kind of difficulties
started in the organization of an independent country. The lack of economic resources, the
ideological discrepancies, the requirement of political experience, etcetera, led an insecure
context that affected both informal and formal education. The democratic ideal of the
liberators was unknown for the majority of the population, since Mexico had over 300
years of monarchical tradition, creating in 1821 a resistance to change on every level. An
uncertain government, legislative changes, military pronouncements and other activities
formed the rationale to develop an institutionalized differentiation in the country. Despite
all the discrepancies, between the will of the government and the will of the people,
education was still recognized as the process to ensure the independence in the country by
the whole population. In this attempt, schools were constructed all over the nation with the
goal to teach religion, literacy and the Spanish language. The idea behind this was to
standardize the language as a way to become unified as a country, and morally independent
of any other practice of disunion. Therefore, the first constitution ever made in Mexico was
written in the defense of the independence of the country in 1824 (Moreno-Valle, 2003,
p.220).

By 1833, the liberals, headed by Valentín Gómez Farías, had the goal to educate the
masses. They started their mission by funding two teachers’ training schools better known
in Mexico, even nowadays, as “Normales” that started as pre-service teachers practice
under the guidance of experiences teachers. This is the starting point of the formation of a
political teacher profile that the “Normales” wanted to form due to the difficulties the
country was expecting in this new process of independence. According to Galván (2002)
the “Normales” were originated by the local governments in order to ensure control over
the public institutions. The free tuition primary schools were multiplied and the education
was declared free. The university was suppressed because it was considered a colonial
institution for its religious character. The concept of freedom, within education, became
crucial for those individuals who wanted to become teachers and were not catholic priests. The “free teaching” meant, for the liberals, an education against the Catholic Church and causing the religious school to be considered a contravention of the natural freedom of human beings. In this way, Moreno- Valle (2003, p. 220) analyzes that this “freedom” proclaimed by the liberals was also against the rights of the parents to educate their children in relation with their beliefs, either religious or non-religious. In this sense education was still not addressing the problematic of freedom to the people but instead freedom to the government.

By 1870, Mexican school teacher-education “Normales” had a long tradition of training, developed by the Lancastrian schools, which established the practice of new teachers learning from teachers with more experience. The Lancastrian schools gained the support of the government due to the famous method that originated in England. Its founding members in Mexico became well-known around the country for the quality of the teaching and training developed in the Lancastrian schools. The fame caused the Lancasterian direction and instruction of all primary school teacher education in the country granted by the national government in1842 (Estrada, 1973, pp. 494-495). However teaching still was considered to be an occupation rather than a profession, and it was described by the same teachers as an art rather than a job (Arnaut, 1992). By this time, the discredit for the teaching profession in the country had already begun creating a low standard professional profile for the teachers that even today has not been eradicat.

During the historical stage known as “Porfiriato” (from the president Porifiro Díaz, who governed the country since 1876 until 1911) Galván (n.d.) describes how the general politic was aimed towards the ideal of order and progress in order to pacify the country, therefore positivist education was the way to accomplish it. At the same time, the university was re-established and proclaimed to be National and Autonomous. The teaching profession expanded and developed in qualitative matters; it ceased to be an almost free profession to become a profession ruled by the state. By 1890, the teachers who wanted to work in primary schools (first to fourth grade) needed to study three years in the “Normales”, and those who wanted to teach for upper primary schools (fifth and sixth grade) needed to continue studying for five years. It was concluded that in order to sign in for the “Normales” it was not necessary to have attended high school (Arnaut, 1992). The non-completion of high school education once again puts the teaching profession in a low point of the social scale. Teachers at that time were “campesinos”
(farmers) that educated the poor population, since the elite in the country attended schools where teachers were brought from Europe.

According to Moreno-Valle (2003, p. 222) after ten years of the Mexican Revolution which started in 1910, education was conceived as the only way to accomplish any national goal. By this time, the illiteracy was calculated to be around 84 per cent of the population mainly the rural sectors. Consequently, the efforts of the revolutionary government were oriented towards the rural education in the rural areas. The goal was to make all indo-speakers become Spanish speakers as a factor of national unity. The Revolutionary Constitution of 1917 (the actual constitution of the country), dedicated the third article to education, proclaiming it to be mandatory, public (free education) and unrelated to any religious doctrine, but allowing the freedom of beliefs. Even nowadays the third article of the constitution does not address the freedom in the language of instruction and even though the third article proclaims the defense of diversity and cultural tradition, the defense of indigenous languages is still something that has not been addressed in the constitution.

By 1921 the Ministry of Education had been created and given the name of Secretaría de Educación Pública; it was headed by José Vasconcelos (Galván, 2002). He established an educational infrastructure that addressed the needs of the rural and urban population, creating rural teaching schools known as “Normales Rurales”, as well as cultural missions, agricultural schools, and by 1933 the third article of the constitution was modified to implement a socialist education. Vasconcelos, considered a political leader for the teachers, started a new concept of who were the teachers in the country, allowing for a change of the low conception that elites had over its teachers.

By 1944, the teachers’ union was founded, known as Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación- SNTE. The union had the characteristics of being uniting, unique, nationalist, liberal, autonomous, pyramidal, centralist and corporate (Moreno-Valle, 2003, p. 223). In the practice, SNTE and the Government (SEP) united, allowing joint control of education and the education budget, making a distinguish process for most of the unions in the world, where the main task is to protect the rights of the workers yet unions do not have a shared responsibility for the administrating of the state budget as it happens even nowadays in Mexico. By 1946, the third article of the constitution was reformed again and the term “socialist”, that denoted the main characteristic of the education, was eliminated.
Nowadays the relation of SNTE and SEP is a key point in the determination of power control over the system. This relationship and the effects of the political transformations of both entities will be analyzed further in this study.

In 1965 the campaign for National Literacy was proclaimed, and by 1967 secondary education courses on television started, known today as “Telesecundarias”, recognizing the mass media as a tool of teaching not only for informal, but for institutional or formal education. However, since it has started “tele-secundarias” have not guaranteed a better education for the masses and nowadays have been even considered as the lowest type of education in the country (Mayo, McAnany & Klees, 1973, p. 193).

During the 80’s, the banks were nationalized, unions were strengthened, the external debt increased and the economy was totally destabilized. The inefficiency of the educational system was becoming public when the results of the standardized assessments of Universidad Autónoma de México-UNAM were unsatisfactory. At the same time, in the 1990’s the country presented another scenario. Corruption was present in almost every area. Drug traffic infiltrated the country and there was a clear the lack of honesty in the educational system. Nevertheless, this period of time offered a meaningful economic advance for some. Mexico signed the North American Free Trade Agreement-(NAFTA), and entered into the globalized economy. Dissident voices were heard in the poorest states of Mexico, such as Chiapas with the Zapatista Army known in Spanish as Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional-(EZLN). At the same time, a process of democratic pluralism was experienced when the official political party, Institutional Revolutionary Party-(PRI), faced the National Action Party-(PAN) and the Democratic Revolutionary Party-(PRD) that for the first time obtained governorships in the states. In July 2000, PAN won the presidency of the country, reflecting a real change in the life of the country after 70 years of the PRI being in the power (Moreno-Valle, 2003, pp. 224-225). This was also reflected in an educational change, recognizing the obligation to be educated for democracy, participation, tolerance and respect of multiculturalism in the country, aspects that have not been accomplished even today.

By the year 2000, different data about the country was collected, indentifying that Mexico was in the eleventh most populated country in the world. Its population was primary young, due the fact that the 35.5 per cent of the population is younger than15-years-old. More than 5 million Mexicans speak a language other than Spanish having as their mother
tongue an indigenous language. Therefore, instruction started to be in indigenous languages for those rural areas were indigenous habitants predominate.

Nowadays, it is formally conceived that the teachers are in charge of the formal education, yet, teachers in Mexico have a very low remuneration for their work and a lack of external stimulus for the benefit of their service and benefit for the society. In few years, one of the biggest problems will be a shortage of teachers. After completing a university degree, the work as a teacher is poorly paid and without prestige in society. However, one of the main issues the teaching profession faces is the one related to the role of the teachers’ union, SNTE.

2.1.3 Creation and history of SNTE

As described in the last section, the Mexican Teachers’ Union, best known as Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación- SNTE, is a national organization created after the first half of the XX century and membership is compulsory.

Until only a few years ago, SNTE exercised the monopoly of the legal representation of the educational sector. It has a high degree of control over the teachers’ profession and it includes organisms with veto power inside the same educational system. The union’s power and the quantity of their economic resources made of SNTE the most important union in all Latin America. The Mexican government can only advance with significant reforms in the educational area after having negotiation with SNTE.

SNTE was born in order to represent all the workers in the Ministry of Education (SEP) However this mission changed when later on in the 70’s SNTE was affiliated to the PRI,
the party that held power for 70 years in Mexico. By 1972, the union that had been created for the defense of the teachers who worked for the government had a new leader that happened to be elected by that same government, his name was Carlos Jonguitud Barrios, a well-known corrupted leader who has been accused of the murder of different teachers in the south of the country that fought for rights that were against the teachers’ union. Carlos Jonguitud Barrios contribute to the recognition of a monopoly union in the representation of the Ministry of Education and the federal government that in 1980 had more than three times the total of the state workers. SNTE was also recognized for the labor control with the teachers in relation with defining the teachers’ promotions and the individuals who would be to the vacancies in the lower jobs. Therefore the corruption of the union and its relationship to the party that was in control of almost the entire country create a union with different purposes than the ones related to protect the work and professional rights of its teachers (Espinosa, 1982, p.68).

However, the relationship between the government and SNTE began to lose stability when the former president, named a new team for the Ministry of Education, a team that was far from the traditional bureaucracy and started a new reform for the educational system. SNTE faced the new reforms in a non-friendly approach taking control of most of the teachers in the country and some of the employees of SEP. Due to the breach between the SNTE and SEP, new strikes started in the south and poorest parts of the country in the states of Chiapas, Oaxaca, Hidalgo, Morelos, Guerrero and Mexico City. By 1979, the most mobilized teachers created the CNTE an organization formed by the democratic teachers of the country, who considered themselves as independent of the bourgeoisie and the State, the teachers’ union and any other political organization (CNTE, 2009). The value of the national recognition of CNTE, as conduction for the sectional opposition, meant a percentage teachers’ union fees and some control over the administrators and principals of the schools. However the amount of teachers that allied with CNTE did not contribute to the defeat of the powerful SNTE. In this sense, CNTE only represents a small opposition inside the teachers’ union.

In 1989, Carlos Salinas de Gortari, the candidate of PRI was elected president of the country, however the process was denounced by the media as fraudulent and the image of the party was delegitimized, still the candidate became President of the country. After many strikes in the south part of the country, Carlos Salinas’s took advantage and changed Carlos Jongitud Barrios, leader of SNTE, proclaiming Elba Esther Gordillo as the new
leader of the teachers’ union. This process stopped the strike that was present especially in the states of Oaxaca, Mexico and Chiapas (Moreno-Valle, 2003, p. 226).

With a new leader, SNTE started to give signs of political modernization, moving away from the corporatism system that for many years the political party, PRI, governed the country. This process happened as the attempt to hold the internal opposition in order to negotiate the educational reform. By 1992, SNTE accomplished the conservation of the national entity of the union and the centralization of it (Moreno-Valle, 2003, p. 226).

The political game of Gordillo in SNTE was directed towards agreements with the government to benefit of just a few rather than creating answers and solutions for the problematic that teachers had all over the country. The new relationship eroded the union’s power inside the educational system; though it did it in a limited way and not as part of the global union’s power. The sector of PRI and PAN that agreed to advance into the neoliberal reforms without the participation of SNTE finally had to accept the teachers’ union as a stakeholder in the changes.

After the creation of Carrera Magisterial, a mechanism created by SNTE for payment according to performance started getting more labor control over the teachers. In this sense, SNTE becomes the only entity that decides the teachers’ salaries and increments, putting aside the government’s decisions (Moreno-Valle, 2003, p. 227). After these events and after selling for a big price the support of SNTE to PAN in the elections of 2006, as mentioned in Moreno-Valle (2003), The Economist, named Gordillo as probably one of the most powerful politician in the country after the president.

2.1.4 SNTE: The monopolistic union and undefeated leadership

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1 It is important to acknowledge that the realization of this part of the thesis was made before the arrest of Elba Esther Gordillo-EEG in February 26, 2013 for the appropriation of the teachers’ union resources. However, it is questionable that her arrest has a relation with the political agenda of President Enrique Pena Nieto and the PRI party due to the treason of EEG in the year 2000 when she decided to change her political views to the PAN party that ruled in the years 2000-2006 and 2006-2012.
According to Bensusán and Tapia (2011), since the creation of SNTE, the union has been categorized as authoritarian and statist, due to its promotion of unification that the State promulgated through the Federal Law of Workers to the Service of the State (Ley federal de Trabajadores al Servicio del Estado). These processes had the supposed objective to benefit the organization of the public educational system and the mobilization of teachers. Therefore, it can be summarized, that the educational system in Mexico had two main actors, the government (SEP) and the teachers’ union (SNTE). Nevertheless, nowadays, SNTE cannot be presented as an interest group that mediates between the society and the State, but as an antagonist structure in front of the State and the society when there are attempts for educational reforms. Even though SNTE has proclaimed its defense towards the public education in Mexico, the union is at the same time defined as an association that deals with private interests, both individuals’ interests and in relation to the education of the country, playing a relevant role in the decision making of the educational system and the political process. It has a close association with the forms of private interest rather than the public one. (2011, p. 23)

In this new stage, the power resources of the union, its political strategies of representation, its growing political autonomy and its relevant status in the educational sector, make of SNTE a rival for the power of the State, searching influence only for the formulations of demands and the delegation of public functions. In other words, SNTE started to compete increasingly in the Executive Power and in the relation with the educational policy.

SNTE’s main characteristics of power are associated with three important factors that ended up having a monopolistic and therefore noncompetitive union, with national presence and an effective leadership (Bensusán & Tapia, 2011, p. 25) It is important to acknowledge that monopoly is usual in unions that seek solidarity, however in the case of SNTE the definitions and acts are those opposed to solidarity and unification

a. **Two resources for the political exchange: teachers and votes**

Even though there is a discussion in relation with the number of teachers in the country, it is calculated that by 2006 there were close to one million teachers in the public sector. This huge amount of teachers has been used for the benefit of SNTE and political parties. Arrangements have been made through the years when the teachers’ votes are controlled in
order to benefit a specific party (such as PRI and PAN after the “treason” of Elba Esther Gordillo to the PRI party). Therefore, the union has controlled new political resources; one of these is the creation of the Political Party New Alliance (Partido Nueva Alianza-PANAL) founded by Elba Esther Gordillo due to the results of an old incursion of SNTE with the old Political Party that had ruled the country for over 70 years, PRI. The Political party PANAL has been strongly connected to the conservative and social ideologies of the party Canadian Alliance that existed from 2000 to 2003. The media also suggested that the logo of PANAL was copied from the Canadian party.

In 2006, the value of the votes became crucial during the most competitive election that the country experienced. Therefore the teachers’ votes became crucial to favor the balance between the two parties. This event led to Elba Esther Gordillo, leader of SNTE, to be the most powerful woman in the country.

\[b. \text{ Material Resources}\]

The increase of the public resources for education is translated to the increase of the resources of SNTE in order to construct or strengthen its resources of the political profit. The large numbers of members of SNTE generate a substantial amount of dues, equivalent to the one per cent of the teachers’ salaries. Only between the years 2000 and 2009, the union obtained more than 90 million USD for fees. However, this number represents only the official administrations of the Ministry of Education. There are beliefs that the real number in a national level it is unknown and much bigger.

Between 1980 and 2006 the public spending in education, as a proportion of the GDP increased from 4.3 to 5.4 per cent. This represents an increment of more than one percentage point. Between 1995 and 2004 the spending in primary and secondary education increased 47 per cent. The 95 per cent of this spending was officially designated to teachers’ salaries; however this statement has been contradictory due to the individual lack of resources that teachers face nowadays in the country.

\[c. \text{ The Leadership of Elba Esther Gordillo}\]

According to Castañeda (2011, pp.3-4), SNTE is lead by one of the most surprising, controversial and feared women in Mexico, Elba Esther Gordillo, considered to be one of the most powerful politicians in the country. She has headed the union with hands of iron and velvet at the same time, she was considered a devotee of the political party of PRI, she
was elected General Secretary in 2002 and Deputy and Senator on different occasions, turning her into an elected politician and a union leader at the same time. In 2003, when she was leading the Chamber of Deputies of PRI, she became an ally with former President Vicente Fox, the first president of the PAN. She was expelled from the entire PRI party for the equivalent of “high treason”. Elba has been 24 years in control of the union and after a national congress developed in 2004, she obtained the possibility of indefinite extension. In other words, Elba Esther is and will be the president of SNTE for her entire life. And she is considered by many surveys as the most undesirable politician in the country due to the long list of corruption crimes she has committed.

The power of Elba Esther, affects beyond the educational system, as is described in the later part of this section. However, her power resources stretch also to the Legislative Power, The National Public Security System (Sistema Nacional de Seguridad Pública), the National Lottery, the Institute of Security and Social Services for State Workers (Instituto de Seguridad y Servicios Sociales de los Trabajadores del Estado), the Ministry of Education in the States of Campeche, Coahuila, Colima, Nayarit, Quintana Roo and Tabasco (Secretaría de Educación Pública-SEP) and the Federal Sub-Secretary of Basic Education and Federal Administration of Educational Services (SEP-Federal Subsecretaría de Educación Básica y Administración Federal de Servicios Educativos) (Bensusán and Tapia, 2011, pg. 27)

The power of Elba is not only translated into relationships and control over different public institutions of the country. As Jorge Castañeda describes, “Elba’s corruption inside and outside the teachers’ union is tangible in her own expenses such as many penthouses in Mexico City and its surroundings, a mansion in San Diego California, purses that many women of Park Avenue would die to have and two or three privates jets used for her personal agenda” (Castañeda, 2011, p.5)
2.1.5 Educational Reform 2012

In December 1, 2012, President Enrique Peña Nieto, with the so called return of the political party PRI to the presidency of the country, delivered his first message to the nation as the new president of the country. In this message, the President announced the first 12 presidential decisions in which an educational reform was included. By December 20, 2012 the new reform was already accepted by the House of Representatives. The new reform in education includes changes in section three of the federal constitution in five major areas (Cámara de Diputados, 2012):

- The creation of a National Educational Assessment System. The National Institute for Educational Evaluation (INEE) will be the responsible for evaluating the quality, performance and results of the national education system in the preschool, elementary, middle and high school. INEE will be responsible for the design and realization of the measurements, processing and results of the educational system, it will issue guidelines for federal and local education authorities for the appropriate assessments, and it will generate and disseminate information for decision-making with the aim to improve the education quality.

- Teacher Professional Service. The entry to the teachers’ service and the promotion to any leadership or supervision in any basic and upper secondary education will be through competitive examinations.

- Information and Management Educational System. The creation of this system will contain the information collected by the National Institute of Statistics and
Geography (INEGI) about a census of schools, teachers and students with the aim to collect all the information that the educational system is missing.

- Management autonomy. This includes strengthening the autonomy of school management to various government bodies, in order to improve the infrastructure, the educational materials, the solution of problems and the generation of basic operating conditions for the participation of parents, teachers and students.

- Full-time schools. The full-time schools will be gradually established according to the educational budget, in order to increase the time in school from six to eight hours in order to take advantage of the facilities for academic, cultural and sports activities.

The Educational Reform of 2012 has overcome a wave of discussions in the government and media, and especially on the status of Elba Esther Gordillo, SNTE and the teachers in Mexico. There are multiple perspectives towards the reform however evaluation towards teachers has been one of the most discussed topics in whether they will lose their jobs or not based on the evaluation performance.

In January 22, 2013, a month after the reform was proclaimed, the newspaper “Educación a Debate” put into perspective the question of whether the system would evaluate based on the teachers’ performance or the teachers’ performances would affect the individuals’ jobs and therefore “fix” or “repair” the national system. This issue has leaded a multiple debates around the teachers’ rights; the danger to their jobs and at the same time has opened a possibility for SNTE to protect its members with the discrepancies that the reform does not address (Zorrilla, 2013).

The same day, La Jornada, published an article written by Luis Hernández Navarro, where for the first time we see in the media the debate around the participation of the OECD in the new reform. Hernández writes, “One of the favorite intervention sectors of the rich countries club (OECD) is the educational field. Indeed the educational reform approved, has the unmistakable aroma of the conclusion of the article- Cooperation Agreement OECD-Mexico for Improving the Quality of Education in Schools in Mexico- published in 2010 by the OECD. One by one, the ideas of transformation in the educational system announced by President Peña Nieto in his first message to the nation on December 1º, the pedagogical approaches, and the recent reforms to the constitutional articles 3 and 73 were
recommendations of the OECD. In other words, the recent changes in the educational system approved by the Congress come from a multilateral agency.” The article continues with a discussion of the OECD and the general secretary, José Ángel Gurría, member of the political party PRI, and a fanatic of the free market, putting into perspective the interests behind OECD and the benefits that this new reform can provide to the “rich country club” (Navarro, 2013).

2.1.6 The profile of Mexican teachers

In the educational research, there is an absent of studies in relation with the Mexican teachers as citizens and actors in the politics of the country. This is evident in the lack of reference towards the history of Mexican teachers as political actors and the recognition of their contribution to education and its construction process. As a result, the topic of teachers as political actors, their identity and political culture, are out of the discussion in Mexico and worldwide.

An analysis of the political culture of teachers allows reflection between the development of freedom and the professional autonomy, and its relationship with the school and the union. The exploration allows an integral comprehension of the relationship between the subject, the democracy and the State. These processes establish a slope for the knowledge and understanding of the transformative role of the teachers and political subject in their professional practice.

However, one of the few studies in relation with teachers as political subjects is the one developed by Góngora and Leyva (2011). Mexican teachers were questioned in relation with the perceptions towards the teachers’ union, SNTE. The conclusion of this study
reveals that SNTE is not representing the teacher’s interests. Together, the information media and society have oppressed teachers in their attempt to conceive the traditions of SNTE as a profile of the teachers in Mexico.

Another study is the one developed by Domínguez (2011) in relation with the teachers’ persona, revealing that teachers in Mexico perceived themselves as simple executors of policies and programs, and as another piece of the greatest projects of the country. Nowadays, we have a dissociated teacher between their personal identity and the social one. The former one (in the dimension of their personal life) allows them to cushion the socially distorted, demanded and disqualified image they have. It also allows them to overcome the claims and demands that the educational system imposes, through tasks, overloaded programs, and unassimilated education reforms.

Nevertheless, the research about teachers’ life story has been a neglected area of interest around the world. Ivor Goodson (2003) analyzes how the teachers were presented during the 60’s in Britain as the bad guys of the educational history; however this did not represent the self-image of the teachers. On the other hand, during the 80’s, a new wave started to emerge and the teachers turned from being the villains to be the victims of the educational system. These changes benefit the analysis and study of the teachers in relation with their life story rather than a group of statistics. On the other hand, this progression was reverted when the politic and administrative control over the teacher was generalized and intensified between the latest 80’s and the present millennium with the need for evaluation and accountability of the teachers. This statements are exemplified with the OECD discourses about the future of Mexican education is an echo of the 90’s in the United Kingdom.

On the other hand and in relation to the 2012 reform, in the introduction of the article “The teacher research movement: A decade later”, Cochran- Smith and Lytle explained the educational context of standardization and accountability. Standardizing movements remove the construction relevance of a local knowledge for the scholars’ community as well as the teachers’ position as capable professionals to take decision as an agent of change (As cited in Goodson, 2003, pg. 736). In this way there is a relation towards the evaluation that has emerged within the educational reform and the possibility to undermine the profile of the teachers described in this section. Further in the present study, the topics already discussed such as the history of the education, the powerful teachers’ union-
SNTE, the new educational reform, and the profile of the teachers in Mexico, will help not just to understand the connections of these topics with the research and questions that this study attempts to create, but to produce a critical analysis of how these topics fit together towards the content of the documentary films and the oppression created for the teachers in Mexico and likely in other parts of the world.

2.2 Documentary films in Mexico

In Mexico, there is not a long history of producing documentary films, even though the fiction cinema has created important films about past and current issues in the country. It is true that the documentary films produced in Mexico are a new area for the filmmakers; however, the favorite topics in this kind of films are the sport figures, violence and the unfair government, especially the justice system with films such as “El Túnel” (The Tunnel) and “Presunto Culpable” (Suspect). The last one was one of the first documentary films made in Mexico that has been screened in cinemas around the country. This movie made by law scholars was shown in March 2011, and became a crucial point for the Mexican public to enter into the juridical system, a system that was unknown from the inside by most of the Mexican population. However, after two weeks that the film was screened in cinemas, a judge of Mexico City, order the suspension of the screening, promotion and distribution of the film due that one of the witnesses that appeared in the film did not allow the use of his image during the documentary. This originated indignation in the country causing that a day after the suspension another judge clarified that the motives of suspension were confused, allowing the documentary to be shown once again in the cinemas.
After the huge success of “Presunto Culpable”, one year later in 2012, during the elections for presidency of the country, the Mexican audience experienced another documentary film that criticized a different section of the national government, the educational system. “De Panzazo” became the second Mexican documentary shown in the cinemas and it motivated the audience to criticize the schools, teachers and authorities to “fix” the issues of the educational system.

Even though “De Panzazo” has been the first film presented in cinemas about the educational system in Mexico, there are many other famous documentary films made in the United States, France, Spain, India and so on, that address the issues of the schools, the systems and the teachers around the world. It could be said that there is a new tradition in relation with social criticism towards education (e.g. “The Inconvenient Truth Behind Waiting for Superman”, "Être et avoir”, “Schooling the World: The White Man's Last Burden”, etc).

Although documentary films are not considered tools to record an absolute truth in a neutral, objective disinterested manner, these often argue for positions critiquing others and with the interest of providing inspiration for social change. Consequently, as Yijing describes, “documentaries are sourced from real life and tend to focus on ordinary lives […] the film and pictures of the documentary contain opinions and reflect the real life captured with the camera lens, making them interpretations of the real world, under the guidance of a particular viewpoint.” (2011, p. 621). At the same time, documentary films are expected to have the feature of the discourse of sobriety, that includes science, economics, politics, and history—discourses that claim to describe the ‘real,’ to tell the truth.

Even though the main purpose of the documentary film is to offer a critique an issue or topic, there are still issues in relation with how the information is presented. Most of the films respond to certain ideologies and this could be presented as absolute truths for the audience. However, in the process of watching, both rational shock and emotional impact can be felt, enabling the viewer to experience unintentional oppression toward “the other”, when an unfair use of information is presented.

Chapter 2 represented the historical framework of the Mexican educational system, the actors that have participated in the construction of the ideologies and the current reforms that are the main part of today’s debate towards the education in the country. The context
described above allows the analysis to be situated in the same line of discussion in order to identify the complexity of the teachers’ profile and the current aspects that are delimiting the changes in an historical profile.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Objectives and justification

As described in the Theoretical Framework of this study, teachers have been a neglected area for research and study in some countries. Mexico does not escape from this matter and in addition, the political agenda, as well as the corruption perceived in the teachers’ union and the ministry of education, not only forgets about the teachers who are actually in the classroom, but creates a response of negativity towards the teachers as the problem of a damaged system.

Society creates most of the times an understanding of its surroundings based on what the media reflects and transmits to the public. This transmission, however, could be perceived of as an objective description of the current issues that affect the country and the rest of the world. On the other hand, academics in different areas of criticism in education (e.g. Henry Giroux, Michael W. Apple, Paulo Freire, Bill Bigelow, etc.) could agree that most of the times there is a manipulation of the facts and opinions perceived in the mass media. Every day “there are more of those who want to speak that have the right to listen, and there are less of those who speak that have the right of being heard” (Galeano, 1998, p. 284). Mass media has become the voice of a few transmitting and deciding the values of the rest of the society. Day by day, less critical analysis is created on the topics and issues that involve
our political, sociological and daily life. An important part of this problem has been related to the power relations and the interests behind a corrupted system.

The objective of this study is to provide a critical discourse analysis towards a topic that has been destroyed by the media and consumed by the public. Teachers in Mexico have gained a reputation that most of the times do not belong to them, but to the corrupted systems, public and non-public around. Therefore, the aim of the research is to provide a social profile of teachers in Mexico with the use of Critical Discourse Analysis as theory and method of this research. The criticism will analyze two documentary films, the first one claims to connect the issues of the educational system in the country with the failures of Mexican teachers and the second one suggests the struggle of teachers in relation with a corrupted system in times of privatization. The analysis is based on two main research questions: How are the roles of teachers and their accountability represented in both documentaries? And what is the critical social analysis behind each representation?

This study attempts to provide a missing point of the academic debate towards the position of teachers in relation with the profile created and defended by the mass media in Mexico. By doing so, the research opens the discussion on who are the teachers in Mexico and how they have been apportioned the blame for the failures of a corrupted system. The analysis of both documentary films provides a starting point for the study of the missing political profile of teachers in Mexico, and the relation that has been taken for granted for the teachers with the political unions.

3.2 The methodology and uses of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in the study
During the analysis of both films, the approach and theory of Critical Discourse Analysis- CDA has been used due to the strong connection this approach has towards the perspectives of those who suffer most; by doing so the practice of critical analysis is oriented towards those in power, those who are responsible, and those who have the means and the opportunity to solve the problems of a determined system. Thus CDA is concerned with the analysis of dominances, discrimination, power and control manifested in language (Meyer & Wodak, 2001, p. 19).

According to Teun A. van Dijk (n.d., p.353) critical research on discourse needs to satisfy a number of requirements in order to effectively realize its aims:

- It focuses primarily on, social problems and political issues, rather than on current paradigms and fashions.
- Empirically adequate critical analysis of social problems is usually multidisciplinary.
- Rather than merely describe discourse structures, it tries to explain them in terms of properties of social interaction and especially social structure.
- And more specifically, CDA focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society.

There is a difference between the diverse approaches towards CDA, some scholars such as Ruth Wodak have turned their analysis towards socio-cognitive study of racism, history context and diversity (Meyer & Wodak, 2001, p.37) and Norman Fairclough and Teun A. van Dijk have focused their studies on social change and media discourse (Meyer & Wodak, 2001, p. 49). This study will be lead specifically to the work of Teun A. van Dijk due to the extensive work he has developed in relation with involvement of political, economic, and cultural forces in the media.

In this study the perspective of forces is determined by power and therefore it will form the basis of the analysis. However, in order to recognize the different possibilities for where power domination is used in specifically one of the films, “De Panzazo” (Rulfo, 2012), four categories, offered by van Dijk (1996), are used in order to analyze the different representations of power and control over the public.
The first category named by van Dijk as “text and talk”, and used in this study as *Text and Speaker* examines how speakers abuse of their power in different situations where recipients tend to accept beliefs, knowledge, and opinions (unless they are inconsistent with their personal beliefs and experiences) through discourse from what they see as authoritative, trustworthy, or credible sources, such as scholars, experts, professionals, or reliable media. The second category is *Context* and it studies how context features (such as the properties of language users of powerful groups) influence the ways members of dominated groups define the communicative situation in "preferred context models" (Martin Rojo and van Dijk 1997). The third category is *Meaning, Form and Style*, defined as the control over the topic or context that is represented in the film. For example, in many situations, volume may be controlled or the music together with the image can produce certain emotions of sympathy or dislike. The forth and last category is *Topic* and represents the control of which topics are treated in the film and how and when these topics change during the production. This category is strongly attached to the edition of the movie. Topics may influence what people see as the most important information and thus correspond to the top levels of their mental models.

Using the above categories the analysis provides the key to determine those discourses where power control and domination are found. After the collection of those discourses that are related to the four categories, the study examines those that are considered repetitions and prevail in the discourses that reflect power control in a more understandable and deeply sense. Therefore in order to answer the first research question, an analysis of each discourse determined the roles and accountability that the film “De Panzazo” and the film “Grain of Sand” represented. In this case, each representation was defined based on the discourses and critical analyses in relation to each other. In Chapter 4 the analysis of the study will be explained in a more deeply sense at the same time the analysis is taking form and this will be better appreciate with the use of table 2 that is at the end of the chapter.
3.3 Ethical concerns in the study and in the use of criticism

The right to criticize comes with the obligation to tell the truth. In this part, there is no attempt to focus on the typical ethical concerns that any research should address such as the protection of the data and the participants, in part, since this study does not have face to face participants, and also because the content of the data is already public; however, the study is taking into consideration the ethical concerns that are the rule for a valid and reliable research. Nevertheless, this also does not mean that there are no other ethical concerns needed to be addressed in the realization of this study, but other particularities that are as delicate to treat as when the research deals with participants. As described in the paragraphs above, the main form of analysis of this research entails the criticism as a medium of method and theory; therefore, the ethical concerns will be projected towards this act.

Based on Freire book “Politics and Education” (2001, pp.66-72) I want to summarize five ideas that the author explains as basic in any ethical consideration during the act of criticism and that are part of the methodology and ethical activity of this study.

1. I shall not lie about what is criticized; I shall not lie to the readers and to myself.

2. I shall ensure to know the object of the critique. It is not ethical, nor rigorous to criticize what I do not know.

3. The requirement of criticism does not depend on whether I like or dislike the person or organization whose thinking is being analyzed.

4. To criticize requires of me (the critic) a knowledge that must go beyond the knowledge towards the direct object of the criticism.
5. The ethics of the intellectual work do not allow me the irresponsibility to act with levity in the appreciation of the other’s work. I can commit mistakes, or get confused in the analysis, however I cannot distort the thinking I am studying or criticizing.

In my attempt to work towards a fair criticism and a democratic use of the data, my interpretations, my analysis and my review will be based on these five conceptions developing an ethical research.

As a researcher, it is also my ethical concern to provide the reader with my own awareness of my role in this study. As a Mexican professional in education with a global perspective and critical theory as my preference of approach, I do provide an analysis that will favor one of the documentary films in particular. This does not compromise the validity of the study, since CDA theory requires that a position is taken to form the bases of the criticism (Meyer and Wodak, 2001). Therefore my position as the author of the research is that there is no study that has a pure, objective and true knowledge of the content and analysis. In addition I considered that those who attempt to suppress the oppressed are providing a good reason for a critical analysis towards a democratic threat. Nonetheless, I will show during the analysis the reasons why I decide to take a preference towards the data, mainly based on power imposition and relationships and false arguments in one of the films.

3.4 The films descriptions

The two documentary films that are chosen for this study are “De Panzazo” (Rulfo, 2012) and “Grain of Sand” (Freidberg, 2005). It could be said that both of these documentaries have been selected first because they are the only documentary films that have been made
on the topic of the educational system in Mexico, however the main reason for the choice does not apply to only this characteristic, which is very useful for a comparative study, but to the differences in the issues treated in both films. In the following paragraphs, a description of both documentaries is provided, this description will not be based on the content of the film (this information will be better analyzed in chapters 4) but it is based the characteristics of its participants, development, time of distribution and the purposes for its publication. It is noticeable that the film of “De Panzazo” accounts for a vast amount of information that has been collected, compared to “Grain of Sand”, however; the purpose of this amount of description is related to the inconsistencies and criticism that the film contains.

3.4.1 De Panzazo Film

“De Panzazo” (Rulfo, 2012) is a film that claims to reflect the reality of the educational system in Mexico. Based on the film’s web page, the film “puts in evidence the failure of the Mexican society to obtain satisfactory grades in an exclusionary system, where there is no significant learning for life” (De Panzazo, 2012). In Mexico, “de panzazo” represents an idiom utilized in Mexico to express the idea of passing an exam with the lowest grade-scraping through. Therefore, the title, frames the position rank that has Mexico in relation with other countries in the world; we always pass but we also almost failed.

The film was made with the assistant of the same students that filmed, a normal day of school, with handy cameras that were given to them. Nevertheless, the documentary is not only made with these images but also with the participation of a famous television news reporter in Mexico, Carlos Loret de Mola, who acts as the host of the film (De Panzazo,
2012), and who currently works for Grupo Televisa, a broadcasting channel that is considered an oligopoly in the country and in Latin America.

After extensive research at the websites listed in Table 1, it has been possible to piece together the following information demonstrating the contribution of Grupo Televisa in the development of “De Panzazo” and the relationship of Televisa with the PRI Party and the teachers’ union, SNTE. The numbers in the text correspond to the number of the web sources in the table.

Although the De Panzazo’s makers constantly claim no participation by Televisa, the analysis of the participation raises the question of whether Televisa is actually an active participant and an influence on the film content. One of the speculations around its not only the case of Carlos Loret de Mola as host and co-director of the film, but also the participation of the organization “Mexicanos Primero” (Mexican First), which was in charge to provide all the main production and the necessary research for the development of the film\(^1\). The president and founder of “Mexicanos Primero” is Claudio X. González Guajardo\(^2\) also a Co-Founder of Únete, an organization funded by Televisa and the president of Fundación Televisa- Televisa Foundation\(^3\) and \(^4\). Both organizations were specifically funded by Emilio Azcarraga, grandson of the owner of Grupo Televisa and nowadays main head of the company. Emilio Azcarraga is known as one of the most powerful men in Mexico and one of the richest men in all Latin America. The media has positioned him in the same line than Carlos Slim, the owner of TELMEX (Mexican Telephones) and the richest men in the world\(^5\).

Another reason to believe that Televisa has an active participation towards the realization of the film is that the documentary is constantly shown in the Golden Channel, which represents one of the 18 channels of Televisa around the world.

Two of the main issues surrounding Televisa’s participation in the movie, is first the favoritism of Televisa towards Enrique Peña Nieto campaigning for the 2012 election for the presidency of the Mexican Republic. This speculation first started with some non-powerful media when the film of “De Panzazo” was released in the cinemas during a period of presidential elections. Televisa had supported the candidate Enrique Peña-Nieto, a candidate that supposedly had a strong relationship with former president Carlos Salinas, the president that in 1994 signed NAFTA and started the biggest economic crisis in the country. Peña-Nieto started a campaign of education that included all the data that “De
Panzazo” proclaimed to be needed for the educational system in the country. Two months later Peña-Nieto won the elections and on December 1, 2012 became the new president of Mexico. During his first speech, the now president, once again, repeated the solutions that the movie suggested, saying that those are the first steps towards saving the education in the country, which included the reform of the third article of the Mexican Constitution and the hidden possibility of the privatization of the education in Mexico.

The second issue pointing towards the participation of Televisa in the film is the relationship of Emilio Azcarraga with the leader of SNTE, Elba Esther Gordillo. In 2009, Televisa produced a new entertainment TV Show named “Todo el Mundo Cree que Sabe” (Everybody Thinks They Know) in which children compete with adults in answering questions related with topics treated in school. This was the result of an agreement between Emilio Azcarraga and Elba Esther Gordillo to rebuild the relationship they used to have years ago, to clean Gordillo’s name and to ensure the political agenda behind the productions.
<table>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1

3.4.2 Grain of Sand Film

“Grain of Sand” (Freidberg, 2005) is a production made in 2005 by Corrugated Films, a small house production that “works to build solidarity and understanding between communities of action, through the grassroots production and distribution of documentary films” (Corrugated Films-Granito de Arena, n.d.). Corrugated Films was founded, in 2003,
by documentary filmmaker Jill Freidberg. Since then, their films have screened in over 50 countries, been translated into ten languages, and garnered numerous festival awards.

Even though there is not much information in relation to the distribution of “Grain of Sand” in the country, the film has been seen and praised in union circles and between activists around the world. In addition, many university libraries have acquired the film for its reflections and study. However, the film has been harshly ignored in the commercial stations and the public television in Mexico (POK, 2007).

Basically the content of “Grain of Sand” is inspired by the “20 years of global economic forces that have been dismantling public education in Mexico, but always in the constant shadow of popular resistance. “Grain of Sand” is the story of that resistance, the story of hundreds of thousands of public schoolteachers whose grassroots, non-violent movement took Mexico by surprise, and who have endured brutal repression in their 25-year struggle for social and economic justice in Mexico's public schools” (Corrugated Films, n.d.). The film has been presented in some documentary films showings in the U.S. and in American teachers’ conventions with the attempt to illustrate how teachers can have a voice in relation to what the global economic forces create with regard to education.
CHAPTER 4

THE ANALYSIS

In the next paragraphs an analysis is provided in relation to the table 2 (found at the end of this chapter) in where the data of both films is connected. The data used in the table is representative to the information found in both films; therefore some information was subtracted from the table because this would create a repetition of data. Nevertheless, this does not means that the information subtracted was not considered for the analysis, in fact, the subtraction process was part of the analysis and because this is a qualitative study the information is representative for the eyes of the author.

This analysis is break down in three different parts. The first part analysis is the relation of the film “De Panzazo” (Rulfo, 2012) to the four categories that were already explained in the latest chapter of this study, (Chapter 3) Text and Speaker, Topics, Context and Meaning, Form and Style. This part of the analysis has the aim to recognize the different portions where power domination and control is perceived within the issue of teachers. The second and third part of the analysis provides the teachers’ representations of the film “De Panzazo” (Rulfo, 2012) and “Grain of Sand” (Freidberg, 2005) consequently. A definition of each representation is provided based on examples of both films. The fourth and last part of the analysis is a comparison between each role and accountability represented. In this analysis, a critical discourse is provided in order to examine the dominance and oppression that one of the films suggests and the other is opposed to.

4.1 The categorization analysis
During the film “De Panzazo” four categories based on Teun A. van Dijk were established in order to determine the different ways in which power domination and control were established during the discourse of the film. In this section, a few examples of the analysis are described in order to exemplify the use of the four categories in the research. Later on in the chapter, the analysis will continue with the use of Grounded theory and again Critical Discourse Analysis.

The first category, **Text and Speaker**, defines domination by the abuse of the speaker’s power in different situations where recipients tend to accept beliefs, knowledge, and opinions from what they see as authoritative, trustworthy, or credible source. In the film, interrogations developed by the host Carlos Loret de Mola, such as “Where is the problem (of the national educational system)?” and with an answer that blames the teachers, creates a belief that teachers are solely responsible for the failures found in the educational system. The speaker abuses his role as the main host of the film and does not bring any rhetoric that might help the audience to question why such blame is related to the teachers. Another example in where **Text and Speaker** was used is when the host presents a solution in relation to the teachers’ failure, a mandatory evaluation is offered in order to dispose of the teachers who are “bad” and to keep and increase the salaries and benefits for those teachers who are “good”. First of all, the information is not presented by a professional in the educational area, but by what is believed as “reliable media”. This exercise of power is used in order to present a “perfect” solution to a problem that does not even treat fairly the blaming. During the entire film, there were only two brief comments of less than one minute from an expert in education that actually presents a contradiction to what the host, Carlos Loret de Mola, presents as problems and solutions in the system. The expert argues that the system “has never had trust in its teachers and (this one has not been) considered a professional in the educational area” (see table 2 for contradictions of “De Panzazo”).

The second category, **Context**, studies how environment features influence the ways members of dominated groups define the communicative situation in "preferred context models". Some examples where context is used in the film is when students or parents present their beliefs in relation to the issues of the educational system. Often these opinions or perceptions exemplified the ideas already presented by the “authorities” of the students alone. These statements follow lack of questions related to the teachers’ movements in
relation to the defense of public education and the purposes behind them. Another example of Context is when the filmmakers decided that the opinion of the students in relation to “what do they think is wrong in the educational system” was more important than the opinion of an expert in the area. The student plays the role of a non-expert in education and a follower of the beliefs the filmmakers wanted to present. An example of this category is when a student explains to the camera “I do think the education is okay, but the teachers are not” or when another says “I have the idea that we need better teachers, more capable”.

The third category, Meaning, Form and Style controls the topic or context that is represented in the film. For example, when the filmmakers want to create certain reactions to the public, the use of music, titles and images can present the idea as worthy and important following certain emotions to the audience. An example of this in the film is a song sung by a couple of students about the teachers. The song is followed by a presentation of disturbing images of different teachers in different schools doing nothing other than punishing the students. The lyrics of the song are accusations against the teachers for being physical and emotional abusers and for not educating the gangs well; therefore the song goes “nobody likes them”. Another example where Meaning, Form and Style is utilize during the films is when disturbing images are presented in order to exemplify how bad teachers we have in the country. This is remarkable when the host of the film is talking about bad teachers in the country and the images are supporting his words by showing a brief fragment of a student recording his/her teacher in an angry mood. The teacher is shouting something related to the homework of her students. This image was again repeated a few minutes later to support another comment of the host about the “bad” teachers.

The last category used for the analysis is Topic, defined as the control towards the selection of which topics are treated, and how and when these topics change during the film. This category can be related to the entire film in which topics were picked in order to present the important issues or solutions in the educational system. However, since this study focuses only on the teachers’ roles and accountability presented in the documentary, the category of Topic has been used as those subtopics where teachers are included, as well as omitted. The four main topics of the documentary are: Teachers, focusing on general descriptions of the teachers in the system; teachers’ evaluations, where the documentary focuses on the issue of lack of knowledge about the teachers and at the same time, where evaluations are presented as the solution for teachers’ improvement. The third topic is
teacher’s absenteeism, related to the marches that had been a current negative topic in the news and mass media. The forth topic is teachers’ salaries, in this case the film focuses on the lack of funds that school receive due to the fact that most of the resources end in the teachers’ hands. In this part of the analysis I also looked those topics that were omitted in the realization of the film; however this will be analyzed in the next sections since the omission is clearer in connection with the comparison to the film “Grain of Sand”.

4.2 Representations of teachers

In this section, the representations of teachers offered in both films are explained in order to recognize the differences between the two documentaries. There are two types of representations that answer the main research question of this study, the teachers’ roles that represent the current function that the teacher is having nowadays in the national educational system and accountabilities that represent the responsibilities that teachers should have during the development of their profession. In the Table 2 there are a few examples where accountability was not used, this is because of the impossibility to determine accountabilities that the context does not suggest. The next paragraphs will defined the roles and accountabilities of the film “De Panzazo” followed by those in the film “Grain of Sand”. The definition of each representation is located by the use of “Grounded Theory” in which the examples/discourses provide a specific definition for each category and unit that emerges from the data or films (Hernández, Fernández & Baptista 2008, p. 629).
4.2.1 Representations of teachers in the film “De Panzazo”

In the critical analysis of the film “De Panzazo” four teachers’ roles and five teacher’s accountabilities were determined in relation to examples that provided a connection with power control and dominance over the teachers. The teachers’ roles and the definitions of each are:

1. Teachers as failures: is defined as those teachers who are the main contributors to the problems inside and outside the school, and at the same time are active participants in the issues that the educational system faces nowadays. Some of the characteristics of “teachers as a failure” are teachers who are not capable of teaching content, but rather repeat textbook programs (exercises developed during their studies in the teaching schools “Normales”), teachers who are physical and emotional abusers of their students in the classrooms, and teachers who are lazy during the time of class. Examples of this representation are found in the De Panzazo section of rows 1 to 5 in table 2.

2. Teachers as authoritarians: defines the teachers as resistant to the evaluations that have been enforced upon them and students. This resistance is perceived as a decontrol from part of the teachers to the law. On the other hand, “teachers as authoritarians” is also defined as those who utilize their power with their students by the use of threats. Examples of this representation are found in rows 6 to 8 in the De Panzazo section of table 2.

3. Teachers as irresponsible: is defined as the absenteeism of teachers from classes due to the marches and protests they are constantly holding in different parts of the
country. Examples of this representation are found in rows 9 to 11 in the De Panzazo section of table 2.

4. Teachers as well paid professionals: defines the situation where most of the educational funds ends up as teachers’ salaries instead of utilizing the funds to the benefit of the students. An example of this representation is found in row 12 in the De Panzazo section of table 2.

Teachers’ accountabilities and definitions of each are:

1. Teachers as problem solvers: basically understood the teachers have the responsibility to solve the issues in the educational system by addressing their own problems that the “teachers as a failure” suggests.

2. Teachers as autonomous actors: has a relation to the idea that teachers should be able to bring to an end the dominance that the “Normales” (teaching schools) have in the instruction of only repeating programs and textbooks. An example of this representation can be found in row 3 in the De Panzazo section of table 2.

3. Teachers as being in favor of evaluation: explains the ideal whereby teachers accept the evaluation of their skills as teachers, and by doing this they are actively participating in the solutions towards “fixing” the problems in the system.

4. Teachers as professionals who attend classes: understands that teachers should attend classes no matter what, because this is the first and foremost responsibility as a teacher, to teach in the classroom without participating in the marches or struggles that will only benefit their own dilemmas.

5. Teachers as professionals having a reduced salary: reflects that the teacher’s money or salary should be reduced in order to improve other areas of the educational system. Therefore teachers should address a lower salary for their services.

4.2.2 Representations of teachers in the film “Grain of Sand”
In the critical discourse analysis of the film “Grain of Sand” five teachers’ roles and three teacher’s accountabilities were determined with the examples that provided an opposite perspective to the representations found in the film “De Panzazo”. The teachers’ roles and the definitions of each are:

1. Teachers as social leaders: The role of social leader is defined as the teachers’ movements that have an impact on the educational transformation of the communities. “Teachers as social leaders” has been historically proven, as those who help others to reclaim their rights and the constant fight for the right to public education in Mexico, right that has been affected by international organisms and neoliberal governments. Examples of this representation are found in the rows 1, 2, 4, 9 and 11 in the Grain of Sand section of the table 2.

2. Teachers as political actors: Is defined as the political formation that the teaching schools (Normales) provide to their students in order to create a closer relationship of the teachers with their communities. At the same time, the definition applies to the activities whereby teachers functioned as mentors of political leaders during the Mexican revolution in 1910. This once again proves that teachers in Mexico have been considered not only as promoters of pedagogical tasks but also as actors on the political agenda in support of the people. Examples of this representation can be found in rows 3 and four of the Grain of Sand section of table 2.

3. Teachers as professionals, aware of their faults: this representation is defined as an opportunity area for the teachers, whereby they consider it necessary to improve their pedagogical skills. At the same time, their political role as teachers must create different alternatives other than marches for the fight for public education in the country and their rights as professionals in education. Examples of this representation can be found in rows 5 and 10 of the Grain of Sand section of table 2.

4. Teachers as oppressed: The definition of this representation is divided into two major perspectives, first the oppression of the teachers due to the evaluations that are constantly testing students and teachers in order to create division, between winners and losers, and to promote the privatization of education and second, the oppression of teachers in relation to their salaries. The teaching profession in Mexico is far of being a well paid job and represents an underprivileged profession
due to the unfulfilled teachers’ needs. This issue has cause the need for teachers to have two or three jobs at the same time in order to cover their own necessities. Examples of this representation can be found in rows 6, 8 and 12 of the Grain of Sand section of table 2.

5. Teachers as fair professionals: is defined as the equal treatment that teachers seek in order to have the same rights as the rest of society. At the same time “teachers as fair professionals” represents the commitment to fight for others’ rights. An example of this representation can be found in row 7 of the Grain of Sand section of table 2.

The teachers’ accountabilities and definitions represent a strong connection to the roles of the teachers, this allows having a congruent discourse between who is the teacher and what does the teacher represent. The teachers’ accountabilities and definitions are the following:

1. Teachers as promoters of solidarity: defines the teacher as a participant in solidarity activities, such as the support for others without the means of being heard. The teacher shows solidarity to his/her students first and foremost, to ensure their right to be educated in a critical and political approach. Examples of this representation can be found in rows 1, 2 and 11 in the Grain of Sand section of table 2.

2. Teachers as self-critical: defines the need for teachers who take the responsibility of being critical first towards themselves, and then to the other. In this way, teachers will be prepared to emerge with a different and more solid position for the fight against the dominance their communities are suffering from, and to rethink other ways to stand up for their rights. Examples of this representation can be found in rows 5 and 10 in the Grain of Sand section of table 2.

3. Teachers as fighters: Due to the global economical forces teachers are responsible for the fight against the domination of powerful institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund that affect the basic right of any student to have access to public education. Examples of this representation can be found in rows 1, 4, 7, 9 and 12 in the Grain of Sand section of table 2.
4.3 The social analysis behind each representation

The analysis, so far, has focused on the descriptions of the roles and accountability represented in the two documentaries in relation to teachers in Mexico. This part of the thesis attempts to provide a comparison between the representations in order to critically analyze the different social analysis the documentaries are providing.

In order to present the above, each representation of the film “De Panzazo”, starting from roles and then accountabilities, is countered with a role and accountability found in the film Grain of Sand in order to provide the different discourse that the film presents as the antithesis of the discourses that “De Panzazo” confirms.

4.3.1 Roles: Teachers as a failure vs. Teachers as political actors, social leaders and teachers aware of their own actions
In the film “De Panzazo” the role “teachers as a failure” clarifies that teachers are the responsible for the failures that the system nowadays addresses. This representation proclaims that the main characteristics of the Mexican teachers, based on “De Panzazo” is that teachers are lazy, incompetent to provide education without repeating textbooks that were taught during their teaching studies at the “Normales” and, that the same time, teachers are abusers of their students.

The film “Grain of Sand” on the other hand, provides a totally different perspective towards the image of the teachers in Mexico. First and foremost, the profile of the Mexican teacher is synonymous with political actor; this representation that the film “Grain of Sand” provides is justified in this thesis in the Chapter2 sections 2 and 2.1.6, unfortunately as is explained in those sections, there is a lack of studies that address the political image of the Mexican teachers. On the other hand, the film “De Panzazo”, constantly misrepresents the profile of the “Normales”, arguing the lack of autonomous skills in the teachers preparation. First of all there is a fault in the generalization that all teaching schools have the same profile for their students; One of the main characteristics, as it is provided by the film Grain of Sand, the “Normales” in Mexico create a political profile for the teachers, which is a different profile from those teachers who attend universities for example. The “Normales” in the country have been important spaces in the construction of public education in Mexico, even before independence. This political perspective of the teachers has been misrepresented by the media in the creation of a relationship between teachers and the teachers’ union, SNTE that has been a potential benefactor for of the elections of different parties in the country. What the media does not address is that the political views of the teachers in Mexico, most of the time are totally against the perspectives of the teachers’ union. The union not only addresses issues that do not reflect the interests of the teachers, but also it has taken a power control over the teachers, having at the same time positioned them in a very low scale of the society.

Another representation that “Grain of Sand” provides which is contrary to “De Panzazo” is that the profile of Mexican teachers as social leaders, for their professions, for their communities, for their students and for their people. One of the main contributions of “teachers as social leaders” has been the defense of public education in the country, while different bodies, institutions and types of governments including the teachers’ union have actively participate in transforming the public education into a commodity and thereby leaving thousands of students and communities without schools.
On the other hand, the film Grain of Sand in its defense of the Mexican teachers has also provided as awareness to the teachers so that they can become critical towards their own acts and forms of distribution. The marches have become a critical perspective of the media towards the teachers; this is again shown during the film “De Panzazo”, therefore teachers must create a different proposal in order to demonstrate their point of view and their fight for their own and others’ rights.

4.3.2 Roles: Teachers as authoritarians vs. Teachers as oppressed

In the film “De Panzazo” teachers are represented as authoritarians in their resistant towards evaluations that will estimate their salaries and jobs. The film proclaims that “it would be good to evaluate all teachers and the ones who are good have a raise in their salaries, better benefits, conditions and bonus and the bad teachers should be fired”, even though the film never exposes which kind of evaluation, the type of discourse dictates that in order to evaluate all teachers with a “fair” and “same” treatment, a standardized evaluation would be the best way to go. However, standard evaluations in Mexico are not new, at least this type of evaluations have been imposed to elementary student since the year 2000 in order to determine which school would get more funds, however this funds should be given to all schools due that the “reward” is distributed to cover necessities such as broken desks, books or even the school restrooms. During the film “De Panzazo”, it is notorious that teachers are perceived as the “bad” ones trying to escape from the hand of “fair” evaluations; however teachers have constantly seen how their school budgets have decrees because of these evaluations. For example during the film “Grain of Sand”,
standard evaluations are described as “racist, classist, based division of the winners from losers and it is very much a powerful tool of those who promote private education”.

It is not surprisingly to have an answer for the question asked in the film “De Panzazo” of “why teachers do not want to be evaluated?” well first because their jobs are in the red line, and secondly because probably the evaluation will not even been fare, due that now because of the dominance of certain institutions, the profile of the teachers the government will be looking for will be the opposite than the type of education the “Normales” have give to the teachers, a political profile.

4.3.3 Roles: Teachers as irresponsible vs. Teachers as fair professionals and teachers aware of their faults

“Teachers as irresponsible” is represented in “De Panzazo” as the absenteeism of teachers to classes due to the marches and protests they are constantly developing in different parts of the country. This is a repetition of what the media has demonstrated in relation to the teachers. However, in the film “Grain of Sand” this statement takes a huge part of the argumentation of why teachers are constantly in marches and protest against the government or international institutions, in fact teachers in Mexico have a long history of doing marches that at first were applaud by the same society that recognized in its teachers the value of fighting for the rights of their communities. However, nowadays the teachers’ movements in the country have changed this positive perception of the society to the creation of a negative connotation, this in part because of the interference of other organisms.
This has become a major problem for the educational system, at the end, the students are actually paying the faults by not having teachers in the classroom. It is true, as the film “Grain of Sand” proclaims, that teachers do not only teach inside of the classroom but in the outside by fighting for the rights of the community, however when this fight is affecting the pedagogical agenda it becomes a major issue, first because the government and the teachers’ union are not responding to the issues that teachers address every day at school and second because these marches have affect the education of thousands of children every day.

4.3.4 Roles: Teachers as well paid professionals vs. Teachers as oppressed

This is probably one of the most contradictory representations of the analysis. On the film “De Panzazo” there is a problem that is actually related to the salaries of the teachers, however the difficulty has a major fault in the relation to analyze what exactly the problem is. The film proclaims that 93 per cent of the educational budget goes to the teachers’ salaries; this in fact is addressed in the film “Grain of Sand” by recognizing that this percentage is designated to salaries. However, at the end, those are not real teachers’ salaries, but salaries that end up in hands of the members of the teachers’ union that are not even teachers. A clear example is the leader of the teachers’ union, Elba Esther Gordillo, enriching herself using the educational budget (see Chapter 2.1.4 of this thesis). In conclusion, the film “De Panzazo” does not only mislead the actual salary of the teachers in Mexico, but at the same time brings the image of the Mexican teacher as a well paid worker. In the film “Grain of Sand”, there are different scenes in where teachers explain
how their low salaries do not even cover their own necessities at home leading them to take a second or even third job, as it was explained above in this analysis.

4.3.5 Accountability: Teachers as problem solvers vs. Teachers as solidarity actors

The film “De Panzazo” constantly puts the responsibility of fixing the educational system in hand of the teachers. In this system, there is a group with power and domination, such as private corporations, international bodies and the authorities in the country that have the control to decide what is “beneficial” or not for the system. In this case, the teachers are not the only ones responsible for solving the dilemmas of the system, yet teachers are perceived as the ones to blame in relation to the poor results in international educational comparisons. During the film “De Panzazo”, teachers’ evaluation is considered a key point to benefit the educational system. The teachers are not the only ones responsible for solving the ills of the educational system, however as is described in the film “Grain of Sand” this action will probably benefit the interests of certain institutions, and once again the reproduction of what other countries have seen during the process of the privatization of education.

On the other hand, as represented in “Grain of Sand”, teachers are and some of them should be solidarity actors, people who constantly teach and demonstrate a democratic perspective towards the oppressed. The word “teachers” should be a synonym of solidarity and transformation, and not a synonymous of actors that are at the mercy of those who control the people.
4.3.6 Accountability: Teachers as autonomous actors and teachers as self-critical professionals

In this comparison the term “versus” was replaced by the word “and” since, even though “teachers as autonomous actors” is a contradiction of the message that the film “De Panzazo” provides, this accountability is desirable for teachers in Mexico. Teachers should be autonomous in the classroom; by doing so, standardized evaluation could be abandoned due that are opposing strategies, one demonstrating trust, the other the need to “police” teachers.

During the “De Panzazo” film a constant repetition of the PISA OECD results was shown in order to represent the poor position Mexico has in relation to the rest of the OCED countries. In this constant repetition Mexico was, at the same time, compared with the top-country in the PISA scale, Finland. However it is paradoxical that the solutions presented by “De Panzazo” in order to increase the quality in Mexican education, are completely different to the ones that Finland has been using for the benefit of its own education; most of these contradictions are related to the role and status of teachers. For example, “the Finnish education system lacks rigorous school inspection, and it does not employ external standardized student testing to inform the public about school performance or teacher effectiveness. Teachers also have professional autonomy to create their own school-based work plan and curriculum” (Sahlberg, 2011, p. 71). Finland is well known to have the “best” education in the world based on western standards. The effectiveness of its system has been strongly connected to the teachers, therefore teaching is perceived as a noble and prestigious profession that is highly rated among its citizens as one of the most admired professions, even ahead of medical doctors, architects, and lawyers (Sahlberg, 2011, pp. 71
Evaluation of teachers then it will not only decrease the prestige of the teaching profession in the country but it will stimulate the conduct of teachers to “repeat programs and textbooks” (Rulfo, 2012).

On the other hand, “Grain of Sand” proclaims the need for teacher to be critical towards their acts and attitudes. An example of this representation in the film is when it recognizes that teachers should not be only democratic in the streets, but also in the classroom and with their students. Teachers have been seen in the street that are constantly proclaiming democracy for their rights; but if these teachers do not transmit the same value of democracy into the school, there is no difference in the acts of the authorities and the acts of the teachers with their students.

4.3.7 Accountability: Teachers in favor of their evaluations, teachers as professionals who attend classes and teachers who have low salaries vs. teachers as fighters

In this case in the analysis, three representations from “De Panzazo” are shown in contrast with one representation of the film “Grain of Sand”, this is because the three first representations answer to the contrast dilemma of the teachers as fighters. Teachers in favor of their evaluations and teachers who have low salaries are in fact the two perspectives that teachers are against and have fought for many years. The evaluation of teachers, once again, will determine a certain profile of a teacher that will go against the political education that Mexican teachers in their majority received. The low salaries of teachers has become a major issue in the oppression of the teachers in the country, these two factors have caused the absenteeism among teachers and the constant fight of the teachers for their rights.
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<td>Role: Failure</td>
<td>Host: Where is the problem? Are they (the students) the problem? The parents? The government? The teachers’ unions? The teachers? All of us? Maybe we do not know what is happening with the students because we do not know what is happening with the teachers? (The caption “THE TEACHERS” appears on the screen). Student: I do think the education is okay, but the teachers are not.</td>
<td>Role: Social leaders</td>
<td>Ana María Grajeada (Professor): The teacher has a very important place in the society and in the community. A teacher is a synonymous of fight, transformation and solidarity.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Text and Speaker</td>
<td>Accountability: Problem solvers</td>
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<td>Accountability: Solidarity actors and fighters</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Meaning, Form and Style</td>
<td>Role: Failure</td>
<td>Student 1: Are you complaining? Student 2: Yes Student 1: about what are you</td>
<td>Role: Social leaders</td>
<td>Candida Santiago (Teacher): The authorities, most of the time, feel it is not convenient for them that the teacher is trying to help his/her brothers and sisters to emerge</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Accountability: Solidarity actors</td>
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complaining?

**Student 2:** about the teacher

**Student 1:** Why?

**Student 2:** because he is a bad teacher

**Student 1:** Why is he a bad teacher?

**Student 2:** Because he talks on the phone during class

*The camera focus on teacher talking on the phone at his desk meanwhile the entire classroom is talking.*

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<tr>
<th>3</th>
<th>Role: Failure</th>
<th>Host: The schools that make teachers are called “Normales” (Normal) but of it does not have anything “normal”. Instead of preparing them to teach, the “Normales” instruct the teachers to repeat programs and textbooks.</th>
<th>Role: Political actors</th>
<th>Claudia Herrera (Journalist): The main characteristic of “Normales” is that it provides the students a political formation. If we remove the “Normales” we will remove teachers that have a different focus, a focus closer to the people and the community.</th>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Role: Failure</td>
<td>We hear a song with the following lyrics: Hey teacher, what is happening that you do not educate the gang well? My dad says that he had a teacher that</td>
<td>Role: Social leaders and Political actors</td>
<td>Teacher: In Mexico the teachers are social leaders, this has been historically proven. The Mexican teacher has a long history of participation with the community; some of the teachers are the ones that acted as</td>
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treated all of his students very badly, in an unjust way, the teacher disapproved all, he hit them with a ruler, he always shouted at them. The teacher made fun of his students, leaving them without recess and treating them very badly. Nobody liked him.

| 5 | Context | **Role:** Failure | **The host to a group of students:** what would you do in order to improve the school?

**Student:** I have the idea that we need better teachers, more capable. |
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Role:</strong> Professionals aware of their faults</td>
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<td></td>
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<td><strong>Accountability:</strong> Self-critical professionals</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Ana María Grajeda (professor):</strong> We need as teachers to question ourselves what is happening. We need to develop self-criticism to resurge with an alternative proposal for the society.</td>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Teacher:</strong> The big problem is that the magisterial teacher’s movement has focused a lot in the political area, and the pedagogical one is our Achilles heel.</td>
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<td><strong>Teacher:</strong> it is not fare that the democratic teacher is the first one that violates the human rights of the children in the schools. It is not fare to be democratic in the streets, but in my school I am totally authoritarian.</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td><strong>Topic:</strong> Teacher evaluation</td>
<td><strong>Role:</strong> Authoritarians</td>
<td><strong>Accountability:</strong> In favor of their evaluation</td>
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</table>
| 7 | **Meaning, Form and Style** | **Role:** Authoritarians | **Accountability:** A teacher is with her students in the classroom, she does not know she is being taped, and reacts to something that happened that has not being shown in the classroom | **Role:** Fair professionals **Accountability:** Teacher: A teacher is one who does not allow his/her rights to be stolen and at the same time, a teacher does not allow rights of
movie. She looks very angry and she is screaming to her students probably about the homework the students did not bring that day.

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<tr>
<th>8</th>
<th>Text and Speaker</th>
<th>Role: Authoritarians</th>
<th>Accountability: In favor of their evaluations</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Host to the Minister of education:</td>
<td>Why do teachers not want to be evaluated?</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Meaning, Form and Style</td>
<td>Role: Oppressed</td>
<td></td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Rural teaching student:</td>
<td>This (the evaluation) is a project to close the rural teaching schools (Normales). We need many teachers in Chiapas; however, we also see that there is no disposition of the government to improve this situation. It has been manipulated by bodies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Meaning, Form and Style</td>
<td>Role: Social leaders</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>The host in an interview with a group of teachers, including a senior teacher:</td>
<td>We are talking about five months that you have not taken part in classes. That it is the accusation, what do you respond? It is noticeable how the senior teacher starts talking in response, but his voice is edited out. Meanwhile, Carlos is talking about other topic that it is not related with the question he asked.</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Accountability: Fighters</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Narrator:</td>
<td>The global economic forces have been dismantling the public education in Mexico for more than 20 years. Teacher: We are holding a protest in order to rescue public education, for non-privatization.</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Topic: Teacher absenteeism</td>
<td>Role: Irresponsible</td>
<td>Accountability: Professionals who attend classes</td>
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| 11 | Context                   | Role: Irresponsible | Accountability: Professionals who attend classes | Mother: If something happens to the students because they are alone at the schools, it will be the fault of the teachers, because they do not want to come to work, it is their responsibility. | Role: Social leaders | Accountability: Solidarity actors | Ana María Grajeda (Professor): If we (the teachers) had not been mobilized, I would said that the education today would it be private. There would have been other conditions for the parents, but because of these movements this has stopped and even today we are creating resistance. Alejandro Leal Díaz (member of CNTE): It is necessary to fight, the society cannot continue like this, and with our marches, with our mobilizations, we are providing our grain of sand for the transformation of this
Host: Why is it that if we spend so much on education we have poor results? Well because the money that Mexico spends 93% goes to teachers’ salaries.

Teacher: In the mornings I am a teacher and in the evenings I become a taxi driver.

Teacher: They (the government) have not lived what we have lived. They have not seen what we have seen and I believe it is not fair for us to be silent.

Teacher: I work in an elementary and middle school; still I do not have enough money meet the necessities at home.

country.
CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study presents three different parts containing the background and theoretical framework, the methodology and the analysis and results of the research. In the next paragraphs a brief summary of the contribution of these latest chapters will be consider in order to connect and situate the study into the same line of discussion. The conclusion will follow a conclusion towards the results of the study and the theory and method used in the research followed by the achieves this study has accomplished. At the end of the conclusion, a brief suggestion for future studies will be presented.

5.1 Summary of the research

In Chapter 2, the background and the historical context of the educational system in Mexico was presented in order to situate the study with a context that might be unknown for the global educational community. The focus of the chapter it is not only to situate the reader into the Mexican context but to present those situations that are currently affecting the representations of teachers in the country. During this chapter, it is possible to reflect on the political situations such as the independence of the country and the revolution that affect the education and the ideologies that were taken for the purposes in which Mexico wanted to go. However, those ideologies and movements have been nowadays changed by international economic forces that once again after the colonialism has affected the agenda in Mexico. These changes are perceived in the educational agenda such as the privatization
in the national educational system and the corruption perceived in the teachers’ union (SNTE) and the Ministry of Education-SEP. These two organisms ended up to determined the profile of the Mexican teacher, a profile that is far away to be highly recognized by the society and constantly oppressed by governmental organizations and media.

During Chapter 3, the objective of the study consists in providing a critical discourse analysis towards a topic that little research has been done in Mexico but that constantly has been the favorite topic for the media, teachers. The aim of the research allows a study in defense of the oppressed teachers in Mexico based on the critical analysis of one documentary film, “De Panzazo”, that was actively distributive in the cinemas and that has a strong connection with one of the biggest monopolies in the country. At the same time, the study focused in the comparison of a second documentary film, “Grain of Sand” that provides a different discourse, with the perspectives in favor of the Mexican teachers as fighters in the transformation of the education in the system. In order to develop such analysis, two research questions were establish such as, how are the roles of teachers and their accountability represented in both documentaries? And, what is the critical social analysis behind each representation? the two research questions were choose in relation to a literature review that demonstrated not only the lack of work in the study of teachers but the low social image that the teachers have for its strong relation with the characteristics of the teachers’ union and the low position in where the teaching profession has been since the nineteenth century. During Chapter 3, at the same time, the focus on the ethical concerns was taken into consideration for the realization of the research. These concerns are based on the work of Paulo Freire that directs the discussion towards the acts of criticism during the development of a study.

The findings and results were established during Chapter 4 of this study, allowing locating the different roles and accountabilities that were present in each film. This analysis was based on the work of Teun A. van Dijk, expert in the critical discourse analysis of the media. Some of his suggestions were taken for the advantage of this study; some of these were the use of four categories that allowed perceiving the different discourse in where power control and domination is present in the film “De Panzazo”. After such analysis, a list of roles and accountabilities were differentiate in the discourses and a definition of each was developed in relation to the examples provide by the films. The results of this study allowed to compare the discourses of each film with each other, and provided a critical and different discourse between each film.
5.2 Conclusion of the results of the research

The film “De Panzazo” was produced with the objective to present the problematic of the national educational system to an audience who is not totally aware of such issues seen every day at schools all over the country. Therefore the film focus on different topics in relation to the education in Mexico, however in this study the topics related to the teachers were the ones that participated in the analysis of the study. The discussion towards the results of this research suggests that the discourses used in the film “De Panzazo” are the product of a power control provided by public authorities and the private sector. The discourses of the film reflect are the hidden agenda of a small and powerful group that seeks the privatization of education in Mexico. The film provides different discourses that constatly blames the teachers for the current failures that the system has. This blame hides the other issues and topics that are not taken in granted in the description of the system failures, and that actually are considered “solutions” that will benefit the education in the country, such as the privatization of a public good.

An example of the latest can be illustrated in the discourses of the film “De Panzazo” in where a standardized evaluation is proclaim as a “good” and “fair” solution in order to dispose those teachers that the film considers as irresponsible and not “good” prepared for the teaching profession. These discourses of evaluating the teachers could be concluded as a way to bring the privatization as the solution for the problematic that the public cannot addressed. Standardized assessments searches for a certain profile of teacher, a non-political that benefits the agenda of those in power, of those who decide what to teach and how to do it. Standardized movements, as explained in Chapter 2, remove the construction relevance of a local knowledge for the scholars’ community as well as the teachers’ position as capable professionals that take decision as an agent of change, at the same time the tests represents a “contradictory value of teacher education and public education as a public good- one that must be contextualized, personalized, and democratized” (Hayes, 2013, p.9). In other words, standardized evaluations are a tool for those who promote the privatization of education, this is perceived due that the low scores in the evaluations notice the state no longer capable for providing quality in education, therefore is needed to bring the private sector. However, privatization of education will not erase the corruption it
is seen in many countries, will not erase the power of the few that controls the system and will not benefit the ones are suffering the most. Private education as the words says, is private to just some, it is exclusive and is doomed to increase inequalities in Mexico and abroad.

This discussion also connects the discourses of the film “De Panzazo” with the discourses of the Mexican Educational Reform 2012, in where a similar message is distributed. The reform also attempts to create a national teaching assessment and increase the amount of hours of schools. These acts will remove many teachers out of the system, leaving schools with less teaching staff and eventually closing many public schools in the country. The privatization will take form of a fare education for some and not for all, and at the end, certain agenda of a corporate education will be the main course of the Mexican education.

It is important to mention that even though this study has a stand against the film “De Panzazo”, the conclusion does not attempts to create a “Romanization” in where teachers in Mexico are perfect professionals and personas, on the contrary this study provides a critical analysis also towards the teachers that are concentrating more in political acts rather than improving their pedagogical vocation. The study suggests that teachers that concentrate in both areas are needed in the country in order to recreate an education in where democracy is the main activity inside and outside the classroom. For this reason, “the film “Grain of Sand” was taken into consideration for the opposition of “De Panzazo” due that the first one does not only focus in the defense of the teachers in Mexico and worldwide, but because it presents logic reasons that are affecting the profession and the persona of the teachers. “Grain of Sand”, presents Mexican teachers, as teachers who do not only teach inside the classroom, but in the outside with their fights towards the rights of the students, towards the right of a public education and towards the right of their job in a profession that has a strong connection with failure. The film allows perceiving the teacher as fighters rather than as authoritarian, and as political and social leader rather than as an irresponsible teacher who does not attend class. On the other hand, the film proclaims the need of teachers to fight for their rights with different movements, movements that will not decrease the teachers’ image, movements that will not affects other citizens, and a movement that allows the teachers to be present first with their students and later in the fight for a good education in the country.
The discussion towards the teachers should take into consideration a new dialogue in where teachers can be at the same perceived in their political acts, because as seen in the history of the education in Mexico, Mexican teachers will always be political actors, it was because of some teachers in the country that Emiliano Zapata, a hero in the revolution of the country, did not stop his fight towards a democratic country, it was because of teachers that nowadays the country has a strong connection with the homeland, with the national anthem, with the critical conception of our history and our politics and a strong connection towards the fight of a better country, free of dictatorships whether these are presented in a person or in an organism. Teachers in Mexico should be represented in those characteristics; teachers in Mexico should have their own recognition, recognition of prestige in the society, not because they should, but because they are. At the same time, Mexican teachers should not be considered a synonymous of the profile of corrupted politicians in the teachers’ union that does not addressed their own needs but that are taking advantages of them using their money, their freedom and their rights to speak for themselves.

It is because of the latest that new research is needed in Mexico towards the analysis of the teachers, an analysis that contemplates the teachers in their diversity, that allows to reflect on the historical background of the Mexican teacher, in the social construction of their profession, in the political agenda of the teachers, the government and the international forces and in the possible future of the teacher in front of a globalized world that takes only a few in the higher positions of the scale.

In order to conclude this discussion, a recommendation for future studies about teachers worldwide is considered drastically important in order to defend the studies of teachers from the neglected area in where they are. Teachers are important contributors of the education in any country and are considered one of the most important agents (for not saying the most important) in the distribution of education, it is difficult to understand why at the same time the academia has not given teachers studies in relation with their self-image and their political perspectives and how political movements are dismantling the main purposes of public teachers.

At the same time, this study proclaims the need for more critical documentaries in Mexico first because of the poor amount of productions that are made in relation with documentaries specifically ones that have a critical perspective towards the information
presented. This study suggests that documentaries can be a fair tool to encourage criticism presented as an act of questioning the unquestioned, and to increase the social justice in different corners of our systems.
REFERENCES


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