English Language Teaching in South America

BILINGUAL EDUCATION & BILINGUALISM

***Series Editors*: Nancy H. Hornberger** *(University of Pennsylvania, USA)* and **Wayne E. Wright** *(Purdue University, USA)*

Bilingual Education and Bilingualism is an international, multidisciplinary series publishing research on the philosophy, politics, policy, provision and practice of language planning, Indigenous and minority language education, multilingualism, multiculturalism, biliteracy, bilingualism and bilingual education. The series aims to mirror current debates and discussions. New proposals for single-authored, multiple-authored, or edited books in the series are warmly welcomed, in any of the following categories or others authors may propose: overview or introductory texts; course readers or general reference texts; focus books on particular multilingual education program types; school-based case studies; national case studies; collected cases with a clear programmatic or conceptual theme; and professional education manuals.

Full details of all the books in this series and of all our other publications can be found on http://www.multilingual-matters.com, or by writing to Multilingual Matters, St Nicholas House, 31-34 High Street, Bristol BS1 2AW, UK.

BILINGUAL EDUCATION & BILINGUALISM: 109

English Language Teaching in South America

Policy, Preparation and Practices

Edited by
Lía D. Kamhi-Stein, Gabriel Díaz Maggioli and Luciana C. de Oliveira

MULTILINGUAL MATTERS
Bristol • Blue Ridge Summit

This book is dedicated to the memory of

Santiago Kamhi, Lía's father
Dr Hugo Walter Díaz Agrelo, Gabriel's father
Maria do Carmo de Souza Oliveira, Luciana's mother

DOI 10.21832/KAMHI7975
Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.
Names: Kamhi-Stein, Lía D., editor. | Díaz-Maggioli, Gabriel, 1963- editor. | De Oliveira, Luciana C., editor.
Title: English Language Teaching in South America: Policy, Preparation and Practices/ Edited by Lía D. Kamhi-Stein, Gabriel H. Díaz Maggioli and Luciana C. de Oliveira.
Description: Bristol; Blue Ridge Summit: Multilingual Matters, [2017] | Series: Bilingual Education & Bilingualism: 109 | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2016054517| ISBN 9781783097975 (hbk : alk. paper) | ISBN 9781783097968 (pbk : alk. paper) | ISBN 9781783097982 (Pdf) | ISBN 9781783097999 (Epub) | ISBN 9781783098002 (kindle)
Subjects: LCSH: Language policy–South America. | English language–Study and teaching–South America. | Education, Bilingual–South America. | South America–Languages–Political aspects. | South America–Languages.
Classification: LCC P119.32.S63 E64 2017 | DDC 428.0071/08–dc23 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2016054517

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue entry for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN-13: 978-1-78309-797-5 (hbk)
ISBN-13: 978-1-78309-796-8 (pbk)

Multilingual Matters
UK: St Nicholas House, 31-34 High Street, Bristol BS1 2AW, UK.
USA: NBN, Blue Ridge Summit, PA, USA.

Website: www.multilingual-matters.com
Twitter: Multi_Ling_Mat
Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/multilingualmatters
Blog: www.channelviewpublications.wordpress.com

Typeset by Deanta Global Publishing Services Limited.
Printed and bound in the UK by the CPI Books Group Ltd.
Printed and bound in the US by Edwards Brothers Malloy, Inc.

Contents

Acknowledgments

We owe thanks to all the people who helped make this book project possible. Special thanks go to Tommi Grover, of Multilingual Matters, who embraced the idea of publishing a book focusing on English language teaching initiatives in South America. Additionally, we would like to thank Florence McClelland and Sarah Williams, also of Multilingual Matters, who worked on various aspects of the book. We also wish to thank Sharin Jacob, Research Assistant for the California State University, Los Angeles' Charter College of Education's Grants Office, for her valuable editorial assistance on the early versions of the chapters, and Carolina Rossato de Almeida, from the University of Miami, for her work on the book index. Finally, a big thanks goes to our coauthors, whose contributions made this book a reality.

Lía D. Kamhi-Stein, Gabriel Díaz Maggioli and Luciana C. de Oliveira

Contributors

Editors

Lía D. Kamhi-Stein is a professor in the MA in TESOL program at California State University, Los Angeles. She is originally from Argentina, where she worked as a certified public translator, EFL teacher and EFL program administrator. She also taught translation courses at Universidad de Buenos Aires and English for Specific Purposes courses at Universidad del Salvador. She is editor (or co-editor) of several books, including her most recent one titled *Narrating Their Lives: Examining English Language Teachers' Professional Identities within the Classroom*. She has published extensively on issues of non-native English-speaking professionals and the integration of technology in teacher preparation courses. Dr Kamhi-Stein is the recipient of several teaching awards. She is a past-president of California TESOL and served as a director-at-large on the TESOL board of directors (2004–2007). Dr Kamhi-Stein has been in the TESOL field since 1975.

Gabriel Díaz Maggioli (EdD Candidate, University of Bath, UK) is tenured professor of TESOL at the National Teacher Education College in Uruguay. Prior to that he was national coordinator of the Linguistic Policy Strategic Line in the Department of Education in Uruguay. His most recent publications include *Teaching Language Teachers: Scaffolding Professional Learning* and *Lessons Learned: First Steps Towards Reflective Teaching.* Gabriel has also developed, coordinated or provided expert advice for educational projects sponsored by the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, the European Union, The British Council and the US Department of State in the Americas, Europe, the Middle East and Asia. Gabriel served on the TESOL board of directors (2006–2009) and has been in the TESOL field since 1983.

Luciana C. de Oliveira (PhD, Education with a specialization in second language acquisition, University of California, Davis) is an associate professor in the Department of Teaching and Learning in the School of Education and Human Development at the University of Miami, Florida.

Her research focuses on issues related to teaching English language learners (ELLs) at the K-12 level, including the role of language in learning the content areas; teacher education, advocacy and social justice; and non-native English-speaking teachers in TESOL. Currently, Dr de Oliveira's research examines the linguistic challenges of the Common Core State Standards for ELLs and their implications for teachers of ELLs. She is the series editor of five volumes focused on the Common Core and ELLs (2014–2016) with TESOL Press. Dr de Oliveira has over 20 years of teaching experience in the field of TESOL and served on the TESOL board of directors (2013–2016). She is President-Elect (2017–2018) of the TESOL International Association.

Authors

Mary Jane Abrahams, teacher of English, MA in education, has taught at the university level for over 30 years. Her main research interest is teacher education. She has been involved in training mentor trainers and mentors for schools in Chile, working with the Ministry of Education. She was a member of the team that wrote the Standards for Initial Teacher Education in English. She is head of the English Department at the School of Education in Universidad Alberto Hurtado, the Jesuit University in Chile where she was also involved in the design of a new teacher education curriculum.

Cristina Banfi holds a PhD in linguistics from University College London and is Director of Foreign Languages at the Ministry of Education of the City of Buenos Aires and teacher educator at various institutions. She teaches post-graduate courses at several universities (Universidad de Buenos Aires, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Universidad Nacional de Concordia). She has published papers in the *English Language Journal*, the *International Journal of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education* and in other refereed and non-refereed publications. She has published three books on language education and edited several conference proceedings. She has been a member of academic panels for conferences, teacher reviews and postgraduate dissertations. She is currently co-directing a research project at Instituto de Enseñanza Superior en Lenguas Vivas 'Juan Ramón Fernández'.

Maria Celina Barbeito holds an MA in TESL from the University of Arizona. Her research focuses on individual differences in second language learning. Her current research deals with the beliefs about learning and teaching EFL held by secondary school teachers and students. Celina has extensive experience in teacher education and teaches in both undergraduate and graduate programs in Argentina. She has been academic coordinator and is currently head of the Foreign Language Department at the Faculty of Humanities, National University of Río Cuarto, Argentina.

Claudia Brovetto holds a BA in linguistics from Universidad de la República (Montevideo, Uruguay). She obtained her doctoral degree in linguistics from Georgetown University (Washington, DC) in 2002. She has taught linguistics at several academic programs at the undergraduate and graduate levels and in teacher training programs. Dr Brovetto designed and conducted diverse programs for the teaching of foreign languages in the public education system and she was a member of the National Board for Language Policy and Planning in Uruguay. She currently conducts *Ceibal en Inglés*, a project within Plan Ceibal, for the teaching of English through videoconference for public primary and secondary schools in Uruguay.

Carmen T. Chacón holds a PhD in foreign/second language education from Ohio State University. Carmen taught English at secondary and university level for more than 30 years, in Venezuela. She is retired from the Modern Languages Department in the Faculty of Education at the University of Los Andes, Venezuela. Currently, she teaches doctorate courses as an invited professor. She has presented papers at TESOL international and other English teachers' conferences in Latin America. She has published ELT articles and book chapters in Venezuela and the USA. Her research interests include non-native English-speaking teachers' issues, TESOL pedagogy and teacher efficacy.

Veralúcia Guimarães de Souza is an associate professor at the Department of Teaching at the Federal Institute of Education, Science and Technology of Mato Grosso, Brazil. She obtained her doctoral degree from the University of Brasília. Her research interests include discourse analysis, multimodality, poverty in Latin America and systemic functional linguistics. She has extensive experience as a teacher and has taught in both graduate and undergraduate programs.

Míriam Jorge holds a PhD in applied linguistics. She is an associate professor at the School of Education and faculty in the Graduate Program in Applied Linguistics at the School of Letters at the Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais (UFMG). Her research interests are critical pedagogies in language and language teacher education; multicultural youth literature in EFL teaching; literacies, cultures and languages in the internationalization of Brazilian higher education; and race relations in Brazil. Dr Jorge has worked for the Brazilian Ministry of Education, where she was responsible for the definition of criteria and the coordination of a countrywide team of researchers and evaluators in the first edition of the Brazilian *National Program of School Textbooks*. In the USA, she has taught courses on race relations, racial identities and the African diaspora in Brazil. Currently, she is the Associate Dean of International Affairs at UFMG.

Natalie A. Kuhlman is professor Emeritus in the Dual Language Department, College of Education, San Diego State University. Among other publications, she is the co-author of several volumes focusing on professional standards and a volume on assessment in K-12 contexts. She is past president of CATESOL, was on the board of directors of both the National Council for the Accreditation of Teachers (2004–2010) and TESOL (1996–1999). She was an original member of the TESOL p-12 ESL Teacher Standards Team (1999–2012) and the Accreditation Standards Expert Group that created Short-Term Certificate Standards (TESOL, 2015). Dr Kuhlman has worked in Ecuador, Uruguay and Albania to apply the TESOL standards to English language teacher preparation.

Danielle Barbosa Lins de Almeida (PhD) is an associate professor at the Department of Modern Foreign Languages and the post-graduate course in linguistics at the Federal University of Paraíba, Brazil. She obtained her doctoral degree at the Federal University of Santa Catarina, with co-tutoring studies at the University of New South Wales in Sydney, Australia. She has recently concluded her post-doctoral research at the Universidad de Buenos Aires, where she has also worked as a visiting scholar. In 2015, Dr Almeida was awarded a Scholarship of Research Productivity by the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development in Brazil. Her research interests focus on discourse analysis, visual grammar, multimodality, systemic functional linguistics, cultural and media studies. She coordinates the Visual Semiotics and Multimodality Research Group at the Federal University of Paraíba.

María Matilde Olivero works in the field of second language teacher education as an instructor and a researcher at the National University of Río Cuarto, Argentina. Her main research interests include teacher development and individual differences in second language learning. Currently, her research explores students and pre-service teachers' beliefs about learning and teaching English as a foreign language. At present, she is a Fulbright scholar working on her doctoral studies in the Second Language Acquisition and Instructional Technology program of the University of South Florida.

Rebecca Pozzi is a PhD candidate in Hispanic linguistics with a designated emphasis on second language acquisition at the University of California, Davis. She has taught Spanish, English as a second language and/or graduate courses in foreign language education at the University of Nebraska at Kearney, UC Davis, Miami University and Purdue University. In addition, she has taught Spanish for a study abroad program at the National University of Cuyo in Mendoza, Argentina, as well as English as a foreign language for the teacher training school at the National University

of Mar del Plata, Argentina. Her research interests are second and heritage language acquisition, sociolinguistics, language pedagogy and language policy. She is also interested in the role of context of learning (especially study abroad) and technology in language learning.

Pablo Silva Ríos, teacher of English since 1993, holds an MA in applied linguistics from the University of Lancaster, UK. His professional career has developed in the classroom with adolescent and adult students, as well as pre-service EFL teacher trainees. He has also been involved in several curriculum development and assessment projects at the Ministerio de Educación, as well as educational holdings and international organizations such as the World Bank. Currently, he is the director of the English Pedagogy program at Universidad Alberto Hurtado. Pablo's areas of interest include teacher education and learning assessment.

Mónica Rodríguez-Bonces holds a PhD in regional and economic integration and development in the field of education and an MA in applied linguistics. Her research interests include curriculum design, bilingual education and professional development. Monica has extensive experience as a teacher, researcher and trainer in the USA and Colombia and has taught in both graduate and undergraduate programs. She has been a department chair, research coordinator, academic dean, professor and international consultant. Mónica is currently the Academic Coordinator for Pearson and Research Counselor at Sabana University.

Elisabeth Serrano holds a BA in education and was the cultural specialist at the US embassy in Quito between 2003 and 2015. While serving as specialist, part of her portfolio included the management of English language programs in Ecuador. In that role, she was the coordinator for the national curriculum project described in Chapter 5 in this volume, and acted as liaison between the US embassy, the universities and the government institutions that participated, acting in that capacity until the completion of the project in January 2015. Currently, Ms Serrano is exploring other areas of interest but remains an active member of the ELT community, including serving as a member of the board of directors of ECUATESOL, a new English teacher-oriented organization in Ecuador that is applying to become a TESOL affiliate. She is also doing consultancy work about the quality of education in Ecuador.

Ricardo Augusto de Souza holds a PhD in applied linguistics. He is currently associate professor of English in the School of Letters at the Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Brazil, where he is also faculty in the Graduate Program in Linguistics and Applied Linguistics. His current research interests are (1) the cognitive architecture of bilingual language

processing and the psycholinguistic mechanisms regulating interactions between L1 and L2; (2) behavioral, experiential and neurophysiological markers of L2 proficiency; and (3) experimental and quantitative methods for language studies. Dr de Souza also has extensive experience in language teacher education, and in 2010 he supervised a team of evaluators of English as an L2 textbook for the Brazilian National Program of School Textbooks.

Adriana Maria Tenuta holds a PhD in linguistics. She is an associate professor at the Federal University of Minas Gerais, Brazil, where she has taught in both graduate and undergraduate programs. Her research relates to the fields of theoretical and descriptive linguistics in the functional and/or cognitive perspectives. She has experience as a researcher in the area of English grammar teaching. Adriana was a coordinator of the Brazilian National Program of School Textbooks (2011) and the coordinator of CEI, a specialization course for English teachers, from 2010 to 2013. Currently, she is the coordinator of CENEX, an extension center that offers courses in modern and classical languages, at the School of Letters, the Federal University of Minas Gerais, Brazil.

María Inés Valsecchi holds an MA in teaching English as a foreign language from Georgia State University, GA. She is currently associate professor in the Foreign Languages Department of the School of Humanities at the National University of Rio Cuarto, Argentina. She teaches in the fields of language teacher education and English for specific purposes. She is Adjunct Coordinator and faculty in the Graduate Program in Applied Linguistics. Her research interests are related to affective factors in EFL teaching and learning: motivation, anxiety, language learning strategies and beliefs. She also participates in the Research Committee of the School of Humanities at the National University of Río Cuarto, Argentina.

Patricia Veciño is a teacher of English. She graduated from Instituto Joaquín V. Gonzalez in the City of Buenos Aires. She holds a degree in education from Quilmes National University and has specialized in educational technology. She is a lecturer in didactics and new technologies at Instituto de Enseñanza Superior en Lenguas Vivas 'Juan Ramón Fernández'. She is also a member of the Curriculum Design Committee for the Province of Buenos Aires. She has reviewed and published ELT materials and conducted ELT training courses throughout Argentina.

Introduction

Lía D. Kamhi-Stein, Gabriel Díaz Maggioli and Luciana C. de Oliveira

South American countries have a long tradition in the teaching of English as a foreign language (EFL). However, this does not mean that the relationship between the English language and South Americans is an unproblematic one. Some perceive the English language as a commodity since they believe it contributes to professional advancement. Others have negative attitudes toward the language since it is associated with powerful Inner Circle nations (e.g. the United Kingdom and the United States) with which various South American governments (e.g. the Argentine dictatorship of the 1970s and early 1980s and the socialist administration of Salvador Allende in Chile in the early 1970s) have had a variety of conflicts.

In the early 2000s, increased dissatisfaction with neoliberal administrations that had ruled the region during the 1990s brought to power progressive administrations that veered toward the left. This reconfiguration throughout South America was accompanied by a shift in emphasis in the role of the government and, at the same time, a shift in the rhetoric in the region. Specifically, as explained by Díaz Maggioli (this volume), the focus on individualism of the 1990s gave way to a focus on the notions of 'the public good' and 'access to opportunities'. In turn, in contrast to neoliberal views in the region, supporting the limited role of the government, the newly elected administrations of the 2000s saw themselves as playing a central role in creating access and opportunity for all.

It is within this political backdrop that the role of the English language changed in the region. While up until the end of the 1990s, English was perceived as the promoter of the globalizing phenomena and was used to replicate foreign models and frameworks of language teaching and learning, in the 2000s English began to be viewed as an instrument of empowerment and contestation of the current reality in the region and as a tool that contributed to the positioning of the different countries in the region vis-à-vis the rest of the world. In fact, as this volume will show, the oft-cited language–culture connection has been broken, and English is currently being used as a cognitive *and* social tool that grants access to the world.

In fact, the use of English in the region no longer requires adherence to an idealized mode of being and living associated exclusively with English-speaking countries. Instead, as many of the authors in this collection point out, English has become a key tool in the promotion of a more socially just approach to our understanding of the world.

Variation and creativity are two elements that characterize the programs and initiatives depicted in this volume. In terms of *policy*, the countries in the region have designed public policies that seek to depart from one-size-fits-all modes of policymaking in favor of more contextualized approaches to organizing and managing language education programs. For example, this is the case of countries like Uruguay, Ecuador, Chile, Argentina, Colombia and Brazil which, as the chapters in this book will show, have designed policies that, rather than replicating models and approaches popular in Inner Circle countries, are highly dependent on the realities of the countries in which they have been formulated.

Additionally, while the role of English as the language of economic progress cannot be denied, the new policies have had the unforeseen side effect of making the linguistic agenda overt to policymakers and citizens alike. Because of this, it can be claimed that the explicit reference being made to the English language in the education laws and initiatives in the various countries in South America has not only garnered more attention, but has also contributed to the English language gaining a place of legitimacy in discussions about the economy and the well-being of societies.

In relation to the notion of *preparation*, which we make reference to in the title of this volume, several of the countries in the region have become part of the standards movement. This is the case of Chile, Ecuador and Uruguay. Common threads among these countries, as well as among other countries in South America, are the quality of provisions for teachers and learners of English, ways to ascertain and measure that quality and the education of language teaching professionals. This is the case of countries like Uruguay with its *Professional Teacher Standards* (Díaz Maggioli & Kuhlman, 2010); Ecuador with its *In-Service-Teacher Standards* (Ministerio de Educación, Ecuador, 2012); Chile with its *Newly Qualified Teacher Standards* (Ministerio de Educación, Chile, 2014); and Brazil with its *National Program for School Textbooks* (Batista, 2003), designed to ensure that students in the public school system have access to quality materials. However, central to the standards movement in South America is the idea that, to a large extent, they are not being readily transplanted and adopted from other countries. Instead, what the region is witnessing is the development of models that are initiated in the countries, then brought out into the open and examined through practice and contested by confronting them with existing perspectives.

In relation to teacher preparation, we should note that the widespread regional mandate to begin English language instruction at an early age is

resulting in a shortage of EFL teachers in general, and teachers specialized in the teaching of young learners in particular. Countries like Colombia, Uruguay and Chile, to name a few, are experiencing this challenge. In order to address this problem, each country is implementing a variety of solutions that include, but are not limited to, co-teaching (as in Uruguay), integrating technology (also Uruguay) and inviting English-speaking volunteers from other countries to participate in school-based projects (Chile). While these are promising practices that can help, at least in the short term, it is clear that if more professionals are expected to enter the profession, the status of teachers, in general, and teachers of English, in particular, will need to be elevated in South America.

In terms of *innovative practices* in English language education, it is clear that the region is moving toward a more critical appraisal of the frameworks and methods for teaching and learning English generated by what in South America is known as *El Primer Mundo* [the First World], in favor of more contextualized practices that directly target the needs and motivations of local populations. While it is true that the Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) paradigm is still the 'norm' in South America, it is also true that there is an undercurrent of dissatisfaction with it. In this respect, whereas there is no overt disagreement with the tenets of CLT, its forms of implementation are being challenged because of its lack of contextualization vis-à-vis the realities of the continent. Hence, new ways of 'doing language teaching' are being explored which, although not departing from the mainstream understanding of CLT, seek to contextualize it into the local conditions afforded by a very diverse teacher and student population. For example, professionals like Chacón (this volume) in Venezuela, a country that, like the other South American countries, is multi-ethnic and diverse, promote instruction designed to help students (teachers-in-preparation in her case) develop an awareness about their own biases and assumptions related to issues of race, gender and stereotypes and, at the same time, develop communicative competence in English. Another communicative practice that draws on the local reality is also described in this volume. Specifically, in Brazil, a country that has the Amazon rainforest as part of its geographical landscape, public high school students take a class designed to focus on the environment. In this class, Almeida and Guimarães de Souza (this volume) implemented a multimodal framework as a means to improve their students' critical reading skills in English. In this way, students use English to talk about topics that are of direct relevance to their lives and, at the same time, enhance their ability to read the world, a notion advanced by the great Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (1987).

Innovative practices in the region are not limited to the contextualization of CLT. Instead, they also include a strong emphasis on technology. This is also the case of countries like Uruguay and Argentina, which have implemented countrywide policies designed to integrate technology into

the language classroom as a means not only to teach foreign languages (mainly English), but also to provide access to all.

The effectiveness of the innovative practices that are being implemented at the countrywide and personal levels is being investigated through research that integrates features of quantitative and qualitative research. In this volume, several school-based investigations provide valuable information that policymakers can use in order to continue enhancing countrywide policies and initiatives. At the same time, it is expected that the dissemination of this research will provide policymakers and teacher educators with valuable information that they can use to continue enhancing their programs.

Overview of the Book

This volume, *English Language Teaching in South America: Policy, Preparation and Practices*, is designed to take a close look at new English language policies and initiatives implemented in South America and explore the implementation of these policies and initiatives within and across countries like Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Uruguay and Venezuela. *English Language Teaching in South America: Policy, Preparation and Practices* is divided into three sections. The first section, titled 'English Language Policy', is designed to critically examine newly implemented English language policies and factors that contribute to and prevent the implementation of such policies within individual countries. Chapter 1: English Language Teaching Expansion in South America: Challenges and Opportunities, written by Banfi, presents an overview of the various initiatives that have been implemented in South America with regard to the teaching of English. In particular, she discusses exemplary programs in Chile, Colombia, Uruguay and the City of Buenos Aires in Argentina, and provides thorough information about how these programs were implemented in the public education system, what their scope has been so far, as well as how they have contributed to the betterment of the educational systems they were intended to enhance. The chapter also identifies the lessons learned from implementing the programs, as well as implementation challenges and future directions in English language teaching in the region. In Chapter 2: Ideologies and Discourses in the Standards for Language Teachers in South America: A Corpus-Based Analysis, Díaz Maggioli reports on a study designed to analyze the ideologies permeating the discourse used to develop the standards for initial teacher education in Uruguay, Ecuador and Chile. He also explains how the policy transfer process of the standards documents occurring among these three countries reflects a new era in educational policymaking in the region. However, he also warns about the potential threats that these policy transfer processes may face as a consequence of being heavily influenced by neoliberal views of education.

In Chapter 3: Language Policy and Language Practice in Uruguay: A Case of Innovation in English Language Teaching in Primary Schools, Brovetto provides an overview of the history of language planning and policy in Uruguay and describes the development and implementation of *Ceibal en Inglés* [Ceibal in English] (Plan Ceibal, 2014), an innovative and ambitious program designed to provide English language instruction to elementary school students via teleconference and team-taught instruction by having an onsite teacher who has limited English language proficiency and a remote teacher who is an expert in the language and its methodology. In her chapter, Brovetto presents initial data on the success of this program, which was born out of a need to fulfill national mandates with respect to the teaching and learning of languages in the public education sector. In Chapter 4: Language Teaching in the Brazilian Changing Scenario of Language Education Policies, by Tenuta, Jorge and Souza, the authors describe an innovative federal program known as the *National Program of School Textbooks* (Batista, 2003). This program is designed to evaluate textbooks in terms of quality standards and pedagogical guidelines in each school subject area that the program covers. As a result of this systematic evaluation, the textbook series selected are then listed in a catalogue distributed to all public schools in the country, so that teachers and administrators can choose titles that will be given for free to their students. While this countrywide program was in place prior to 2011, starting in that year, it has centered on textbooks for the teaching of Spanish and English. The focus of the chapter is on the process of selecting English textbooks.

The second section in the volume, titled 'English Language Teacher Preparation and Professional Development', is designed to describe and analyze current teacher preparation and teacher development initiatives, as well as challenges and opportunities associated with such initiatives. Chapter 5: Teacher Educational Reform: The Case in Ecuador, by Kuhlman and Serrano, describes the development of a joint venture project between the US embassy in Ecuador and the Ministry of Education of Ecuador designed to produce teacher education and teacher development standards for Ecuador. The chapter further discusses the various technical, theoretical, social and organizational hurdles that the actors involved in the process had to face as a consequence of an ever-changing political landscape in the country. Chapter 6: What Happens with English in Chile? Challenges in Teacher Preparation, by Abrahams and Silva Ríos, plots the history of English language teaching in Chilean public education and discusses a number of strategies and programs that were created over the years to support the teaching of English. The authors also present information about the pervasiveness of low results on standardized examinations and discuss potential reasons that may help explain those results. Abrahams and Silva Ríos particularly focus on the conditions for initial teacher education in the country and discuss a number of options for its improvement. The last

chapter in this section, Chapter 7: Integrating Technology in Argentine Classrooms: The Case of a Buenos Aires Teacher Education School, written by Veciño, provides a description of a national technology program for public schools (*Conectar Igualdad* [Connecting Equality], Administración Nacional de Seguridad Social, 2013), designed to provide netbooks and technology instruction to students and teachers in elementary and secondary schools as well as teacher preparation programs. This is done with the goal of providing access to information and reducing the digital divide in society. She then describes how, in the context of this program, she implemented a project designed to integrate technology into an English language teacher preparation program in Buenos Aires, Argentina. In contrast to Chapters 5 and 6, which deal with projects at the country level, Veciño's chapter describes the challenges faced by individual actors when they attempt to make institutional changes.

The last section in the volume is titled 'School-Based Research and Innovative Practices'. This section has five chapters that feature school- and classroom-based research designed to investigate the status of English language teaching and the implementation of innovative programs in four South American countries: Argentina, Brazil, Colombia and Venezuela. Common to all the chapters in this section is the idea that current initiatives in these countries demand that foreign language (FL) instruction (English for the most part) begins in elementary school and, at least on paper, the approach to instruction is CLT. In the first chapter in this section, Chapter 8: Examining Teacher Perspectives on Language Policy in the City of Buenos Aires, Argentina, Pozzi explains that language policies in Buenos Aires require that FL instruction (with English being the language selected by schools) starts in first grade as a means to equalize access to educational opportunities. The chapter then describes a qualitative study that investigated how EFL teachers working in three socioeconomically diverse public schools in the City of Buenos Aires perceive and implement these language policies. The results of the study show that access to English is not equal for the three schools and, instead, is dependent on the school's socioeconomic status. In Chapter 9: Film as a Consciousness-Raising Tool in ELT, Chacón explains that English is a required subject starting in elementary school in Venezuela. At the same time, national policy mandates the implementation of CLT in Venezuelan classrooms, which is problematic since it is not sensitive to the sociopolitical realities of Venezuelan language learners. Given these limitations, she calls for the implementation of a critical praxis that raises 'students' awareness about the intersection of language, race, and power' (Chacón, this volume). To this end, she describes how she uses Hollywood movies as a means to have her students in an English language teacher preparation program examine 'discriminatory practices related to gender, racial bias, and stereotypes of *the Other*' and 'confront their own biases and beliefs' (Chacón, this volume). At the same time, she expects her students

to improve their communicative competence in English. This chapter provides strong support for the notion that when CLT is contextualized, it can become a tool for language instruction *and* student empowerment. In Chapter 10: Students' Beliefs about Learning English as a Foreign Language at Secondary Schools in Argentina, Valsecchi, Barbeito and Olivero report on a large study that explored secondary school students' beliefs about EFL teaching and learning. In the chapter, the authors start by explaining how the term 'beliefs' has been defined by educational psychologists and second language researchers, and describe the context of secondary schools in Argentina, as well as the factors that affect EFL learning in these schools. The results of the study showed that the students believe that the English language has an important role to play in their education; at the same time, they favor content-based learning and deductive grammar instruction. On the other hand, students feel that it is not easy to motivate them to learn and they do not have a clear position on the role of technology in the EFL classroom; however, they have a strong opinion on the need for instruction to integrate learning strategies. This study has important implications for the instruction of EFL students not only in Argentina, but also in other South American countries. Chapter 11: Toward a Multimodal Critical Approach to the Teaching of EFL in Brazil, by Almeida and Souza, argues that images carry a far more important function than the traditional role they have been given in EFL classrooms, as they embody specific meanings in terms of ideologies, interpersonal relations and compositional aspects. In the chapter, Almeida and Souza describe a framework that promotes the in-depth analysis of images (Almeida, 2011). Drawing on the framework, they investigated the implementation of the framework with high school EFL students in Mato Grosso, western Brazil. The results of the study showed that the implementation of the multimodality framework resulted in learners' enhanced critical literacy skills and language proficiency. The last chapter in the book, Chapter 12: Seeking Information to Promote Effective Curriculum Renewal in a Colombian School, by Rodríguez-Bonces, describes the *Programa Nacional de Bilingüismo: Colombia 2004–2019* [National Program of Bilingualism: Colombia 2004–2019], whose goal is the acquisition of at least one FL – namely English – for the purpose of participating in a globalized world (Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de Colombia, 2005). With this goal in mind, Rodríguez-Bonces describes the steps taken by a large private school to meet the government mandate of providing English language instruction. She also presents the results of a study designed to evaluate the implementation of such instruction and identifies the factors that contribute to the success of such programs.

Finally, three points are in order in relation to this book. First, this volume is unique because the authors of the chapters are local experts who live and work in South America or are experts who have a firsthand understanding of the South American context. In fact, in identifying

contributors to the volume, our intention was to present the voices of locally recognized professionals who have an insider's perspective of the situation in their region, as well as of novice voices who will contribute to the understanding of the English landscape in South America. Second, readers will find that many of the references and resources cited in the chapters did not originate in Inner Circle countries. We believe that this is another contribution of this volume since many of the authors cited in the chapters are from South America and as such, have insiders' knowledge of the political, social and economic factors that impact current policies and practices in South America. The last point that we need to make in relation to the volume is that because of the differences in the English varieties used and taught within each individual South American country, city, school and oftentimes classroom, we decided that it would be inappropriate to ask the authors to conform to one particular variety of English. Therefore, the diversity in policies and practices throughout the region is reflected in the fact that the authors chose the variety of English that they would use in writing their chapters. This fact is not a minor one, as it aligns itself with the policies, practices and perspectives adopted by each of the countries represented in this volume.

Final Thoughts

While it is much more common for book introductions to focus on academic rather than personal perspectives on a topic, our knowledge of South America leads us to conclude this Introduction on a personal reflection. The three of us grew up in South American countries: Argentina (Lía), Uruguay (Gabriel) and Brazil (Luciana). We belong to generations of EFL learners and teachers who were expected to develop their own communicative competence in English *and* help our students develop communicative competence by relying on Inner Circle norms (British or North American, depending on the generation to which we belong and the always changing political landscape of our countries) and by focusing on topics that were irrelevant to our (and our students') lives and experiences. Books containing lessons on how to play baseball (in a region where Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina make up for most of the soccer World Cups in the world) were not unthought of in the past. On top of this disconnect, English language instruction was not a priority for local and national politicians. Fortunately, in spite of the fact that South America is a complex and multifaceted region that, historically, has oscillated between periods of deep social and economic turmoil and periods of great social and economic growth, the status of English has changed and has become part of the landscape of the region. This leads us to say that this is an exciting time for the English language teaching profession in South America. We hope that the chapters in this book depict this excitement.

References

Administración Nacional de Seguridad Social (2013) *Conectar Igualdad* [*Connecting Equality*]. See http://www.conectarigualdad.gob.ar/ (accessed October 7, 2014).

Almeida, D.B.L. (2011) Multimodalidade e ensino: Integrando o texto e o contexto em estruturas visuais [Multimodality and teaching: Integrating the text and content in visual structures]. In L. Barbara and E. Moyano (eds) *Textos e Linguagem Acadêmica: Explorações Sistêmica Funcionais em Espanhol e Português* [*Texts and Academic Language: Systemic Functional Explorations in Spanish and Portuguese*] (pp. 55–66). Campinas: Mercado das Letras.

Batista, A.A.G. (2003) A avaliação dos livros didáticos: Para entender o Programa Nacional do Livro Didático [Evaluation of textbooks: To understand the National Program of Textbooks]. In R. Rojo and A.A.G. Batista (eds) *Livro Didático de Língua Portuguesa, Letramento e Cultura Escrita* [*Portuguese Language Textbooks, Literacy, and Writing Culture*] (pp. 25–67). São Paulo: Mercado de Letras.

Díaz Maggioli, G. and Kuhlman, N. (eds) (2010) *Estándares para la Educación de Docentes de Lenguas Extranjeras* [*Standards for Foreign Language Teacher Education*]. Montevideo: Administración Nacional de Educación Pública.

Freire, P. (1987) *Pedagogia do Oprimido* [*Pedagogy of the Oppressed*] (9th edn). Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra.

Ministerio de Educación, Chile (2014) *Estándares Orientadores para Carreras de Pedagogía en Inglés* [*Standards for Initial Teacher Education in English as a Foreign Language*]. Santiago de Chile: Author. See http://chitita.uta.cl/JCA/documentos/adj-15501.pdf (accessed March 15, 2015).

Ministerio de Educación, Ecuador (2012) *Ecuadorian In-Service Teacher Standards*. See http://educacion.gob.ec/estandares-de-ingles/ (accessed October 7, 2014).

Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de Colombia (2005) Bases para una nación bilingüe y competitiva. *Altablero* 37. See http://www.mineducacion.gov.co/1621/article-97498.html (accessed February 7, 2017).

Plan Ceibal (2014) *Ceibal en Inglés: Presentación y Descripción del Programa* [*Ceibal in English: An Introduction and Description of the Program*]. See http://ingles.ceibal.edu.uy//wp-content/uploads/2015/08/Ceibal-en-Ingl--s-Presentacion-Metodologica-del-Proyecto_Marzo-20141.pdf (accessed February 18, 2017).

Part 1

English Language Policy

Overview

Chapter 1, by Banfi, frames the remaining chapters in the volume in that it presents a critical review of innovative English language policies in four South American countries: Chile, Colombia, Uruguay and Argentina. The chapter also describes the changing social, economic and political landscape in South America that gave rise to such policies. Chapter 2, by Díaz Maggioli, further describes the political changes in South America that resulted in the election of progressive governments in the early 2000s over neoliberal administrations, typical of the late 1990s in the region. As explained by Díaz Maggioli, progressive administrations implemented state-sponsored policies designed to promote the public good, particularly in the area of education, which was now perceived as a tool for promoting equality and reducing the social divide. Díaz Maggioli's chapter also presents a corpus analysis of the Standards for Initial Teacher Education produced in Uruguay, Ecuador and Chile and describes the policy transfer process of the standards documents occurring in the three countries. Chapter 3, by Brovetto, provides an overview of the history of language planning and policy in Uruguay and describes the development and implementation of *Ceibal en Inglés* [Ceibal in English], an exemplary program designed to respond to a national mandate to provide English language instruction to elementary school students via teleconference and team-taught instruction. Chapter 4, by Tenuta, Jorge and Souza, describes a Brazilian policy, known as the *National Program of School Textbooks*. This policy provides guidelines on how to evaluate school textbooks in general, and in the case of the chapter, English language textbooks, that once evaluated and approved through a vetting process, teachers can choose from to teach in their classes.

1 English Language Teaching Expansion in South America: Challenges and Opportunities

Cristina Banfi

Introduction

In recent years many governments, particularly in developing countries, and specifically in South America, have become increasingly involved in the provision of foreign language teaching, especially English, incorporating or expanding this area of the school curriculum and leading many private sector language teaching providers to move away from offering courses for children and toward the adult market. Various programmes of intensification or teaching using technological innovations have made it possible for student populations who had very limited access to language learning in the past to have this opportunity in the school context. This access is perceived as crucial by many stakeholders, particularly families, but also by teachers and future employers. This reality poses many questions for decision makers as regards the types of programmes to implement and concerning issues such as teaching methodologies to be used, resources required, training of teachers, etc. Financing of these programmes is by no means a minor issue and long-term support of initiatives is not always easy to come by. However, even when sufficient financial resources are made available, the results can be mixed.

Whatever the case, systematic reflection on these issues often lags behind the implementation of policies that are driven by political imperatives. Traditional training bodies (colleges and universities) are often caught up in their own reforms and in bureaucratic structures that make it very difficult for them to adapt to an increasingly diverse and demanding environment. This is, of course, not exclusive to the education of English language teachers, but the pressure is exacerbated in this context given the rapid increase in demand for teachers and the multiplicity of skills that are required of these teachers. Models that were traditionally focused on developing a high level of language proficiency are increasingly becoming insufficient and leading the way for more skills-based programmes.

Another factor that requires attention is how these innovations impact the experience of learners, particularly in relation to other languages that may be used by the local community or individual child. Increasing awareness is developing of the far from homogeneous nature of the student population. However, this awareness has not yet seen significant strides on the road to action that may encompass all the student population, particularly as it refers to multilingualism and language tuition in schools.

A diverse network of actors, often interrelated, have considerable impact on these processes, though their participation is not always self-evident. Among these, there are publishers, examination boards, cultural agencies, universities, etc., many of which have expanded their areas of interest often overlapping with each other. These organisations provide everything, from material resources to trainers and teachers and technical support in developing curricular and assessment tools. In many countries, this is a quick fix to make a leap from a situation with little or no expertise to one of wide coverage of provision. A question that should be asked is at what price this is done. This chapter presents a review of a number of initiatives that have been implemented in the last decade in different countries in South America which illustrate how the different stakeholders interact.

Context, Background and the Need for Innovation

Recent years have seen significant changes in South America as regards the place of language teaching in educational policy. Governments throughout the region have taken on board the view often expressed by international bodies concerning the importance of developing language skills – particularly English language skills – in the population. These policies aim to allow citizens to fully participate in the economic benefits derived from the more fluid exchanges made possible by the process of globalisation of the economy and wider access to information technologies.

Whereas in the past, foreign language skills were, in general, perceived as the realm of the elite and thus associated with secondary or higher education and with private schools, recent years have seen the greatest expansion in coverage in the early years of primary school and even preschool. This matches a widespread perception among the general public that if foreign languages are not learned in the early years of schooling, the opportunities for mastery later on are dramatically and negatively affected. In the rhetoric that accompanies such innovations, reference is made, somewhat secondarily and perhaps rather superficially, to the positive cognitive effects of bilingualism and early second language acquisition. The elements that are often missing from the presentation of such innovations are the conditions required for such ends to be realistic (Banfi, 2010; Curtain, 1990).

During the 20th century, a stratification of the education system and differentiation of access in relation to income bracket was in place or became the norm in South American countries, depending on the varying starting points of different education systems, and a number of educational institutions within each country could be identified as providing an education to the socio-economic elite. These were labeled bilingual or international schools and invariably comprised an important language tuition component (Banfi & Day, 2005; Mejía, 2002). Another sector that experienced considerable growth during the 20th century was the provision of language tuition in extracurricular private language classes in the context of private language institutes. Because of the aforementioned stratification, little or no contact existed (or exists) between these institutions and others engaged in programmes that could be viewed as having much in common with them (Banfi & Rettaroli, 2008; Banfi *et al*., 2016).

Whereas, on the whole, in the years that preceded the 1990s it was those who could afford it who had access to foreign language tuition in the early years (be it via private schools, extracurricular classes or private tuition). Languages entered the educational agenda fully toward the end of the 20th century, although there were some pioneering exceptions. Even if the educational establishment still does not consider foreign languages on a par with mathematics, first language (Spanish or Portuguese), social sciences and natural sciences, it is clear that parents and politicians think otherwise. Often linked or presented in connection with the development of technological skills, foreign languages, usually equated with English, are often discussed as the most important and tangible innovations introduced by a particular government, and they are generally well received by parents.

Theoretical foundations and political background

At the international level, the drive for a multilingual education can be traced to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) 1999 conference, where this notion was defined as the use of at least three languages: one, the mother tongue; another, the regional or national language; and the third, an international language. This concept was based on the levels at which an individual may interact with other people in relation to historical, geographical and sociopolitical parameters. However, language and communication was only part of the picture, and in the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO, 2003), an explicit link was made to the intrinsic relation between languages and the cultural fabric of the communities they belong to, and, thus, its central role in the maintenance of cultural diversity. This view underlies the recommendations made to the member states to guarantee the conditions required to foster linguistic pluralism.

The Council of Europe, and therefore, the European Union, have a decidedly plurilingual outlook that reflects the linguistic diversity of its territory. The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEFR; Council of Europe, 2001) has been incorporated in many contexts beyond the European Union to describe expected language levels for students and, in some cases, teachers. In Europe, languages are viewed as central to the cultural patrimony of the region and many resources are invested in their promotion, both within and beyond the European Union, which may, in turn, pose a potential threat to minority languages elsewhere.

Even though there are no specific language policy documents from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, the thrust of its recommendations and practices places English at the center of international economic transactions and, therefore, as a requirement for those wishing to partake in them.

The involvement of organisations such as the British Council or the US Department of State in English teaching innovation projects is by no means a new development or one that is exclusive to Latin America (for example, on the link between English language and development, see Coleman [2011]; for programmes in contexts as diverse as Poland, Rwanda, India and Spain, see Tribble [2012]). The experiences reported in these sources clearly exemplify the diverse and complex nature of the English language involvement of these agencies in different contexts around the world. They also illustrate the far-reaching influence of these organisations (see also Graddol [1997, 2006]; for an alternative view of the nature of the involvement, see Phillipson [1992]).

Clearly, even though one can learn from the experiences elsewhere, much of the literature concerning the teaching of English deals with programmes that are often quite distant and refer to issues that are often not relevant to a particular reality. As I will show in the description of the programmes, the innovations implemented throughout Latin America in the state primary sector in recent years have little connection with initiatives such as peacekeeping projects (e.g. Crossey, 2012) or small-scale intensive language or bilingual instruction (e.g. Reilly, 2012). Although I would not want to deny that it is possible to learn from experiences elsewhere, the fact remains that home-grown reflection on local programmes is scarce. The important lesson to be drawn here is that one size does not fit all or, as was succinctly put in the title of Simon Gill's (1997) chapter: 'Local Problems, Local Solutions'.

English Language Innovation: Description of the Programmes

Rather than explore one particular project, this chapter sets out to delve into how different initiatives have been implemented throughout South America in the last two decades. The programmes have aimed to

expand the provision of English language tuition while contemplating the peculiarities of each context from the educational and sociocultural points of view. Here, I provide a brief description of each example and then draw on the shared traits to attempt a comprehensive picture of challenges and possibilities. Similar trends can be observed in other countries in the region even if their programmes have not yet developed as fully as those described here.

The case of Chile: *Programa 'Inglés Abre Puertas'* (PIAP) [English Opens Doors]

This programme was initiated in 2003 with the aim of improving the English language level of students from their fifth year of general basic education, i.e. primary school to fourth year of secondary school. To accomplish this goal, the steps followed involved the definition of national standards for English language learning, teacher professional development and the provision of support for English language teachers (Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de Chile, n.d.).

As explained by the Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de Chile (n.d.), the programme offers a system of incentives for teachers to engage in professional development activities leading to the improvement of their language and teaching methodology skills. This was implemented in stages with an initial English language test administered to 4575 teachers all over Chile and the possibility of accessing an international qualification for those who obtained a B2 level on the CEFR and linking them to scholarships aimed particularly at those teachers below the expected levels. In 2013 and 2014, this was supplemented with online courses and distance learning professional development programmes provided by an external body (i.e. the British Council) with a combination of local and foreign trainers.

As regards methodological updating, by the beginning of 2014 almost 1000 teachers had participated in 'English Summer Town' workshops and 'English Winter Retreats' organised jointly by the British Council, the Department of State and English Opens Doors in 12 different venues throughout the country (for a critical view of the programme, see Matear [2008]).

Some of the professional development activities that are a central part of this programme involve the use of online platforms, an environment both demanding and challenging. Maintaining teacher participation in these contexts can be difficult and this may threaten the continuity of teacher involvement. The tutors on these programmes are a combination of local experienced teachers and foreign trainers, adding further complexity to the context (for a critical review of the English Opens Doors programme, see Abrahams & Silva Ríos, this volume).

The case of Colombia: *Colombia Bilingüe* [Bilingual Colombia]

The *Programa Nacional de Bilingüismo* 2004–2019 [National Programme of Bilingualism 2004–2019] sets standards of expected communicative competence to be achieved in English throughout the education system (from preschool to higher education) following the CEFR levels (Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de Colombia, 2005a). The programme started with a diagnostic test conducted in 2009 to assess the language level of English language teachers, which yielded results that required attention as only 10% of those teachers assessed reached a B2 level or higher (the expected levels had been published as from 2006). This in turn led to the definition of a timeline of target levels expected to be achieved by teachers as regards their language proficiency which is measured by means of international evaluations and certification together with a professional development programme. The programme is viewed as an important component in fostering national competitiveness, an aim to which considerable attention is paid in the planning of actions. This programme also relies on international cooperation from organisations such as the British Council–Colombia and the US government, in the form of advice and workshops for teachers (Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de Colombia, 2005a).

For higher education, a system of evaluations through obligatory official state exams called Estado de Calidad de la Educación Superior [State of Quality in Higher Education] has been implemented since 2009 with the aim of assessing levels achieved by students in their final year of higher education while also obtaining information about the state of the higher education system itself. The English language component of these tests focuses on reading comprehension skills (Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de Colombia, 2005b). Also, within this component of the programme, the government sets out to improve the standards of English language degree courses.

Some (e.g. Fandiño-Parra *et al*., 2012) have questioned the apparently ideological nature of this programme as well as the focus on the instrumental aspects of language teaching. These criticisms also refer to the uncritical adoption of international standards without public debate of the implications and pertinence of such a decision. Another line of criticism concerns the restrictive view of bilingualism as pertaining exclusively to the Spanish–English dyad (Mejía, 2006).

The case of Uruguay: *Ceibal en Inglés* [Ceibal in English]

This is probably the most audacious of all the programmes described here both in terms of its scale and its use of technology not as a supporting feature but as central to the English language teaching process. The programme started in mid-2011 with a pilot experience in 20 classrooms and by the end of 2014 it had reached 50,000 children in 400 schools (Plan Ceibal, 2014a). It is jointly administered by the Conectividad Educativa de Informática Básica para el Aprendizaje en Línea (Ceibal, by its acronym in

Spanish, which stands for Basic Information Technology Connectivity for Online Learning) and the British Council (Banegas, 2013). The programme targets the primary school population of children between the ages of 9 and 11 years and provides three 40-minute weekly English language lessons taught jointly by a remote teacher through videoconferencing (one lesson) and a classroom teacher (two lessons). The remote teacher is an English language teacher who may be in another physical site within Uruguay or as far away as the Philippines. The classroom teacher does not necessarily speak English at the onset of the programme (most do not), but starts learning by means of *Learn English Pathways* (British Council, n.d.), a series of online self-study courses for adult English language learners. Both teachers follow detailed lesson plans and use a handbook designed for them (i.e. Banfi & Rettaroli, 2012). As part of the programme, students take part in large-scale summative tests of the kind implemented for other content areas (Plan Ceibal, 2014b) as well as international certification, i.e. Cambridge English: Young Learners, Key and Preliminary English Tests (Cambridge English, 2014).

This programme is intrinsically intertwined with the One-Laptop-Per-Child programme already in place (Psetizki, 2009; Rivoir & Lamschtein, 2012) and with political backing to implement a creative way to quickly provide a solution to a perennial problem, i.e. the dearth of teachers to teach English at the primary school level.

One of the questions looming over this kind of heavily technological innovation is the uncertainty over the results they yield. Some preliminary evaluations point to the limited attestable results that the Ceibal programme has been observed to achieve (see de Melo *et al*., 2013). Even though the English component of the programme was not evaluated as part of this report, its general conclusions could well be applied to it. However, certain specific aims such as the accessibility to a new content area for a population that would otherwise have been excluded is not as easily assessed (for a complete description of the Ceibal programme and its evaluation results, see Brovetto, this volume).

The case of the City of Buenos Aires, Argentina: *Idiomas desde Primer Grado* [Languages from First Grade]

In this case, reform and expansion can be found within an already strong system. For various historical and socio-economic reasons, the City of Buenos Aires has a long-standing tradition of foreign language teaching (see Banfi, 2013a) which is well beyond nationally defined requirements (compare, for example, the nationally approved Núcleos de Aprendizaje Prioritarios para el Nivel Primiario: Lenguas Extranjeras [Core Learning Areas in Foreign Languages for Elementary Schools] [Consejo Federal de Educación, 2012] with the Diseño Curricular de Lenguas Extranjeras [Curricular Design for Foreign Languages] approved in 2001 [Ministerio de

Educación, Gobierno de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, 2001]). This contrast is also reflected in a more general social demand concerning the teaching of languages, in particular English (see Tocalli-Beller, 2007).

The teaching of foreign languages was gradually introduced in primary schools in the late 1960s and subsequently expanded to achieve, by 1996, full coverage for all children from the age of 9 in all state schools. In most cases, the language adopted was English, but some schools also incorporated French or Italian. This development was accompanied by the creation of a network of state-run language schools known as Centros Educativos Complementarios de Idiomas Extranjeros [Foreign Language Complementary Educational Centres] where children and teenagers can further their language skills as an extracurricular activity. A small but significant cluster of state sector schools which taught languages from first grade already existed prior to this date. These are the 14 Escuelas Normales [Normal Schools]. In 1999, the programme of Escuelas Plurilingües [Plurilingual Schools] was introduced, ultimately reaching 26 schools where languages are taught intensively (increased number of hours and two languages per child; the languages taught are French, English, Italian and Portuguese; German is also taught, for the most part in secondary school). With this backdrop, in 2009 the government of the city started a process that would, in the course of three years, provide full coverage of foreign language from first grade in all state-run primary schools, some 440 institutions. This involved significant administrative and organisational reforms, especially in the context of a highly unionised teaching body. Of necessity, this new programme required the incorporation of teachers who were not teaching in the state sector at that time, and a big question mark was whether this employment option would prove attractive enough to them. As it turned out, it did and, to date, the shortfall of teachers is minimal particularly if contrasted with other educational levels. This was possible, to a great extent, thanks to the availability of sufficient teachers, a direct consequence of a long tradition in teacher training in the different languages (for a review, see Banfi, 2013b). The programme was also accompanied by the unprecedented provision of bibliographical material (including textbooks), which had a particularly significant impact in the schools that serve populations from the lower socio-economic brackets. A number of other factors have interacted with this innovation to facilitate and enhance the teaching of languages. These include:

(1) The concomitant implementation of Plan Sarmiento Buenos Aires (http://www.buenosaires.gob.ar/sarmientoba), the City of Buenos Aires' One-Laptop-Per-Child programme which reached all primary schools as from 2010 (see Ripani, 2014) and involves the provision of a laptop to every child and teacher in every primary state-run school in the City of Buenos Aires.

(2) A language certification programme, certificados en lenguas extranjeras [foreign language certificates] (Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, n.d.) in place since 1999.
(3) Professional development for teachers provided by supervisors and trainers from Escuela de Maestros, the teacher professional development school. Some of these professional development activities are in-service but, for the most part, they are voluntary and interest driven.
(4) Heightened attention paid to the teaching of languages (bilateral agreements to promote the teaching of languages; the Buenos Aires y sus Idiomas [Buenos Aires and Its Languages] yearly meeting; a programme for teaching languages to adults). A recent innovation, and in several senses a departure from previous programmes, introduced to the system in 2014 was the creation of a two-way dual immersion programme in Spanish and Chinese, although it is still early days to report on this programme. For further information, see www.buenosaires.gob.ar/areas/educacion/niveles/idiomas/index.php.

Although in this case some of the initiatives have several decades of application and the new initiatives have built on what already existed, one of the most significant challenges is how to articulate the different programmes and components to ensure the best possible results. The balance between continuity over time, programme evaluation that feeds into the system toward improvement and the introduction of changes that optimise actions is an essential mandate (for a description of a project designed to prepare future language teachers in the integration of technology, see the chapter by Veciño, this volume).

Lessons to Learn: Implications and Future Directions

The particular cases of policies implemented throughout the region and outlined in this chapter should allow us to draw some general observations concerning certain emerging patterns. This section will be concerned with these general traits. In some cases, where a trait is not shared, an attempt has been made to identify a spectrum along which the various programmes may vary with respect to a particular variable.

A defining shared trait of these initiatives is that they are government led. In this sense, it can be argued that the teaching of foreign languages has gained status and found a place within education policy. Also, after decades of laissez-faire policies, the state is regaining control as regards what, when and how languages are to be taught. The topic has gained social and political visibility and is present in the agendas of many politicians. This involvement has been translated into a concrete expansion of coverage with more years and more hours, from earlier in the school trajectory. However, even though the programmes may be promoted by the state, at the local or

national level, in some cases the brunt of its financing still remains with the families of the students (see Ramírez Romero *et al*., 2012).

As regards language diversity, English has an overwhelming presence in these programmes. Whether it is the only or the majority language adopted, it is clear that the thrust of these policies is to promote what is perceived as a language of international communication that will open up opportunities in the future, both for the learners and the country. In those cases where there are exceptions to the English-only rule, the languages taught within the school context are global languages as well, i.e. French, Italian or Portuguese. The latter, of course, is a prominent regional language but, although efforts have been made to promote its teaching (e.g. in Argentina, National Law 26.468/2009, National Congress of Argentina, 2009), widespread uptake is still to be instantiated.

Almost without exception, the implementation of new language teaching programmes (or their expansion) now requires the definition of standards of some kind. These standards may serve as a set of core contents set at national levels that all jurisdictions need to comply with or may be standards that pertain to a particular jurisdiction, and go over and above the minimum requirements. In some cases, the curricular developments are home grown, in others, they are adopted from some external body.

There is also concern with the evaluation of results, and here again, the parameters may be developed by the country in question or obtained elsewhere. There is widespread use of certification (of different kinds and for different purposes) and reliance on external certification of teachers by means of qualifications designed to account for general English. For example, in certain cases, external certifications are used to measure the levels of English language of teachers. The instruments used are not designed with teachers or the particular context in mind. Nor do they contemplate teaching abilities that teachers will require.

To a greater or lesser extent, there is a direct or indirect presence of forces external to the education system (e.g. publishers, examination groups, the British Council, US embassy). These organisations often have a regional outlook, drawing few distinctions across countries and favoring projects that have general application and replication rather than those that are customised to particular needs. When this participation involves the design of programmes or teaching materials, the involvement is explicit, often by means of open bids (e.g. in the case of Chile, Colombia and Uruguay). However, even in those programmes where this is not the case (e.g. in the City of Buenos Aires), the presence is nevertheless felt, e.g. through teaching materials acquired for the programme.

Even though there is a drive to evaluate these programmes and comply with the requirements of accountability, the reports, when produced are limited, partial or simply not disclosed to the public. This is partly linked to the lack of involvement of academic institutions that could provide

important objective data for improvement as is the case in many other traditions such as the Canadian or European contexts (e.g. Blondin *et al*., 1999; Burnaby, 2008; Enever, 2011; Nikolov & Curtain, 2000).

The lack of sufficient reporting is surprising considering the widespread interest from the general public with growing and (perhaps) somewhat unrealistic expectations in terms of levels of attainment of students. This interest is also reflected in fairly regular media reporting, although often, and partly owing to the limited systematic build-up of academic knowledge, this sort of reporting can be biased in one way or another. Serious and clear reporting would probably contribute to generating more realistic and balanced views.

As regards programme implementation, one of the options faced by reformers is the rate of expansion and the expectations in terms of ultimate coverage of a given initiative. This is intrinsically linked with the practical possibilities of a given context on the one hand, and the philosophical underpinning of the initiative on the other. So, even though almost all the programmes described involve some kind of gradual implementation (by year, by state, by institution), a crucial distinction is to be found in those that aim to ultimately provide universal coverage, and thus have an inclusion mindset, and those that aspire to incorporate (English) language tuition in some schools, states, etc. Inclusion on a large scale in this context involves not only the social inclusion of economically disadvantaged students (see Pozzi, this volume, for a description of how the English language is used to promote inclusion policies in the City of Buenos Aires), but also the inclusion of a more diverse spectrum of needs, particularly special needs (see Vilar Beltrán *et al*., 2013). Another parameter to consider when analyzing coverage of an initiative is the obligatory vs optional nature of the courses. When the courses are included in the school curriculum and timetable, coverage can be assured, even if issues of relative quality still remain an open question. However, when the courses are not obligatory and classes are not integrated in the school curriculum, the chances of reaching the whole population are limited.

Most of the innovations reported here have focused on the teaching of the English language (or expansion thereof) at primary school (or even earlier). This choice can be ascribed to a number of factors. Clearly, the generalized perception that 'the earlier, the better' has much to account for. However, the (probably well-founded) view that this educational level is more amenable to such initiatives and that the results are more clearly and directly perceived, make it an attractive proposition for those searching a quick return on their educational or political investment. This often leaves untouched the higher levels of the education system and the (desirable) articulation of the primary school innovations with the teaching of languages that already exists in secondary schools. There seems to be general consensus that the teaching of languages, which also generally

means English, in secondary schools, is of poor quality and achieves limited results. It would seem that, bewildered or frustrated by the complexities and resistance to change of the upper levels, this sector has been abandoned to its own devices in the hope that the changes will filter up as students reach secondary school.

Many of the programmes described involve the use of technology which may range from videoconferencing (Ceibal in English) and One-Laptop-Per-Child (Ceibal in English and Plan Sarmiento Buenos Aires) (see Brovetto; Veciño, this volume, for further descriptions of these projects in Uruguay and Buenos Aires) or technology-mediated teacher development (English Opens Doors) (see Abrahams & Silva Ríos for a critical review of the English Opens Doors programme in Chile). Technology is not news to teachers of English who were probably the first to resort to early technology such as video and audio cassettes in the classroom. In those countries with a long language teaching tradition, this has simply been a natural bridge to the use of more sophisticated technologies such as interactive whiteboards. The role of publishers and technology development companies cannot be overlooked here (Sharma & Barrett, 2007; Walker & White, 2013).

Teachers are central to the teaching process and their representative bodies, i.e. unions, play an important role in the implementation of policy. However, this role may be somewhat reduced or constrained. Certain programmes deal with the limited qualifications or reduced knowledge of the teaching context by providing preplanned lessons or teaching and other materials that drastically limit the margins of professional decision-making by teachers. In general terms, teachers have little say in shaping their own professional development.

What the ideal educational background of the teachers in these programmes should be is by no means a settled question. In some cases it is a teacher with generalist training in primary education and some knowledge of English who teaches the language. In others, the aspiration is that teachers should have specialist education in the teaching of the language with linguistic and pedagogical components. In some countries, such as Argentina, this training has gone from a two and a half year higher education programme to four years but, contradictorily, it has lost its level specificity so that now a qualified teacher has to have undertaken a four-year programme but is certified to teach a given foreign language at all levels of the education system. In other national contexts, the qualification requirements are far more contingent on the specifications of a particular language teaching initiative. The level of institutionalisation of a given programme has a considerable impact on the profile of teachers present and future. If the programme is perceived as unstable, temporary or offering poor working conditions, it is unlikely to attract sufficiently qualified teachers to it or students to teacher education programmes. Those programmes that

can guarantee a measure of stability are far more likely to attract a steady stream of well-qualified teachers.

Teacher education institutions are not central, or even have marginal participation, to the innovations: they are not consulted as part of the decision-making process, partly because they are often embroiled in their own reform processes or, in some cases, because they are not viewed as possessing the collective expertise to advice on policymaking processes. As Coleman (2011: 30) indicates, this is not an uncommon pattern as 'politicians and planners do not pay much attention to applied linguists working on the L[anguage]P[lanning] field'. Although often coinciding in time, the reforms of the teaching education curricula are, paradoxically, disconnected from changes in the rest of the system.

The spectrum of institutions that educate teachers is very wide, and this is a complicating factor in itself, which means they represent diverse teacher education traditions, some with serious shortcomings in terms of their content (Vera, 2008), others that struggle to produce the number of graduates that the system would need (for a proposal on contemporary views on how to educate language teachers, see Díaz Maggioli [2012]). In this context, some of the short-term programs offered through British universities (e.g. Case 1 described in Wedell [2012]) or examination bodies (e.g. Cambridge English's In-service Certificate in English Language Teaching) appear attractive as a quick fix, especially in the light of the pressures of political timing. However, these programmes do not provide long-term solutions as they do not constitute capacity building at the higher levels of the education system.

One would hope that the field of English language teaching has come a long way from the days when Peter Medgyés's (1994) eye-opening work was much needed to clarify the false dichotomy or hierarchy between native and non-native English-speaking teachers but this debate has really bypassed the region for the most part.

The processes of expansion seem to go ahead in spite of the generally acknowledged insufficient number of teachers (both within and beyond the region as discussed by Cameron, 2003; Hoa & Tuan, 2002; Matear, 2008). This may be feasible in the short-run by relying on itinerant native English-speaker teachers, teachers trained in other education systems, the use of technology to bring teachers and students in distant geographical locations together, but it is a strategy that would appear to have a limited lifespan. The strategy also has significant blind spots in that, in many cases the rapid expansion leads to the inclusion of teachers with limited or significantly diverse backgrounds, which could be an enriching factor if capitalised upon, but is generally lost in the push for ever-more rapid expansion. What the breaking point will be is unclear, but the education of sufficient teachers to cope with the increasing needs will certainly have to appear in the agenda at some point. There is no simple solution to this

conundrum, particularly considering that, compared to the expansion in primary school teaching provision, higher education is a much more costly endeavor.

Progress in terms of contact between and across programmes in the region has been made in the last two decades. Whereas before there was virtually no knowledge of what was going on in terms of English language teaching in other countries in the region, now we are aware of the programmes that exist and have (some) access to the relevant information. This contact often comes in the form of teachers, trainers or other specialists participating in the programmes of another country. Resorting to individuals in the region for these roles presents the advantages generated by proximity (geographical, cultural, etc.) rather than being concerned with the spirit of programme contact or exchange. Exchanges sometimes occur at conferences or other events organised at the regional level by universities or other organisations, e.g. Policy Dialogues organised by the British Council (2012) or the Bilinglatam (International Symposium on Bilingualism and Bilingual Education in Latin America) conference series organised biannually in different Latin American cities – Buenos Aires, Argentina 2004; Bogotá, Colombia 2006; São Paulo, Brazil 2009; Oaxaca, Mexico, 2011; Valparaíso, Chile 2013, Lima, Peru 2015. Systematic contact at the level of programme design and/or administration is, however, practically non-existent.

Other types of organisations such as teacher professional associations, both at the national and regional levels, could function as strong stakeholders in these initiatives but, in practice, where they exist they have limited influence both at the level of decision-making and within the teaching collective itself. This is partly owing not only to the diverse profiles of the teachers in question but also to the strong unionisation of teachers to the detriment of the view of teachers as professionals.

On the whole, it can be stated that these innovative initiatives in South America can be analysed as a positive development but they also pose a number of challenges for the future that need to be addressed if the programmes are to truly yield the expected results. To more fully understand the implications and ramifications of these innovations, more attention needs to be devoted to research and analysis which will, in turn, no doubt, benefit teacher education and other capacity-building programmes.

Questions for Reflection

(1) Given the increasing and welcome involvement of governments in the decisions concerning English language teaching, what steps could be taken to ensure that the assessment and reporting of the results of the programmes in question reflect reality as faithfully as possible?

(2) What should the connection between English language programmes, the governmental bodies that implement them and higher education institutions be, particularly with respect to design, monitoring and improvement initiatives?
(3) In an ideal world, which should be the stakeholders involved in the design and implementation of an English language teaching programme and how should their interactions be conducted?

Acknowledgement

The author would like to thank Silvia Rettaroli and Sandra Revale for their helpful comments on this chapter. Any errors that remain are, of course, the author's sole responsibility.

References

Banegas, D. (2013) ELT through videoconferencing in primary schools in Uruguay: First steps. *Innovation in Language Learning and Teaching* 7 (2), 179–188. See www.academia.edu/3571093/ELT_through_videoconferencing_in_primary_schools_in_Uruguay_first_steps (accessed August 5, 2013).

Banfi, C. (2010) *Primeros Pasos en las Lenguas Extranjeras: Modalidades de Enseñanza y Aprendizaje* [*First Steps in Foreign Languages: Teaching and Learning Modalities*]. Buenos Aires: Novedades Educativas.

Banfi, C. (2013a) Tradición, autonomía, innovación y reforma en la enseñanza superior en lenguas en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires [Tradition, autonomy, innovation and reform in higher education in languages in the City of Buenos Aires]. *Revista Lenguas Vivas* 9. See http://ieslvf.caba.infd.edu.ar/sitio/upload/lenguas_9_mayo.pdf (accessed August 19, 2014).

Banfi, C. (2013b) The landscape of English language teaching: Roots, routes and ramifications. In L. Renart and D. Banegas (eds) *Roots & Routes in Language Education: Bi-Multi-Plurilingualism, Interculturality and Identity: Selected Papers from the 38th FAAPI Conference* (pp. 17–34). Buenos Aires: APIBA.

Banfi, C. and Day, R. (2005) The evolution of bilingual schools in Argentina. In A.M. de Mejía (ed.) *Bilingual Education in South America* (pp. 67–78). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Banfi, C. and Rettaroli, S. (2008) Staff profiles in minority and prestigious bilingual education contexts in Argentina. In C. Hélot and A.M. de Mejía (eds) *Forging Multilingual Spaces: Integrated Perspectives on Majority and Minority Bilingual Education* (pp. 140–180). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Banfi, C. and Rettaroli, S. (2012) *Manual para Docentes: Plan Ceibal en Inglés* [*Handbook for Teachers: Ceibal in English Programme*]. August 2012 version. Buenos Aires: British Council.

Banfi, C., Rettaroli, S. and Moreno, L. (2016) Educación bilingüe en Argentina: Programas y docentes [Bilingual education in Argentina: Programmes and teachers]. *Matices en Lenguas Extranjeras*. See http://www.revistas.unal.edu.co/index.php/male/article/view/54916 (accessed May 18, 2016).

Blondin, C., Candelier, M., Edelenbos, P., Johnstone, R., Kubanek-German, A. and Taeschner, T. (1999) *Foreign Languages in Primary and Preschool Education: Context and Outcomes: A Review of Recent Research within the European Union*. Bochum: CILT.

British Council (n.d.) *Learn English Pathways*. See https://www.britishcouncil.si/en/exam/schools-institutions (accessed May 21, 2016)

British Council (2012) *Policy Dialogues: English for the Future*. Cartagena de Indias: Author.

Burnaby, B. (2008) Language policy and education in Canada. In S. May and N.H. Hornberger (eds) *Encyclopedia of Language and Education: Language Policy and Political Issues in Education* (2nd edn, Vol. 1; pp. 331–342). New York: Springer. See http://yorkspace.library.yorku.ca/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10315/2890/CRLC00349.pdf?sequence=1 (accessed April 12, 2015).

Cambridge English (2014) Congratulations to the Uruguayan Education Public Administration. *Cambridge English Southern Cone Monthly Newsletter*. See http://cambridgeenglishsouthernconeandes.cmail2.com/t/ViewEmail/t/8D5CF463A0E210E1/4D7396C65A51C4AAD9767B6002735221 (accessed September 21, 2016).

Cameron, L. (2003) Challenges for ELT from the expansion in teaching children. *English Teaching Language Journal* 57 (2), 105–112.

Coleman, H. (ed.) (2011) *Dreams and Realities: Developing Countries and the English Language*. London: British Council.

Consejo Federal de Educación (2012) *Resolución 181/2012: Núcleos de Aprendizaje Prioritarios para el Nivel Primario: Lenguas Extranjeras* [*Resolution 181/2012: Core Learning Areas in Foreign Languages for Elementary Schools*]. See www.me.gov.ar/consejo/resoluciones/res12/181-12.pdf (accessed October 11, 2014).

Council of Europe (2001) *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crossey, M. (2012) Peacekeeping English in Poland. In C. Tribble (ed.) *Managing Change in English Language Teaching* (pp. 93–98). London: British Council.

Curtain, H. (1990) *Foreign Language Learning: An Early Start*. Washington, DC: ERIC Clearinghouse. See www.ericdigests.org/pre-9218/start.htm (accessed October 11, 2014).

de Melo, G., Machado, A., Miranda, A. and Viera, M. (2013) *Profundizando en los Efectos del Plan Ceibal* [*Reflecting on the Effects of Plan Ceibal*]. Montevideo: Instituto de Economía del Uruguay y Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE), Administración Nacional de Educación Pública.

Díaz Maggioli, G. (2012) *Teaching Language Teachers: Scaffolding Professional Learning*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Enever, J. (2011) *ELLiE: Early Language Learning in Europe*. London: British Council.

Fandiño-Parra, Y.J., Bermúdez-Jiménez, J.R. and Lugo-Vásquez, V.E. (2012) The challenges facing the National Program for Bilingualism: Bilingual Colombia. *Educación y Educadores*. See http://educacionyeducadores.unisabana.edu.co/index.php/eye/article/view/2172/2951 (accessed December 3, 2015).

Gill, S. (1997) Local problems, local solutions. In I. McGrath (ed.) *Learning to Train: Perspectives on the Development of Language Teacher Trainers* (pp. 215–224). Hemel Hempstead: Prentice Hall Europe in association with the British Council.

Graddol, D. (1997) *The Future of English? A Guide to Forecasting the Popularity of the English Language in the 21st Century*. London: British Council.

Graddol, D. (2006) *English Next: Why Global English May Mean the End of 'English as a Foreign Language'*. London: British Council.

Hoa, T. M. and Tuan, Q. (2007) Teaching English in primary schools in Vietnam: An overview. *Current Issues in Language Planning* 8 (2), 162–173.

Matear, A. (2008) English language learning and education policy in Chile: Can English really open doors for all? *Asia Pacific Journal of Education* 28 (2), 131–147.

Medgyés, P. (1994) *The Non-Native Teacher*. London: Macmillan.

Mejía, A.M. de (2002) *Power, Prestige and Bilingualism: International Perspectives on Elite Bilingual Education*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Mejía, A.M. de (2006) Bilingual education in Colombia: Towards a recognition of languages, cultures and identities. *Colombian Applied Linguistics Journal* 8, 152–168.

Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de Chile (n.d.) *El Programa Inglés Abre Puertas (PIAP), A 10 Años de su Inicio* [*English Opens Doors: Ten Years Later*]. See www.ingles.mineduc.cl/index2.php?id_contenido=30149&id_portal=49&id_seccion=3272 (accessed December 15, 2015).

Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de Colombia (2005a) *Programa Nacional de Bilingüismo* [*National Program for Bilingualism*]. See http://www.mineducacion.gov.co/1621/articles-132560_recurso_pdf_programa_nacional_bilinguismo.pdf (accessed March 6, 2014).

Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de Colombia (2005b) *Exámenes de Calidad de la Educación Superior, Componente de Inglés: Guía de orientación* [*Higher Education Quality Assessments, English Component: Orientation Handbook*]. Bogotá: Author.

Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires (n.d.) *Certificados en Lenguas Extranjeras* [*Foreign Language Certificates*]. See http://www.buenosaires.gob.ar/sites/gcaba/files/ppt_web_2.pptx_.pdf (accessed June 17, 2015).

Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires (2001) *Diseño Curricular de Lenguas Extranjeras: Niveles 1, 2, 3 y 4* [*Foreign Language Curriculum Design: Levels 1,2,3 and 4*]. See http://www.buenosaires.gob.ar/areas/educacion/curricula/dle_web.pdf (accessed June 17, 2015).

National Congress of Argentina (2009) *National Law 26.468/2009*. Buenos Aires: Author.

Nikolov, M. and Curtain, H. (eds) (2000) *An Early Start: Young Learners and Modern Languages in Europe and Beyond*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe. See www.poliglotti4.eu/docs/Research/An_Early_Start_Young_Learners_and_Modern_Languages_in_Europe_and_Beyond.pdf (accessed June 17, 2015).

Phillipson, R. (1992) *Linguistic Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Plan Ceibal (2014a) *Ceibal en Inglés* [Ceibal in English]. See www.ceibal.edu.uy/art%C3%ADculo/noticias/institucionales/ceibaleningles (accessed December 11, 2015).

Plan Ceibal (2014b) *Plan Ceibal* [*Ceibal Plan*]. See http://www.ceibal.edu.uy/art%C3%ADculo/noticias/institucionales/EVALUACION (accessed December 11, 2015).

Psetizki, V. (2009, October 16) Laptop for every pupil in Uruguay. *BBC News*. See http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/technology/8309583.stm (accessed September 2, 2013).

Ramírez Romero, J.L., Pamplón Irigoyen, E.N. and Cota Grijalva, S. (2012) Problemática de la enseñanza del inglés en las primarias públicas de México: una primera lectura cualitativa [The problems with the teaching of English in primary public schools in Mexico: A first qualitative reading]. *Revista Ibero-Americana de Educación* 60 (2). See rieoei.org/deloslectores/5020Ramirez.pdf (accessed February 18, 2017).

Reilly, T. (2012) An early years bilingual schools project: The Spanish experience. In C. Tribble (ed.) *Managing Change in English Language Teaching* (pp. 225–230). London: British Council.

Ripani, F. (2014) *Pedagogical Implementation Report: Plan Sarmiento BA (2010–2014)*. Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Educación de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires.

Rivoir, A.L. and Lamschtein, S. (2012) *Cinco Años del Plan Ceibal: Algo Más que Una Computadora* [*Five Years of Ceibal: Much More than a Computer*]. Montevideo: UNICEF.

Sharma, P. and Barrett, B. (2007) *Blended Learning: Using Technology In and Beyond the Language Classroom*. Oxford: Macmillan.

Tocalli-Beller, A. (2007) ELT and bilingual education in Argentina. In J. Cummins and C. Davison (eds) *International Handbook of English Language Teaching* (pp. 107–121). New York: Springer.

Tribble, C. (ed.) (2012) *Managing English Language Teaching: Lessons from Experience*. London: British Council.

UNESCO (1999) *Records of the General Conference*. Paris: UNESCO. See http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001185/118514E.pdf (accessed March 1, 2016).

UNESCO (2003) *Text for the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Paris: UNESCO. See http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/convention (accessed March 1, 2016).

Vera, F. (December, 2008) *Estado del Arte de la Profesión de Profesor de Inglés:¿Qué Ocurre en Chile*? [*State of the Art of the English Teaching Profession: What Happens in Chile*?]. See http://www.utemvirtual.cl/nodoeducativo/wp-content/uploads/2009/03/art_fvera.pdf (accessed May 15, 2016).

Vilar Beltrán, E., Abbott, C. and Jones, J. (eds) (2013) *Inclusive Language Education and Digital Technology*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Walker, A. and White, G. (2013) *Technology Enhanced Language Learning*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wedell, M. (2011) More than just 'technology': English language teaching initiatives as complex educational changes. In H. Coleman (ed.) *Dreams and Realities: Developing Countries and the English Language* (pp. 269–290). London: British Council.

2 Ideologies and Discourses in the Standards for Language Teachers in South America: A Corpus-Based Analysis

Gabriel Díaz Maggioli

Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of a recent policy transfer process among three South American countries. It frames the discussion within the confines of regionalization as a response to globalizing neoliberal influences and attempts to understand those discoursal configurations at stake in the process. It also attempts to highlight how, despite the intentions of the actors involved, both the content and the means of transfer have remained unchanged from previous decades.

If the 1990s was the decade of neoliberal educational reforms in South America, the first decade of the 21st century can be characterized as the time of 'progressive' educational reforms. The profound economic and social crises originating in Argentina in 2001 brought with them a deep dissatisfaction with the status quo allowing left-wing parties to rise to power for the first time in the history of some of these nations (for example, Ecuador and Uruguay).

In Uruguay, Ecuador and Chile, traditionally conservative parties had operated within a neoliberal ideology, which can be defined as an exacerbation of capitalist ideologies (Holborow, 2012a). However, definitions of neoliberalism are not easy, as its realms of influence are varied. To Bourdieu (2005), what was originally a theory of economic practice aggressively transcended its field and became a mirage of pure and perfect markets, a discourse with its own logic, its own chain of limitations and whose main purpose was the methodical eradication of collectives.

Common features of neoliberalism often cited in the literature are the move to privatization and marketization with open borders, the abolition of any kinds of control that can affect the free flow and generation of capital, with its emphasis on the individual. In short, neoliberalism can be

understood as the key ideology in the promotion of globalization, 'a system of beliefs and values, an ethos and a moral view of the world, in short an *economic common sense*' (Bourdieu, 2005: 10, emphasis in the original).

This ideology 'structures the character of globalizing process that have already taken place' (Olssen, 2006: 263) and advocates for a form of governance where the role of the state is played down in favor of autonomous regional and global agencies via imposed policies that shape and control new forms of governance akin to those implemented in any place where those agencies operate. However, as Olssen *et al*. (2004: 13) rightly indicate, 'it is [these] imposed policies of neoliberal governability, rather than globalization as such, that is the key affecting (and undermining) nation-states today'.

'Progressive' is a narrowing of discourse used by Marxists and socialists in South America intended to play down what can be perceived as radical orientations. By narrowing their discourse, these parties seem to be following the 'median voter argument' as described by Jackman (cited in Souto-Otero, 2011), who points out that 'parties are motivated by winning elections more than by an enduring commitment to particular policies or constituencies'.

The ascent to power of progressive governments was characterized by a turn toward a more relevant role of state-created or sponsored policies. In education, heavily unionized teaching and student collectives – which traditionally formed the resistance to dictatorships and other institutional disruptions – turned to the government to eliminate prior neoliberal policies, thus helping crystalize century-old aspirations.

The shift in the rhetoric of the progressive governments substituted the existing neoliberal discourse of 'individual accomplishments' (Souto-Otero, 2011: 307) in favor of a rhetoric of public good, democratic equality of opportunities and state-supported (or at the very least, state-sponsored) growth. The true equalizer at the center of such a rhetorical shift is education. In this sense, the rhetorical changes are akin to those identified in the United Kingdom by Souto-Otero (2011: 307) who explains that 'social democratic parties accord greater importance to education than do conservative parties'. However, this author also warns readers about the volatile nature of these ideologies that can present inconsistencies and shifts stemming from the political struggles they face and which force them to processes of continual adaptation and reshaping.

In order to better understand how the re-elaboration of the policy discourse by progressive governments operates, I should briefly clarify my understanding of *discourse* and *ideology*.

Block *et al*. (2012: 9–10) distinguish between the real world (as expressed through discourse) and ideology (as a one-sided representation of reality, articulated from a particular social class, influenced by real-world events and coexisting with language but distinct from it) and argue

that 'ideology constitutes a representational mechanism, articulated on behalf of specific social interests, which precisely blurs the distinction between the two'.

To these authors, ideologies play an important analytical role as they make explicit views of the world that are linked to social practices also known as discourse. If, as some have claimed (e.g. Block *et al*., 2012), neoliberal ideology is information or knowledge based, and the transformations it promotes are the consequence of a discourse that inculcates the ideology through the English language as a priority of certain governments, corporations or aid agencies, then it seems worth looking at how discourse (the material) and ideology (the representational) are enacted within a policy transfer process that aims to alter the material and representational conditions savagely imposed on countries by neoliberal agendas.

From among the various policy initiatives spearheaded by these progressive governments, that of reforming teacher education is noteworthy. Within this reform, one particular area stands out: that of the education of English language teaching (ELT). This chapter turns to an analysis of this particular area. It starts by describing the teaching of English in South America and presents a heuristic for the analysis of the policy transfer processes. The chapter then discusses the research method used to analyze the policy transfer process and presents and discusses the results of the analysis.

Literature Review

The teaching of English in South America

The teaching of English in South America in the 1990s was funded by international lending agencies with a vested interest in the dissemination of the English language and its related industries. English was seen as playing a crucial role in promoting the expansion of neoliberal ideas as well as in spreading globalizing influences. Holborow (2012b) makes the point that 'Globalization is "enacted and inculcated" through both the global language of English and the global "order of discourse" expounded by corporations, governments and international agencies'.

To this avail, specific loans helped implement new curricula that replicated foreign models, materials, modes of consulting and policy implementation frameworks. The view espoused by these reforms was that education was the main provider of human capital and thus, it lay at the center of economic growth. As Saltman (2009: 55–56) put it 'the only question on reform agendas appears to be how to best enforce knowledge and curriculum conducive to national economic interest and the expansion of a corporately managed model of globalization as perceived from the perspective of business'.

Likewise, underlying the mandate for the teaching of English was a *colonial celebratory* position described by Pennycook (2001: 56) as 'a position that trumpets the benefits of English over other languages, suggesting that English is superior to other languages in terms of both its intrinsic (the nature of the language) and extrinsic (the functions of the language) qualities'. In the three countries under analysis, Uruguay, Ecuador and Chile, provisions for the learning of indigenous languages in the state education sector started only after progressive governments took office.

A second underlying motive for the reforms was the commodification of English as a positional good (Marginson, 2006: 901) that would allow those with solid knowledge of the language of 'international business and global academic life' to have better opportunities. The economic efficiency of these moves is highlighted by Holborow's (2012a) remark that, only in the United Kingdom, between 2005 and 2010 the export of ELT textbooks grew from 17% to 26%.

However, the reforms of the 1990s failed to yield the expected results (Thrupp & Hursh, 2006), because they had been inspired by what Phillips and Ochs (2004) call quick fix decisions. The policies were written and publicized as a way of keeping voters happy but they were either underfunded, ran as pilot programs or were never implemented.

A more relevant factor in their failure was the systematic overlooking of the teachers involved in the reforms. Vaillant (2007) argues that the main reason for the failure of educational reforms in South America in the 1990s was the lack of awareness of teachers regarding their role in the innovation due to insufficient preparation, lack of training to face the new challenges posed by evolving social change and the persistence of inadequate routines unsuitable to their circumstances.

In light of this, the progressive governments targeted teacher education as one of the means to resolve the conundrum of low results in language learning via study abroad programs, standardized language training for teachers and other similar activities. While these palliative measures were put in place, the region experienced a new policymaking phenomenon that, in keeping with the prevailing progressive rhetoric, dwelt on regionalization as a scenario.

In this particular case, instead of the usual imposition of policy, what occurred was policy transfer as the result of policy borrowing. The reasons for the policy transfer lay in the actors' intention, as explicitly stated in the preamble to all three documents analyzed, to do away with globalizing influences in favor of more socially just practices centered around regional issues. These would include the expansion of free ELT to all levels of the educational system, and the sustained training of teachers so that the results would be comparable to those achieved by students in private sector schools. At the core of this particular policy transfer movement was the

belief that regional efforts would be able to counteract the negative effects of previous neoliberal attempts.

In 2009, Uruguay developed a nationwide project to determine the minimum standards that aspiring teachers of foreign languages should attain at the end of their bachelor's (BA) in foreign language education. The project borrowed the framework (though not the content) of available standards developed in the United States. This was followed in 2012 by the publication of a similar policy document by the Ecuadorian Ministry of Education, which borrowed heavily from the Uruguayan standards. Lastly, in 2013, the Chilean Ministry of Education commissioned the development of standards to universities via a bid for tender (see Abrahams & Silva Ríos, this volume, for further information on the Chilean context). This policy transfer process was not different from those promoted by previous neoliberal processes, in that governments yield to the pressure of international standards, which are assumed to promote quality provisions (Room, 2000).

Reconsidering policy transfer

Policy transfer has been central to comparative education for over two centuries and it has been the focus of much debate both in terms of its scope and definition. Phillips and Ochs (2004: 774) define it as 'the conscious adoption in one context of policy observed in another'. Beech (2006: 2) concurs that 'Overall, the concept of "educational transfer" can be defined as a movement of educational ideas, institutions or practices across international borders'.

These definitions are the frame used to analyze the development of standards for language teachers in Uruguay, Chile and Ecuador between 2010 and 2013. Traditionally, the process of policy transfer had been described as comprising a series of chronological steps that track interest in a particular policy to the evaluation of its implementation. An alternative to this tradition is the concept of cross-national policy borrowing, a process that operates best when there is a similarity in both the ideological structures and the conditions the policy is expected to affect (Halpin & Troyna, 1995).

Policy transfer is not just a discrete area of research but a tool for policy analysis (Benson & Jordan, 2011). The sustained interest in this particular area of comparative education has rendered it a diverse and contested field (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2012). For example, these authors call for sustained research into the act of policy transfer, the persons and institutions who have vested interests in a particular policy involved at the different stages of the cycle, as well as the motives and effects of the application of a certain policy to a new context. Paramount in their discussion is the issue of contextualization to the local reality. As Beech

(2006: 10) explains 'What we need in policy analysis is a toolbox of diverse concepts and theories. Thus, I want to replace the modernist theoretical project of abstract parsimony with a more post-modernist one of localised complexity'. To this avail, discourse analysis tools not frequently found in the policy literature will be used as a way of contextualizing and interpreting the data.

A tool to understand the policy transfer process

Phillips and Ochs (2004) present a heuristic for what they term cross-national attraction, or policy transfer that traces the development of a particular policy from the initial motivation to the decision for transfer, its implementation and indigenization (involving the official establishment of the new policy). While comprehensive, this heuristic is limited in that it focuses more on agents than agency (McCann & Ward, 2012), thus leaving out important considerations, such as the relationship between policy transfer and the broader policy cycles in operation, the relationship between policy transfer and policy outcomes and the relationship between policy transfer and the dominant modes of governance (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2012). McCann and Ward (2012: 328) see policymaking as 'a multiply scaled, relational and emergent social process... [where policy transfer] involves a complex and power-laden process rather than a straightforward A-to-B movement'. For the purposes of this analysis, the framework is adequate in so far as it recognizes that 'a heuristic does not reify a "reality"' (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2012: 343). I will now turn to an analysis of the policy transfer processes using this framework.

Uruguay

In 2008, a new Education Act created a unified National Teacher Education System. Prior to this law, teacher education was delivered by state-funded and controlled, though independent, teacher education colleges, some of which had been created in the mid-1900s, whereas others constituted the remnants of a 1996 attempt by the Inter-American Development Bank to reform teacher education in the country.

The new law mandated a common national curriculum and a central administrative organization via academic departments in a National Teacher Education College. This college is not part of the National University, and it is the only official institution granting teaching degrees in the country. The college's Modern Foreign Languages Department oversees provisions for future teachers of English, French, Italian and Portuguese as a foreign language. In 2009, the department chair, in consultation with the faculty council decided on the creation of standards as a way of bringing together faculty and students, and fostering a sense of belonging to the new structure. In this sense, it could be claimed that the

impulse for the development of the standards was a political imperative, a response to novel local configurations (i.e. the development of a unified curriculum, a new organizational structure operating at the national level and a call for quality provisions) and that the transfer of standards for teaching was a voluntary one borrowing from experiences in other countries.

The policy transfer process was a voluntary one, with faculty in the 32 campuses of the National Teacher Education College contributing paid office hours to analyzing different standards documents and working with a consultant with extensive experience in the development of standards who taught a 40-hour seminar during which it was decided to adopt a framework popular in the United States and to write the local document. Faculty worked over one month drafting the standards for five distinct domains of professional expertise: English Language Proficiency; Culture; Instruction; Assessment; and Professionalism. To obtain feedback, the document was sent as a survey to all the faculty and student teachers in the department as well as to over 50 international authorities on teacher education and assessment. Once responses were obtained (with a return rate of 84%), comments and suggestions were discussed and the original document was edited to reflect those changes. The final product was a publication (Díaz Maggioli & Kuhlman, 2010) presenting both the standards development process as well as the standards. In that document, the externalizing potential of the policy transfer process is sustained on the grounds of a guiding philosophy of equal opportunity of access to provisions, transparency at the level of assessment, as well as through the attainment of higher-quality education via a rewriting of the curriculum, which would present a more coherent organization than the one available at that time (Contreras, 2010).

From the process described above, it is clear that the decision to implement the standards was both realistic and practical, as all actors involved felt the need for a reconceptualization of the teacher preparation curriculum, which was perceived as fragmented and lacking cohesion. However, at the level of implementation, the standards failed to become indigenized as there was widespread resistance mainly from teacher educators who felt that the standards were not representative of their own orientation, or those who felt that they did not want to change the way that they had been teaching their courses. Additionally, since it was decided that the standards were a tool for community building, and in keeping with the collaborative, bottom-up intentions of their creators, standards were not enforced via a law. They were seen as a draft to be implemented over five years, at the end of which they would be revised and adapted to new configurations. Surprisingly, though, the Uruguayan standards would initiate a chain of policy transfer cycles in Ecuador and Chile. First, the case of Ecuador will be considered.

Ecuador

In parallel to what was happening in Uruguay, the Ecuadorian government had been involved in a nationwide evaluation of the quality of ELT provisions in the public sector (for further details on this process, see the chapter by Kuhlman & Serrano, this volume). Their impulse for the creation of standards stemmed from an internal dissatisfaction with the teaching of English, as well as from the results of the compulsory standardized tests given to all English teachers in the public sector that showed seriously low levels of proficiency in the language (Ministry of Education, Ecuador, 2012).

Hence, it was decided, from a theoretical perspective, to develop standards for in-service teachers of English that would guarantee quality delivery of instruction and help students in the public sector achieve proficiency in English at the B1 (High-Intermediate) level of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEFR; Council of Europe, 2001) by the end of secondary school. The government saw the externalizing potential of standards as being concerned mostly with accreditation: both teachers and students would be tested in order to ascertain their attainment of the goals.

Representatives from all universities offering BA programs in ELT were convened and the same consultant who facilitated the Uruguayan process led the work. However, in this instance, there was an urgency to have a draft of the standards finalized in a short period of time. In order to save time, the consultant decided to share three standard models with the audience out of which participants decided to adopt the Uruguayan model. Kuhlman and Knezevick (2014) explain that a deciding factor in this adoption was the existence of a particular domain targeting teachers' English language proficiency, not present in other models.

The Ecuadorian Ministry of Education sanctioned and published the standards in 2012 without a consultation process. Concurrently, the developers of the standards engaged in drafting a new curriculum for teacher education aligned to the standards as discussed by Kuhlman and Serrano in this volume. Thus, the implementation of standards in Ecuador involved a swift process that went from 2012 to 2013. In terms of the indigenization of the standards, and given the approval of the original document by the authorities, it can be claimed that they are at the onset of the process. The third and final cycle of policy transfer saw the Chilean Ministry of Education requiring the writing of standards for initial teacher education. The following section describes the Chilean process.

Chile

The development of standards in Chile is a relatively new addition to the transfer process under analysis. In 2013, the Ministry of Education placed a bid for tender for the development of standards among universities offering a BA in ELT programs. Universidad Alberto Hurtado in Santiago,

whose faculty developed the standards document adopted by the ministry (Ministry of Education, Chile, 2013), won the bid for tender. In the process, they consulted international experts in the field of ELT and had their document validated by them.

The impetus for the development of standards in Chile stemmed from a sustained interest by the government in positioning themselves as a First World country so as to better compete in the globalized arena. The situation with the quality of the provisions of ELT in the country is not unlike that of other countries in the region (see Abrahams & Silva Ríos, this volume). Hence, the Ministry of Education, with the help of the British Council in Chile, developed a series of seminars for department chairs from all the universities in the country that offer the BA in ELT.

During a seminar held in October 2013, the standards were presented, together with an announcement that, starting in 2014, all BA candidates would be tested after graduation in order to accredit compliance with the standards both at the level of English proficiency and ELT pedagogy. Department chairs were then involved in plotting out those courses that would lead students to the successful attainment of qualified teacher status, and they also discussed the existing gap between the requirements of the standards, their existing curricula and the demands of their institutions in terms of curriculum contents.

The Chilean process of standards development rests on a theoretical decision based on the belief that goals such as increased quality in the provisions and the implementation of new processes of assessment and certification would enhance a guiding philosophy of equal access to quality instruction. In terms of implementation, the Chilean case presents a clearly tiered process of policy transfer starting with the drafting of the standards, followed by their alignment with the exit examination and a reconfiguration of the individual curricula of the various universities in the country. It is, however, too early to assess how the standards will be indigenized in the Chilean case, as 2015 was the first academic year when the changes took effect, and classes did not start until mid-March.

The aforementioned analysis of the transfer process is based on the framework developed by Phillips and Ochs (2004) and it was used instead of other frameworks as it lent itself to the analysis of the official discourse of processes that have yet to be fully implemented. Because of this, in order to provide a cohesive comparison of the documents, other factors such as the involvement of stakeholders or the opinions of external experts were purposefully left out. Instead, the documents and their development were analyzed in terms of how the policy borrowing cycle was developed, how the three standards documents were externalized to faculty and students in the universities, how the decision to borrow the policy was made and implemented and, finally, how the policy became indigenized. Table 2.1 summarizes the policy transfer process in the three countries described above.

Table 2.1 An analysis of the cross-national borrowing of standards for language teachers in Uruguay, Ecuador and Chile

Stage	*Uruguay*	*Ecuador*	*Chile*
Impulses	Political and other imperatives. Novel configurations.	Internal dissatisfaction. Negative external evaluation.	Internal dissatisfaction. Economic change/ competition.
Externalizing potential	Guiding philosophy (equality of opportunity). Goals: Increased access; enabling structures (new curriculum).	Process (accreditation); guiding philosophy. Goals: Increased quality.	Guiding philosophy (equality of opportunity). Goals (increased quality). Processes: Assessment and certification.
Decision	Realistic/practical	Theoretical	Theoretical
Implementation	Slow, resisted, not mandated, delayed decision and non-decision.	Quickly adopted as a template for curriculum development. New curriculum and assessment built in parallel to the development of the standards.	Tiered washback: First the standards, then alignment of exit examination to standards, alignment of individual curricula to standards.
Internalization/ indigenization	No impact on existing system. Neither evaluated nor internalized.	High impact in that standards have changed curriculum and assessment.	Beginning to be internalized. At the process of evaluation.

Source: Original, adapted from Phillips and Ochs (2004).

Having discussed how the policy transfer process was enacted in the three cases discussed above, the chapter now turns to a consideration of the content of these documents and the reality they reify through their discourse. In order to disclose these meanings, the following sections present the methodology used to access the keywords in each document, as well as an analysis of how the different standards in the documents became signified in their particular contexts of application.

Method

The present research employed a mixed methods perspective (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Johnson *et al*., 2007) as a way of counteracting the potential bias stemming from the researcher's involvement with the first

policy borrowing cycle between the United States and Uruguay, and as a way of pursuing answers to the initial research question as to whether neoliberal influences still permeate the discoursal practices of educational reform in the countries discussed. In particular, this analysis used a partially mixed, concurrent, equal status design (Leech & Onwegbuzie, 2009) by affording all policy documents the same worth, seeking the same kind of data and subjecting them to the same quantitative (frequency count) and qualitative (concordances) analysis, as will be further explained below.

Since the object of analysis was discourse, the analysis focused on the material representation of the transfer process: policy documents. To this end, a corpus for analysis was created by inputting the complete text of the standards documents of Uruguay, Ecuador and Chile into a concordances and word frequency tool (Cobb, 2012). Once the texts were input into the system, its frequency tool was used to yield the keywords most often used in each document. These were identified as 'keywords' (Williams, 1983). Williams traced how certain words strayed from their usual semantic field to describe wider areas of thought and experience, making evident key areas of contestation between ideology and discourse. According to Holborow (2012a: 35), 'these were the ideologically sensitive words whose associations and connotations were not settled and whose meanings were under negotiation'.

To this avail, the concordances tool provided the contexts of use of the keywords identified through the frequency tool, thus allowing an analysis of how they were signified in the documents and allowing the researcher to spot the presence of neoliberal meanings.

The corpus first yielded quantitative data (highest frequency content words), which were thematized according to how they were used in the documents (for example, looking at the keyword *language*, once the frequency was identified, the contexts of use allowed for the disclosure of how this keyword was understood). This thematization allowed for a qualitative analysis (was language understood as an object, as a system of systems, as a tool?) in light of the theoretical constructs that will be discussed in depth in this chapter. Lastly, qualitative data were subjected to the same process. Qualitative analysis was performed on qualitative data by thematizing it, and quantitative analysis provided the tools to quantify how themes were presented in each of the documents at the level of discourse. In all instances, the question guiding the research project was kept in sight: Is there evidence of neoliberal influences in the discourse practices of progressive educational reforms in teacher education?

In the process of data collection and analysis, issues of power were addressed by using a Foucaultian perspective with data being contextualized to their ideological contexts. According to Foucault (2001), power resides in knowledge. It is not localized in a particular setting (e.g. an organization or

a government) but rather distributed among the network of social relations. In this sense, it stood to reason that the contexts of use of particular keywords would yield insights into their underpinning ideological positioning. In short, the corpus helped identify whether the discourse had shifted from a rhetoric of marketization to a rhetoric of social justice.

The analysis used a critical pedagogy (CP; Crookes, 2013; Pennycook, 2001) lens as the theoretical framing of the three documents made extensive reference to work in this area. The preambles to the three documents express that CP – as both discourse and ideology – would help counteract the neoliberal hegemony. As discourse *is* practice, it stands to reason that the occurrence of keywords within a CP discourse context is indicative of a shift in ideology. As Ball (1993) explains:

> We do not speak a discourse, it speaks us. **We are** the subjectivities, the voices, the knowledge, the power relations that a discourse constructs and follows. We do not 'know' what we say, we 'are' what we say and do. In these terms, we are spoken by policies, we take up the positions constructed for us within policies. (Ball, 1993: 14; emphasis in original)

In keeping with this view, keyword contexts were openly coded into themes according to their signification (i.e. how they attributed specific meanings to a term which can be polysemic). The themes summarized the meaning attributed to the keywords and their use within the policy texts. These meanings are taken to be indicative of ideological trends, as they are representative of intentions. As Auerbach (1995) suggests:

> Pedagogical choices about curriculum development, content, materials, classroom processes, and language use, although appearing to be informed by apolitical professional considerations, are, in fact, inherently ideological in nature, with significant implications for learners' socioeconomic roles. (Auerbach, 1995: 9)

Results

The corpus-based analysis yielded a total of five high-frequency content words common to all three policy documents. The most frequent content words appeared between 38 and 40 times, with the less frequent words appearing with frequencies in the single digits. Hence, a decision was made to focus on those keywords that occurred 20 or more times in the text in the belief that the more frequently a word appeared, the more relevant it was to the discourse in question.

The next step was to look for those words that consistently appeared in all three documents. Given the policy transfer scenario, finding out which keywords all three contexts prioritized was important. These words are

teachers, *language*, *learning*, *English* and *teaching*. Table 2.2 shows the most frequent words for each country (these are indicated by their rank number) and the shaded words represent the five keywords that all three documents reified as the most frequent. It should be noted, however, that gathering frequency information was not enough in this case, as the most frequent words are really polysemic and can thus be used in a multitude of contexts. In order to shed light on their actual meaning within the documents, the keywords were then analyzed using the concordances tool, as explained below.

Table 2.2 Top 10 content words appearing most frequently in the policy documents surveyed

Uruguay		*Ecuador*		*Chile*	
Rank	*Word*	*Rank*	*Word*	*Rank*	*Word*
9.	TEACHERS	4.	LANGUAGE	7.	ENGLISH
14.	STUDENTS	6.	ENGLISH	10.	TEACHING
15.	LANGUAGE	9.	STUDENTS	11.	LANGUAGE
18.	LEARNING	10.	LEARNING	12.	LEARNING
20.	TEACHING	13.	STANDARDS	14.	SKILLS
27.	ASSESSMENT	14.	USE	15.	WRITTEN
29.	STANDARD	15.	TEACHERS	16.	ORAL
33.	KNOWLEDGE	18.	STUDENTS	20.	STRATEGIES
34.	LANGUAGES	19.	UNDERSTAND	21.	TEACHER
35.	USE	21.	INSTRUCTION	23.	COMMUNICATE

Note: Words common to all three documents are shaded in grey.

The next step in the analysis included seeking an understanding of how the five keywords operated at the level of signification, involving what they stood for and how they were used to account for the processes and practices they appeared to reify. In order to accomplish this, the concordances tool was used to analyze the immediate contexts in which keywords occurred. These were also organized in terms of frequency for ease of reference, as well as coded according to the different meanings attributed to them so as to aid the disclosure of how discourse is structured around ideological emphases. Table 2.3 summarizes the contexts of use of each of the five keywords.

As can be seen from Table 2.3, the polysemic nature of the keywords can be disclosed by probing into how they are used in context. Returning to the example of the word *language*, it can be stated that while in the case of Uruguay it is seen as a means, tool or vehicle (thus in keeping with a more progressive attribution of meaning), in the cases of Ecuador and Chile, the word becomes objectified retaining the neoliberal conceptualization as something that can be broken down, analyzed and conveyed, and not as a tool that students can use to empower themselves. This and other

Table 2.3 Themes disclosed in the analysis of the five most frequent keywords

Keyword	*Uruguay*	*Ecuador*	*Chile*
Teachers	• As prescribed subjects ('Candidates must…').	• As collaborator.	• As a knower.
	• As facilitator.	• As a knowing subject.	• As competent.
	• As constructor.	• As agent (promote, demonstrate).	• As a community member.
	• As a professional/member of a profession	• As competent.	• As effective.
Language	• Vehicle for the teaching of content.	• Focus of disciplines (e.g. language acquisition).	• Broken down into skills.
	• Object of mastery (proficiency).	• Acknowledgement of students' L1.	• Object of mastery (proficiency).
	• Mediational tool for teaching.	• Subject of methods.	• Object of use in the classroom.
	• Object of use in the classroom.	• Broken down into skills.	• Object of understanding, leading to use.
		• Object of mastery (proficiency).	• Broken down in chunks.
		• Vehicle for the teaching of content.	• Object of teaching and learning.
		• System of systems (syntax, phonology, lexis).	
		• Not static, with varieties and variation according to the context of use.	
Learning	• Individual and collective.	• Leads to academic progress.	• Leads to achievement.
	• Differentiation.	• Centered on 'English'.	• Occurs in communities.
	• Part of a process (teaching, learning and assessment).	• Styles.	• Results from experience.
	• Special needs.	• Leads to reading and writing.	• Influenced by the physical environment.
	• Property of students.	• Is a consequence of teaching.	• Is a process.

Keyword	*Uruguay*	*Ecuador*	*Chile*
Learning	• Styles.	• Organized through objectives and targets.	• Can be enhanced through strategies.
	• Requires mediation through support tools.	• Influenced by the physical environment (need for safety).	• Is based on scientific theories.
	• Leads to overall academic development.		• Organized through objectives.
English	• Means of communication.	• Requires mastery (proficiency).	• Active use.
	• Has varieties.	• Broken down into four discrete skills.	• Important for learning content.
	• Allows participation.	• Tied to standards (evidence of mastery).	• Grammar, phonology and intonation.
	• Learned through content.	• Used in academic settings.	• Necessary for global society.
	• Active use.	• Important for learning content.	• Broken down into four discrete skills.
	• A form of literacy.		• Provides an identity for teachers and students.
	• Requires mastery (proficiency)		
Teaching	• Can be coded into models.	• Field of practice.	• Promotes a methodology (ELT pedagogy).
	• Regulated by the state.	• Part of the same process as learning.	• Centers around strategies.
	• Process independent from learning.	• Profession to be enhanced.	• Requires planning.
	• Active use of technologies.	• Based on standards.	• Requires practice.
	• Has a theoretical basis.	• Collaborative endeavor (colleagues).	
	• Can be planned, designed and created.	• Two strategies: Teaching and re-teaching.	
	• Occurs through oracy or literacy learning.		
	• Makes use of resources, activities and techniques.		
	• Is a process.		

examples in Table 2.3 show how, in reality, the pervasive influence of neoliberal meanings still permeates the discourse, making it difficult to reconceptualize the task of teacher education, as will be shown in the following section. However, before moving on, the limitations of this study need to be clarified so as to help readers contextualize their understanding of the discussion of the results and the implications that can be deemed from such discussion.

One important limitation of this study resides in the fact that it left out other relevant considerations, such as stakeholders' perspectives, the particularities of policy borrowing in each country, as well as the impact resulting from implementation. Given that two of the borrowing cycles were very recent, it was felt that focusing on their material representations (i.e. the discourse used to code the documents) could provide a starting point for further analyses once the standards had become indigenized. In this sense, I attempted to deconstruct the official discourse treating the documents as cultural and ideological artifacts that do not have 'a single authoritative meaning' (Codd, 1988: 244) with the intention of locating points of contradiction within the text in the belief that 'the text is no longer restricted to a single, harmonious and authoritative reading. Instead, it becomes *plural*, open to re-reading, no longer an object for passive consumption but an object of work by the reader to produce meaning' (Belsey, 1980: 104, as cited in Codd, 1988: 246).

Discussion and Implications

Pennycook (2001) suggests that there are three alternative conceptions of school and society, each with its own understanding of knowledge and curriculum, the social role of schools and the social relations in school. These three conceptions provide alternative view of classrooms as they relate to social, cultural, political and ideological concerns. For the purposes of the current analysis, and in keeping with the emancipatory intentions delineated in the preambles to the three policy documents, I will examine the contexts of use of the five keywords according to these three conceptions of school and society.

A *standard view* of classrooms sees knowledge as neutral and schools as providing the same opportunities for everyone within an educational (not social) space. This conception is highly naïve and presents reality as an innocuous endeavor, where there are neither differences nor struggles. Surprising as though it may seem, this is the standpoint of much of the field of ELT, which has traditionally positioned itself 'out of earshot of mainstream educational debates' (Holborow, 2012b: 7). In terms of language teaching, the object of study – language – is seen as neutral and under the command of its users.

A second conception views knowledge and curriculum as reflecting dominant interests. In this *reproductive standpoint*, schools serve to perpetuate the status quo as the classroom reflects external roles, considered 'normal'. These first two conceptions are characteristic of neoliberal discourse, which at the ideological level sees education as providing the human capital that the market demands. In this conception, language is seen as an 'inert and transparent entity' (Crookes, 2013: 87). As such, it can be broken down into component parts and transmitted via patterns independent of the context of use.

There is a third standpoint that lies at the core of all work in CP and which sees knowledge as political and contested, schools as sites of social struggle and classrooms as sites of cultural struggle. This *resistance standpoint* advocates for 'a considerably expanded notion of the political which embraces issues such as the societal context in which learning takes place, roles and relationships in the classroom and outside, kinds of learning tasks, and the content of the language that is learned' (Benson, 1997: 32, cited in Pennycook, 2001: 116). This also implies a renewed vision of language as 'something with a social history, or even more, something not necessarily entirely under one's control…language as a tool, or indeed a weapon, sometimes used for social change' (Crookes, 2013: 87).

Underlying this analysis is the belief that 'policies produced by and for the state are obvious instances in which language serves a political purpose, constructing particular meanings and signs that work to mask social conflict and foster commitment to the notion of a universal public interest. In this way, policy documents produce real social effects through the production and maintenance of consent' (Codd, 1988: 237). I will now turn to a discussion of how each of the five keywords identified are reified in their context of use within each of the three documents. In providing this analysis, I will also be exploring how the neoliberal emphasis is still operating through an allegedly reconfigured and progressive discourse.

A discussion of the contexts of signification of the five keywords

Teachers

References to teachers see them occupying different roles. The most frequent attribution is based on a deficit view of teachers, who are perceived as 'knowing and showing' subjects. Much of the discourse demands equipping teachers with a knowledge base for teaching that they should be able to learn and demonstrate.

The qualification of the teachers' knowledge and demonstration involves issues of competence, proficiency, mastery and efficiency. All of these are meritocratic arguments in that they emphasize cognitive learning and sustained effort as determinants of quality. Also, this emphasis on

the knowing and doing positions teaching as a low-skill job (Souto-Otero, 2011) or a positional good in that, given the diversity of the student-teacher body, not all will be able to reach the expected levels. Less frequent, but also present, are mentions to other roles such as facilitator of students' learning, community member and collaborator.

Finally, the view of teachers advocated for in the standards fails to accommodate the CP discourse, by emphasizing a reproductive image of the teaching candidates. In reading the three documents, it becomes clear that what is expected of candidates is close proximity to the 'native speaker norm' in terms of knowledge and teaching skills. The high incidence of requirements for knowing and showing, as opposed to acting as part of a community render the intentions of the documents futile. However, it should be noted that the Uruguayan document presents fewer instances of the 'teacher as knower and shower' than those of Ecuador and Chile. In the Uruguayan document, teachers are seen as professionals who reflect in and on action, who share their product and knowledge with peers and who are active members of educational communities. This may be due to the fact that the Uruguayan borrowing process offered more space for actor participation than that of Ecuador and Chile.

Language

CP theories of language see it as a tool for emancipation and contestation rather than as a static 'system of systems' for expression. Hence, it advocates the teaching of different genres and registers that allow full participation in social activities.

In the standards under review, two competing perspectives can be discerned. Whereas in the Uruguayan reality, language is described as a social tool (a vehicle for teaching content; a semiotic system that enables communication; a mediational tool; or an organic system in constant flux), its depiction in the other documents struggles to strike a balance between former views of language and the aspired functional perspective. For example, the Chilean and Ecuadorian documents explicitly emphasize the mastery of phonology, syntax and lexis and present language as the enactment of the four macroskills of listening, speaking, reading and writing. Little reference is made to the actual use of language to achieve communicative purposes and, while both documents acknowledge that languages present different varieties, they are still described as something that can be objectified and whose rules can be operationalized in traditional reproductive terms.

Again, here one can see elements of a neoliberal ideology at play, as this view of language is congruent with an 'understanding of society [as] consensual…with the focus on the individual and her or his linguistic behavior, rather than the complex workings of language amid conflictual social contexts' (Pennycook, 2001: 50).

Learning

For many years, learning was seen as the logical product of teaching reified through the 'teaching-learning process' metaphor. This metaphor implies that there is one way of going about instruction, where teachers teach and students learn in a linear, sequential and neutral fashion. A CP perspective recognizes that teaching and learning are two epistemologically related, albeit different processes. Teaching is a process whereby teachers make adaptations to their scientific knowledge so that it becomes an object of learning. Learning, on the other hand, is an interactive process whereby learners put at play their everyday concepts and contrast them with scientific concepts. They do so through participation in instructional activities (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Vygotsky, 1978), mediated by their teachers, themselves and their peers (Walqui & van Lier, 2010). Defined in these terms, learning is a social and discursive activity open to negotiation and requiring interaction, and not a process of transmission.

There is discrepancy in the understanding of learning among the three documents. The Uruguayan standards present a social constructivist perspective of learning and position teachers and learners as active participants and negotiators in the process (acknowledging the individual and collective; calling for differentiation; requiring accommodation for special needs, etc.). In contrast, the Ecuadorian and Chilean documents present a utilitarian view (leading to achievement; based on scientific theories; organized through objectives; leading to pre-specified products, etc.). This view of learning is tied to neoliberal conceptions of knowledge as a commodity accessible to individuals through their own entrepreneurship. Likewise, while both documents tangentially (and politically) acknowledge a communal dimension, they make reference to the 'teaching–learning process' metaphor, thus imbuing learning with a unidirectionality characteristic of assembly-line production systems. One of the consequences of such a view is the objectification of learning and its commodification in terms of accountability through test scores. Not surprisingly, both countries advocate for national standardized tests as proof that learning has occurred.

English

All three documents call for the active use of different varieties of English and emphasize the need for mastery. However, the Uruguayan standards present it more as a mental tool than a commodity (it is a means of communication; a tool for mediation; a form of literacy, etc.). In contrast, the other two documents emphasize its utilitarian nature thus turning it into a commodity (syntactic description; needed for participation in a globalized society; a way to see the world differently, etc.). The Chilean example in particular, emphasizes individuality by using English as a provider of professional identity.

Teaching

Finally, teaching is described in the same way as learning, but in this case, all three countries see teaching as a commodity by referring to ways in which it can be coded (methods; strategies; planning; practice) and presenting it as unidirectional.

Conclusion

The analysis of five keywords, a product of the policy transfer process, shows that while progressive discourses seem to be in operation and the intentions have shifted from the need to satisfy market demands to that of empowering citizens, a neoliberal ideology underlies most of the discourse.

In analyzing the contexts of application of the five keywords, one can see how there is an attempt to stray away from neoliberal concepts and premises by cloaking the keywords in more critical terms (e.g. the frequent references to teaching to diversity as expressed in the three documents in contrast with a neoliberal 'one-size-fits-all' approach). However, in laying out the new discourse, neoliberal concepts and premises seem to resurface as strongholds of an ideology showing a resilience that other ideologies do not seem to possess. In this sense, Block *et al*. (2012: 6) remind readers of '"actually existing neoliberalism", its embeddedness in society, and its infinite capacity, even in crises, to reinvent and adapt'.

Other reasons for the pervasiveness of this ideology may lie in the inherent nature of the ELT field as promoter of neoliberal practices and discourses. For example, the field of language teacher education has been the object of marketization by international ELT organizations offering short, intensive 'teacher preparation' courses, a practice described by Gray and Block (2012: 115) as the 'McDonaldisation' of the field. In this sense, the discourse of teacher education is delivered as 'progressive' but through neoliberal tools. One example cited by the authors is that these courses have a reflective component, characteristic of CP. However, the methods of course delivery adhere to a monolithic set of contents and skills that can be replicated anywhere in the world regardless of context.

Lastly, it should be noted that while the discourse that the progressive governments espouse has veered to the left – compared to previous administrations – the macroeconomic conditions are still ruled by neoliberal practices about the market, the role of government and the purpose of education. Hence, it would be almost impossible to do away with the pervasive influence of this ideology, just by creating new policies.

But there is hope in that if more knowledge about discourses and ideology is created and disseminated, actors may begin to exercise a more powerful form of agency that may do away with these ideological

influences by raising awareness and begin to shift their discourses and practices toward those intended. After all, as Ball argues:

> Policies do not normally tell you what to do; they create circumstances in which the range of options available in deciding what to do are narrowed or changed. A response must still be put together, constructed in context, off-set against other expectations. (Ball, 1993: 12–13)

This chapter attempted to present an initial understanding of how discourse and ideology are shaping current policy transfer processes in three countries. However, its scope is limited in that it has only tackled the discourse level, while overlooking aspects of implementation and stakeholders' reactions and understandings, mostly because the indigenization processes are still in development. In this respect, the data may sow the seeds for a deeper understanding of how discourse and ideology contribute to the impact of transferred policies. Perhaps, if properly disseminated, it may contribute to the desired shift in discourse.

Questions for Reflection

(1) Given the pervasive influence of neoliberal ideologies in current educational reforms, what would you suggest as a potential lever to help shift discursive practices in the region?
(2) If standards are, necessarily, a neoliberal tool, how could the three countries whose situation was described in this chapter ascertain quality in the education of teachers without resorting to such a tool?
(3) Even when contextualized to the local reality and born out of careful and purposeful negotiations among all parties involved, progressive tools for change fail to capture the underlying reality. Is this so? If it is, what options do progressive governments have to conscientize the key actors in a reform?

References

Auerbach, E. (1995) The politics of the ESL classroom: Issues of power in pedagogical choices. In J.W. Tollefson (ed.) *Power and Inequality in Language Education* (pp. 9–33). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ball, S.J. (1993) What is policy? Texts, trajectories and toolboxes. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 13 (2), 10–17.

Beech, J. (2006) The theme of educational transfer in comparative education: A view over time. *Research in Comparative and International Education* 1 (1), 2–13.

Benson, D. and Jordan, A. (2011) What have we learned from policy transfer research? Dolowitz and Marsh revisited. *Political Studies Review* 9 (3), 366–378.

Block, D., Gray, J. and Holborow, M. (2012) Introduction. In D. Block, J. Gray and M. Holborow (eds) *Neoliberalism and Applied Linguistics* (pp. 1–13). London: Routledge.

Bourdieu, P. (2005) *The Social Structures of the Economy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cobb, T. (2012) *Compleat Lexical Tutor*. See http://www.lextutor.ca/ (accessed May 8, 2013).
Codd, J.A. (1988) The construction and deconstruction of educational policy documents. *Journal of Education Policy* 3 (3), 235–247.
Contreras, C. (2010) Comentarios acerca de la definición de estándares desde una perspectiva crítica [A critical appraisal of the standards development process]. In G. Díaz Maggioli and N. Kuhlman (eds) *Estándares para la Educación de Docentes de Lenguas Extranjeras* [*Standards for Foreign Language Teacher Education*] (pp. 31–34). Montevideo: Dirección de Formación y Perfeccionamiento Docente, Administración Nacional de Educación Pública.
Council of Europe (2001) *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Crookes, G. (2013) *Critical ELT in Action: Foundations, Promises, Praxis.* New York: Routledge.
Díaz Maggioli, G. and Kuhlman, N. (2010) *Estándares para la Educació*n de Docentes de Lenguas Extranjeras [*Standards for Foreign Language Teacher Education*]. Montevideo: Dirección de Formación y Perfeccionamiento Docente, Administración Nacional de Educación Pública.
Dolowitz, D.P. and Marsh, D. (2012) The future of policy transfer research. *Political Studies Review* 10 (3), 339–345.
Foucault, M. (2001) *Power: The Essential Works of Foucault 1954–1984*. London: Penguin.
Gray, J. and Block, D. (2012) The marketisation of language teacher education and neoliberalism: Characteristics, consequences and future prospects. In D. Block, J. Gray and M. Holborow (eds) *Neoliberalism and Applied Linguistics* (pp. 114–143). London: Routledge.
Halpin, D. and Troyna, B. (1995) The politics of educational policy borrowing. *Comparative Education* 31 (3), 303–310.
Holborow, M. (2012a) Neoliberal key words and the contradictions of an ideology. In D. Block, J. Gray and M. Holborow (eds) *Neoliberalism and Applied Linguistics* (pp. 33–55). London: Routledge.
Holborow, M. (2012b) What is neoliberalism? Discourse, ideology and the real world. In D. Block, J. Gray and M. Holborow (eds) *Neoliberalism and Applied Linguistics* (pp. 14–32). London: Routledge.
Johnson, R.B. and Onwuegbuzie, A.J. (2004) Mixed methods research: A research paradigm whose time has come. *Educational Researcher* 33 (7), 14–26.
Johnson, R.B., Onwuegbuzie, A.J. and Turner, L.A. (2007) Toward a definition of mixed-methods research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 1 (2), 112–133.
Kuhlman, N. and Knezevic, B. (2014) *TESOL EFL Guidelines for Teacher Standards Development*. Alexandria, VA: TESOL.
Lave, J. and Wenger, E. (1991) *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Leech, N.L. and Onwegbuzie, A.J. (2009) A typology of mixed methods research designs. *Quality Quantity* 43 (2), 265–275.
Marginson, S. (2006) National and global competition in higher education. In H. Lauder, P. Brown, J.A. Dillabough and A.H. Halsey (eds) *Education, Globalization and Social Change* (pp. 893–908). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
McCann, E. and Ward, K. (2012) Policy assemblages, mobilities and mutations: Towards a multidisciplinary conversation. *Political Studies Review* 10 (3), 325–332.
Ministry of Education, Chile. (2013) *Pedagogical Standards for English Language Teacher Preparation.* Santiago: Author.
Ministry of Education, Ecuador. (2012) *Ecuadorian In-Service English Teacher Standards.* Quito: Author.

Olssen, M. (2006) Neoliberalism, globalization, democracy: Challenges for education. In H. Lauder, P. Brown, J.A. Dillabough and A.H. Halsey (eds) *Education, Globalization and Social Change* (pp. 261–287). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Olssen, M., Codd, J. and O'Neill, A.M. (2004) *Educational Policy: Globalization, Citizenship and Democracy.* London: Sage.

Pennycook, A. (2001) *Critical Applied Linguistics: A Critical Introduction.* New York: Routledge.

Phillips, D. and Ochs, K. (2004) Researching policy borrowing: Some methodological challenges in comparative education. *British Educational Research Journal* 30 (6), 773–784.

Room, G. (2000) Globalisation, social policy and international standard-setting: The case of higher education credentials. *International Journal of Social Welfare* 9 (2), 103–119.

Saltman, K.J. (2009) Corporatization and the control of schools. In M.W. Apple, W. Au and L.A. Gandin (eds) *The Routledge International Handbook of Critical Education* (pp. 51–63). New York: Routledge.

Souto-Otero, M. (2011) Making higher education work: A comparison of discourses in the United Kingdom's Conservative and Labour Parties' general election manifestos between 1979 and 2010. *Comparative Educational Review* 55 (3), 293–314.

Thrupp, M. and Hursh, D. (2006) The limits of managerialist school reform: The case of target-setting in England and the USA. In H. Lauder, P. Brown, J.A. Dillabough and A.H. Halsey (eds) *Education, Globalization and Social Change* (pp. 642–653). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Vaillant, D. (2007, September) *La Identidad Docente* [*Teacher Identity*]. Ponencia en el Primer Congreso Internacional 'Nuevas Tendencias en la Formación Permanente del Profesorado' [Paper presented at the First International Conference on 'New Trends in Teacher Development'], Barcelona, Spain.

Vygotsky, L.S. (1978) *Mind in Society: The Development of Higher Psychological Processes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Walqui, A. and van Lier, L. (2010) *Scaffolding the Academic Success of Adolescent English Language Learners: A Pedagogy of Promise*. San Francisco, CA: WestEd.

Williams, R. (1983) *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (2nd edn). London: Fontana.

3 Language Policy and Language Practice in Uruguay: A Case of Innovation in English Language Teaching in Primary Schools

Claudia A. Brovetto

Introduction

Uruguay is a relatively small country with a reduced population in comparison with its neighbors and the rest of the South American countries. The Uruguayan population is diverse in origins due to immigration from several European countries in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the most important in number coming from Italy and Spain. In contrast with the reality of other South American countries, Uruguay lacks an indigenous population. Still, linguistic diversity has been a notable characteristic of Uruguayan society from its beginnings as an independent country. In spite of this fact, or maybe to compensate for this diversity, a strong Spanish-only feeling has been imposed, mainly through primary public education, to contribute to the generation of the national identity as a unit.

In spite of the above, foreign language (FL) teaching has a long tradition in Uruguayan public and private education. Different languages have been present in the curricular structure of the state education system over the years, which is revealing of what Uruguayan governments, and society at large, have considered relevant and adequate in terms of internal goals (involving the integration of a linguistically diverse population) and external/international positioning.

In Uruguay, language policies have been at the center of public attention during the past two decades in an unprecedented way. This special attention to linguistic matters has resulted in the development of important official documents that explicitly state the direction and goals of public education in reference to language teaching.

This chapter presents an analysis of the Uruguayan case that integrates three main components. The first part of the chapter is dedicated to the presentation of three language policy documents that directly target FL teaching, and which constitute the macro-context in which an innovative English as a foreign language (EFL) program can arise. Secondly, I turn the focus to the more specific field of English language teaching in Uruguay, its social perception, its connotations both in the field of education and in Uruguayan society in general. Finally, the chapter presents the antecedents and design of an innovative project for the teaching of English in Uruguayan public primary schools. The interest in this particular project resides in its innovative features related to its use of technology, the repositioning of teachers' roles and its potential impact on the teaching of English in Uruguay.

Language Policies and Language Planning in Uruguay

Spanish is the language spoken by the majority of the Uruguayan population. As already noted, it would not be accurate, however, to claim that Uruguay is linguistically homogeneous. Uruguay exhibits linguistic heterogeneity coming from two main sources: the presence of Uruguayans who speak languages different from Spanish, and the inherent diversity in the varieties of Spanish spoken in the territory. These sources of linguistic diversity will be explained below in relation to the statement and implementation of language policies.

Spanish was never established as the official language of Uruguay in an explicit way. More generally, language policies in Uruguay have not been traditionally explicitly stated. As shown by research in the field (Administración Nacional de Educación Pública, 2008; Barrios *et al*., 1993; Behares, 1984, 2007; Behares & Brovetto, 2009), Uruguay seems to have chosen to establish language policies in a tacit mode, i.e. without the explicit formulation of language goals in public documents. The reference to language issues in legal documents (laws, decrees and regulations) has been marginal in Uruguay; language policies have been established at the level of *consuetudine* or *habitus*, in a sort of tacit agreement with society based on customs and cultural tradition; the explicit design and implementation of linguistic policies has been established in the frame of public educational policies.

In the past decade, however, a change in this approach has taken place, probably in alignment with a more general international tendency to focus on linguistic matters at the academic and governmental levels (Calvet, 1996). Following this general movement, Uruguay has recently undergone a very intense period in which language policies were made explicit, with justification for planning strategies and with the clear statement of long-term goals. I will refer here to three main documents: the *General Law of Education* (Ministerio de Educación y Cultura, 2008), the *Proceedings of the Commission on Linguistic Policies in Public Education* (Administración Nacional

de Educación Pública, 2008) and the new *Curriculum for Primary Schools* (Consejo de Educación Primaria, 2009).

In contrast to the previous tendency showing a lack of references to language at the level of general laws, a notable exception or change appears in the last *General Law of Education* in 2008 – currently in practice – where an explicit reference to Spanish and FLs appears (Ministerio de Educación y Cultura, 2008):

> The linguistic domain of education will pursue the development of people's communicative competences, the mastery of written language, the respect for linguistic varieties, the reflection about language, the consideration of different native languages present in the country (Uruguayan Spanish, Uruguayan Portuguese, Uruguayan Sign Language), and multilingual education through the teaching of second and foreign languages. (Law No. 18,437, Chapter VII, Art. 42, Item 5, translated by the author)

This law acknowledges the condition of linguistic heterogeneity of Uruguay and the importance of its consideration for the purposes of education. It is worth noting the reference to minority languages in Uruguay; in particular, the variety of Portuguese spoken in Uruguay (Portugués del Uruguay or Uruguayan Portuguese) and the sign language of the Uruguayan deaf community (Lengua de Señas Uruguaya or Uruguayan Sign Language). This law acknowledges, for the first time at the level of higher legal documents, that the Spanish spoken in Uruguay cannot be considered as a homogeneous language, since there are dialectal differences clearly identified and described (see Barrios, 1996; Behares, 1984, 1986; Carvalho, 2007; Elizaincín, 1992, 2010). Finally, and more importantly for the purposes of this chapter, reference to the teaching of FLs is included for the first time in a general law of education. In this specific matter, the text distinguishes second languages from FLs. It is possible for Portuguese to be considered a second language due to the fact that it is present in part of the Uruguayan population as a language of spontaneous communication.

The second official statement I refer to in this chapter is contained in the *Proceedings of the Commission on Linguistic Policies in Public Education* (Administración Nacional de Educación Pública, 2008). This material is the result of the work of a professional group appointed by the education authorities with the goal of producing a general proposal for the teaching of Spanish and other languages in the different segments of compulsory education. The interesting aspect of this material is that the group was explicitly formed with members coming from diverse political and educational backgrounds, with the intention of obtaining a final product accepted by different actors (academics, educators and politicians adhering to different parties).

This document is structured around seven principles. For the purposes of this chapter, I will focus on two of them, transcribed below:

> Principle 1. It should be promoted that the students' and teachers' experiences with the linguistic domain of education tend to the exercise of freedom, as social subjects integrated into communities, citizens open to knowledge, and as singular individuals.(…)
> Principle 7. Second and foreign languages constitute a fundamental component of education, as they relate to potential access to information, social and cultural participation, and they contribute to cognitive development. Multilingual education is considered desirable, in the modalities and with flexibility that each sub-segment of compulsory education allows for, considering the diversity of situations, regions, human groups and interests. (Administración Nacional de Educación Pública, 2008: 29–30, translated by the author)

Principle 1 places language teaching in a philosophical framework of liberal thought: language experience and teaching for the practice of individual freedom. Principle 7, in turn, focuses on the crucial place of FLs in modern education as a way of accessing information and actively participating in the social and cultural world. After these general principles, the document proposes establishing English and Portuguese as obligatory languages in public education beginning in primary school, and the possibility of studying other languages based on the specific interests of local communities or individuals further ahead in a student's career.

The third and last document analyzed in this section is the official *Curriculum for Primary Schools* in effect since 2008, which introduces for the first time the teaching of languages other than Spanish at the elementary education level (Brovetto, 2010). In this document, the primary school system is defined as multilingual in the following terms:

> The present syllabus is essentially multilingual, as it opens the possibility for the inclusion of other languages, apart from those already existing in the system, depending on social demand and the presence of linguistic communities that justify their inclusion, as well as on the availability of human and financial resources required for its implementation. (Consejo de Educación Primaria, 2009: 54, translated by the author)

Following that general statement, and in agreement with the proposal for linguistic policies, the teaching of English and Portuguese is established as compulsory. In what refers to the teaching of Portuguese, the official *Curriculum for Primary Schools* acknowledges the linguistic diversity that characterizes the Uruguayan population in the northeast of the country:

> Motivation for introducing the teaching of Portuguese (the native language for some children and a second language for others) in the region of the Uruguayan-Brazilian border derives from the need to acknowledge and respect the linguistic identity of the school population in the area, from the geographic location of our country and the need for regional communication. (…) In Uruguay, Portuguese is the native or second language of school children in the cities and towns of the border area, and a foreign language for the children in the rest of the country. (Consejo de Educación Primaria, 2009: 55, translated by the author)

In turn, the document justifies the teaching of English in the following terms:

> In the current international context English is very important, due to its status as the language for international communication, the most widely learned as a foreign language, and the one that concentrates the greatest amount of knowledge production. It is the main language used in scientific communication online, and the language most commonly used to access scientific and cultural material. In this framework, the inclusion of English at the elementary school level should allow students access to a variety of contemporary cultures that speak this language. (Consejo de Educación Primaria, 2009: 55–56, translated by the author)

Interestingly, these positive arguments are followed by the acknowledgement of a potential negative effect associated with the political and ideological dominance of English-speaking countries:

> Undoubtedly, the English language has been strongly associated with international centers of political power that have dominated a great part of western culture. It is crucial that the cultural sources of knowledge for teaching English be diverse, in order to facilitate access to cultural material coming from different English speaking nations. (Consejo de Educación Primaria, 2009: 56, translated by the author)

Foreign Language Teaching in Uruguayan Primary Schools

During the first half of the 20th century, different FLs were offered as part of public secondary schools' national curriculum. On the one hand, French, Italian and English were present as obligatory FLs in different school years and with varied numbers of hours per week. On the other

hand, Portuguese and German were present as optional, and outside the main curricular structure.

Nowadays, English is the obligatory FL throughout the elementary and secondary national curricula; the other FLs mentioned are offered as optional at the *Centros de Lenguas Extranjeras* (Foreign Language Centers that offer free tuition in various languages to students finishing elementary school), with a greater presence of Portuguese and Italian (though French, German and occasionally other languages are also included in some of these language centers, depending on the availability of teachers and the interest of students). (For a comprehensive study of the presence of FLs in the curriculum of secondary schools in Uruguay, see Barboza [2007].)

In reference to primary schools, the presence of FLs – and English in particular – is more recent, with a succession of different programs and proposals mainly developed in the last two decades. Other languages – mainly Italian – have also been present, but clearly with less scope in the number of schools and children. In 2003, Portuguese was introduced in public primary schools in the Portuguese-speaking areas of the country, with the explicit goal of acknowledging and respecting the presence of the Portuguese-speaking and Spanish–Portuguese bilingual population, as well as the proximity to the Brazilian border (Brovetto *et al*., 2007).

The late introduction of FLs in the primary school curriculum is not a peculiarity of the Uruguayan education system. The systematic introduction of FLs at the primary school level is a recent phenomenon in many countries in the world, and there still persists some discussion as to what the best age to start learning an FL is, as well as its impact on the development of the first language. Although there seems to be no clear evidence of advantages for starting FL teaching in early childhood (Singleton & Ryan, 2004), growing evidence from research in the field of applied linguistics reports attitudinal and motivational positive effects (Baker, 2001; Banfi, 2010; Pim, 2013). Previous assumptions claiming possible negative impacts on native language development following early exposure to an FL have not been supported by research. Although the opposite has not been proven either (clear positive impact on language or general cognitive development), there seems to be agreement on two aspects of early exposure: a positive impact on children's attitude and the opportunity of a greater total amount of time actively spent on learning a language (together with time availability) (Kirsch, 2008; Pim, 2013). These findings, together with modern societies' growing demand for language education based on the instrumental value of being proficient in English, have promoted the early introduction of English in primary schools in Uruguay. This phenomenon is not exclusive to the Uruguayan education system (see, for example, Banfi, 2010). As stated by Pim (2013):

> the growth of globalization in trade and the predominance of English in the media, particularly on the internet, have been responsible for

> driving change in language education policy and there is a global trend towards introducing English language teaching into the primary sector. (…) Parents often consider academic excellence in English to be the number one priority in terms of access to higher education, university accreditation and economic prosperity of their children. Consequently, in many countries, children now begin their study of English at primary level. (Pim, 2013: 19)

It is interesting to analyze this phenomenon in sociological terms. The role of society in the determination of what is valued in education in the field of FL teaching deserves more attention. In Uruguay, the decision to introduce English in the primary sector seems to come, among other factors, from an interpretation of social demand, that is, the perception that quality education in modern societies includes English, mostly related to the opportunities for better participation in the adult working world, but also in the English-speaking cultural world.

English in Uruguay: Social Perception and Symbolic Representation

English is the international language or lingua franca par excellence in Uruguay (Canale, 2010). Related to this fact, there is the general perception that knowledge of English is highly valued and constitutes in itself a feature of quality education. As pointed out in previous work, however, this feeling coexists with some resistance or opposition to English as the language of imperialism and domination (Brovetto, 2011). As explained in Canale (2010), in times of globalization, international languages are typically characterized as indispensable tools required for success. This discourse contrasts with that of defense of national languages as the main source for the preservation of a national identity and national pride. Interestingly, Canale (2010) points to the fact that English and Spanish share the feature of being themselves imperialist languages since the times of conquest and colonization. The former is, at present, the undisputed language for international communication, whereas the latter aims for this status.

The English language in Uruguay is associated with success in the professional world mainly, although not exclusively, through its connection with technology. Canale (2010) points out that many discourses that link English to globalization focus on the technological aspects associated with it. These claims reinforce the idea of the importance of English knowledge as a way of participating in modern society. Canale and Pugliese (2011) analyze the presence of references to English in the Uruguayan media. English is, in Uruguay, the FL with the largest presence in the media, both in what refers to the actual use of the language (words and texts in English)

and the opinions about it (articles and other features about English written in Spanish). According to these authors, and as pointed out before, this fact implies both an advantage to its promotion, and a somewhat negative counter effect: the pervasiveness of English language instruction has an opposite side on discourses that claim the negative effect of the English language on the basis of its relation to globalization, imperialism and the loss of national values. The real weight of these negative opinions, however, needs to be re-evaluated, since it seems to be restricted to a small proportion of Uruguayan society.

The Use of Telepresence in Foreign Language Teaching

In the context explained above, the incorporation of technology into the delivery of English language programs seems to make sense. This section presents recent approaches to the use of technology – more specifically, videoconference (VC) and telepresence – in FL teaching, which could be considered antecedents for the Uruguayan project described in the following section.

The use of VC can be framed within the larger field of Computer-Assisted Language Learning (CALL), an approach to language teaching and learning in which the computer is used as an aid to the presentation, reinforcement and assessment of material to be learned. Levy (1997: 1) defines CALL succinctly and broadly as 'the search for and study of applications of the computer in language teaching and learning'. Nowadays, CALL focuses on exploring computer-mediated communication and virtual learning environments, usually including a substantial interactive element (Salaberry, 2001; Stanley, 2013).

It is widely assumed that the use of technology is having a qualitative impact on language learning. Motteram (2013) points to the importance of exploring the way that technologies are deployed in the classroom and how they mediate practice. In what refers specifically to the use of videoconferencing in language teaching, it has been pointed out that much of the recent CALL literature has made reference to the imminent arrival of videoconferencing technology into the language classroom and about the benefits that this will have for both teachers and learners (O'Dowd, 2006).

VC can be defined as a point-to-point closed communication system connecting computers that are equipped with video. In order to take part in a VC call, users require a camera, a screen, a microphone, loudspeakers and the necessary software. Communication usually takes place via Integrated Services Digital Network lines or over the internet, using internet protocol addresses. Communication through VC may involve only two parties – bipartite teleconferencing or point to point – or several parties. In a

point-to-point VC communication in the context of education, a class sits in front of a large screen where they can view the participants at the other site, as well as a smaller image of themselves.

For many, this technology has come to be seen as the next logical addition to student interaction via email or chat programs. Using VC, students are not only able to interact and write to their teachers or virtual classmates, but they are also able to hear and see them. However, there is some evidence showing problems in the use of this technology (O'Dowd & Ritter, 2006; O'Dowd & Waire, 2009). Specifically, sound delay may happen when VC suffers from poor connectivity problems or busy lines, and could be especially confusing in an FL lesson. VC communication also affects some important aspects of face-to-face communication such as lip reading, eye contact and some features of body language that are part of natural co-presence and are often hidden or distorted in a technology-mediated communication setting. These missing cues can sometimes lead to misunderstandings, interruptions and lack of comprehension. Finally, and related to the previous negative aspects, authors refer to a sort of psychological distance between the participants in communications via VC.

In recent years, however, evidence of good practice and the positive impact of the use of VC for language teaching is starting to emerge, possibly related to better technical conditions, which allow for real-time communication with high-quality image and sound. Pim (2013) presents evidence of positive effects for students and teachers. This author reports on two case studies of use of videoconferencing in primary schools. The first one is an experience in Japan, where the teaching of English is compulsory in all elementary schools. This study reports an experience developed with sixth-grade primary school students who participated in a school link project with children in Australia through VC. The focus of the work was to share cultural experiences and develop oral competency for the Japanese children. Evaluations showed that the confidence and motivational level of the Japanese children increased from the experience of using authentic oral language with the native speakers from the Australian schools. Children also developed an interest in Australia and global issues.

The second case study reported by Pim (2013) is a project designed to promote EFL reading in Taiwan. A group of fifth-grade children in two different areas of Taiwan were linked up with experienced primary teachers for a series of book readings. It was found that both the children and the classroom teachers (CTs) gained from this experience. Through this project, the CTs were able to see good practices in book reading modeled by a skilled English speaker. Pim concludes that for students, synchronous solutions like videoconferencing and face-to-face interaction through online virtual worlds can bring learners together to communicate in a common language and share cultural experiences. From the perspective of teachers, videoconferencing can also bring specialist English teachers

into classrooms for the purposes of direct teaching and modeling good instructional practices. In a way, videoconferencing could be considered as an innovative modality of in-service training.

These promising cases point in the direction of the positive consequences of the use of VC in education.

CEIBAL en Inglés: A Case of Blended Teaching in Primary School

The project presented in this section is an EFL program supported by the use of two technological tools – students' laptops and VC room-technology – and two specialized teachers: a remote teacher (RT) of English and a Spanish-speaking CT. Given its dependence on technology, it can be considered in the broad field of CALL, as a case of e-tools for the development of language teaching and practice (see Plan CEIBAL [2012] for a presentational video of the program).

CEIBAL en Inglés is an educational program designed for teaching English to Uruguayan primary school children and their teachers in fourth, fifth and sixth grades (ages 9–12, see the chapter by Banfi, this volume). A pedagogical model has been developed for the program, which consists of a blend of face-to-face and remote team teaching through VC. The program has been designed to tackle an urgent problem in Uruguayan primary education: the lack of qualified teachers of English. The program provides an innovative technological solution to making more effective use of teachers who are available to teach but who are not physically located in the Uruguayan schools spread throughout the country. For this reason, VC equipment is employed to allow for remote teaching in real time.

Project design

The program design combines three modalities of language teaching that together define the specificities of this project: (1) *Remote teaching*: The teacher of English is not physically present in the classroom. Children meet their teacher of English remotely through VC every week. (2) *Team teaching*: In this project, two teachers, one in a remote environment and the other one in the classroom, are jointly responsible for course content, lesson activities and assessment. RTs and CTs can only teach through mutual cooperation. (3) *Blended teaching*: Blended teaching is a model of education that combines distance and face-to-face modalities. As will be explained below, *CEIBAL en Inglés* is a case of blended teaching: the teacher of English teaches remotely, while the CT does so face to face.

To promote the development of the English language skills of the children, the program includes: (a) the development of new pedagogical

models for lessons delivered by RTs via videoconferencing: a specific proposal for the use of information and communication technologies in the classroom, (b) a specific curriculum which includes step-by-step weekly lesson plans and digital content provision for student laptops and (c) evaluation of students' learning. For the English learning directed at the CTs, the program includes: (a) assessment of their level of English at their entrance in the program, (b) online training to improve English proficiency, (c) provision of online support through a virtual community for teachers and (d) ongoing assessment of language levels and the issuing of certificates (Banfi & Retarolli, 2012; Plan CEIBAL, 2014a).

The design of the project includes three 45-minute classes a week of English. These are called lessons A, B and C. Lesson A is taught by the RT via VC. During this lesson, the CT is also active, working in tandem with the RT to facilitate learning. She or he is also in charge of classroom management. Lessons B and C are led, organized and oriented by the CT who has limited proficiency in English, but who, through highly scripted lesson plans in Spanish is able to revise and recycle what is taught in Lesson A. Specially written lesson plans guide RTs and CTs in the content of lessons, containing games, songs, videos and other digital materials hosted on Plan CEIBAL's learning management system. The digital materials available in the platform can be accessed through the students' One Laptop Per Child (OLPC) laptops, popularly known as 'XOs' or '*CEIBALitas*'. The learning management system also allows for student–teacher individual communication, student–student and teacher–teacher group communication.

The use of videoconference: Benefits and limitations

The communication between the RTs, at one end, and the CTs and their groups of children, at the other, is done through a call between two equivalent VC pieces of equipment (the only difference is the size of the screen, which is required to be larger in the classroom to ensure proper visualization leading to the participation of a large group). The project uses Cisco VC technology installed in each urban school in the country. For the call to be established, both parties need connectivity through fiber optics. The call can be established independently of the geographic distance, within Uruguay or from abroad.

The VC equipment allows for audio and video communication, both parties can hear and see each other in real time, with excellent quality of sound and image. The camera which is part of the equipment has a zoom which allows viewers to regulate visions from a broad, general vision of the whole class, to more specific images of one student or a small group. The VC equipment permits file sharing by connecting a standard computer to the codec, and participants on one side may show the other side images, documents, songs and films. When sharing files, the equipment allows a

choice among different screen layouts. For example, the RT's image or the shared content can be minimized or maximized.

VC technology imposes certain specific restrictions. For example, there could be sound delay in the communication. Additionally, the RT may not walk around the classroom to see students' work, or speak individually to one of them; the RT and the children cannot see each other's full body, which has to be taken into account when doing certain activities which include movement. The fixed lockstep setup of the class (all students looking at the screen where the RT appears) is difficult to change. However, *CEIBAL en Inglés* addresses these problems with specific strategies. In what refers to quality of image and sound – which are the bases for solving the sound delays – the project only uses high-quality connectivity and testing to ensure lip sync quality. Altered face-to-face communication is harder to overcome. VC meetings do not allow for eye contact in a natural and spontaneous way. To deal with this problem, RTs reflect on this issue and discuss ways of maximizing their presence and actual contact. This is gained mainly through joint work with the CT, who provides the physical presence that the RT does not have (see RTs' testimonies at Stanley's 2014 blog). The psychological distance between the RT and his or her students is solved by the CT, who mediates interaction.

However, VC technology also has positive or potentially beneficial attributes. Specifically, the integration of digital material is more consistent and systematic in VC lessons than in face-to-face classes, since it is an integral part of the proposal that does not depend on additional technological equipment, and the screen layout options offer valuable alternatives for the use of digital materials.

The pedagogical approach

The goal of *CEIBAL en Inglés* is the teaching of EFL with integration of the four language skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing). The program aims at the acquisition of colloquial language for everyday communication, as well as more formal academic uses of English through the progressive integration of curricular academic content adapted to the age and stage of language development of students.

CEIBAL en Inglés can be identified with approaches within the broad label of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT), whose main principles are: communicative and contextualized teaching, student-centered instruction oriented at maximizing student speaking time and the integration of the four language skills. In accordance with current developments within CLT, *CEIBAL en Inglés* integrates practices of direct instruction of linguistic form (pronunciation, lexis and grammatical structures).

The project locates spoken language at the heart of classroom practice. Dialogic pedagogies (Alexander, 2008; Wells, 1999, rooted in Vygotsky,

1986) promote interactive language as a way of moving understanding and knowledge forward. Following the seminal work by Bruner (1996), the program focuses on the interactive nature of learning and the way in which language requires both challenge and scaffolding by a competent language user to move forward.

Alexander (2008) suggests five indicators of truly dialogic interaction. First, dialogic interaction is collective: learning tasks are addressed together, in groups or as a class. Second, it is reciprocal in that teachers and children listen to each other, share ideas and consider alternative viewpoints. Third, it is supportive: children articulate ideas freely, helping each other to reach common understandings. Fourth, it is cumulative since teachers and children build on their own and each other's ideas and chain them into a coherent line of thinking and enquiry. Finally, dialogic interaction is purposeful: teachers plan and facilitate dialogic teaching with particular educational goals in view.

Innovation in teachers' roles

The main feature of CEIBAL en *Inglés* is the fact that there are two professionals involved in the teaching process: one knows English and the challenges of second language acquisition, the other knows the Uruguayan educational public system, the school and the students (Kaplan, 2014). Only between the two of them can they gather all the skills needed for teaching English to young learners.

CTs are the activators and the learning enablers. Thus, this program positions CTs differently: they do not previously possess the content they enable to be learned; however, they have vast experience as learners and can discriminate reliable sources from others, and can, most importantly, help students find the necessary organization, work ethic and adult support to guide their learning. They are not a model of language, but are a model of learning. In this program, RTs *model* the language and CTs are the *enablers* of learning (Kaplan, 2014).

The relationship between students and their RTs is mediated by the technology and the CTs, who are not only responsible for classroom management, but are the main link between the students and English language learning. Thus, CTs are not mere facilitators or organizers of the situation. They are the ones that make communication possible and effective, transforming the VC communication into a successful learning situation that engages as many students as possible. As explained by Kaplan, the strength of CTs lies in that they know how to create the best learning context for their students; they are the ones that can inspire in children the attitude required for learning: careful listening, concentration, meaning seeking and finding in every activity in the context of the classroom, and beyond its walls.

Progressive expansion and evaluation

The *CEIBAL en Inglés* project was designed by a group of specialists in Plan CEIBAL in Uruguay. Although inspired by other teaching experiences around the world, it presents specific characteristics that make it unique. Since its initial stages, the project has been co-conducted by a local team together with members of the British Council, who submitted a proposal in an international tender and was chosen by Plan CEIBAL in 2011. The project began as a small-scale pilot in July 2012, with the teaching of 50 remote lessons each week in 20 urban schools outside the capital city, using teachers based in Argentina and Colombia. In 2013, Plan CEIBAL and the British Council progressively expanded the project, first to 500 remote lessons per week (in March 2013), and later to 1000 remote lessons (in July 2013). In order to achieve this dramatic expansion, Plan CEIBAL hired several suppliers from Uruguay – both independent teachers of English and already established private English language schools – and the British Council provided lessons taught from schools in Argentina, the United Kingdom and the Philippines, as well as British Council language centers. At the beginning of the 2014 school year, the number of remote lessons doubled again to over 2,000 each week, reaching approximately 50,000 children. In 2015 and 2016, the program reached the goal of 3,500 groups (3,500 remote lessons each week) at 560 schools, benefiting approximately 80,000 children. The expansion was done in coordination with an existing fact-to-face program, which in 2016 was present in 295 schools, and, as of mid-July, has reached a population of approximately 30,000 children of fourth to sixth grades. The joint work of both programs made it possible to reach 94% of urban schools in the country.

From the beginning of the project, impact evaluation strategies were carefully designed and implemented. In 2013, a comprehensive evaluation project was conducted to gather evidence of the students' progress in English learning (Plan CEIBAL, 2014b). An evaluation of impact carried out with approximately 7700 children participating in the project revealed that students made progress between July 2013 when first tested, and November 2013 when they were retested. Two groups of children participated in the study. The first group had started to take English lessons in March 2013 (Group 1), and the second group in July 2013 (Group 2). Both groups were tested in July and November using equivalent tests (Test 1 and Test 2). Each test included 40 multiple-choice questions aimed at evaluating grammar and vocabulary presented online to children on their laptops, and an open question that evaluated writing (Plan CEIBAL, 2014b).

The evaluation results were consistent and robust: children of both groups performed better in the second test than in the first test. After one semester of English lessons, children showed significant progress in

all grades (fourth, fifth and sixth) and all social contexts. Group 1 showed a mean difference of 5.6 points (out of 40) between Test 1 and Test 2, at a highly statistically significant level (p-value=0.0001). Group 2 showed an even stronger effect: 6.1 points increase in the mean results of Test 2 over Test 1 (p-value=0.0001). In terms of social equity – which is in the mission of Plan CEIBAL and one of its main goals as an institution – the evaluation of impact revealed interesting and promising results. Although children in high socio-economic contexts performed better in general and absolute numbers than children in low socio-economic contexts, the data show that all children learned at similar rates, with a tendency toward a reduction in the social gap. Thus, rather than contributing to widening social gaps in educational achievement, the program could contribute to reducing them.

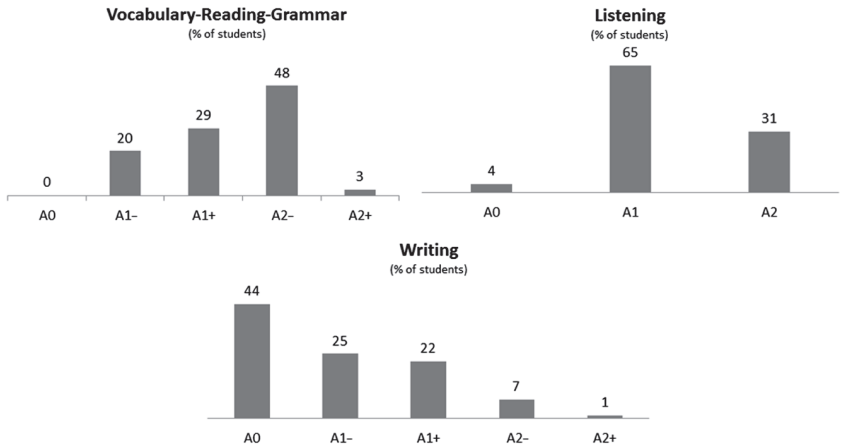
After this first evaluation, in 2014 an adaptive online test was created and administered for the first time in the Uruguayan educational system to evaluate children's learning of English. An adaptive test is a special online evaluation tool that adjusts to the students' level. Students are presented a question and, depending on the accuracy of the answer, they are next offered an easier or more difficult question. In this way, with a relatively short number of items, the test is able to determine the level of the student in a potentially wide range of knowledge.

The adaptive test is a powerful tool to evaluate a large and diverse population like the one attending Uruguayan public schools, including children of fourth to sixth grades, ages 9–12, with diverse previous experience and number of years studying English and in different modalities (e.g. face to face, in private academies). This diversity would be very hard to capture through traditional non-adaptive tests.

In 2014, 48,693 children took the adaptive test. In 2015, the number increased to 65,699, which represented 62% of the target population. In December 2014, the test included vocabulary, reading, grammar and writing. In 2015, the test included three concatenated online sections: (a) vocabulary/reading/grammar (adaptive multiple choice), (b) listening comprehension (adaptive multiple choice) and (c) writing (non-adaptive open question). In scoring the tests, the levels of proficiency were adapted from the levels of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, and Assessment (Council of Europe, 2001): A0 (no knowledge of English), A1–, A1+, A2–, A2+ (Elementary High).

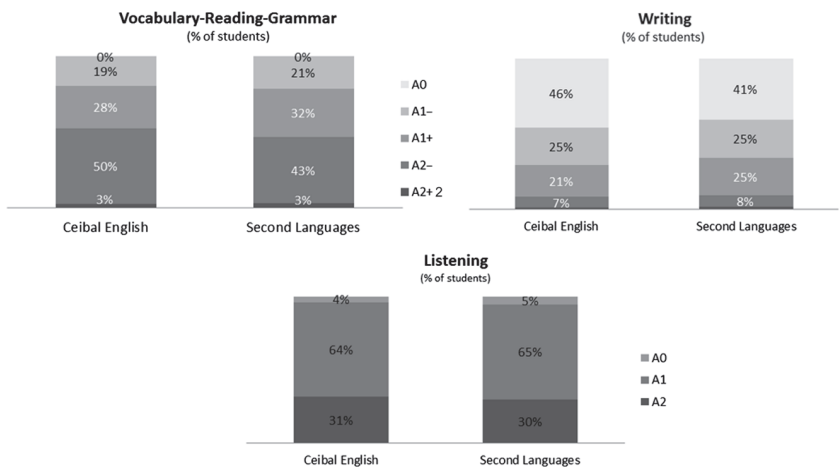
The following series of graphs show the results obtained in 2015 by children attending remote and face-to-face lessons, and the progress with respect to 2014 (for a complete presentation of results, see Plan CEIBAL, 2016). Graph 3.1 presents global results for the three sections of the test in 2015. Graph 3.2 distinguishes results by type of program (face to face and remote teaching).

The results are interesting and revealing in two main ways. First, Graph 3.1 shows learning on the part of the students, with variation in the

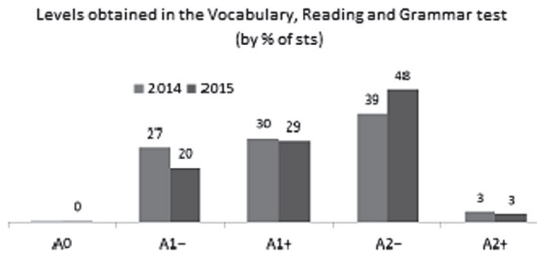


Graph 3.1 General results of the 2015 adaptive English test for *CEIBAL en Inglés*

different components of the test. While the vocabulary/reading/grammar test shows that the majority of children reached A2 level, the listening comprehension test shows the majority of children at A1 level. In turn, the writing test presents the weakest results of the test. Considering that the goal of the program after three years of exposure is to reach the A2 level, and that writing is not the focus of the program, the results can be considered to be good and promising. Second, the results presented in Graph 3.2 show that children in *CEIBAL en Inglés* (remote VC lessons) and



Graph 3.2 Results by program: Face-to-face program and *CEIBAL en Inglés* (VC remote teaching program)



Graph 3.3 Compared results in the adaptive English test (vocabulary/reading/grammar) in 2014 and 2015

in the face-to-face program present very similar results. This is especially revealing for an innovative program like *CEIBAL en Inglés*.

Graph 3.3 presents comparative results between the 2014 and 2015 tests for the vocabulary/reading/grammar component, which was present in both editions. It can be seen that the comparison shows general progress in the results. In percentage of students, in 2015 more children reached A2 and fewer children were at the lower A1– and A1+ levels. From 2014 to 2015, there was a slight shift toward the right in the results, which indicates better performance in 2015 compared to 2014, with a 9-point increase in the percentages of students at the A2– level.

In summary, the results of the *CEIBAL en Inglés* evaluation strongly suggest that the VC model proposed by the program has great potential both for the teaching and learning of EFL.

Final Reflections

This chapter presented an EFL project developed in Uruguayan public primary schools in the wider frame of Uruguayan language policy and people's perception of the English language and the importance of teaching English in the public education sector. The emergence of an innovative project was possible in the context of an educational system that had clearly stated its goals with respect to FL learning and, more generally, language policy, and identified the obstacles for reaching them.

By way of conclusion, I would like to state that *CEIBAL en Inglés* is a case of innovation (see the chapter by Banfi, this volume). Stoller (2012) makes the distinction between change and innovation. To her, change can be perceived as foreseeable and unavoidable. It may lead to an alteration of current conditions, but may not result in actual transformations. Innovation, on the other hand, places an emphasis on purposeful actions that contain an element of naivite intended to provide improvements in current conditions with the purpose of extending the reach of these actions to other spheres of activity.

I would like to claim that the *CEIBAL en Inglés* project has two main innovative aspects. First, its use of technological components for the redistribution of local human capacity to compensate for the lack of local teachers of English, a fact that is unprecedented in the Uruguayan education system. Second, the new role attributed to CTs. The program offers local teachers the chance of positioning themselves in a role that clearly departs from the traditional place of possessing the knowledge. In that sense, the proposal is in line with contemporary trends that propose a dynamic view of the educational process, where teachers are supporters of learners in their learning, moving away from a transmission-based view (Bolitho, 2012).

In order for an innovation to be successful and sustainable, teachers need to be guided to change their attitudes and beliefs toward the learning process. *CEIBAL en Inglés* involves what Fullan (2007) calls *reculturing* on the part of teachers. The project situates teachers as both the target of a change initiative and change agents. They need to be involved in all stages of the project and inspired to take ownership of the change. Whether the program is successful in sustaining this innovative role and teachers feel themselves as agents of change is something worth exploring with specific studies and invites for further research.

Questions for Reflection

(1) What should you consider when planning a bilingual education program in your context?
(2) What type of data would you collect if you were to carry out a diagnosis to implement a national policy – language learning policy – in your institution?
(3) What considerations can be drawn from this chapter in regard to the development of EFL programs in your country/region/city?
(4) What are the implications of this chapter in what refers to the interaction of technology and pedagogy for language teaching?

References

Administración Nacional de Educación Pública (2008) *Documentos e Informes Técnicos de la Comisión de Políticas Lingüísticas en la Educación Pública* [*Proceedings of the Commission on Linguistic Policies in Public Education*]. Montevideo, Uruguay: Administración Nacional de Educación Pública-Consejo Directivo Central.

Alexander, R.J. (2008) *Towards Dialogic Teaching: Rethinking Classroom Talk* (4th edn). York: Dialogos.

Baker, C. (2001) *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* (3rd edn). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Banfi, C.S. (2010) *Los Primeros Pasos en las Lenguas Extranjeras: Modalidades de Enseñanza y Aprendizaje* [*First Steps in Learning Foreign Languages: Ways of Teaching and Learning*]. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Novedades Educativas.

Banfi, C. and Rettaroli, S. (2012) *Manual para Docentes: Plan Ceibal en Inglés* [*Handbook for Teachers: Ceibal in English Programme*]. August 2012 version. Buenos Aires: British Council.

Barboza, L. (2007) Informe sobre la organización curricular del dominio lingüístico de los Programas y Planes de Estudio de ANEP desde 1941 a 2007 [Report on the organization of the linguistic domain in national educational frameworks and curriculum guidelines in the National Administration of Public Education from 1941 to 2007]. In ANEP-CODICEN (ed.) *Documentos e Informes Técnicos de la Comisión de Políticas Lingüísticas en la Educación Pública* [*Documents and Reports of the National Commission on Linguistic Policies in Public Education*] (pp. 131–260). See http://www.anep.edu.uy/anep/phocadownload/politicaslingusiticas/documentos/comisionpoliticaslinguisticaseducacion%20publica.pdf (accessed April 8, 2014).

Barrios, G. (1996) Marcadores lingüísticos de etnicidad [Linguistic ethnicity markers]. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 117 (1), 81–98.

Barrios, G., Behares, L., Elizaincín, A., Gabbiani, B. and Mazzolini, S. (1993) Planificación y políticas lingüísticas en Uruguay [Linguistic planning and linguistic policies in Uruguay]. *Iztapalapa* 29, 76–190.

Behares, L. (1984) *Planificación Lingüística y Educación en la Frontera Uruguaya con Brasil* [*Linguistic Planning and Education in the Uruguay–Brazil Border*]. Montevideo: Instituto Interamericano del Niño.

Behares, L. (1986) *Cuatro Estudios sobre la Sociolingüística del Lenguaje de Señas Uruguayo* [*Four Studies on the Sociolinguistics of Uruguayan Sign Language*]. Montevideo: Instituto Interamericano del Niño.

Behares, L. (2007) Portugués del Uruguay y educación fronteriza [Uruguayan Portuguese and education on the border]. In C. Brovetto, J. Geymonat and N. Brian (eds) *Portugués del Uruguay y Educación Bilingüe* [*Uruguayan Portuguese and Bilingual Education*] (pp. 99–171). Montevideo: Administración Nacional de Educación Pública-Consejo de Educación Primaria.

Behares, L. and Brovetto, C. (2009) Políticas lingüísticas en el Uruguay. Análisis de sus modos de establecimiento [Linguistic policies in Uruguay: An analysis of the means for its implementation]. In C. Brovetto (ed.) *Primer Foro Nacional de Lenguas de ANEP* [*Proceedings of the First Languages Forum of ANEP*] (pp. 143–174). Montevideo: Administración Nacional de Educación Pública-Consejo Directivo Central.

Bolitho, R. (2012) Projects and programmes: Contemporary experience in ELT change management. In C. Tribble (ed.) *Managing Change in English Language Teaching: Lessons from Experience* (pp. 33–45). London: British Council.

Brovetto, C. (2010) Educación bilingüe de frontera y políticas lingüísticas en Uruguay [Bilingual education on the border with Brazil and linguistic policies in Uruguay]. *Pro-Posições* 21 (63), 25–43.

Brovetto, C. (2011) Lengua y cultura: Un análisis de las formas de participación cultural de los profesores de inglés en Uruguay [Language and culture: An analysis of the means of cultural participation of English as a foreign language teachers in Uruguay]. In G. Canale (ed.) *El Inglés Como Lengua Extranjera en el Uruguay* [*English as a Foreign Language in Uruguay*] (pp. 87–112). Montevideo: Cruz del Sur.

Brovetto, C., Geymonat, J. and Brian, N. (eds) (2007) *Portugués del Uruguay y Educación Bilingüe* [*Uruguayan Portuguese and Bilingual Education*]. Montevideo: Administración Nacional de Educación Pública-Consejo de Educación Primaria.

Bruner, J. (1996) *The Culture of Education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Calvet, L.J. (1996) *Las Políticas Lingüísticas* [*Linguistic Policies*]. Buenos Aires: Edicial.

Canale, G. (2010) *Globalización y Lenguas Internacionales. Identidades, Discursos y Políticas Lingüísticas* [*Globalization and International Languages: Identities, Discourses and Linguistic Policies*]. Montevideo: Universidad de la República, FHCE/CSIC.

Canale, G. and Pugliese, L. (2011) Gardel triunfó sin cantar en inglés: Discursos sobre el inglés en la prensa uruguaya actual [Gardel succeeded without singing in English: Discourses on English in the Uruguayan press]. In G. Canale (ed.) *El Inglés Como Lengua Extranjera en el Uruguay* [*English as a Foreign Language in Uruguay*] (pp. 17–33). Montevideo: Cruz del Sur.

Carvalho, A.M. (2007) Diagnóstico sociolingüístico de comunidades escolares fronterizas en el norte del Uruguay [Sociolinguistic diagnosis of school communities on the northern border of Uruguay]. In C. Brovetto, J. Geymonat and N. Brian (eds) *Portugués del Uruguay y Educación Bilingüe* [*Uruguayan Portuguese and Bilingual Education*] (pp. 49–98). Montevideo: Administración Nacional de Educación Pública-Consejo Directivo Central.

Consejo de Educación Primaria (2009) *Programa de Educación Inicial y Primaria. Administración Nacional de Educación Pública* [*National Curriculum for pre-K and Elementary Education in the National Administration of Public Education*]. Montevideo: ANEP-CEP.

Council of Europe (2001) *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Elizaincín, A. (1992) El español actual en el Uruguay [Uruguayan Spanish]. In C. Hernández Alonso (ed.) *Historia y Presente del Español de América* [*History and Currency of Spanish in the Americas*] (pp. 743–758). Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León.

Elizaincín, A. (2010) Perfil lingüístico del Uruguay [The linguistic profile of Uruguay]. In G. Brovetto (ed.) *Segundo Foro de Lenguas de la Administración Nacional de Educación Pública, 10–11 de octubre 2009* [*Proceedings of the Second Languages Forum of the National Administration of Public Education*] (pp. 57–75). Montevideo, Uruguay: Programa de Políticas Lingüísticas, Administración Nacional de Educación Pública-Consejo de Educación Primaria-Consejo Directivo Central.

Fullan, M. (2007) *The New Meaning of Educational Change* (4th edn). New York: Teachers' College Press.

Kaplan, G. (2014) *Education and Technological Tools in the CEIBAL en Inglés Learning Context*. Montevideo: Plan CEIBAL.

Kirsch, C. (2008) *Teaching Foreign Languages in the Primary School*. London: Continuum.

Levy, M. (1997) *Computer-Assisted Language Learning: Context and Conceptualization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ministerio de Educación y Cultura (2008) *Ley General de Educación. Ley No. 18.437* [*General Education Law. Law No. 18,437*]. Montevideo: Dirección Nacional de Impresiones y Publicaciones Oficiales.

Motteram, G. (2013) Developing and extending our understanding of language learning and technology. In G. Motteram (ed.) *Innovations in Learning Technologies for English Language Teaching* (pp. 177–191). London: British Council.

O'Dowd, R. (2006) *Network-based Language Teaching and the Development of Intercultural Communicative Competence* (Doctoral dissertation, Universität Duisburg-Essen, Standort Essen, Dublin). See https://www.researchgate.net/publication/29800631_Network-based_language_teaching_and_the_development_of_intercultural_communicative_competence (accessed July 28, 2015).

O'Dowd, R. and Ritter, M. (2006) Understanding and working with 'failed communication' in telecollaborative exchanges. *CALICO Journal* 23 (3), 623–642.

O'Dowd, R. and Waire, P. (2009) Critical issues in telecollaborative task design. *Computer Assisted Language Learning* 22 (2), 173–188.

Pim, C. (2013) Emerging technologies, emerging minds: Digital innovations within the primary sector. In G. Motteram (ed.) *Innovations in Learning Technologies for English Language Teaching* (pp. 15–42). London: British Council.

Plan CEIBAL (2012) *CEIBAL en Inglés Video* [*CEIBAL in English Online Video*]. See http://www.CEIBAL.edu.uy/art%C3%ADculo/noticias/institucionales/CEIBALeningles (accessed May 12, 2014).

Plan CEIBAL (2014a) *CEIBAL en Inglés: Presentación y Descripción del Programa* [*CEIBAL in English: An Introduction and Description of the Program*]. See http://www.ceibal.edu.uy/Documents/Ceibal%20en%20Ingl%C3%A9s%20-%20Presentaci%C3%B3n%20Metodol%C3%B3gica_2014.pdf (accessed August 11, 2015).

Plan CEIBAL (2014b) *Programa CEIBAL en Inglés 2014. Evaluación de Aprendizajes* [*CEIBAL in English 2014: Learning Evaluation*]. See http://www.CEIBAL.edu.uy/Documents/Evaluacion_aprendizajes_CEIBAL_en_Ingles_Version_Completa.pdf (accessed August 11, 2015).

Plan CEIBAL (2016, March 2) *Results of Adaptive English Evaluation 2015*. See http://www.ceibal.edu.uy/Documents/Resumen%20Ejecutivo_Evaluacio%CC%81n%20en%20Ingle%CC%81s%202015_02032016_final_2.pdf (accessed May 22, 2016).

Salaberry, M.R. (2001) The use of technology for second language learning and teaching: A retrospective. *The Modern Language Journal* 85 (1), 39–56.

Singleton, D. and Ryan, L. (2004) *Language Acquisition: The Age Factor* (2nd edn). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Stanley, G. (2013) *Language Learning with Technology: Ideas for Integrating Technology in the Classroom*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Stanley, G. (2014) *Reflections on Teaching and Learning* [web blog]. See http://blog-efl.blogspot.com/.

Stoller, F. (2012) Catalyst for innovation. In M.A. Christison and F. Stoller (eds) *A Handbook for Language Program Administrators* (2nd edn, pp. 37-55). Miami Beach, FL: Alta Book Center.

Vygotsky, L. (1986) *Thought and Language*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Wells, G. (1999) *Dialogic Enquiry: Towards a Sociocultural Practice and Theory of Education*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

4 Language Teaching in the Brazilian Changing Scenario of Language Education Policies

Adriana Maria Tenuta, Míriam Jorge and Ricardo Augusto de Souza

Introduction

Notwithstanding the fact that access to the teaching of languages other than Portuguese has been an educational goal for public education in Brazil since 1996, up until very recently there had not been any specific governmental programs fostering the implementation of modern foreign languages (MFLs) teaching in the country's public schools. This state of affairs began to change with the inclusion of the teaching of such languages in the so-called *National Program of School Textbooks* (Programa Nacional do Livro Didático [PNLD], in Portuguese). The PNLD is a program that represents an important policy change for education in Brazil. As a result of the program, textbooks are evaluated in terms of carefully planned quality standards and the most solid pedagogical guidelines in each school subject area that the program covers. Textbook series selected in this systematic evaluation are then listed in a catalogue distributed to all public schools in the country, so that teachers and administrators can choose titles that will be given free of charge to their students.

While this program has financed the acquisition of textbooks for use in different content areas in public schools for more than 10 years, it was only in 2011 that teachers and students in state schools started to use textbooks of Spanish and English supplied by the government through this national program. We see this as a major innovation in the teaching of languages other than Portuguese in Brazil, as it departs from a long state of lack of policies specifically aimed at second language education in the country.

In this chapter, we describe the PNLD and discuss its significance. Specifically, we begin by describing the role of languages other than Portuguese in Brazil. We then describe the *National Curriculum Parameters*

for MFLs and review research on school textbooks, with a special focus on English as a foreign language (EFL) textbooks. In the remainder of the chapter, we focus on the Brazilian *National Program of School Textbooks*.

The Role of Modern Foreign Languages in Brazilian Society

Brazil is the largest Portuguese-speaking nation in the world both in population and territorial size, and such a linguistic profile sets it apart within the context of predominantly Spanish-speaking South America. The history of Brazilian Portuguese can be narrated as the story of a shift from widespread multilingualism to the establishment of a reasonably stable national language (Mattos e Silva, 2004). Brazilian Portuguese has been the language of everyday use for the vast majority of the population in Brazil since the mid-18th century. This was the outcome of combined factors such as language policy, educational policy and the emergence and consolidation of initially printed and later also broadcast media (Mattos e Silva, 2004).

The successful spread of Brazilian Portuguese in Brazil seems to overlap with Brazilians' ambiguous attitudes toward languages other than Portuguese. Such attitudes swing between rejection and promotion. The rejection of languages other than Portuguese can be exemplified by policy aimed at the inhibition of the use of minority European immigrant languages – especially varieties of German – in southern Brazil during World War II and its aftermath (Oliveira & Altenhofen, 2011). On the other hand, the promotion of languages other than Portuguese is exemplified by the longevity of French and English in the school curriculum in Brazil, as both languages came to be taught along with classical languages (Latin and Greek) in the 19th century (Nogueira, 2007).

However, despite the fact that some languages, especially English, are regarded as assets (Nogueira, 2007), up until the 1990s, the status of languages other than Portuguese in the public school curriculum declined, and there was a decrease in the amount of hours of instruction and resources allocated to MFL education. Such decline and impoverishment of MFLs seemed to express a strictly monolingual view of language education for public schools (Oliveira & Altenhofen, 2011; Souza, 2011), according to which 'foreign languages' are indeed 'alien' languages, and as such they are a luxury that can be relegated to strict optionality and learned outside the school system by those who can afford it.

Still, in spite of the decline in the status of MFLs in public schools up until the end of the 20th century, English was – and still is – clearly a language of widespread prevalence in the linguistic landscape of Brazilian urban areas (Paiva, 2011). But beyond its presence in print, it is possibly

the presence of English through electronic media that best characterizes its role in the emergence of a definitely non-monolingual linguistic landscape. When the linguistic context wrought by media technologies is also included in the analysis of linguistic landscapes, it is possible to view a much more detailed picture of emerging and highly dynamic linguistic landscapes.

The presence of English through the media and its role in language learning has been described and analyzed in the European context (Berns *et al.*, 2007). There is some empirical evidence showing that Brazilian youth also experience new technologies as an arena for contact with English and communication in English. One example of the role played by the English language is in a study conducted by Silva (2012), which was designed to investigate the patterns of out-of-school English language use among undergraduate college students attending English for academic purposes classes in two Brazilian public universities (n=425). One of the universities in Silva's (2012) study was the Federal University of Minas Gerais – where the three authors of this chapter teach – and the other was the Federal University of Piauí. Minas Gerais and Piauí are Brazilian states that stand at opposite poles in economic terms: the former ranks among the richest, and the latter among the poorest in Brazil. In fact, the data in the study revealed the macroeconomic divide, with students in Minas Gerais reporting higher family incomes than the students in Piauí.

The participants in Silva's (2012) study were asked to respond to a survey that contained questions designed to rate their degree of agreement with statements that English was important for (1) listening to songs in English; (2) understanding TV shows from English-speaking countries (typically broadcast with subtitles in Portuguese in Brazil); (3) playing electronic games; (4) communicating on the internet with speakers of a variety of languages in English; and (5) participating in social networks.

The results of the study showed that there were more responses agreeing with the statement that 'knowledge of English is perceived to be important' over the five categories of media experience than responses disagreeing with it. In fact, the study showed that there was a statistically significant association between the English language and the students' experience with media such as music, TV shows and movies, games and internet communication among students attending college in the two socio-economically diverse settings covered in the survey.

The responses from the two student samples in Silva's (2012) study produce an interesting picture when considered separately. Among the Minas Gerais population, significantly more agreement than disagreement was found for understanding TV shows from English-speaking countries and internet communication with speakers of languages other than Portuguese. Among the Piauí population, significantly more agreement

than disagreement was found for appreciation of songs sung in English, understanding TV shows from English-speaking countries, appreciation of electronic games and internet communication with speakers of languages other than Portuguese. This picture clearly reveals that college students from one of the richest urban centers and one of the poorest areas in Brazil perceive a connection between the English language and a media linguistic landscape that was not, in any sense, restricted to written language. We understand Silva's (2012) findings as compelling evidence against the claim that Brazilian students are not immersed in a sociolinguistic context where they are not exposed to English in both speech and writing on a regular basis.

Silva's findings support Souza's (2011) arguments that if Brazilian MFL education policies fail to yield programs that foster communication in the broadest sense, then the teaching of MFLs may become fatally detached from real life. According to Souza's (2011) views, this detachment would result in a monolingual view of linguistic resources that currently prevails in Brazilian public education, maintaining languages other than Portuguese in an everlasting state of 'foreignness', which is at odds with life outside the school walls, where vibrant language contact in an emerging linguistic landscape may be taking place on an everyday basis. Whereas this is not a challenge exclusive to Brazilian public school MFL education (de Bot, 2007), it is certainly a critical one for a nation that in the past decades has had policies aimed at the mitigation of a historically significant social gap in high levels in the social and political agenda.

Therefore, the real challenge in MFL education in Brazil is to develop and implement policies that foster the teaching of languages for communication in the public sector, which mostly caters for a population that may not have access to private language instruction. In the next two sections, we describe such a policy, the *National Curriculum Parameters*, designed to propose a framework for teaching in public schools, and present research on school textbooks, pointing to the gaps in school textbook design. In the remainder of the chapter, we focus our attention on the PNLD-MFL.

An Educational Policy Change: The National Curriculum Parameters

As a follow-up to the 1996 Law of Basic Tenets and Guidelines for National Education (Presidency of Brazil, 1996), a new document setting standards and proposing principles for the teaching of languages other than Portuguese was released in 1999: the National Curriculum Parameters (Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais [PCN], in Portuguese) for MFLs (Ministry of Education of Brazil, 1999). The PCN for MFLs espoused a

view of language as a vehicle for social participation and communication. However, the PCN for MFLs came to life surrounded by controversy. The strife centered around the idea that the focus of MFL instruction in public schools should be on the development of reading skills, with writing, and especially listening and speaking, in a secondary role.

Proponents of the focus-on-reading pedagogy argued that a large proportion of the MFL teachers in Brazil might lack sufficient mastery of the languages to teach the four skills in the public school classroom. They also claimed that a large proportion of public school students would not need MFL skills beyond access to written information (Almeida, 2012). However, soon after the PCN for MFLs was published, such arguments received criticism from linguists who argued that any proposal to tie the teaching of MFLs in the Brazilian school system to the teaching of reading skills would only result in a serious detachment from the aspirations of students (Paiva, 2000; Souza, 2011), and reinforce the commonly held belief that effective learning of foreign languages cannot take place in public schools, but rather at private language institutes (Schmitz, 2009).

In relation to English language teaching and learning in Brazil, we adhere to the view that any program of instruction that fails to help students develop communicative skills in the broadest sense risks making MFL instruction offered at schools detached from the linguistic needs and aspirations of Brazilian youth. This view is supported by important arguments. First of all, it has been shown that knowledge of English is regarded not only as an asset, but also as a status symbol, especially among the upper classes in Brazil (Bohn, 2003; Paiva, 2011). Therefore, the denial of opportunities for adequate access to this linguistic resource in public schools – which usually cater for the less economically privileged – is likely to widen social gaps. Second, we believe that the claim that there are not real communicative needs beyond reading in English among the typical Brazilian school-age population, can only derive from a dramatic failure to comprehend the emerging linguistic landscape in which this population functions. For instance, Brazil served as host of the soccer World Cup (2014) and hosted the Summer Olympics in August 2016. These two events alone positioned Brazil as a world power and gave Brazilians additional communicative needs in English. Therefore, given this social and political context, it is important to understand what the research has to say about textbooks, particularly in the context of South America. We address this issue in the following section.

Research on school textbooks

As we have previously stated, English has an extremely important status in Brazil. One of the tools used to teach English, of course, is school textbooks. Over the past several years, research on school textbooks has

increased. However, there is no study that focuses on the impact of the PNLD. This section, therefore, provides an overview of work that has examined school textbooks in foreign language teaching.

Gómez-Rodríguez (2010) analyzed five school textbooks typically used in EFL classes in Latin America for their potential in developing communicative competence. The author, who did not reveal the titles of the textbooks reviewed to avoid readers' preconceptions about them, found that the five English textbooks he examined demonstrated their inability to help students develop communicative language competence alone. These textbooks did not include enough communicative activities and focused more on grammar study and grammar practice than on practice concerning the four communicative skills (reading, listening, speaking and writing). He concluded that the textbooks were more grammar-oriented than communicative skills-based. In another study, Gómez-Rodríguez (2015) analyzed the cultural content in three communicative EFL textbooks, examining whether the textbooks included elements of surface or deep culture. Whereas surface culture refers to the 'easily observable' and 'static elements that represent a nation', deep culture involves 'invisible meanings associated with a region, a group of people, or subcultures that reflect their own particular sociocultural norms, lifestyles, beliefs, and values' (Gómez-Rodríguez, 2015: 168). In his evaluation, Gómez-Rodríguez (2015) found that the textbooks analyzed only included surface culture topics and overlooked deep culture issues.

A similar study contrasted cultural aspects reflected in EFL textbooks with the cultural experiences of Brazilians living abroad (Nogueira, 2013). The study found that the 'cultural topics' included in textbooks were movies, songs and historical events related to English-speaking countries; however, they also included grammar practice activities that ignored cultural aspects that were intrinsic to the practice activities. Nogueira concluded that this type of cultural approach to textbooks does not lead to linguistic-cultural understandings in interactions with speakers of the target language. In addition to the problems presented above, Oliveira (2008) found the presence of gender stereotypes in visuals included in textbooks used in the teaching of foreign languages in Brazilian primary and secondary schools. Oliveira's analysis included 28 textbooks used to teach English and French and showed that materials visually represented men and women in a stereotyped way in terms of professional, social, economic and affective aspects. However, despite the problems identified above, school textbooks continue to be prominent in EFL classrooms (Dourado, 2008).

It is with this backdrop that we now turn our attention to the *National Program of School Textbooks*, a program designed to support the selection of school textbooks in general and the selection of textbooks for MFL teaching in particular. The following sections describe the program.

An Overview of the Brazilian National Program of School Textbooks

The PNLD was adopted by the Brazilian federal government in 1996 (Batista, 2003). Its aim is to purchase school textbooks and dictionaries to support teaching and learning in state schools. Every three years, the Ministry of Education launches a public announcement defining the criteria that will be used to evaluate and select the textbooks to be purchased. Any publisher can register various textbook series of different content areas to be evaluated, both technically and pedagogically. After a selection process, the purchase is done, and the books are distributed to all students in the Brazilian state school system.

The textbook series selection by PNLD then involves different stages. First, the Ministry of Education launches the public announcement, previously mentioned, which identifies the rules for the publishers to register a textbook series (student's book and teacher's guide) and the criteria for the evaluation of textbooks of different content areas. Second, publishers register their textbook series to be evaluated. The evaluation criteria are both technical and pedagogical. The technical evaluation involves checking the paper quality of the material, since there is a concern that the textbooks be physically durable. The second evaluation, which takes many months to carry out, is the pedagogical one. If a textbook series is approved in the pedagogical evaluation process, information about it (its general content, its strengths and limitations) is included in the *School Textbook Guide* (Ministry of Education of Brazil, 2010) of its specific content area, together with information about all other series selected. This guide, distributed to teachers all over Brazil, provides them with information that they will use to select the materials for their classes. The government negotiates prices with publishers and, finally, purchases and distributes the books ordered to all Brazilian state schools.

The pedagogical evaluation process is confidential and extremely rigorous. In this process, the content area is represented by an evaluation team, coordinated by a federal university. Summing up, PNLD is a governmental program that not only guarantees the purchase of textbooks for each Brazilian student, but also puts students and teachers at the center of the program. Teachers have the autonomy to choose the most suitable material for their students and schools, based on the reviews in the textbook guide. This informed choice minimizes the pressures that publishers tend to put on teachers in order to sell their books. Also, negotiations with the publishers made by the government guarantee that the costs of the purchase and distribution of textbooks selected in the PNLD process are as low as possible, for material of really good quality. The same textbooks that the students in the state schools receive free of charge after a mass purchase done at a low price by the government can cost up to 300% more

in the book market. Another important point of this public policy is that the program ensures equal opportunities to small and big publishers, when participating in the selection process.

PNLD 2011–MFL: Evaluation Criteria and Textbook Series Selection Process

In order to illustrate the process of evaluation and purchase of the textbook series by the federal government, we center our attention on the case of PNLD 2011–MFL, focusing on textbooks for teaching English and Spanish to be distributed to students enrolled in elementary schools (sixth to ninth grades). The public announcement launched for PNLD 2011 (Ministry of Education of Brazil, 2009) contained criteria that were general (to be considered by all content areas) and specific (to be considered by the MFL content area). The evaluation questionnaire that was developed to reflect these criteria contained 92 questions, with Questions 1–33 focusing on elimination criteria common to all content areas and Questions 34–92 focusing on elimination criteria for the MFL content area. Each item in each textbook series submitted (student's book, teacher's guide and audio CD) for each grade (sixth to ninth) was evaluated in relation to these questions. These criteria, both the general and those specific to MFL, will be described below. If a textbook did not meet the criteria, it was eliminated.

The general criteria were primarily related to ethics, citizenship and respect of Brazilian laws. Also, these general criteria required that each textbook series be coherent in terms of what it assumed as being the methodological and theoretical approach that supported the series. It was also required that there be effective application of the approach in the student's book and the teacher's guide. Moreover, the concepts, information and procedures contained in the series could not have errors. Finally, according to the general criteria, the design and/or the layout of the textbooks had to be adequate to its pedagogical purposes.

The elimination criteria for the MFL content area that guided the evaluation of textbooks series (Ministry of Education of Brazil, 2009) can be understood as a set of principles that supports the view that the role of MFL teaching is to create opportunities for learning the language itself, as well as for educating the individual more broadly (Pennycook, 2001). To achieve this goal, the public announcement supported three principles: educational principles, teachers' preparation and learners' autonomy.

Even though the teaching of a foreign language is mandatory in Brazilian schools, in many cases, the foreign language is not taught satisfactorily (Cox & Assis-Peterson, 2008; Lima, 2009, 2011). Teachers of English and Spanish may not have had proper preparation and/or may not be fluent in the language they teach. In other cases, the schools do not provide time in the schedule for the students to have enough contact with the language.

Therefore, the public announcement for PNLD 2011 considered the need for a textbook series to have teachers' guides that could enhance the teacher's content and methodological knowledge. Another important principle embedded in the public announcement for PNLD 2011 was the need to promote learners' autonomy, allowing students who may be interested in improving their skills to use a range of self-directed learning strategies to overcome the constraints of state school learning (Paiva, 2009).

The elimination criteria for MFL considered language as a tool for communication and self-expression, so instruction was designed to emphasize the integrated teaching of reading, writing, listening and speaking. Grammar and vocabulary were to be approached from this perspective, as the basis of language use and communication. Therefore, the public announcement reflected the vision that grammar and vocabulary should be integrated into the teaching of reading, writing, listening and speaking (a point made by Nation and Newton [2009] and Thornbury [2005]). In addition, there were criteria that concerned diversity, citizenship and critical consciousness as proposed by Pennycook (2001) and Moita Lopes (2002).

What is noteworthy in relation to the evaluation process is that it reflected a change in beliefs about the teaching of foreign languages in the context of state schools in Brazil. Traditionally and historically, teaching a foreign language in such a context meant little or no more than providing students with grammar rules to be practiced and with vocabulary items to be learned, elements that usually appeared in non-authentic texts. The force of tradition can be so strong that it may weaken any attempt to change. What usually happens is that there is a tendency to perpetually present and practice grammar forms and rules, as well as vocabulary items, even when teachers think that they are proposing reading, writing, listening or speaking activities (Cox & Assis-Peterson, 2008; Lima, 2009, 2011). What was expected from the textbook series, then, was something much more ambitious. To teach a foreign language, as proposed by the public announcement, means to teach it effectively to the point that students will be able to communicate using English (or the foreign language they are learning).

Therefore, as part of the criteria for MFL, the public announcement for PNLD 2011 focused on the teaching of the four skills, as described below.

Reading

In relation to reading, the public announcement for PNLD 2011–MFL required that the material put out to tender provided practice including:

(1) texts of different genres;
(2) pre-reading activities;
(3) post-reading activities;

(4) activities that respected the modes of reading related to the different genres;
(5) activities that explored intertextuality and that increased awareness of this textual aspect;
(6) activities that promoted and respected multiple interpretations;
(7) activities that promoted awareness and respect for the specificities of literary texts.

One of the requirements was that in the textbooks, there would be texts that represented different genres (Marcuschi, 2007), such as letters, newspaper reports, recipes, emails, reviews and others (e.g. journalistic pieces, academic reports, literary pieces) belonging to varied spheres of human activity (Miller, 1994). The reading activities expected to be included in each textbook series included pre-reading questions, in order to raise interest in the text and prepare the students in relation to the topic and vocabulary items presented in the text. Textbooks were also expected to include post-reading questions designed to check information beyond the level of its mere localization in the text. It was also expected that the students would infer meaning from context, produce hypotheses and show general and detailed comprehension (points made by Grabe and Stoller [2002] and Nuttal [2000] in relation to the teaching of reading). Apart from this, activities were expected to take into consideration the fact that different genres are read in different ways: a poem should be read as people read poems, a recipe requires a different type of relation between reader and text, and so on.

Therefore, the proposals for reading activities in a textbook series were expected to aim at the development of a reader who should not only be proficient, but also conscious and critical, as argued by Mattos and Valério (2010), and should be able to appreciate literature (Brandão & Martins, 2003; Cafieiro & Correa, 2003).

Writing

In relation to writing, the public announcement for PNLD 2011–MFL required that, apart from promoting practice in relation to the rules and conventions concerning spelling, punctuation, morphology and all formal aspects of the written language system, the material put out to tender abided by requirements relative to certain aspects of the writing production (Tenuta & Oliveira, 2011). These included:

(1) Promotion of the development of a text producer

It was expected that proposed textbook series reflected the concern for the development of a text producer; this involved taking into consideration that writing is a socially situated practice. Therefore,

textbooks were expected to include activities that promoted thinking and established the contextual elements for the production of a text. Questions considered in the evaluation of textbook series included:

(a) *Who is going to write this text?* – the student himself/herself, a *persona*, as for example an imagined character?
(b) *What is the audience for whom the text is going to be written?* – the teacher, a colleague, all colleagues, a different audience?
(c) *Which genre should the text be?* – an email, a news report, an advertisement, a cartoon?
(d) *Why should the text be written? – what is the communicative intent of this text?* – to inform, to narrate, to persuade, to amuse?
(e) *What is the purpose of the text?* – to be handed out in class, to be exchanged with a colleague, to be posted on the wall at school?

These questions are important since they force authors to produce texts with communicative purposes that are previously defined, instead of producing texts as a mere pretext for the (more or less) veiled purpose of practicing particular grammatical structures or vocabulary items.

(2) Writing as a process

The public announcement for PNLD 2011–MFL also addressed writing from the perspective of a process that involves stages or steps, rather than as a product that is completed all at once (White & Arndt, 1991). Therefore, the proposed textbook series were expected to include the stages of the writing process, including planning, production, reviewing and rewriting. The planning stage was expected to include consciousness-raising of contextual elements of a text production, as well as room for reflection upon register, grammatical structures, lexical items, cohesive elements, etc. The production stage was expected to focus on the elements described in the planning stage. Textbook series were also expected to include instructions for the text to be revised and, if necessary, rewriting was expected to be done more than once (Raimes, 2002).

(3) Diversity of genres

The public announcement for PNLD 2011–MFL expected textbook series to include varied genres (Burns, 2001; Swales, 1990), especially when language production was the focus.

Listening

In relation to listening, the public announcement for PNLD 2011–MFL required that the material put out to tender provide practice in:

(1) a diversity of oral genres;
(2) a variety of communicative functions;

(3) linguistic varieties;
(4) the global comprehension of what is spoken;
(5) the identification of specific information;
(6) the comprehension of sounds and words;
(7) the observation of the adequacy of the speech, the objectives and the reactions of potential listeners.

Generally speaking, the skills of listening and speaking have traditionally been neglected in the teaching of foreign languages in the context of the school system in Brazil. The lack of focus on these two skill areas is even more noticeable in the context of public schools in Brazil. For this reason, the proposed guidelines for the textbooks for sixth to ninth grades on the PNLD 2011 required practice of the skill of listening to the point of allowing students to effectively listen and comprehend input in the foreign language.

The textbooks would have to provide oral input in a variety of genres (Nation & Newton, 2009). Dialogues could not dominate the materials as usually happened in textbooks traditionally used. Students would have to be exposed to a variety of oral genres, including interviews, reports, debates, etc. Listening materials would have to present geographical and social variation; students would have to be able to comprehend sounds and words, and identify information and understand content, both locally and globally. Also, students would have to reflect upon the adequacy of speech and the reactions of potential listeners.

Speaking

In relation to speaking, the public announcement for PNLD 2011–MFL required that the material put out to tender provide practice focusing on:

(1) the use of different strategies of communication;
(2) the use of a variety of language functions;
(3) the practice of meaning negotiation;
(4) the practice of different genres.

As mentioned in relation to the skill of listening, speaking practice would have to occur beyond the limits of dialogues; and include, but not be limited to, genres such as interviews, debates, paper or research presentations, dramatizations, readings (including poetical texts), etc. Textbook series were expected to teach students to express their meanings accurately and/or appropriately, through negotiation, and raise awareness and promote practice in different strategies of communication, as well as in different language functions (a point made by Nation and Newton [2009] and Thornbury [2005]).

Therefore, speaking materials were expected to aim at the development of speakers who were proficient, communicatively effective, able to express themselves and conscious of important aspects of this skill, such as intonation, pronunciation, register and intelligibility.

The audio CD

It was expected that every student's textbook in a textbook series would be accompanied by an audio CD. The importance of this teaching material is enormous, since it allows students to take it home and practice listening and/or repeating, thereby enhancing their comprehension and/or pronunciation in the foreign language. This possibility for students to have recorded material at home stimulates learning autonomy, a principle that was emphasized in the public announcement. In the process of evaluation, the CD would be reviewed for content as well as for technical quality. The CD was also expected to be 'user friendly', so that both teachers and students would be able to find tracks and activities easily, facilitating classroom management and self-directed study.

Diversity, citizenship and critical consciousness

Another principle adopted by the public announcement for PNLD 2011–MFL concerns the notions or concepts of diversity, citizenship and critical consciousness. This principle resulted in criteria related to students' identity, society, language and culture, focusing on local and global contexts, and aimed at giving value to the students' own reality in relation to other realities. This principle, then, was expected to result in materials that promoted the understanding of cultural, linguistic and other differences as well as the understanding of the fact that the hierarchization of such differences causes prejudices and inequalities.

Also, the materials were expected to help students overcome the perception that countries where English (and Spanish) is spoken are monocultural and homogeneous. Doing this would contribute to avoiding the mystification of other cultures.

The selection of the textbook series

Once the evaluation was completed, the *School Textbook Guide* (Ministry of Education of Brazil, 2010) was prepared by coordinators and evaluators, and it was distributed by the Ministry of Education to all state schools. In this MFL textbook guide, each textbook series was reviewed in terms of the student's book, the teacher's guide and the audio CD. The guide presented the content of each volume in a series, and described the approach to teaching the different language skills integrated in the series. Each review also included information concerning the strengths

and limitations of the series, providing advice on how to use it in the classroom.

In summary, to have a textbook series approved in the PNLD 2011–MFL involved general compliance with the set of criteria found in the public announcement. To have a textbook series rejected in the PNLD 2011–MFL meant lack of compliance with the set of criteria established. This lack of compliance would be reflected in problems such as:

(1) activities and procedures that did not integrate the four skills;
(2) poor quality of the audio CD (low sound quality, difficulty of track identification, lack of correspondence between the tracks in the CD and the instructions in the teacher's guide or the students' book);
(3) mismatch between the theoretical and methodological proposal found in the teacher's guide and the work effectively carried out in the student's book;
(4) lack of consideration for the learning progress.

Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter, we have addressed the issue of English language teaching and learning in Brazil, supporting the view that MFL instruction offered in public schools – which serve the less economically privileged population – should aim at the development of communicative skills in the broadest sense, in order to meet the linguistic needs and aspirations of Brazilian youth. Therefore, failure to provide such opportunities to youth, as has been stated, is likely to widen social gaps. The research described in this chapter supports the idea that Brazilian youth use a variety of new technologies and have communicative needs that involve the English language. At the same time, the research described has shown that Brazilian school-age youth have communicative needs that go well beyond reading in English.

We have also presented PNLD, a Brazilian governmental program at the federal level that contributes to improving teaching and learning at state schools. This is done by distributing quality textbook series to students all over the country. In the context of PNLD, the year 2011 represented a landmark for the MFL content area, since it was the first time that students in the state school system received textbook series of Spanish and English. PNLD 2011, therefore, triggered a process of improvement in the quality of what was produced as textbook material for state schools, since, as its selection criteria, we established conditions for the development of communicative skills.

The year 2011 marked the beginning of the process of improvement of the teaching quality of foreign languages in state schools (Jorge & Tenuta, 2011). Based on the experience of other content areas that have already taken part in PNLD for many years, we know that the use of good textbooks triggers

changes in teaching, in general. Textbooks set a syllabus to be followed by teachers and provide criteria for content progression throughout an academic year. Textbooks help teachers and students have overt control of the learning and teaching taking place. Apart from these benefits, we would argue that the use of MFL textbooks elevates the status of MFLs in schools: content areas with textbooks have more value. Finally, approaches underlying texts and activities in MFL textbooks approved by PNLD tend to influence teacher education, both at the individual and the institutional levels.

In Brazil, studies have shown that school textbooks have improved in terms of content after the establishment of the PNLD, though the program has not solved all of the problems and critiques related to the use of textbooks in classrooms (Di Giorgi *et al*., 2014). Silva and Sarmento (2015) investigated the criteria used by foreign language teachers in public schools to choose textbooks from the PNLD. After analyzing questionnaires administered to with foreign language teachers, they concluded that most teachers chose a textbook following an impressionistic style, focused primarily on what the textbook looked like overall without a deep evaluation due to their lack of knowledge of resources about how to go about their choices.

Another relevant study analyzed two English textbooks approved by the PNLD and compared them to two other widely used textbooks published prior to program implementation in Brazil (Oliveira, 2012). Focusing on spoken and written text genres, the analysis showed positive changes in the new textbooks after foreign languages were incorporated in the PNLD. Oliveira finds these results promising for English textbooks in Brazil, as it seems like concepts of text genre and text type in both spoken and written language are more readily attended to in these textbooks.

Though the use of MFL textbooks in Brazilian state schools has resulted in improvements, the PNLD alone will not solve all the education problems in MFL teaching in Brazil. In addition to having teaching materials, MFL teachers need to be better prepared, since they are the ones that will use the series selected. Additionally, these professionals need to be more valued in Brazilian society. To conclude, various challenges still need to be faced if Brazil truly aims at occupying a position in the contemporary scenario as a linguistically well-educated country.

Questions for Reflection

(1) Does your country have a program similar to the *National Program of School Textbooks* in Brazil? If so, what has been its impact on the teaching of MFLs in your country? If not, are there other policies that have had a major impact on your country's teaching of MFLs?
(2) What policies and practices, other than those described in the chapter, would be necessary for the teaching of the English language to improve in Brazil?

References

Almeida, R.L.T. (2012) The teaching of English as a foreign language in the context of Brazilian regular schools: A retrospective and prospective view of policies and practices. *Revista Brasileira de Linguística Aplicada* 12 (2), 331–348.

Batista, A.A.G. (2003) A avaliação dos livros didáticos: Para entender o Programa Nacional do Livro Didático [Evaluation of textbooks: To understand the National Program of Textbooks]. In R. Rojo and A.A.G. Batista (eds) *Livro Didático de Língua portuguesa, Letramento e Cultura Escrita* [*Portuguese Language Textbooks, Literacy, and Writing Culture*] (pp. 25–67). São Paulo: Mercado de Letras.

Berns, M., De Bot, K. and Hasebrink, U. (eds) (2007) *In the Presence of English: Media and European Youth*. New York: Springer.

Bohn, H.I. (2003) The educational role and status of English in Brazil. *World Englishes* 22 (2), 159–172.

Brandão, H.M.B. and Martins, A.A.A. (2003) Leitura literária no PNLD diante dos PCN's: Pretextos versus contextos ou 'a escolinha do professor mundo' [Literary reading of the NPLD against the National Curricular Paremeters: Pretexts versus contexts or 'the little school of the world teacher']. In R. Rojo and A.A.G. Batista (eds) *Livro Didático de Língua Portuguesa, Letramento e Cultura Escrita* [*Portuguese Language Textbooks, Literacy, and Writing Culture*] (pp. 235–275). Campinas, São Paulo: Mercado de Letras.

Burns, A. (2001) Genre-based approaches to writing and beginning adult ESL learners. In C.N. Candlin and N. Mercer (eds) *English Language Teaching in Its Social Context: A Reader* (pp. 200–207). London: Routledge.

Cafieiro, D. and Corrêa, H. (2003) Os textos literários em quatro coleções de livros didáticos: Entre o estético e o escolar. In R. Rojo and A.A.G. Batista (eds) *Livro Didático de Língua Portuguesa, Letramento e Cultura Escrita* [*Portuguese Language Textbooks, Literacy, and Writing Culture*] (pp. 277–298). Campinas, São Paulo: Mercado de Letras.

Cox, M.I.P. and Assis-Peterson, A.A. (2008) O drama do ensino de inglês na escola pública brasileira [The drama of the teaching of English in Brazilian public schools]. In A.A. de Assis-Peterson (ed.) *Linguas Estrangeiras: Para Além do Método* [*Foreign Languages: Beyond Methods*] (pp. 19–54). Cuiabá: EdUFMT.

de Bot, K. (2007) Language teaching in a changing world. *Modern Language Journal* 91 (2), 274–276.

Di Giorgi, C.A.G., Militão, S.C.N., Militão, A.N., Perboni, F., Ramos, R.C., Lima, V.M.M. and Leite, Y.U.F. (2014) Uma proposta de aperfeiçoamento do PNLD como política pública: O livro didático como capital cultural do aluno/família [A proposal for the improvement of PNLD as public policy: The school textbook as cultural capital of the student/family]. *Ensaio* 22 (85), 1027–1056.

Dourado, M.R.S. (2008) Dez anos de PCNs de língua estrangeira sem avaliação dos livros didáticos pelo PNLD [Ten years of foreign language PCNs without the evaluation of school textbooks by the PNLD]. *Linguagem em (Dis)curso* 8 (1), 121–148.

Gómez-Rodríguez, L.F. (2010) English textbooks for teaching and learning English as a foreign language: Do they really help to develop communicative competence? *Educación y Educadores* 13 (3), 327–346.

Gómez-Rodríguez, L.F. (2015) The cultural content in EFL textbooks and what teachers need to do about it. *Profile* 17 (2), 167–187.

Grabe, W. and Stoller, F. (2002) *Teaching and Researching Reading*. Harlow: Longman.

Jorge, M.L.S. and Tenuta, A.M. (2011) O lugar de aprender língua estrangeira é a escola: o papel do livro didático [The place to learn a foreign language is the school: The role of the textbook]. In D.C. Lima (ed.) *Inglês em Escolas Públicas Não Funciona: Uma Questão de Múltiplos Olhares* [*English in Public Schools Doesn't Work: A Matter of Many Perspectives*] (pp. 121–132). São Paulo: Parábola.

Lima, D.C. (ed.) (2009) *Ensino e Aprendizagem de Língua Inglesa: Conversas com Especialistas* [*The Teaching and Learning of the English Language: Conversations with Experts*]. São Paulo: Parábola.

Lima, D.C. (ed.) (2011) *Inglês em Escolas Públicas Não Funciona: Uma questão de Múltiplos Olhares* [*English in Public Schools Doesn't Work: A Matter of Many Perspectives*]. São Paulo: Parábola.

Marcuschi, L.A. (2007) Gêneros textuais: Definição e funcionalidade [Textual genres: Definition and function]. In A.P. Dionísio, A.R. Machado and M.A. Bezerra (eds) *Gêneros Textuais e Ensino* [*Textual Genres and Teaching*] (pp. 19–36). Rio de Janeiro: Lucerna.

Mattos, A.M.A. and Valério, K. (2010) Letramento crítico e ensino comunicativo: Lacunas e *interseções* [Critical literacy and communicative teaching: Gaps and intersections]. *Revista Brasileira de Linguística Aplicada* 10 (1), 135–158.

Mattos e Silva, R.V. (2004) *Ensaios para uma Sócio-História do Português Brasileiro* [*Essays for a Social-History of Brazilian Portuguese*]. São Paulo: Parábola.

Miller, C.R. (1994) Genre as social action. In A. Freedman and P. Medway (eds) *Genre and the New Rhetoric* (pp. 67–78). London: Taylor & Francis.

Ministry of Education of Brazil (1999) *Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais, Códigos e Suas Tecnologias. Língua Estrangeira Moderna* [*National Curriculum Parameters, Codes and Their Technologies: Modern Foreign Languages*]. Brasília: Author.

Ministry of Education of Brazil (2009) *Edital de Convocação para Inscrição no Processo de Avaliação e Seleção de Obras Didáticas para o Programa Nacional do Livro Didático – PNLD 2011* [*Call for Proposals for the Registration in the Evaluation and Selection Process of Textbooks for the National Program of School Textbook – 2011*]. See http://www.fnde.gov.br/index.php/pnld-guia-do-livro-didatico.

Ministry of Education of Brazil (2010) *Guia de Livros Didáticos: PNLD 2011: Língua Estrangeira Moderna* [*School Textbook Guide: Program of School Textbooks 2011: Modern Foreign Language*]. Brasília, 2010. See http://www.fnde.gov.br/index.php/pnld-consultas.

Moita Lopes, L.P. (2002) *Identidades Fragmentadas*: *A Construção Discursiva de Raça, Gênero e Sexualidade na Sala de Aula* [*Fragmented Identities: The Discursive Construction of Race, Gender, and Sexuality in Classrooms*]. Campinas: Mercado de Letras.

Nation, I.S.P. and Newton, J. (2009) *Teaching ESL/EFL Listening and Speaking*. New York: Routledge.

Nogueira, A.S. (2013) Diferenças culturais percebidas por brasileiros no uso da língua inglesa no exterior e seu tratamento em livros didáticos [Cultural differences in the use of English as perceived by Brazilians living abroad and their treatment in textbooks]. *Revista Brasileira de Linguística Aplicada* 13 (1), 345–368.

Nogueira, M.C.B. (2007) *Ouvindo a Voz do (Pré)adolescente Brasileiro da Geração Digital sobre o Livro Didático de Inglês Desenvolvido no Brasil* [*Listening to the Voices of Brazilian (Pre)adolescents of the Digital Generation on English Textbooks Developed in Brazil*]. Unpublished master's thesis, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. See http://www.maxwell.vrac.puc-rio.br/10439/10439_1.PDF

Nuttal, C. (2000) *Teaching Reading Skills in a Foreign Language*. Oxford: Heinemann.

Oliveira, A.L.A.M. (2012) Gêneros textuais e língua inglesa em uso: Uma análise das coleções aprovadas pelo PNLD/LE no Brasil [Text genre and English language in use: An analysis of textbooks approved by the PNLD/English language in Brazil]. *Trabalhos em Linguística Aplicada 51* (2). See http://www.scielo.br/pdf/tla/v51n2/a03v51n2.pdf (accessed April 25, 2017).

Oliveira, G.M. and Altenhofen, C.V. (2011) O in vitro e o in vivo na política da diversidade linguística do Brasil [The *in vitro* and *in vivo* in the politics of linguistic diversity in Brasil]. In H. Mello, C. Altenhofen and T. Raso (eds) *Os Contatos Linguísticos no Brasil* [*Linguistic Contacts in Brasil*] (pp. 187–216). Belo Horizonte: Editora da UFMG.

Oliveira, S. (2008) Texto visual, estereótipos de gênero e o livro didático de língua estrangeira [Visual text, genre stereotype and the foreign language school textbook]. *Trabalhos em Linguística Aplicada* 47 (1), 91–117.

Paiva, V.L.O. (2000) O lugar da leitura na aula de língua estrangeira [The role of reading in the foreign language class]. *Vertentes* 16 (1), 24–29.

Paiva, V.L.O. (2009) Ensino de língua estrangeira e a questão da autonomia [The teaching of foreign languages and the autonomy question]. In D.C. Lima (ed.) *Ensino e Aprendizagem de Língua Inglesa*: *Conversas com Especialistas* [*The Teaching and Learning of English Language: Conversations with Experts*] (pp. 31–38). São Paulo: Parábola.

Paiva, V.L.O. (2011) Ilusão, aquisição ou participação. In D.C. de Lima (ed.) *Inglês em Escolas Públicas Não Funciona: Uma Questão, Múltiplos Olhares* [*English in Public Schools Doesn't Work: A Matter of Many Perspectives*] (pp. 33–46). São Paulo: Parábola.

Pennycook, A. (2001) *Critical Applied Linguistics: A Critical Introduction.* Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Presidency of Brazil (1996) *Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional* [*Law of Basic Tenets and Guidelines for National Education*]. LEI Nº 9.394 [Law n. 9394]. See http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/LEIS/L9394.htm.

Raimes, A. (2002) Ten steps in planning a writing course and training teachers of writing. In J. Richards and W.A. Renandya (eds) *Methodology in Language Teaching: An Anthology of Current Practice* (pp. 306–314). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schmitz, J.R. (2009) Ensino e aprendizagem das quatro habilidades linguísticas na escola pública: Uma meta alcançavel? [The teaching and learning of the four skills in public school: A reachable goal?]. In D.C. Lima (ed.) *Ensino e aprendizagem de língua inglesa*: *Conversas com especialistas* [*The Teaching and Learning of English Language: Conversations with Experts*] (pp. 17–20). São Paulo: Parábola.

Silva, A.C.O. (2012) *Mediação Tecnológica e Uso da Língua Inglesa em Dois Contextos Universitários Brasileiros* [*Technological Mediation and Use of the English Language in Two Brazilian University Contexts*]. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, Brazil.

Silva, L.G. and Sarmento, S. (2015) A escolha do livro didático de língua estrangeira do Programa Nacional do Livro Didático [The choice of foreign language school textbook through the National Program of School Textbooks]. *Horizontes de Linguística Aplicada* 14 (1), 173.

Souza, R.A. (2011) A língua inglesa na cultura brasileira e na política educacional nacional: Um estranho caso de alienação [The English language in Brazilian culture and the national educational policy: A strange case of alienation]. In D.C. Lima (ed.) *Inglês em Escolas Públicas Não Funciona: Uma Questão, Múltiplos Olhares* [*English in Public Schools Doesn't Work: A Matter of Many Perspectives*] (pp. 133–146). São Paulo: Parábola.

Swales, J.M. (1990) *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tenuta, A.M. and Oliveira, A.L.A.M. (2011) Livros didáticos e ensino de línguas estrangeiras: a produção escrita no PNLD-2011/LEM [Textbooks and the teaching of foreign languages: Writing production in the 2011 National Program of School Textbooks]. *Linguagem & Ensino* 14 (2), 315–336.

Thornbury, S. (2005) *How to Teach Speaking*. Harlow: Pearson Education.

White, R. and Arndt, V. (1991) *Process Writing.* New York: Longman.

Part 2

English Language Teacher Preparation and Professional Development

Overview

Chapter 5, by Kuhlman and Serrano, describes a joint venture project between the US embassy in Ecuador and the Ministry of Education of Ecuador designed to produce Teacher Education and Teacher Development Standards for Ecuador. This project was prompted by the increased investment in education that resulted from the election of President Rafael Correa in 2007. Chapter 6, by Abrahams and Silva Ríos, describes the history of English language teaching in Chilean public education and presents a critical analysis of the challenges in the area of English language education in the country, with an emphasis on initial teacher preparation. The final chapter in this section, Chapter 7, by Veciño, describes the Connecting Equality program, designed to reduce digital gaps in Argentina by providing netbooks and technology instruction to students and teachers in elementary and secondary schools, as well as teacher preparation programs. In the chapter, she describes the challenges she faced when she implemented an information and communication technology program in a language teacher education program in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

5 Teacher Educational Reform: The Case in Ecuador

Natalie Kuhlman and Elisabeth Serrano

Introduction

English has become the most frequently studied language around the world with more than a billion people using it as either their first, second or third language. Globalization has pushed the world to use English, beyond just for business purposes, and has turned it into a lingua franca (Burns, 2005). In terms of native speakers, it is third behind Chinese and Spanish, and now non-native English speakers outnumber native speakers (Graddol, 2006; Lewis *et al*., 2014). It is seen 'as the key to accessing the educational, technical, and knowledge resources that contemporary societies depend on' (Richards & Burns, 2012: 1), and, of course, as the main language for social media. Consequently it has become a necessary part of the school curriculum in many parts of the world.

Genesee and Harper (2010) cite several other reasons for learning English, from a pedagogical and attitudinal perspective:

(a) becoming bilingual increases one's analytic and cognitive flexibility in comparison to people who only know one language (Caccavale, 2007);
(b) learning a new language develops one's critical thinking abilities, as it requires one to use skills such as analogy, metacognition, interpretation, reflection, logic, verbal thinking and hierarchical structuring, among others;
(c) knowing more than one language creates more flexibility in thinking, greater sensitivity to language and more tolerance of differences.

This chapter describes the effect of the worldwide emphasis on learning English in a country such as Ecuador, where many teachers have neither the preparation nor the language proficiency to teach English. The chapter documents the collaboration among the Ecuadorian Ministry of Education that is responsible for in-service teachers' continued professional development, several other educational agencies, the universities themselves that prepare pre-service teachers and the US embassy that has acted in support of the needed reforms.

The innovative teacher preparation program that resulted from this collaboration and described in this chapter is a 'work in progress'; hence, no research has yet been accomplished to document the impact of the changes that have been made. Given this limitation, suggestions for future research are included at the end of the chapter.

The Situation in Ecuador

Ecuadorian policy changes

In 2006, Raul Vallejo, a renowned author and educator who belonged to the democratic left, assumed the position of Minister of Education and Culture and winds of radical change occurred. Under his leadership, the Plan Decenal de Educación, 2006–2015 [Ten-Year Education Plan] was approved (Ministry of Education, 2006). In 2007, with the election of Rafael Correa as the new Ecuadorian president, education policies in Ecuador became an important focus for the government. The election of Correa was reflective of the shift from neoliberal administrations to the democratic left experienced by other South American countries like Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Brazil (see Díaz Maggioli, this volume for a description of the South American situation), which prioritized state-run policies designed to promote societal inclusion. Though the relations between the United States and the new Correa administration became tense after his arrival to power, both countries found a common interest and grounds for cooperation through education.

With Ecuador's renewed interest in education, Correa's first step was to ratify Raul Vallejo in his position and support his 10-year education plan. In 2008, with the approval of the new Ecuadorian Constitution, a radical education change involved significantly curtailing the right to strike of the powerful education syndicate (aka Teachers' Labor Union), which prior to 2008 was funded through a mandatory contribution from the salary that every teacher made. These important events caused a rapid and observable change in public education: no more strikes, no more delays in the dates to start classes, no more discussions considered to be irrelevant by some.

Other major changes affecting higher education were also implemented. The Ecuadorian accreditation agency, known as Consejo Nacional de Evaluación y Acreditación [Nacional Evaluation and Accreditation Council], until then limited to evaluating the scope of work of universities only, transformed into a specific council, known as the Evaluation, Accreditation and Quality Assurance in Higher Education Council (Consejo de Evaluación, Acreditación y Aseguramiento de la Calidad de la Educación Superior), which now gave the agency authority not only to evaluate universities but also the qualifications of their academic faculty and the contents of their educational offerings, against international parameters of excellence so that a high-quality education could be guaranteed.

Additionally, what used to be the National Council of Higher Education (Consejo Nacional de Educación Superior), that approved the majors that universities could offer, evolved into what is known today as the Secretariat of Science, Technology, Innovation for Higher Education (SENECYT). This expanded its scope of work in an effort to find ways through which Ecuadorian universities could evolve and become quality reference points in higher education, and be included in the list of most prestigious universities in the world. Both the National Council of Higher Education and SENECYT received large amounts of the national budget to further their new agenda and continued working on creating standards, signing cooperation agreements with major universities, importing human talent to work as models in local universities (in programs such as 'Prometeo', an international scholarship program designed to enhance the preparation of professionals) and finding ways in which Ecuadorian youth could access international academic offerings through scholarships available worldwide.

In the process of implementing these new initiatives, the Ministry of Education found that managing English is the key to opening many of these doors. Therefore, it has been helping and encouraging English language acquisition improvement. An example of this is the 'Go Teacher Program', designed to improve the English language proficiency and instructional practices of English teachers by funding them to study in US universities. From 2012 through 2014, the program had trained 882 teachers mainly in the United States.

The English language situation in Ecuador

Ecuador has recognized the many reasons for learning English, especially as a key tool to access economic development (see Díaz Maggioli, this volume for a description of the social context that contributed to the Ecuadorian view of English as a necessary tool for access to the global economy). Consequently, the need to prepare English teachers has also increased. In this respect, the Ecuadorian situation is similar to that of Uruguay, where the need for English language teachers has far outdistanced the availability of qualified teachers at all levels (see Brovetto, this volume). In Ecuador, for example, in 2014, according to the vice minister of education and culture, there were 4500 English teachers evaluated with the test of English as a foreign language (TOEFL) (Educational Testing Service, 2015). Of the 4,500, only 2% met the B2 level (Upper Intermediate) on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEFR; Council of Europe, 2001) expected to qualify them to teach English. To overcome this problem, since 2012, teachers have been offered training programs to improve their English language skills, and 800 have now reached the required standards.

Additionally, in 2014, the Ministry of Education launched an initiative named 'Quiero Ser Maestro' ('I Want to Be a Teacher'), designed to hire new teachers who qualify to teach after passing a series of competitive examinations. In 2014, the initiative received 4900 applications for permanent positions. Those teachers meeting the B2 requirement on the CEFR could be hired to replace teachers who did not meet the standard. This number of teachers had to deal with a student population of 1,713,335, according to a 2014 report by the National Federation of High School Students of Ecuador, which has now been removed from its internet site. From these, 1,200,000 are part of the public school system. This means that each teacher teaches no less than 260 high school students each day. Consequently, classes frequently have more than 50 students, which makes language learning difficult. With plans to begin English language teaching in the lower grades in public schools, the need will only expand exponentially. To make the situation even more challenging, starting in 2017, public high schools will need to certify that all of their graduates are at least at the intermediate level of English (B1 on the CEFR). In addition, given that the Higher Education Law (Asamblea Nacional [National Congress], 2010) established mandatory foreign language proficiency for all students graduating from Ecuadorian universities, it could be expected that most Ecuadorian students will choose the English language as the foreign language to study in college; which, in turn, will result in an even bigger demand for English language teachers.

The Higher Education Law of 2010 also makes reference to bilingual education. Despite the fact that in the Ecuadorian context, bilingualism means the learning of an indigenous language and Spanish as a second language, the measures taken by the Ministry of Education and the Council of Higher Education imply that Ecuador is moving toward a second foreign language, i.e. bilingualism with English. While the Plan Decenal de Educación 2006–2015 (the 10-year plan that regulates initial education) (Ministry of Education, 2006) did not include any direct reference to English as a mandatory second language, it included some parameters that help to understand the need to acquire an international second language such as English. This can be inferred from the contents of the sections focusing on quality of education; the creation and implementation of International Baccalaureate schools; and the need to evaluate teachers and provide opportunities to raise their abilities to be quality educators.

The role of the US embassy in English language education

The US State Department has a variety of resources and programs related to English language education which are part of their national and international public diplomacy tools. Such programs are developed by experts in the field of English education and are made available through

embassies around the world. Each embassy or region is free to use these tools according to their own priorities.

In 2011, the Ministry of Education of Ecuador reached out to the US embassy–Quito, seeking help to evaluate its English program and to incorporate international standards into its planning. Through the English Specialist Program, the embassy made a specialist available to them. In April 2011, an English as a second language (ESL) specialist, along with a professional team of the Ministry of Education, developed in-service teacher standards. English teachers also had to comply with an Advanced Intermediate English language level. This successful collaboration ended in the adoption of the standards and regulations for English teaching and was published as an official document by the Ministry of Education in 2012.

Prior to this major collaboration, the US embassy–Quito had been working with universities and the Ministry of Education English initiatives, through what was known back then as the Curriculum Reform and Development for the Learning of English (CRADLE) project (British Council, n.d.). CRADLE was a project initiated by the British Council to include English language training and education in public high schools in Ecuador as a means to improve public education. The CRADLE project was led by three national coordinators, who supervised 22 provincial coordinators, who, in turn, supervised an average of 250 teachers each. After an initial training experience in England, the project leaders organized annual training conferences where teachers became familiar with new trends in English language education and reviewed the major project outcomes of each geographical region where the project was implemented. Additionally, after each national conference, coordinators were responsible for replicating what they had learned for their group of teachers.

The number of years during which this system was repeated had produced a strong network of English teachers, although the quality of the content of the trainings was not as strong as the original ones. The British Council terminated its support for the program a few years after it started. However, the program remained operational with no other support than the resources the project could gather from different institutions, including the Ministry of Education. In 2005, the CRADLE staff met with the US embassy in an effort to establish a long-term cooperative relationship. The relationship was limited but positive and established a link that is still functional, despite the original national coordinators rotating off the job and new ones taking over.

Before 2005, the Ecuadorian government had limited interest in English language education. Despite that, the US embassy–Quito saw the CRADLE project as an opportunity to increase collaboration in the field; therefore, it became actively engaged with the program needs and provided resources, including facilitating the travel of 10 coordinators to participate in English proficiency improvement courses at US universities.

In 2010, the Ministry of Education conducted a standardized evaluation of the English language proficiency of nearly 6000 teachers who participated in the CRADLE project (British Council, n.d.) in order to ascertain the program impact in its 16 years. The test focused on basic grammar only and did not include either a listening or a speaking portion. In spite of that, the vast majority of teachers scored only at the advanced beginner level. The results of this evaluation served as the basis to determine that despite the excellent organization tools that the CRADLE network had developed over the years, the quality of English language instruction of teachers – and consequently, of students – was nowhere near acceptable levels and required urgent improvement measures on many fronts.

Innovation: Cooperation between the Ministry of Education, higher education authorities, the universities and the US embassy

The history of cooperation in the English language education area between the US embassy and the Ministry of Education, as mentioned above, began in 2005 through support for their established English project CRADLE with tools from the State Department's English Language Development programs. While the project was eventually eliminated from the ministry, a number of initiatives, which will be described in the following paragraphs, were implemented to strengthen the educational system.

The work model implemented has placed the competencies of curricular development, professional development and materials review and development inside the corresponding regular curriculum areas. However, each area still has an international relations person who reports directly to the corresponding minister. At the same time, there is also strong support from the minister and vice minister of education who see the strengthening of English language education as needed to fulfill higher goals for economic growth. However, there have been many changes in staff over the last few years, with some staff, including department heads, having more and others less knowledge of teaching English as a foreign language (EFL), which makes it difficult for curricular directors to grasp the importance of specific aspects of learning and teaching EFL. A description of the various initiatives implemented in relation to English language teaching and learning follows.

Changes at the universities

In another area of collaboration, in 2010, the government became concerned with students in universities who transferred from one university to another. After considering the need for improvement in the overall quality of university graduates to fulfill the economic, social and political development goals of Ecuador, the Council of Higher Education passed a resolution according to which all students must be able to move from

one university to another without losing credits or time. In addition, as already noted, it was determined that every university student must achieve proficiency in a second language before they would be able to graduate. These new mandates curtailed the autonomy of universities. The changes also meant that a process had to be created whereby a student transferring from one university to another would not lose any credits. Up until this time, the universities had been autonomous; they could have whatever requirements they wished (including not accepting credits from other universities), and whatever curriculum they wished, with little or no oversight.

Given both of these situations, the one at the Ministry of Education and the new one at the universities, the time was right for an innovation that would attempt to increase the expertise and language proficiency of those already teaching English, while also helping improve those who were preparing to be English teachers.

To accommodate these needs and in order to add consistency to the provisions, it was determined that a new approach was needed. In-service teachers were the first to be addressed. Consequently, the English Curriculum Team at the Ministry of Education in charge of the CRADLE project was given the task of rethinking what a practicing teacher ought to know and be able to do. In other words, it needed to know what the outcomes of a new professional development program should include. Standards were suggested as a way in which to determine what the outcomes should be.

The reform process at the Ministry of Education

After the Ministry of Education met with the US embassy–Quito about the needed changes, in 2011, the embassy stepped in to provide an ESL specialist who would help guide the Ministry of Education process of standards development. Initially, the specialist was to work with the Ministry of Education for three weeks. First, the specialist introduced the English Curriculum work group to the concept of standards as the outcomes that English teachers should attain. Next, meetings were held with focus groups, which included both practicing high school English teachers, high school students and pre-service teachers and their faculty.

Based on what the group had learned, they examined a variety of existing English teaching standards from around the world (e.g. United States, Australia, Canada, United Kingdom). They also examined a variety of research sources to support what they would do. A literature review of current theory and practice by Genesee and Harper (2010) in particular was studied. To accomplish such a major change in teacher development, the plan needed to be grounded in current research in the field of English foreign language teaching and what EFL/ESL educators saw as best practices. Genesee and Harper's (2010) extensive literature review had been prepared to justify what ESL teachers needed to know and be able to do

in the United States, as the introduction to the *Standards for the Recognition of Initial TESOL Programs in P-12 ESL Education* (TESOL International Association, 2010). The working group found this background to be helpful in forming their thinking. They also examined the justification for the Uruguayan Professional Teacher Standards (Díaz Maggioli & Kuhlman, 2010; Kuhlman, 2010). These standards had been adapted from the TESOL standards, and while the context in Uruguay differs from that in Ecuador, it was a place to begin. From this and other sources, the team began writing their own document to form the basis for the standards that they would create.

The English Curriculum Team was particularly interested in the five domains used by the Uruguayan standards, which were based on TESOL's five domains of knowledge and application: Language, Culture (content knowledge), Instruction and Assessment (pedagogical knowledge) and Professionalism at the core. Professionalism, they agreed, lies at the core of the work of good teachers and is hence borne out of the intersection of the other four domains (TESOL International Association, 2010). The team found them both practical, concerning what teachers needed to know and be able to do, and also based on research. Other standards were less concrete and more conceptual in nature. They also examined the standards and performance indicators that were associated with the Uruguayan version of the TESOL standards to see how they fit the Ecuadorian context.

A word-by-word analysis of the Uruguayan version of the standards and their performance indicators (which help to explain the standard, and could be used to determine whether teacher candidates were meeting the standards) was then conducted. Immediately, it was determined that in the Ecuadorian standards, the culture of the indigenous people of Ecuador needed to be added as that could affect the acquisition of English, which for many would be a third language. The group strongly supported the Uruguayan standard that focused on the English language proficiency of the teachers, since the vast majority of the existing teachers had low levels of English proficiency. Other minor modifications were also made to fit the Ecuadorian context.

The result of a three-week visit by the ESL specialist in April 2011 was to mark the start of a new era of US collaboration with Ecuador's official educational entities beyond the Ministry of Education and academia. The ESL specialist and the Ministry of Education English Curriculum staff evaluated study plans and incorporated international standards across the board. Their collaborative work translated into the current regulations that include the standards by which in-service public school English language teachers' professional development is currently conducted. The work was published and passed as an official regulation in January 2012 (Ministry of Education, 2012).

After the publication of the regulations in 2012, the Ministry of Education was under great pressure to conduct a formal evaluation of public school teachers: to establish improvement or change goals; to identify, create and develop plans to offer those who did not comply with the law to achieve the required level of B2 (early intermediate on the CEFR; Council of Europe, 2001); and to do everything needed to improve English language education in Ecuador. The goal was to raise English education to the needs of a 21st-century global education. Most importantly, it was necessary to meet the Ecuadorian general development matrix (Ministry of Education, 2007). This matrix had been the law since its publication in 2007, and outlines all the steps needed to be taken in every subject area, education being the most important one, and requiring urgent innovation plans/resources to meet the goals.

Many ideas were presented to improve the quality of the English teachers in Ecuador. Many resources were made available from the central Ecuadorian government, but the need will always supersede the available resources and the solutions offered and made available will only last as long as the financial resources do. One of the most relevant solutions presented by the Ecuadorian government to overcome the lack of well-qualified English teachers was the creation of a program known as 'Go-Teacher'. This program allows Ecuadorian teachers who wish to improve their English proficiency to apply for a seven-month scholarship to attend an English language improvement program, including aspects of language teaching pedagogy at a US university. Every teacher who meets the requirements is accepted into the program. This means that the program is not exclusive to Ministry of Education teachers who teach in the public schools, but is open to English teachers in private schools in Ecuador too (Ministry of Education, 2014). Currently, four US universities are participating: Kansas State University, University of Kentucky, New Mexico State University and Valparaiso University.

More recently, in 2012, the Ministry of Education decided to test their teachers again, this time with the internet-based version of the TOEFL (Educational Testing Service, 2015) that could help provide better validity and reliability than the previous one. The results, unfortunately, were the same. The vast majority of teachers again only reached the beginning/advanced beginning level (equivalent to the CEFR A1/A2 levels; Council of Europe, 2001). So the Ministry of Education was forced again to find alternative ways to improve the language proficiency of their teachers.

After signing agreements with different providers, an experimental program was held with English teachers in the Galapagos Islands, but improvement was again slow. The Ministry of Education then published a mandate that within one year teachers would have to improve their English language proficiency to the intermediate level (B1/B2 on the CEFR; Council of Europe, 2001) or risk losing their job. As of 2014, the ministry was prepared to administer a second TOEFL to decide who would keep their job. While these

measures are focused almost entirely on the English language proficiency of teachers, the standards project has helped guide the professional development also needed to become a high-quality English teacher.

Reform in the universities

Up until 2001, neither the Ministry of Education nor any other institution or government entity, private or public, was addressing the most obvious issue: what had caused the enormous gap in having well-prepared English teachers in public and private schools in the first place? The answer was evident: there existed an apparent incapacity of Ecuadorian universities to produce professionals that could meet the new challenges in addition to the previous lack of professional development programs for in-service teachers that could also help overcome the current situation.

Here again, the US embassy saw an opportunity for collaboration. So, in November/December 2011, the ESL specialist was invited to come to Ecuador once more, this time with the task of talking to all the universities in Ecuador that offered an English language teacher preparation program or one in applied linguistics. The embassy invited 32 universities that claimed to have such programs to meet with the ESL specialist and discuss and share their programs and experiences together. Not all of them actually had such programs.

The meetings, held with half of the universities in the north and the other half in the south, were very successful and revealed the interest of academia to share experiences and to agree on common goals to help improve the problems that were being experienced by public sector teachers. It did not become clear if this willingness to collaborate was due to their fear of the consequences or, what is more likely, whether it implied an acknowledgement of their responsibility in preparing better teachers. For whichever reason, all decided to collaborate.

They agreed that adopting a common study plan for pre-service programs that met all the standards established by the Ministry of Education could help them address the Ministry of Education's needs, while helping universities comply with certain higher education regulations recently published. These included the aforementioned ability for students to transfer among universities without losing credits, as a mandatory requirement for all universities. This last item, of course, demanded that universities standardize their credits and subjects in every major so that, if students decided to change residence and move from one town to another, they would be able to continue studying in a different university without any difficulty or loss.

Collaboration among all educational entities and the universities

In 2012, the ESL specialist returned to Ecuador to check on the progress of the university group with amazing results. This meeting calls for special recognition because it was historic. To understand its importance, it is

necessary to point out that previous to this meeting, never in the history of Ecuador had academia, the Ministry of Education, the Higher Education Secretariat, the Evaluation, Accreditation and Quality Assurance in Higher Education Council, public and private universities and an international organization such as the US embassy sat around the same table to share a common goal and peacefully agree to further it for the common good. Prior to this meeting, the Ministry of Education and the higher education entities had never had a dialogue or shared information. Academia had never met on good terms with official entities. Additionally, international organizations had not even been considered as suitable partners for such a discussion. The closing ceremony to this meeting had the presence of representatives from all the above-mentioned institutions, all of whom called the occasion 'historic and a great contribution to bettering education in Ecuador'.

Another aspect of this historic meeting was the unanimous vote taken by the university representatives to accept the standards adopted by the Ministry of Education as the basis for a common study plan. As a result of this vote and for the next step, the university representatives agreed to begin identifying the standards-based courses that would provide the knowledge and practice for those preparing to be English teachers in Ecuador.

After that great event in 2012, the ESL specialist returned to Ecuador in August 2013. This time, she presented a plenary session at the national English conference organized by the Colegio Particular Experimental Politécnico English Institute, to share the work of the group and facilitate the continuation of the revision and approval of the common study plan matrix. This session had a strong presence from SENECYT, whose representatives took advantage of the gathering to explain a new education law, which allowed various ways in which universities could introduce and/or propose changes to existing law related to university programs.

This session became another turning point in the relations between the government, the US embassy and academia. Shortly after this meeting, SENECYT called all the universities in Ecuador together to introduce them to the concept of networking by field of interest, to pursue goals like the one they had been working toward until then. This initiative from SENECYT unfortunately became a great obstacle for the project to advance, since universities with no pre-service programs were involved in the development of the project with little knowledge of its intention or goals. This only contributed to unnecessary delays and irrelevant discussions.

Consequently, from August 2013 to June 2014, no major advancement was made by those tasked with creating the standards-based courses for the different areas of the study plan, partially due to the confusion over the network issue. In addition, as had happened at other meetings, at the next visit of the ESL specialist in May/June, 2014, new people were part

of the discussion. They struggled with concepts that had already been discussed and approved by the universities, and this caused continuous disruptions. Despite the difficulties that occurred, the ESL specialist was able to establish a calendar for the completion of tasks, but as a result of the dissension, the goal of completing all the syllabi, and the overall study plan, had to be postponed from October 2014 to January 2015.

Despite the difficulties faced, the main players were invited to gather again in September 2014 and they reaffirmed their commitment to the project, so that it could be finalized and presented for consideration to the appropriate government institutions in January 2015. If the authorities approved the proposal, all those who wanted to abide by its contents would only have to adopt it and submit their programs for approval. According to Ecuadorian higher education laws, all programs offered by universities have to be approved by the Education Council and SENECYT before they can be implemented. This is a long process that requires universities to fill out an extensive document with all the information relevant to the program, course syllabi, credits, etc. The approval process normally takes between one and four years depending on the merit of the proposal. However, with the common model in place, it is hoped that the process will be shortened.

Conclusion

The educational reform process began and continues to have strong support from universities that prepare English teachers and the official higher education authorities cited in this chapter. It has also gained strong support from both the US embassy in Quito and the US State Department English Language Program office. It has been studied and reported on by the local press and educators. The proposal is one that addresses the source of the problem, provides a potential solution that will be long-lasting and develops capacities systemwide.

The reform process has brought together several different educational agencies across the country and autonomous universities, a unique occurrence, to say the least. But most importantly, the results, when implemented, have the potential to change the way in which both pre-service and in-service English teachers are prepared and develop throughout their careers. The result is that the children and teenagers of Ecuador will have a much-improved opportunity to learn English, which in turn, will open new avenues to them. The final document was submitted to the Education Council on January 30, 2015, at a celebration event held at the Ministry of Education, where this project began almost four years before.

The impact of the change described here on language learning won't be determined for several years, until teacher candidates complete the new preparation programs and begin teaching students. However, one study, reflecting on the challenges and opportunities afforded by the collaboration

among the various participants in the standards development project, has already been completed (Serrano *et al*., 2015). Other studies should focus on (1) how the collaborative process has improved English language instruction across the country; (2) whether a standards-based program has better prepared teachers than a course-based one; (3) how the networking of university professors across the country has provided a venue both for change and for the improved language learning of students. Future research should also be designed to compare new teachers with those already in the classroom from various viewpoints. Specifically, classroom observations and case studies of classroom teachers should be done and interviews should be conducted with all stakeholders, in order to understand the impact of the new programs on them, as well as to assess how various entities are working together to better prepare students to meet national requirements for English.

Questions for Reflection

(1) How does educational change occur in your country? Are all the educational agencies under the Ministry of Education, or are they under separate ones? How does that affect the ability to make change? To what extent are classroom teachers and university faculty involved in such decisions and in what capacity?
(2) How satisfied are you with the way that English teachers are prepared in your country? What would you change and how would you do it?
(3) What is the role of outside agencies in your country regarding professional development for teachers? Are there political issues involved in their ability to help (as was described in the case of the US embassy in Ecuador)? And what should the role of external organizations (e.g. the US embassy and professional associations like TESOL and others) be regarding English language teaching in your country?
(4) How do you think international organizations can better collaborate to improve the English teaching/learning process?

References

Asamblea Nacional (2010) *Ley Orgánica de Educación Superior* [*Higher Education Law*]. Quito: Author.

British Council (n.d.) *CRADLE, Ecuador.* See http://englishagenda.britishcouncil.org/consultancy/our-track-record/cradle-project-ecuador#sthash.V3Rhtexm.dpuf (accessed June 15, 2012).

Burns, A. (2005) Interrogating new worlds of English language teaching. In A. Burns (ed.) *Teaching English from a Global Perspective* (pp. 1–15). Alexandria, VA: TESOL.

Caccavale, S.T. (2007) Cognitive benefits of learning languages. *Gifted Today*. See https://blogs.tip.duke.edu/giftedtoday/2007/10/08/cognitive-benefits-of-learning-languages/ (accessed January 19, 2017).

Council of Europe (2001) *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Díaz Maggioli, G. and Kuhlman, N. (eds) (2010) *Estándares para la Educación de Docentes de Lenguas Extranjeras* [*Standards for Foreign Language Teacher Education*]. Montevideo: Dirección de Formación y Perfeccionamiento Docente, Administración Nacional de Educación Pública.

Educational Testing Service (2015) *TOEFL*. See http://www.ets.org/toefl/ (accessed May 5, 2016).

Genesee, F. and Harper, C. (2010) Introduction. In TESOL International Association, *Standards for the Recognition of Initial TESOL Programs in P-12 ESL Education*. See http://www.tesol.org/docs/books/the-revised-tesol-ncate-standards-for-the-recognition-of-initial-tesol-programs-in-p-12-esl-teacher-education-%282010-pdf%29.pdf?sfvrsn=2 (accessed July 1, 2015).

Graddol, D. (2006) *English Next*. London: British Council.

Kuhlman, A.N. (2010) Developing foreign language standards in Uruguay. *GIST Education and Learning Research Journal* 4 (1), 107–126.

Lewis, M., Simons, G. and Fennig, C. (eds) (2014) *Ethnologue: Languages of the World* (7th edn). Dallas, TX: SIL International. See http://www.ethnologue.com (accessed October 17, 2014).

Ministry of Education, Ecuador (2006) *Plan Decenal de Educación del Ecuador* [*Ten-Year Education Plan*]. See http://educiudadania.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/PlanDecenaldeEducacion.pdf (accessed May 1, 2015).

Ministry of Education, Ecuador (2007) *Plan Nacional de Desarrollo para el Educador* [*Ecuadorian General Development Matrix*]. See http://es.scribd.com/doc/58135698/Plan-Nacional-de-Desarrollo-Ecuador (accessed May 18, 2015).

Ministry of Education, Ecuador (2012) *Ecuadorian In-Service Teacher Standards*. See http://educacion.gob.ec/estandares-de-ingles/ (accessed May 18, 2015).

Ministry of Education, Ecuador (2014) *Becas Enseña Inglés* [*Go-Teacher Scholarship*]. See http://programasbecas.educacionsuperior.gob.ec/ensena-ingles/ (accessed May 18, 2015).

Richards, J.C. and Burns, A. (2012) Pedagogy and practice in second language teaching: An overview of the issues. In J.C. Richards and A. Burns (eds) *Pedagogy and Practice in Second Language Teaching* (pp. 1–12). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Serrano, M.E., Vizcaino, C., Cazco, C. and Kuhlman, N. (2015) Transformation: A model for restructuring the preparation of English teachers in Ecuador. *GIST Journal* 11, 103–116.

TESOL International Association (2010) *Standards for the Recognition of Initial TESOL Programs in P-12 ESL Education*. See http://www.tesol.org/docs/books/the-revised-tesol-ncate-standards-for-the-recognition-of-initial-tesol-programs-in-p-12-esl-teacher-education-%282010-pdf%29.pdf?sfvrsn=2 (accessed July 3, 2012).

6 What Happens with English in Chile? Challenges in Teacher Preparation

Mary Jane Abrahams and
Pablo Silva Ríos

A Review of the History of English Language Teaching in Chile: The Early Years

The first sign of interest in foreign languages in Chilean public education can be traced back to 1843 when Andrés Bello, Universidad de Chile's first president, established that the study of modern and classical languages kept citizens in touch with their past and with the more civilized, free nations of their times. On April 7, 1890, Dr Rodolfo Lenz, a leading German educator, gave the first lecture on English language teaching in Santiago. He was subsequently hired by the Chilean government to teach foreign language courses at the Instituto Pedagógico, a 'Normal School' in the French tradition – which that same year became part of Universidad de Chile – with the aim of preparing teachers for the public education sector. Originally, teacher preparation lasted three to four years and the curriculum included discipline-specific subjects (e.g. English language, English language teaching and phonology) and general pedagogical subjects (e.g. pedagogy and theory of education).

Female students were accepted in 1893 to the Instituto Pedagógico, when the second cohort of students was admitted to the school. One of them, Amelia Muñoz Feliú, was the first Chilean woman to qualify as a teacher of English in 1895. In 1908, there were 28 applicants interested in enrolling in the English language track. By then, subjects taught in English represented almost 55% of the curriculum.

In 1914, two second-year students were sent to the Islas Malvinas (the Falkland Islands, as they are known in Europe), the closest English-speaking community just off the Argentinian coast, with the purpose of helping them enhance their English language skills. During the 1920s, a similar program that sent the best-qualified graduates to English-speaking countries continued (Ortiz Lira, 1994). These are the first antecedents of similar teacher exchange programs that are now in operation.

University teacher education

In 1919, another important training center for teachers of English was established at Universidad de Concepción (in the geographic center of the country). From 1919 through 1956, seven universities launched programs designed to prepare teachers of English. By 1965, there were 19 regional schools; thus, the availability of teacher education programs in English prospered and reached far into the country. The situation changed drastically in 1973, with the military coup d'état by Augusto Pinochet. During Pinochet's dictatorship (1973 through 1990), there would be a deep restructuring of the universities separating the Schools of Education from the state universities and turning them into 'Academias Superiores de Ciencias Pedagógicas' (teacher training centers) though later on, they became independent universities. With the teacher training centers losing the university rank, the teaching profession lost prestige and this resulted in fewer people interested in entering the profession.

Between 1981 and 1987, the military government spearheaded the privatization of the education system in Chile, thereby contributing to a system of unequal opportunity (Council on Hemispheric Affairs, 2008). Specifically, Pinochet's dictatorship approved the creation of 5 private universities and 23 professional institutes. Between 1988 and 1989, 17 private universities and 34 professional institutes were approved. In the last two months of the regime, another 18 private universities and 23 professional institutes were created (Torres, 2012). Currently, there are 162 institutions: 60 universities, 44 professional institutes and 58 institutes for technical education. Most of the universities and many of the professional institutes offer initial education programs for teachers of English.

As explained by Ávalos (1999), by the mid-1990s, when Chile was already functioning under a democratic system, the quality of teacher preparation programs in Chile had declined dramatically. She claims that the reasons for such a decline included the existence of fragmented, overloaded and outdated curricula; lack of a coherent vision of teacher education; insufficient access to updated teacher education resources (including lack of good libraries); inadequate academic level of teacher training staff; students with limited motivation; and teacher training programs disconnected from the realities of schools in which future teachers would teach.

The Teaching of English in Chile: The Current Situation

Chilean students receive a minimum of 684 hours of English instruction from fifth to twelfth grade. This is a reasonable number of hours for the vast majority of learners to graduate from high school with a satisfactory level of proficiency in English. Unfortunately, the Chilean reality is affected by

a number of factors that prevent this from happening. As will be discussed in this chapter, the policies that the Ministry of Education has put forward, such as national curriculum guidelines and textbooks and progress maps, have proved ineffective in ascertaining the attainment of solid levels of proficiency in English. What is more, many times, the provisions for teacher education programs do not take into account the complexity of the requirements of the Ministry of Education for English language education (extensive syllabi, standards and curriculum guides for which teachers have not received specific preparation), nor do they provide realistic preparation for the difficult task of teaching a foreign language to a rather diverse population. Additionally, the often-conflicting resolutions stemming from curriculum documents, as well as contradictions between new syllabi expectations (communicative, task oriented, complex and discourse based) and the pedagogical traditions present in schools (transmission-style pedagogy, focus on forms, memorization of vocabulary, teaching mostly in the first language), make progress slow, at best, as will be described below.

Alongside this reality, it is a fact that research on the policies and programs in place is almost non-existent, with the exception of standardized test results (a point supported, among others, by Barrientos and Conejeros [2012] in relation to the effects of the various English language instructional programs implemented in Chile; and by Salazar and Leihy [2009] in relation to work focusing on the higher education system in Chile). This lack of research makes finding meaningful solutions to the problems at stake extremely difficult. Hence, the sections below derive from our analysis of the perceptions that led national authorities to mandate the development of new policies. In our understanding, this reactive policymaking has served not to change the reality, but, many times, to perpetuate some of the inequalities that the system itself promotes. In the section that follows, we will describe the General Education Law passed in the country and the new curriculum guidelines under way. We will further discuss how these new curriculum guidelines and official textbooks are being used as a technocratic means to solving the problem of low results in standardized tests. We will then describe an innovative program, titled *Programa Inglés Abre Puertas* [English Opens Doors program]. The chapter ends with a discussion on the various initiatives.

Ley General de Educación [General Education Law] and *bases curriculares* [curriculum guidelines]

Currently, the official curriculum is undergoing important changes as a consequence of the implementation of the General Education Law, Law No. 20370 (Ministry of Education, 2009). In support of the General Education Law, the curriculum guidelines (Ministry of Education, 2013a) provide information on the skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing)

to be developed in the English language classroom; the methodology guiding instruction (i.e. Communicative Language Teaching; CLT); and the attitudes toward the language learning situation to be encouraged in the classroom. Additionally, teachers are provided with Level Study programs with practical ideas and suggestions to help them improve their instructional practices.

In spite of the fact that international experts visiting the country have been very positive about the scope and contents of the curriculum guidelines in that they promote a locally sensitive approach to CLT (McKay, 2002), the reality is that classroom instruction has remained faithful to a grammar-based instruction paradigm, and the effects of a more communicative approach are still to be felt (Barrientos & Conejeros, 2012).

Official textbooks

In parallel to the implementation of the curriculum guidelines, and in order to support renewed pedagogical practices, the Ministry of Education provides free English textbooks to every student in the country. These textbooks, which advocate for CLT, are written specifically for Chile with the participation of local experts, so that they are contextualized within the Chilean setting and are sensitive to local needs and beliefs. However, the field of English language teaching in Chile abounds with stories of teachers who often complain that these materials do not include enough grammar. These stories, which in a postmodern view represent evidence, support the teachers' argument that they have to supplement exercises and extra practice, or replace the Ministry of Education textbooks with those offered by well-known international publishing houses altogether, as the latter seem to provide the grammar information that teachers think indispensable. This keeps alive a tradition of teaching grammar rules, which are delivered in Spanish (a point made in a radio interview, ADN 91.7, 2015). In summary, while textbooks are commissioned to counteract the pervasiveness of traditional teaching practices, their communicative nature has made them almost non-existent in the classroom as teachers opt out from using them as they do not feel that they meet their expectations.

An early start: Problem or opportunity?

As noted above, instruction in a foreign language in Chile starts in fifth grade. In December 2013, the Ministry of Education announced the provision of programs and textbooks for those schools that started teaching English in the first grade regardless of the fact that, according to the curriculum guidelines, English was still officially taught from fifth grade. This measure reinforced the commonly held belief that young children learn foreign languages much faster and more easily than teenagers, without considering that such premise has proved to be true,

Table 6.1 Professional qualifications of teachers of English in Chilean schools

Primary school teachers (no training in English teaching)	*Secondary school English teachers*	*Secondary school teachers (no training in English teaching)*	*English speakers without a professional degree*	*Total*
2447	4671	713	660	8491

Source: Adapted from Vivanco (2012).

provided the learner is completely surrounded by the target language (e.g. Harmer, 2007; Lightbown & Spada, 2006). Understandably, parents exert great pressure on schools based on this belief. However, much like in the case of Uruguay and Ecuador (see chapters by Brovetto, and Kuhlman & Serrano, this volume), as shown in Table 6.1, Chile experiences a shortage of English language teachers, regardless of grade level. Given this shortage, primary teachers have to teach English, many times against their will. In short, not all the teachers who are teaching English in Chile have the necessary qualifications.

Putting the cart before the horse: National English tests

In order to assess the results of the new initiatives in English language teaching, in 2004 the Ministry of Education contracted with the University of Cambridge English to speakers of other languages (ESOL) examinations to develop a tailor-made assessment instrument. The test was administered to a sample of fourth- and eighth-grade students who were supposed to score at the A1 Level ('Breakthrough') or better on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, and Assessment (CEFR; Council of Europe, 2001). The results were so dismal that two new levels below Breakthrough had to be included: Lower Breakthrough and Pre Breakthrough (for sample exam questions and general results, see Baker, 2012). In 2008, the test was once more administered to the same students, who were now in twelfth grade, showing a slight improvement. Then, in October 2010, this time with a new government coalition and president, a decision was made to assess students' language improvement using the official curriculum as a reference. It was then decided that the Sistema de Medición de la Calidad de la Educación (SIMCE) [National System for the Measurement of Quality in Education] – a state agency responsible for assessing the quality of educational provisions both in the private and public sectors – should administer a test to all eleventh-grade students in the country. This test, the *Test of English for International Communication* (TOEIC) *Bridge* – developed to assess the proficiency of beginning to lower-intermediate English language learners – was commissioned to Educational Testing Service (2016). This initiative was widely contested by university

faculty who thought the funds allotted to this test would have been better invested in training teachers, since it was expected that the results would be quite predictable considering all the deficiencies described above.

Unfortunately, the results of the test administration confirmed the expectations of university faculty since only 11% of the (estimated 220,000) students who took the test met the expected B1 Level on the CEFR. Additionally, out of the 100 schools that obtained good scores on the test, not one of them was a public school (La Nación, 2011).

In November 2012, the SIMCE English test was administered one more time. However, instead of using the TOEIC Bridge, the Ministry of Education decided to use the *Cambridge Key English Test* exam (University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate, 2016) thus causing an enormous controversy about the validity of the interpretation of test results (Abrahams, 2012).

A True Innovation: *Programa Inglés Abre Puertas* [English Opens Doors Program]

In order to strengthen the implementation of all the reforms mentioned so far, in 2004, the Ministry of Education (n.d.) created a support program called *Programa Inglés Abre Puertas* 'English Opens Doors' (PIAP, as it is known in Spanish). The program, which has received favorable reviews by international experts, is designed to improve English language instruction by implementing standards-based instruction in elementary and high school education; by providing professional development opportunities for classroom teachers; and by supporting teachers in the classroom. In relation to professional development, the program offers a variety of opportunities, involving but not limited to Rural English Teacher programs, English language courses, workshops and seminars with foreign experts, a native English-speaker volunteer program, short internships in English-speaking countries for teachers, Winter Retreat and Summer Town programs (English immersion camps) and methodology refresher courses.

As part of the Winter Retreat and Summer Town programs, an average of 1000 teachers spend two to three days in an immersion situation while they learn new information and skills in order to strengthen both their language proficiency and their instructional strategies. The content of these immersion experiences is decided upon consultation with the teachers so that they can respond to their immediate professional development needs. Another example of the English Opens Doors program is the methodology courses, which last 700 hours and take two years to complete. The audiences that this program caters for are mostly primary school teachers who are not certified to teach English.

In order to support the work of teachers in the classroom and also their evolving proficiency in the English language, many schools also have native English-speaking volunteers who develop specific projects in schools lasting one to two semesters. These volunteers are generally recent college graduates from countries such as Australia, the United States, the United Kingdom, New Zealand and also from the English-speaking Caribbean islands.

However, participation in the English Opens Doors program activities is not mandatory; instead, it relies on teachers' self-motivation to engage in professional development. This can be difficult when teachers have an average of 40 contact hours a week, which leaves very little time for professional development. Therefore, although the number of teachers who have taken advantage of all the opportunities offered by English Opens Doors is significant, its impact in the classroom is still small, as evidenced by anecdotal evidence presented by regional supervisors and other experts who regularly visit classrooms as part of their professional duties. The fact remains that the vast majority of teachers cannot engage in these much-needed professional development opportunities; hence, they are unable to change their classroom practices.

In recent years, English Opens Doors has started focusing on what seems to be the main root of all problems: the initial education of teachers of English. Through a dedicated series of activities that comprise seminars for university faculty run by international experts, regular meetings of heads of department from the various universities and the advice of international consultants on curriculum development and teacher education methods, a slow but steady process of curriculum renewal and awareness raising about its importance is under way (Ministry of Education, n.d.). We will now turn to a discussion of some of the issues that affect initial teacher education in English.

Initial teacher education in English and mentor teacher preparation programs

Our extensive experience in and knowledge of the English language education field in Chile leads us to conclude that there is consensus among national educational authorities and university faculty that the way in which new teachers of English are educated at Chilean universities is inadequate for the needs of the country, a factor that may contribute to explaining why students are not learning English, even if qualified teachers teach them. Teacher education curricula have remained unchanged for years and consist mostly of purely academic courses with limited, if any, connection among themselves, and divorced from the actual reality of schools. To make matters worse, teacher education faculty have limited involvement in the public schools where student teachers complete their

teaching practicum. To address this issue and, at the same time, the high teacher drop out within the first few years in the profession (Valenzuela & Sevilla, 2013), the Ministry of Education supported the idea of training school teachers as mentors, so that they could be effective role models and would be able to assist both student teachers during their practicum and newly qualified teachers (NQTs) during their induction. Two formal programs were offered in 2008 and 2010 by Universidad Alberto Hurtado: one for 24 university faculty from accredited universities in the country to become mentor trainers, and a mentor preparation program for 20 school teachers from an area encompassing the cities of La Serena (in the north of Chile) and Temuco (in the south of Chile). However, neither program prospered due to funding problems. Currently, the Ministry of Education is planning to develop a framework for good teaching practices in schools to help mentors, university supervisors and trainees relaunch mentor preparation programs.

Newly qualified teacher standards

Assessment should be an integral part of any teacher education program; not only does it provide information about how much students have learned, but it also provides data on how students can enhance their performance. To this end, the Ministry of Education (2013b) published a series of 'progress maps' that provide teachers with a reference on expected student achievement by grade level. The 'progress maps' led the way to a more recent innovation consisting of the development of national standards for NQTs (Ministry of Education, 2014). The standards, commissioned by the Ministry of Education to Universidad Alberto Hurtado, describe the pedagogical and disciplinary knowledge, skills and dispositions considered necessary for effective English teaching. Most of these standards are designed in such a way that the relationship between knowledge and skills is readily evident, as in the following example: 'Disciplinary Standard 7: The future teacher masters the theories of foreign language learning which will allow them to select and use the most effective methodological approaches and the most adequate strategies for the process of teaching and learning' (Ministry of Education, 2014: 26). Hence, disciplinary knowledge is the foundation that teachers will draw from in order to meet the final goal, which is to teach in a way that promotes quality student learning.

The standards indicate, in sum, that an NQT should demonstrate the following characteristics:

(1) Ability to communicate adequately, coherently and correctly in varied professional contexts both in Spanish and English.
(2) Ability to learn and update knowledge and skills on a permanent basis.

(3) Creativity, initiative and innovation.
(4) Solid ability for abstraction, analysis and synthesis.
(5) Quantitative analytical knowledge.
(6) Ability to use and manage ICT.
(7) Ethical commitment to work.

Standards are supposed to guide the reconfiguration of the curricula of various teacher education programs in the country by providing a reference point and orienting the process and content of teacher education. In turn, the Ministry of Education is expected to set a deadline for these adjustments to happen, as it expects a major change in English teacher education programs. Hopefully, this improvement will be reflected in classroom teachers who exhibit a higher proficiency in English, possess an updated knowledge of language teaching pedagogy, demonstrate classroom management skills and systematically use assessment data to guide and reconfigure their teaching so that it results in quality learning for all students.

An exit exam for NQTs: INICIA

In parallel to the publication of the standards, the Ministry of Education decided to introduce a comprehensive exam, INICIA, to be given after graduation to all NQTs in the country (Fundación Educación 2020, 2011). The underlying motivation for this examination was the need of the Ministry of Education to gather information about the efficacy of initial teacher education programs. The exam has become a high-stakes construct for both universities and teachers, as those who fail the test will be unemployable. While INICIA has already been implemented in programs that prepare teachers for other areas of the curriculum (e.g. history, physics, pre-K and elementary education), the English version of the exam, consisting of 60 multiple-choice questions that assess both language proficiency and pedagogical content knowledge was to be piloted on a voluntary basis in December 2015. To date, no information on the results is available. However, given the high-stakes scenario, it is possible to question whether a 60-item multiple-choice, pencil-and-paper exam can adequately capture the complexity of teaching, teachers' decision-making and their language proficiency.

In general, INICIA results for other subject areas have been poor (Ministry of Education, 2013c, 2015); therefore, universities have now turned to 'teaching to the exam' given the gatekeeping nature of the test. Two very relevant ethical questions that need to be posed are: Who has responsibility for the test results? And, who will answer to the recent graduates who fail the exam? Already there are voices that have yielded very valid claims about this exam not being suitable for measuring the minimum requirements for professional certification (for example, the 'Language

Proficiency' section of the test does not assess listening comprehension, oral or written expression). Thus, universities claim, the exam shouldn't become an obstacle for graduates to find a job. Universities, schools and the Ministry of Education all agree that an exam like INICIA is necessary, but a well-designed implementation plan needs to be developed so that, for example, universities can have enough time and resources to restructure their curricula to make sure they meet the standards that INICIA is based on.

Teacher education and ongoing professional development

Universities have not succeeded in instilling the need for ongoing professional development in their graduates and faculty (Pardo & Woodrow, 2014; Peralta, 2012). Their faculty have limited professional development opportunities involving both their pedagogical skills and their English language skills. The situation for new teachers is no better. As already explained, a 40-hour week teaching load leaves little time for professional development. Therefore, teachers have limited opportunities to practice the English language outside of the teaching setting. In relation to language teaching pedagogy, although there are seminars and workshops usually offered online by the British Council, the US embassy and/or face-to-face by the English Opens Doors program, these are not always well attended nor do they offer follow-up to opportunities. Additionally, there are no policies oriented to promoting the continuous professional development of teachers (Ávalos & Valenzuela, 2016). For example, very few universities actually support their faculty in developing their scholarship by sending them abroad or providing funding for the presentation of their research in local or international professional events. What is more, for the most part, there are no paid hours for research by faculty, and their faculty positions are mostly limited to teaching and serving on university committees. Research, when carried out, is contingent upon the availability of external funds procured via projects that generally involve the improvement of administrative aspects of the job or are intended to enhance the general setup of the universities.

This reality was clearly assessed by a 2004 study by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development that described the reality thus:

> Chilean education is influenced by an ideology that gives undue weight to market mechanisms to improve teaching and learning. Thus active interventionism from the centre in this respect is bound by market mechanisms to implement reform. These mechanisms, in practice, are generally weak stimulants for educational implementation or improvement… [as there is little or no] coupling of Ministry reforms to practice in schools. (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2004: 266)

Discussion and Conclusion

The picture we have painted so far is one of disillusionment and never-ending difficulties. What does the future have in store for English and its teaching in Chilean schools? In this chapter, we have argued that universities have to drastically improve their teacher training programs, school teachers have to change their classroom practices and students have to improve their learning substantially. For this to happen, there is a need for a general framework with clear standards and parameters carefully supported, supervised and followed-up by a variety of actors. As has been pointed out, there is widespread concern about the limited interactions among initial teacher education programs, the professional development of NQTs and the needs of public schools. The most urgent issues demanding attention are the generalized lack of credibility in teachers, the inadequate provisions of teacher education curricula, the outdated pedagogical repertoire of classroom teachers and university faculty alike, the lack of awareness about the very complex educational contexts with their associated social demands, the concern with the quality of teacher educators and the quality of the NQTs upon graduation. Initial teacher education programs will have to find alternatives to linking initial education with professional performance. In turn, the Ministry of Education will have to increase demands on learning results and make universities and schools accountable for their students' results (a point made by Valliant, 2004). At the same time, for these initiatives to succeed, governmental organizations will have to commit the financial support necessary to implement and sustain the initiatives.

Also, the relationship between professional communities, involving universities in their roles as teacher educators and schools where actual classroom practice occurs, is crucial. Therefore, the focus of attention has to be placed on schools acting as situated learning communities interacting with other communities of practice, such as universities and the educational system in general. The intersection of all these areas of professional performance allows us to consider *teaching professionalism* as our object of study. We believe that the debate should center on the kind of professionals teachers are, the conditions that affect the practice of such professionals, and the means to advance their improvement (Latorre, 2006). Additionally, as we have argued in this chapter, the classroom practices that NQTs have been exposed to in their teacher preparation programs have a significant weight on how they will perform in the language classroom. This means that if future teachers are exposed to academic practices that are of low quality, then these future teachers will likely replicate the same practices once they start teaching.

So, again we go back to the very beginning. The problems are multifaceted and complex. They involve the NQTs' command of English (with its associated cultural products, practices and perspectives), their

general pedagogical knowledge and their pedagogical content knowledge. If universities are the place where future teachers develop their professional knowledge base, then universities have to make sure that the curricula they offer have a positive impact on the professionalism of NQTs. Given the highly centralized and regulated nature of the Chilean educational system, the role of the Ministry of Education cannot be underscored and should be brought into the equation above.

Finally, we would like to offer some questions for reflection on the future: Will the standards for NQTs have the desired impact on teachers? How will teachers be assessed? How will their impact be measured? Will there be classroom supervision in schools to give feedback to universities? And is the Ministry of Education going to design, finance and implement a follow-up plan focused on how the new standards have been incorporated into the curricula of universities? Until these questions are addressed, chances are that the situation will remain unchanged.

Questions for Reflection

(1) The English teaching public policies set by the English Opens Doors program seem to be rather unique. Do you think they might work in your specific national setting? Why? Why not?
(2) Educational policies in Chile mandate that English language instruction should start in fifth grade. Where do you stand on this issue?
(3) What is the relevance of standards to the work of teachers, teacher trainers and teacher trainees?
(4) What aspects of the teaching profession have to be taken into account when working from a standards perspective, especially if standards are considered the minimal requirements for university-based initial teacher education?

References

Abrahams, M.J. (2012) *SIMCE Inglés* [*SIMCE English*]. See http://tesolchile.cl/welcome/2012/10/24/simce-ingles%E2%80%8F/ (accessed October 11, 2016).

ADN 91.7 (2015, October 10) *En el 99% de los Colegios se Enseña Inglés en Castellano. No Sirve para Nada* [*In 99% of the Schools, English Is Taught in Spanish. This is Useless*]. See http://www.adnradio.cl/noticias/nacional/en-el-99-de-los-colegios-se-ensena-ingles-en-castellano-no-sirve-para-nada/20151011/nota/2965967.aspx (accessed October 11, 2016).

Ávalos, B. (1999) Chile: Mejoramiento de la formación inicial de profesores: Conjunción de políticas nacionales e iniciativas institucionales [Chile: Improving the quality of initial teacher education: Confluence of national policies and institutional initiatives]. In J. García Huidobro (ed.) *La Reforma Educacional Chilena* [*The Chilean Educational Reform*] (pp. 49–58). Madrid: Editorial Popular. See http://www.ibe.unesco.org/curriculum/LatinAmericanNetworkPdf/maldorepcl1.pdf (accessed October 11, 2016).

Ávalos, B. and Valenzuela, J.P. (2016) Education for all and attrition/retention of new teachers: A trajectory study in Chile. *International Journal of Educational Development* 49, 276–290.

Baker, T. (2012, October 24) *Resultados Nacionales del Diagnóstico de Inglés, Aplicado en el Año 2004* [*Report on Learning Results for English as a Foreign Language Examinations of 2004*]. See http://www.slideshare.net/profesorbaker/2004-resultados-nacionales-del-diagnstico-de-ingls (accessed October 11, 2016).

Barrientos, Y.A.Y. and Conejeros, A.B.A.L. (2012) Evaluación de la puesta en marcha del enfoque metodológico por competencias comunicativas *FOCAL SKILLS* [Evaluation of the Implementation of the *FOCAL SKILLS* approach]. *Literatura y Lingüística* 25, 121–143.

Council of Europe (2001) *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Council on Hemispheric Affairs (2008, July 30) *The Failings of Chile's Education System: Institutionalized Inequality and a Preference for the Affluent*. See http://www.coha.org/the-failings-of-chile's-education-system-institutionalized-inequality-and-a-preference-for-the-affluent/ (accessed October 11, 2016).

Educational Testing Service (2016) *TOEIC Bridge*. See https://www.ets.org/toeic_bridge/ (accessed October 11, 2016).

Fundación Educación 2020 (2011) *Qué Es la Prueba Inicia* [*What INICIA is*]. See http://www.educacion2020.cl/sites/default/files/prueba_inicia.pdf (accessed October 11, 2016).

Harmer, J. (2007) *The Practice of English Language Teaching* (4th edn). Harlow: Pearson/Longman.

La Nación (2011, March 24) *SIMCE de Inglés Solo fue Aprobado por el 11% de los Alumnos* [*Only 11% of the Students Passed the SIMCE English Test*]. See http://www.lanacion.cl/simce-de-ingles-solo-fueaprobado-por-el-11-por-ciento-de-los-alumnos/noticias/2011-03-24/131126.html (accessed October 11, 2016).

Latorre, M. (2006) *Prácticas Pedagógicas y Formación Inicial: Desafíos Pendientes* [*Pedagogical Practices and Initial Teacher Education: Challenges Pending*]. Santiago de Chile: Fondo para el Desarrollo de la Ciencia y la Tecnología.

Lightbown, P. and Spada, N. (2006) *How Languages are Learned* (3rd edn). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McKay, S.L. (2002) *Teaching English as an International Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ministry of Education (n.d.) *El Programa Inglés Abre Puertas (PIAP), a Diez Años de su Inicio* [*English Opens Doors: Ten Years Later*]. See http://www.ingles.mineduc.cl/index2.php?id_seccion=3272&id_portal=49&id_contenido=30149 (accessed October 11, 2016).

Ministry of Education, Chile (2009) *Ley General de Educación No. 20370* [*General Education Law*]. See http://www.leychile.cl/Navegar?idNorma=1006043.

Ministry of Education, Chile (2013a) *Bases Curriculares* [*Curriculum Guidelines*]. See http://www.curriculumenlineamineduc.cl/605/w3-propertyvalue-52050.html (accessed October 11, 2016).

Ministry of Education, Chile (2013b) *Mapas de Progreso* [*Progress Maps*]. See http://www.educarchile.cl/ech/pro/app/detalle?id=132702 (accessed October 11, 2016).

Ministry of Education, Chile (2013c) *Evaluación INICIA: Presentacion de Resultados 2012* [*INICIA Test Results for 2012*]. See http://portales.mineduc.cl/usuarios/mineduc/doc/201308221629100.RESULTADOS_EVALUACION_INICIA.pdf (accessed October 11, 2016).

Ministry of Education, Chile (2014) *Estándares Orientadores para Carreras de Pedagogía en Inglés* [*Standards for Initial Teacher Education in English as a Foreign Language*].

Santiago de Chile: Author. See http://chitita.uta.cl/JCA/documentos/adj-15501.pdf (accessed October 11, 2016).

Ministry of Education, Chile (2015) *Evaluacion Inicia: Presentacion de Resultados 2014* [*Inicia Test Results for 2014*]. See http://portales.mineduc.cl/usuarios/cpeip/File/2015/noviembre/PresentaciOn_Resultados_INICIA_2014.pdf (accessed October 11, 2016).

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (2004) *Reviews of National Policies for Education: Chile 2004*. Paris: Author.

Ortiz Lira, H. (1994) A hundred years of the English department. *English Review* 1, 3–35.

Pardo, M. and Woodrow, C. (2014) Improving the quality of early childhood education in Chile: Tensions between public policy and teacher discourses over the schoolarisation of early childhood education. *International Journal of Early Childhood Education* 46, 101–115.

Peralta, V. (2012) Un análisis del desarrollo curricular de la educación parvularia chilena: ¿Cuánto se ha avanzado? [An analysis of curriculum development in early childhood education in Chile: How far along has it come?] *Revista Docencia* 48, 59–71.

Salazar, J.M. and Leihy, P.S. (2013) El manual invisible: Tres décadas de políticas de educación superior en Chile [The invisible textbook: Three decades of higher education policy in Chile]. *Archivos Analíticos de Políticas Educativas* 21 (34), 1–35.

Torres, H.V. (2012, March) Diagnóstico crítico de los programas actuales de formación inicial de docentes de inglés en Chile [Critical diagnosis of current initial English teacher preparation programs in Chile]. In British Council (ed.) *Registro del Seminario la Formación de Docentes de Inglés en Chile: El Desafío de la Calidad y la Pertenencia: ¿Qué Aspectos Críticos Deben ser Cautelados*? [*Proceedings of the Seminar Titled 'English Language Teacher Preparation in Chile: Teacher Quality and Profile. Critical Factors to Consider'*] (pp. 8–20). Santiago de Chile: British Council.

University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (2016) *Cambridge English KET*. See http://www.cambridgeenglish.org/exams/key/ (accessed October 11, 2016).

Valenzuela, J. and Sevilla, A. (2013) *La Movilidad de los Nuevos Profesores Chilenos en la Década del 2000: Un Sistema Escolar Viviendo en Peligro* [*Novice Teachers' Mobility in the 2000s in Chile: An Educational System Living in Danger*]. Santiago de Chile: Centro de Investigación Avanzada en Educación, Universidad de Chile.

Valliant, D. (2004) *Construcción de la profesión docente en América Latina: Tendencias, temas y debates* [*The Construction of the Teaching Profession in Latin America: Trends, Themes, and Debates*]. Montreal: PREAL. See http://www.oei.es/docentes/articulos/construccion_profesion_docente_AL_vaillant.pdf (accessed October 11, 2016).

7 Integrating Technology in Argentine Classrooms: The Case of a Buenos Aires Teacher Education School

Patricia Veciño

Today's students are no longer the people our educational system was designed to teach.
Marc Prensky, 2001: 1

Marc Prensky's words have led me to reflect on a redefinition of education and the process of teaching and learning in the 21st century. This new paradigm of education moves away from the principles of behavioral procedures toward a cognitive and socio-constructivist view of instruction (Coll, n.d., 2004, 2007), which fosters learner-centered experience and discovery. In order to comply with these tenets, educational systems need to connect schools with the outside world, where learners ask questions, solve problems and construct their own meanings by interacting with others (Carneiro, n.d.; Litwin, 2005). It is, therefore, necessary that schools foster the development of new skills and strategies that will allow their students to participate actively in society.

Integrating technology into the educational system provokes the need 'to rethink the process of learning, going beyond the traditional approach based on the text-based acquisition of pre-existing knowledge and to re-contextualize learning by theorizing the ways new information and communication technologies are transforming knowledge, culture and patterns of socialization' (Terrén, 2005, #3). The effective blending of technology with teaching practices and curriculum content leads to a different way of looking at the process of teaching and learning, and redefines the role of students, teachers and schools (Angeli & Valanides, 2008; Harris *et al*., 2009). In fact, because technology allows students to access information directly, the traditional teacher–student relationship is challenged, since teachers have to move away from their traditional position as knowledge sequencers and activity organizers and assume the new role of guides to encourage students' strategic control of their learning process.

Countries all over the world have taken action, modifying their educational systems in order to address 21st-century demands. In South America, a good number of national governments, such as those in Argentina, Chile, Brazil and Uruguay, have launched programs aimed at innovating education as well as bridging digital gaps. In these initiatives, educational institutions have taken a decisive role in implementing policies of inclusion, societal integration and extension of education to all members. It is worth remarking that these initiatives in the hands of South American governments are in keeping with the ideals of recovered democracy, following long-term military regimes (1970s–1990s) and later neoliberalist views of the regional states (for a discussion on this topic, see Díaz Maggioli, this volume). In this context, information and communication technologies (ICTs) are seen as tools that can be used to enhance access to education and, at the same time, promote a more equal society.

Argentina is an exponent of these beliefs and one of the countries that has decided to introduce technology implementation in an attempt to democratize access to information and reduce the educational and digital divide through a national program for public schools called *Conectar Igualdad* [Connecting Equality]. This chapter describes an initiative supported by the Connecting Equality program. This initiative involves using netbooks from Connecting Equality in order to prepare future foreign language (FL) teachers – and more specifically English as a foreign language (EFL) teachers – enrolled in a teacher education college in Buenos Aires, Argentina, for technology integration into their FL classes.

Context and Background

Connecting Equality is a program created in 2010 by the Argentinean Presidential decree No. 459/10 of 2010, 'seeking to reduce the digital, educational and social divide... to introduce and encourage the use of new technologies to improve education' (Bossio, 2011: 9) (see Banfi, this volume for another description of Connecting Equality). The program is namely geared toward democratizing access to information; increasing educational resources; and developing students' new competences, mainly those associated with the language of ICTs, to enhance students' personal, academic and professional opportunities. The program has two aspects. The first one involves providing technological equipment, developing infrastructure related to connectivity and distributing netbooks among students and teachers in public high schools, special education institutions and teacher education colleges all over the country. In fact, as of July 2013, the program had distributed 3 million netbooks (Kirchner, 2013).

The other aspect of the program involves training in technological integration. For this purpose, since 2011, Connecting Equality has offered free-of-charge teacher training programs, through the Educ.ar portal (the

educational portal of the National Ministry of Education), intended to help teachers enhance their instructional practices in virtual environments. In addition, teachers have had access to an array of training programs funded by the federal government and by provincial authorities (including, but not limited to, Networks and Educ.ar, Programa Integral por la Igualdad Educativa (PIIE) [Integral Program for Education Equality], etc.). The Red Nacional Virtual de Institutos Superiores de Formación Docente [The Virtual National Network for Advanced Teacher Training Institutes] also offers training for teacher education institutions through the site Red INFOD [National Teachers' Formation Institute Network]. Furthermore, it provides funding to meet the specific academic needs of all national teacher education schools. Similar technology integration actions have been taken by local governments. For example, as explained by Banfi (this volume), the government of the city of Buenos Aires has a plan titled Plan Sarmiento Buenos Aires, which provides one-laptop-per-child to all children and teachers in primary schools in the city. A similar program titled Todos los Chicos en la Red [All the Kids on the Net], also designed to reach elementary schoolchildren and their teachers, is offered in the north western province of San Luis. Similar programs are offered throughout the country.

Need for Innovation

Much like in other South American countries, in Argentina, the advent of democracy has brought forth ideals of inclusion and equality of rights. The National Education Law 26.206 (Ministerio de Educación, Ciencia y Tecnología, 2006) made high school education mandatory. Additionally, according to the law, the national government is responsible for offering universal access to education. However, this policy of inclusion and the integration of long-standing excluded groups was seriously challenged by difficulties associated with the cultural and socioeconomic situation of Argentine families (Díaz, n.d.). The reality showed high rates of high school desertion and grade retention, distribution and access to education were dramatically uneven and deficient in rural areas as well as in suburban locations (Díaz, n.d.; Duro & Perazza, 2013). It was, therefore, necessary to face these new challenges by guaranteeing universal access to education and offering a quality education to all adolescents in the Argentine territory, who were now required to complete their high school studies. In order to meet these challenges, it was critical to prepare teachers. At the same time, the pursuit of this new democratic spirit called for more active citizen participation in social and political issues, which had never been contemplated previously. Connecting Equality appeared as a promise to contribute to the attainment of these aims.

The reality of public schooling in Argentina reflected and, to a large extent, continues to reflect, the signs of verticalist, hierarchical

organizational models. High school classes are very often traditional, teacher centered, probably a reflection of long-established social hegemonic paradigms and structures. In the same way, the teaching of English in public schools features behavioristic, rote-learning, decontextualized educational practices, mostly focused on language usage, discrete point written grammar exercises and repetition drills. Textbooks often become the default course syllabus and the only source of materials. Unfortunately, they fail to provide significant topics, real-world problems, culturally embedded situations and purposeful communication and social language use.

While the integration of ICTs by itself cannot possibly be trusted to generate a profound transformation of the situation described above (Coll, n.d.), its effective integration can contribute to adding value to the teaching and learning processes by facilitating practices that would be impossible to implement without technology (Angeli & Valanides, 2008; Harris *et al*., 2009). However, when first in contact with ICTs, some teachers tend to choose technological elements that match their current teaching styles, rather than changing to make good use of what technology can offer (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2001).

Therefore, for significant transformation to take place, teachers need to find out for themselves that the change is worthwhile. They also need to appropriate a body of specific knowledge that will make them feel safe in their use of ICTs (Angeli, 2005; Angeli & Valanides, 2004, 2005); engage in sustained practice, involving but not limited to starting as apprentices and having multiple opportunities to practice and reflect on the ICTs used before appropriating them (Bozionelos, 2001; Fagundes, n.d.). Teachers also need to develop constructivist instructional strategies in the field of ICTs that may help learners overcome learning difficulties (Valverde Berrocoso *et al*., 2010). Only then will teachers consider that the change is justified.

In this way, teachers can prove how, by incorporating ICT-mediated practices, learners get the opportunity to authenticate the use of the FL for real communication, and ultimately be prepared for 'real life performance' (Widdowson, 2003: 113). Through technology, learners can engage in open tasks that foster real interaction, work autonomously, creating their own meanings individually and collaboratively with others, using critical thinking and participating in real-world communication (Lugo & Kelly, 2010).

All this considered, it is easy to conclude that appropriating technology can be extremely beneficial and, yet, not a simple process that can occur overnight. The shift naturally demands determination, sustained work and energy on the part of institutions and individual educators, since change usually creates justified unrest and uncertainty in every human being in any situation. It is, therefore, natural that challenging teachers' usual practices may cause stress and anxiety (Claro, 2010).

Souto (1993) unfolds some reasons that may account for the visible negative manifestations of resistance to change. On the one hand, educators appear to appreciate and realize the need for change, but on the other hand, they may fear being assaulted by innovations and losing their gains. Throughout their professional lives, teachers build a set of beliefs about teaching and learning, derived from their life and professional experiences (Kamhi-Stein, 2013). The situated nature of this knowledge (Moallem, 1998) guides them to predict what will and will not work in their class, and may lead them to be adamant about innovations that may jeopardize this body of expertise. Díaz (n.d.) adds more detail to the description of the problem of teachers' technology appropriation when she explains that, at times, educators lack confidence and experience anxiety when they possess limited technological competence and face technical problems. This situation worsens at the thought that students' digital native nature may threaten teachers' professional authority.

Another barrier that teachers allude to when they consider integrating ICTs in the classroom is the question of time constraints and extra workload: it is well known that change demands time and in this regard, some teachers maintain that learning the new ropes will add extra work to their already overloaded schedule (Díaz, n.d.). In short, technology may appear as a threat or a foe, for it forces educators to redefine assumptions and beliefs regarding the relationship between the constituents of the pedagogical triad, student–teacher–knowledge, and act accordingly with an uncertain outcome. All the reasons enumerated so far provide a rationale for why some teachers may persist in their avoidance of technology in the classroom.

Teaching Teachers-in-Preparation How to Integrate Technology in the Classroom: A Case Study

Considering the difficulties of education in Argentina and taking into account the voice of the experts on the possible impact of integrating technology in the classroom, it is natural to predict that training teachers in the use of ICTs could turn out to be a highly challenging undertaking. In my position as ICT trainer and didactics teacher educator at the English teacher training school 'Instituto Superior en Lenguas Vivas Juan Ramón Fernandez' (commonly known as Lenguas Vivas), I have experienced – and continue to face – this challenge.

Lenguas Vivas is an FL teacher education college run by the Government of Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires (City of Buenos Aires, the capital city of Argentina), where students graduate with a degree that qualifies them to teach English, French, German or Portuguese, at primary or high school and higher education levels. In order to be admitted into the teacher education

college, applicants are required to take a rigorous entrance exam in the language they will specialize in and show at least a higher intermediate level of proficiency (B2) on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEFR; Council of Europe, 2001). Lenguas Vivas is one of the most prestigious teacher preparation institutions in Argentina, and as such, it is always at the cutting edge of educational innovation, and thus held as a professional referent by teachers of FLs across the country.

In keeping with the spirit of achieving professional excellence and maintaining its reputation for being a leader in educational matters related to FL teaching, Lenguas Vivas has taken advantage of the resources offered by the Red INFOD [National Teachers' Formation Institute Network], namely training sessions and access to the virtual platform of the institution and the netbooks received from Connecting Equality. The college authorities created an ICT trainer position, which I have occupied since 2012. This new position was conceived as an initiative to offer specialized technology instruction to all didactics, methodology and practicum educators and teachers-in-preparation of all the language teaching departments of the institution. Therefore, my responsibilities involve preparing teachers-in-preparation in the meaningful use of ICTs for their instructional practices and fostering the meaningful use of Connecting Equality netbooks in everyday class work.

To meet the above goal, when I was appointed ICT trainer in 2012, I began to offer one-shot, two-hour stand-alone workshops that were delivered to didactics, methodology and practicum educators and teachers-in-preparation in their own classes. During the sessions, which could be described as 'classroom visits' within the regular class schedule, participants explored and evaluated the pedagogical potential for FL teaching of several web 2.0 tools. Some of the explored resources were graphic organizers (e.g. Popplet), wikis (e.g. Superwiki), digital posters (e.g. Glogster) and publishing tools (e.g. Prezi, Mural.ly, Paddlet), which participants might later integrate in their teaching practice: educators in their classes at Lenguas Vivas, on the one hand, and teachers-in-preparation in their lesson plans, on the other.

Considering that two hours were too short a time for in-depth exploration or implementation of the digital resources, and in order to foster participants' interaction about practical classroom experiences mediated by ICTs, educators and teachers-in-preparation were invited to take part in a Facebook group called 'TecnoLenguas' (Veciño, 2012). The goal of 'TecnoLenguas' is the construction of a community partnership of educators and teachers-in-preparation on the pedagogical use of technology in the classroom. To this end, participation in this group allows access to articles, useful links and ideas designed to articulate the implementation of technology in the FL class.

Unfortunately, the results of these training sessions were far from satisfactory. Only five teacher educators, out of about 25, asked me to deliver a workshop. The fact that the workshops were not mandatory and that their content was not part of the course syllabi in which teachers-in-preparation were enrolled contributed to the workshops' failure to impact teaching practices.

The second initiative in which I am involved corresponds to a blended model of technology integration in two of the classes I teach in the English Department: Didactics I and II. Both didactics classes are four-month courses, which meet once a week for four and a half hours, and they are consequently offered twice a year. The contents of Didactics I include basic theoretical concepts related to the teaching of English, e.g. first and second language acquisition and learning theories, the role of teachers and learners, students' diversity and some notions of the development of four-skill integrated didactic sequences. In Didactics II, teachers-in-preparation have their first experience teaching two practice lessons in high school, and to this end they read and discuss articles that support communicative, interactive, task-oriented lessons, which favor students' autonomy, collaborative work and critical thinking.

Blended classes involve the delivery of instruction face-to-face and online. In my didactics classes, face-to-face work engages teachers-in-preparation in discussions and presentations aimed at integrating theory with practical, classroom application. As for the online mode, I have gradually incorporated virtual work. Initially, I experimented using a few web 2.0 tools sporadically, such as Google docs or wikis. Progressively, I expanded my repertoire by including collaborative presentation and publishing tools, multimodal resources, online forums, web searches and, more recently, the use of Twitter to spur the discussion of a certain topic. At present in both Didactics I and II classes, teachers-in-preparation use digital tools, such as mind maps (e.g. Popplet), collaborative tools (e.g. Google doc) and presentation tools (e.g. Prezi, Mural.ly), in order to manage and present information. The digital productions that result from the work completed by the teachers-in-preparation are later shared in the classroom blog, which provides an excellent medium for reflection on the class content as well as on the digital experience. Some examples of these productions include the design of Popplets on theories of learning and theories of language, murals on Communicative Language Teaching, WebQuests – inquiry-based lessons in which all the work comes from the web (Dodge, 1995) – on language teaching methods and interactive posters on language learning factors, the teaching of writing and web 2.0 tools.

Through these tasks, teachers-in-preparation have experienced working collaboratively while doing research, interacting and managing information. Google docs and chat tools are especially practical in Didactics II, where teachers-in-preparation plan lessons in pairs. These

digital tools give teachers-in-preparation the opportunity to work with their peers, regardless of time restrictions and distance barriers. The digital tools also allow me to identify individual contributions to the development of the lesson plan, detect personal difficulties and help throughout the process. In addition, teachers-in-preparation can easily participate in peer and self-evaluation performance in the planning process, for it is simple to access actual samples of individual contributions to the development of the lesson design.

Edmodo is another useful tool that I usually resort to in my classes. This online networking application proves highly practical for storing PDFs of the class bibliography; sharing useful resources, articles and links; posting messages; making announcements; and participating in brief discussions. Since face-to-face class time is not enough to train teachers-in-preparation in the use of digital tools, through Edmodo, the class participants share tutorials on the use of certain web 2.0 tools (see Hutchins [2013] for a Padlet tutorial and Technology for Teachers and Students Channel [2014] for a Prezi tutorial).

Implementing the use of technology in the didactics classes has a dual purpose: it allows teachers-in-preparation to learn digital skills to complete their academic work and to experience the power of ICTs to enhance education when integrated and articulated with curriculum content and specific pedagogical aims. In addition, ICT integration resembles the type of work that teachers-in-preparation are encouraged to promote in their lesson plans: active participation, significant communication, development of learners' autonomy and critical thinking. Turning full face-to-face classes into blended courses has extended and made contact time more flexible and has contributed to empowering teachers-in-preparation to take a more active role in significant, dialogic interaction when engaging in collaborative work.

Reflection on the Experiences

The experience at Lenguas Vivas drew different responses. One-shot workshops did not seem to encourage participants to integrate technology in their usual repertoire of teaching practices. In fact, they did not generate any noticeable effects. Contributions to the Facebook group were scarce, and seldom did I, in my position as ICT trainer, receive any feedback from participants related to classroom-based implementation of technology. Only a handful of teacher educators who participated in the workshops implemented innovative uses of netbooks in or outside their classes. In most of the cases, they have persisted in the traditional uses of technology to download material, make presentations and communicate with their students. As for the teachers-in-preparation use of ICTs in their lesson plans, very few trainees who attended these workshops took that risk. Evidently,

the ICT training project did not have an extended effect on conventional teaching and learning procedures, but generated a few isolated daring experiences.

Although difficult to accept at first glance, these results cannot be surprising because of the unsystematic and unmethodical nature of the workshops and the limited exposure to ICT integration that they offered. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2001) asserts that becoming knowledgeable and confident in the effective use of technology in the classroom takes time and resources. The one-shot training model did not contemplate the necessary time for participants to identify, experiment with and finally appropriate the use of technology in the classroom. In relation to ICT integration in Latin America, Sunkel (n.d.) also refers to the temporal dimension of the process of integration as detrimental for teachers to elaborate on how to turn an element such as technology, originally conceived as alien to education, into an integrative constituent of this field.

Because of their inability to produce many significant changes, I have discontinued the initial, one-shot workshops. Instead, I now offer two-hour presentations and short face-to-face courses (involving two two-hour-long sessions) on in-depth integration of specific digital resources. Some of these sessions feature multimodal materials development, the use of collaborative digital tools to make presentations and the creation of blogs or wikis. Taking these courses gives participants, both teacher educators and teachers-in-preparation, time to become familiar with the use of technology and evaluate its potential for teaching. Participants are encouraged to reflect on the pedagogical innovations that technology may introduce in their teaching practice, namely how ICT integration enhances teaching and learning opportunities, compared to face-to-face procedures.

This new training model has already evidenced a more noticeable effect on both educators and teachers-in-preparation. Although the number of workshop participants is limited to 10 per course to guarantee the quality of instruction, there have been some signs of interest in technology on the part of the teacher educators and future teachers. For example, 'TecnoLenguas', the Facebook page, has increased by 10% the number of members. However, in spite of this growth, the quality of contributions to the group has not improved significantly. In fact, members' contributions are largely limited to giving a 'like' to posts and to a few comments or exchanges on the use of technology tools for classroom practice. Hopefully, the newly implemented training model will gradually encourage more educators and teachers-in-preparation to get acquainted, feel more confident and eventually integrate technological tools into their daily repertoire of teaching practices.

The blended experience in the didactics classes has been more rewarding and has gone far beyond my expectations. Teachers-in-preparation have responded actively and enthusiastically to the context-embedded models

of ICTs and have also manifested the advantages of using technology to enhance their academic work in other subjects, such as working on Google docs documents, using Prezi for class presentations. In turn, these experiences have empowered them to use technology confidently for pedagogical use. As an example, two teachers-in-preparation faced the challenge of using blogs in a thematic lesson focusing on crime and punishment and designed for EFL high school students. The blogs featured three scenarios to which their students had to respond by asking for and giving advice on cases of bullying. The result was amazing; high school EFL learners used the target structure (I wish/If only) in comments such as 'I wish I had more friends' or 'I wish my parents could hear me'. EFL learners also responded to posts, as in 'I agree with you, good idea' and they even corrected their classmates' mistakes (Lenguas Vivas, 2013). This was a successful experience for teachers-in-preparation, since they could appreciate how high school learners interacted and exchanged opinions in English using target vocabulary and structures purposefully and significantly, in the context of a real-life teenage problem.

Including ICTs in the didactics classes has undoubtedly represented a turning point in my own perspective of teaching and learning. Gaining confidence and expertise in the integration of ICTs has contributed to the transformation of the methodology used to deal with the workload of the didactics classes. The process took time and sustained practice: it involved taking ICT integration courses, reading, experiencing by myself, exchanging ideas with colleagues and constantly reflecting on the value of technology to improve learning in my teaching context. In fact, I discovered that teachers-in-preparation showed better understanding of some theoretical concepts, such as theories of second language acquisition, by utilizing images, graphics, collaborative text tools and forums. This finding also contributed to the teachers-in-preparation understanding that integrating a variety of intelligences (e.g. visual, interpersonal and logical) (Gardner, 2006) contributes to learning in general, and language learning more specifically.

One caveat in my experience as an ICT trainer is the disappointment that I feel when I face technical difficulties, namely the limited technological infrastructure of the school, low connectivity and poor netbook maintenance. While Connecting Equality is a high-priority national program, the reality is that public educational institutions in Argentina, like other South American countries, suffer from poor infrastructure and network maintenance. In these cases, I have had to set some tasks as take-home assignments or used smartphones when there was no connectivity.

I must admit that the shortcomings have wasted my time and energy as well as the time and energy of my teachers-in-preparation. However, the benefits outnumber the limitations, as can be gathered from the comments made by a teacher-in-preparation:

> By using technology in the Didactics class, we got acquainted with some digital resources, which helped us demystify the complexity of working with them and feel more confident in their use in the ELT class. Thanks to this integration we could implement the use of a blog in the context of our practice lessons. This resulted in students' motivation to engage in more significant tasks.

Another teacher-in-preparation referred to the connection between technology and motivation. The following is what she had to say about this: 'Integrating ICT is motivating for teachers and students alike, it opens up a world of sounds of colors when we learn'.

As shown in this chapter, technology has proved to facilitate access to information, stimulate participation, encourage collaborative problem-solving and foster critical and creative thinking. Before technology implementation, class activities involved group discussions, face-to-face interaction and oral presentations. With technology, future teachers engage in conversation, both face-to-face and in the virtual sphere in order to construct new representations of knowledge through different semiotic representations, such as digital posters, multimedia projects and graphic organizers, thus going beyond the verbal channel, which was characteristic of just in-person procedures. These hands-on, contextualized ICT experiences offer future teachers the two-fold benefit of discovering the advantages of technology use for academic work, while also serving as a model of good ICT practice in FL education. In addition, dealing with class content through technology-mediated tasks also proved that the pedagogical principles set by course theory matched the approach toward technology integration, namely dialogic interaction, higher-order thinking, collaborative work, significant tasks and learner autonomy, to name a few.

Analyzing the results of the training projects described in this chapter leads me to assert that systematic training generated dramatic effects on participants' attitude toward innovation. Hence, it can be inferred that purposeful, hands-on opportunities with technology over a period of time gave teachers-in-preparation the opportunity to try out by themselves and later elaborate on how ICTs facilitate the improvement of pedagogical practices.

Implications and Future Directions

From the two experiences described in this chapter, I can conclude that the process of technology appropriation is rather complex. Having technological skills does not necessarily imply being able to implement them with pedagogical aims (a point made by Angeli and Valanides [2008]). Instead, as explained by Ros *et al*. (2014), technology training needs to be oriented to the pedagogical needs of specific disciplines, as

was the case in my two didactics classes. Claro (2010) cautions about the need for investment, institutional involvement and daily implementation of technology to guarantee its effective integration into education. For teachers-in-preparation to integrate technology, they need sustained opportunities to go through the stages of familiarization, practice and evaluation of the advantages, drawbacks and possible risks of innovation. In a nutshell, networking, collaborative construction, ongoing practice and reflection and consistent support are central to the development of teachers' technology appropriation. Finally, for projects like Connecting Equality to be sustained, there is a need for continuous government financial support, both in the areas of hardware and software, as well as in the areas of teacher training and development.

Along these lines, I am currently implementing new initiatives aimed at encouraging more educators to engage in ICT projects. At present, I am working with several Didactics I and II colleagues on a shared blog and a forum on class observations on Edmodo. Here, the teacher educators and I expect teachers-in-preparation to interact and exchange reflections on class content, observations and ICT experiences. Both projects aim at encouraging teacher educators and teachers-in-preparation to be part of a community of practice. I hope these initiatives will contribute to the construction of an institutional digital culture at Lenguas Vivas. Additionally, in the future, I would like to get more colleagues to engage in joint projects on ICT-mediated practices. I also expect to expand the use of technology even further, for example by sharing blogs or communicating via Skype with teachers-in-preparation from other institutions, in Argentina or abroad, in order to exchange professional experiences on ICT integration in the teaching of English.

However, as I noted above, the burden of sustaining these projects cannot fall solely on the backs of teacher educators and teachers-in-preparation. It is critical that educational authorities, including but not limited to ministries of education, provide the appropriate logistical and financial support so that teachers and students in general – and teachers-in-preparation in my case – not only benefit from participating in professional development opportunities, but also have access to the infrastructure necessary for the use of ITCs 'to stick'.

I should conclude by stating that the process of writing this chapter has been an insightful experience for me. While putting together data, reviewing theory and gathering examples of experiences in ICT integration, I relived moments and images of classes, students' and colleagues' faces, and heard their voices, as well as those of experts. I realized that this writing experience helped me reflect on facts beyond my classroom, beyond Lenguas Vivas; it encouraged me to zoom out and see 'the big picture'. Then I could appreciate the opportunity that Connecting Equality has given the educational community in Argentina to move forward, to find new

horizons, to make new meanings of instruction, to invite more educators and students to feel the joy of teaching and learning.

Questions for Reflection

(1) How are ICT resources used in the context where you teach? What are the most significant limitations that may hinder technology integration in your teaching context? What could you do to overcome those limitations?
(2) What role should administrators play in order to promote the integration of technology in the classroom?

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Gladys Ledwith for introducing me to the fascinating world of technology and Lía D. Kamhi-Stein for her encouragement and support.

References

Angeli, C. (2005) Transforming a teacher education method course through technology: Effects on preservice teachers' technology competency. *Computers & Education* 45 (4), 383–398.

Angeli, C. and Valanides, N. (2004) Examining the effects of text-only and text and-visual instructional materials on the achievement of field-dependent and field-independent learners during problem-solving with modeling software. *Educational Technology Research and Development* 52 (4), 23–36.

Angeli, C. and Valanides, N. (2005) Preservice elementary teachers as information and communication technology designers: An instructional systems design model based on an expanded view of pedagogical content knowledge. *Journal of Computer-Assisted Learning* 21 (4), 292–302.

Angeli, C. and Valanides, N. (2008, March) *TPCK in Preservice Teacher Education: Preparing Primary Education Students to Teach with Technology.* Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New York. See http://punya.educ.msu.edu/presentations/AERA2008/AngeliValanides_AERA2008.pdf (accessed January 15, 2017).

Bossio, D. (2011) Prologo [Prologue]. In S. Gvirtz and C. Necuzzi (eds) *Educación y tecnología: Las voces de los expertos* [*Education and Technology: The Experts' Voices*] (p. 9). Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Educación, Presidencia de la Nación, ANSES.

Bozionelos, N. (2001) Computer anxiety: Relationship with computer experience and prevalence. *Computers in Human Behavior* 17 (2), 213–224.

Carneiro, R. (n.d.) Las TIC y los nuevos paradigmas educativos: la transformación de la escuela en una sociedad que se transforma [ICTs and the new educational paradigms: The school transformation in a society in transformation]. In R. Carneiro, J.C. Toscano and T. Díaz (eds) *Los Desafíos de las TIC para el Cambio Educativo* [*The Challenges of ICTs for Educational Change*] (pp. 15–27). Madrid: Fundación Santillana.

Claro, M. (2010) *La Incorporación de Tecnologías Digitales en Educación. Modelos de Identificación de Buenas Prácticas* [*The Integration of Digital Technology in Education: Models of Exemplary Practices*]. Santiago de Chile: CEPA. See http://www.cepal.org/

es/publicaciones/3772-la-incorporacion-tecnologias-digitales-educacion-modelos-identificacion-buenas (accessed September 29, 2016).

Coll, C. (n.d.) Aprender y enseñar con las TIC: Expectativas, realidad y potencialidades [Learning and teaching with ICT: Expectations, reality and potentialities]. In R. Carneiro, J.C. Toscano and T. Díaz (eds) *Los Desafíos de las TIC para el Cambio Educativo* [*The Challenges of ICTs for Educational Change*] (pp. 113–126). Madrid: Fundación Santillana.

Coll, C. (2004) Psicología de la educación y prácticas educativas mediadas por las tecnologías de la información y la comunicación. Una mirada constructivista [Educational psychology and ICT-mediated educational practices. A constructivist view]. *Sinéctica* 25, 1–24.

Coll, C. (2007) *TIC y Prácticas Educativas: Realidades y Expectativas* [*ICT and Educational Practices: Realities and Expectations*]. Paper presented at the 22nd Monographic Education Week, Madrid. See http://www.oei.es/tic/santillana/coll.pdf (accessed September 29, 2016).

Council of Europe (2001) *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Díaz, T. (n.d.) La función de las TIC en la transformación de la sociedad y de la educación [The role of ICTs in the transformation of society and education]. In R. Carneiro, J.C. Toscano and T. Díaz (eds) *Los Desafíos de las TIC para el Cambio Educativo* [*The Challenges of ICTs for Educational Change*] (pp. 155–164). Madrid: Fundación Santillana.

Dodge, B. (1995) *What is a Webquest*? See http://webquest.org/ (accessed September 29, 2016).

Duro, E. and Perazza, R. (2012) *Acerca de la Obligatoriedad en la Escuela Secundaria Argentina: Análisis de la Política Nacional* [*On Mandatory High School Education in Argentina: An Analysis of National Policy*]. Buenos Aries: UNICEF. See http://www.unicef.org/argentina/spanish/doc_final_30_08.pdf (accessed September 29, 2016).

Fagundes, L. (n.d.) Las condiciones de la innovación para la incorporación de las TIC en la educación [Innovation conditions for ICT integration in education]. In R. Carneiro, J.C. Toscano and T. Díaz (eds) *Los Desafíos de las TIC para el Cambio Educativo* [*The Challenges of ICTs for Educational Change*] (pp. 127–138). Madrid: Fundación Santillana.

Gardner, H. (2006) *Multiple Intelligences: New Horizons.* New York: Basic Books.

Harris, J.B., Mishra, P. and Koehler, M. (2009) Teachers' technological pedagogical content knowledge and learning activity types: Curriculum-based technology integration reframed. *Journal of Research on Technology in Education* 41 (4), 393–416. See http://activitytypes.wmwikis.net/file/view/HarrisMishraKoehler-JRTESumm09.pdf/80124231/HarrisMishraKoehler-JRTESumm09.pdf (accessed September 29, 2016).

Hutchins, S. (2013, April 13) *Padlet Tutorial* [video file]. See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bt6orv2QfZw (accessed September 29, 2016).

Kamhi-Stein, L.D. (ed.) (2013) *Narrating Their Lives: Examining English Language Teachers' Professional Identities within the Classroom.* Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan.

Kirchner, C.F. de (2013, July 8) *Ya Entregamos 3 Millones de Netbooks de Conectar Igualdad* [*We Have Already Distributed 3 Million Netbooks from the Connecting Equality Program*]. See http://www.cfkargentina.com/cristina-conectar-igualdad-netbook/ (accessed September 29, 2016).

Lenguas Vivas (2013, October 27) *Bullying.* See http://lenguasvivasprimerotercera.blogspot.com.ar/2013/10/crime-verbs.html (accessed September 29, 2016).

Litwin, E. (2005) *De Caminos, Puentes y Atajos: El Lugar de la Tecnología de la Enseñanza* [*On Roads, Bridges and Shortcuts: The Space of Teaching Technology*]. Paper presented at the Conferencia Inaugural del II Congreso Iberoamericano de EducaRed 'Educación y Nuevas Tecnologías' [Opening Session of the 2nd EducaRed Ibero-American

Convention 'Education and New Tecnologies']. Buenos Aires. See http://www.supervisionz22basso.com.ar/normativa/litwin%20e.de%20caminos%20puentes%20y%20atajos%20pdf.pdf (accessed January 15, 2017).

Lugo, M.T. and Kelly, V. (2010) *Tecnología en Educación: ¿Políticas para la Innovación*? [*Technology in Education: Innovation Policies*?]. Buenos Aires: Instituto Internacional de Planeamiento de la Educación IIPE-Unesco. See http://www.udelas.ac.pa/biblioteca/librospdf/Documento_Tecnologia_en_educ_Lugo_Kelly.pdf (accessed September 29, 2016).

Ministerio de Educación, Ciencia y Tecnología de la Nación Argentina [Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology of the Nation Argentina] (2006) *Ley Nacional de Educación No. 26.206* [*National Education Law No. 26.206*]. See http://www.me.gov.ar/doc_pdf/ley_de_educ_nac.pdf (accessed September 29, 2016).

Moallem, M. (1998.) An expert teacher's thinking and teaching and instructional design models and principles: An ethnographic study. *Educational Technology Research and Development* 46 (2), 1042–1629. See https://www.learntechlib.org/p/165127 (accessed January 11, 2017).

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2001) *Learning to Change – ICT in Schools*. Paris. See http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED459698.pdf (accessed January 15, 2017).

Prensky, M. (2001) Digital natives, digital immigrants. *On the Horizon* 9 (5), 1–6. See http://www.marcprensky.com/writing/Prensky%20-%20Digital%20Natives,%20Digital%20Immigrants%20-%20Part1.pdf (accessed September 29, 2016).

Ros, C., Cimolai, S., Gonzalez, D., Masnatta, M., Montero, J., Ochoa De La Fuente, L. and Segal, A. (2014) *Inclusión Digital y Construcción de Nuevas Prácticas de Enseñanza en el Marco del Programa Conectar Igualdad para la Formación Docente de Nivel Secundario* [*Digital Inclusion and the Development of New Instructional Practices in the Connecting Equality Program for High School Teacher Preparation*]. Paper presented at the Eighth Sociology Conference of the National University of La Plata, Province of Buenos Aires. See http://www.aacademica.org/000-099/582.pdf (accessed September 29, 2016).

Souto, M. (1993) *Hacia una Didáctica de lo Grupal* [*Towards Group Instruction*]. Buenos Aires: Miño y Dávila.

Sunkel, G. (n.d.) Las TIC en la educación en América Latina: Visión panorámica [ICTs in education in Latin America: A panoramic view]. In R. Carneiro, J.C. Toscano and T. Díaz (eds*) Los Desafíos de las TIC para el Cambio Educativo* [*The Challenges of ICTs for Educational Change*] (pp. 29–43). Madrid: Fundación Santillana.

Technology for Teachers and Students Channel (2014, October 11) *Full new Prezi tutorial* [video file]. See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-hVaJuTYKss (accessed September 29, 2016).

Terrén, E. (2005) Growing up digital teachers, too? *Teoría de la Educación* 6 (1). See http://campus.usal.es/~teoriaeducacion/rev_numero_06/n6_art_terren.htm (accessed September 29, 2016).

Valverde Berrocoso, J., Garrido Arroyo, M.C. and Fernández Sánchez, R. (2010) Enseñar y aprender con tecnologías: Un modelo teórico para las buenas prácticas educativas con TIC [Teaching and learning with technology: A theoretical model for good educational practices with ICT]. *Education in the Knowledge Society* 11 (1), 203–229. See http://revistas.usal.es/index.php/revistatesi/article/view/5840/5866 (accessed September 29, 2016).

Veciño, P. (October 2012) *TecnoLenguas* [Facebook page]. See https://www.facebook.com/groups/tecnolenguas/ (accessed September 29, 2016).

Widdowson, H.G. (2003) *Defining Issues in English Language Teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Part 3

School-Based Research and Innovative Practices

Overview

Chapter 8, by Pozzi, describes a qualitative study that investigated how English as a foreign language (EFL) teachers working in three socioeconomically diverse public schools in the City of Buenos Aires perceived and implemented English language policies mandated by the city. The results of the study show that access to English is not equal for the three schools and, instead, is dependent on the school's socioeconomic status. Chapter 9, by Chacón, seeks to contextualize the use of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT), the mandated teaching methodology in Venezuelan classrooms. She does this by helping her students, teachers-in-preparation, develop awareness about their own biases and assumptions related to issues of race, gender and stereotypes and, at the same time, develop communicative competence in English. This is achieved through a variety of activities focusing on Hollywood movies. Chapter 10, by Valsecchi, Barbeito and Olivero, explores secondary students' beliefs – sometimes contradictory – about EFL teaching and learning in Argentina. Chapter 11, by Almeida and Souza, focuses on the implementation of an instructional framework designed to enhance the critical reading skills and language proficiency of EFL students in a Brazilian public high school. The last chapter, by Rodríguez-Bonces, presents an overview of a variety of English language initiatives implemented by the national government in Colombia. Then, she evaluates the implementation of a bilingual education policy in a private school in Bogotá. The study identifies the interplay of factors that may contribute to the success (or failure) of a bilingual program.

8 Examining Teacher Perspectives on Language Policy in the City of Buenos Aires, Argentina

Rebecca Pozzi

Globalization and Language Teaching

Globalization can be described as 'the ongoing process of the increasing and intensifying interconnectedness of communications, events, activities and relationships taking place at the local, national or international level' (Block, 2008: 31). In fact, in *The Globalization Reader,* Lechner and Boli (2015: 2) indicate that globalization implies the world becoming a 'single place' with 'an emerging world culture and consciousness'. Nevertheless, critics view globalization as 'the work of the West' (Lechner & Boli, 2015: 3) in which Western fast food, movies and music, as well as the language in which they are transported, English, are forced upon the rest of the world.

This view of globalization may involve cultural and linguistic homogenization (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000), in which consumerism is transported from the United States to other countries via a process of McDonaldization (Ritzer, 1983) or Westernization (Kagawa, 1978), and seeks to impose uniform standards throughout the world. However, several scholars (Robertson, 1995; Sharifian, 2009; Swales, 2004) maintain that globalization is not reduced to the global forcing its way upon the local, but rather consists of a complex interaction among the two, called 'glocalization'. This concept, defined as 'the co-presence of both universalizing and particularizing tendencies' (Robertson, 1995: 25), is particularly relevant to the teaching of English as a foreign language (EFL), in which a global language (English) intersects with local realities around the world.

That said, the field of applied linguistics has been affected by the forces of globalization (and those of glocalization) in a variety of ways. As Block (2008) points out, the marketing of foreign language (FL) teaching methods

and materials flows from the West (typically the United States and/or the United Kingdom) to the rest of the world. Furthermore, he describes the shift from a focus on the communicative function of language to an emphasis on its exchange value in which English is a consumer good to be standardized and sold globally. Consequently, the language is branded in a way that connects it to particular worldviews, behaviors and lifestyles to which the world's inhabitants can aspire. This branding of English has led to its marketing, which in turn contributes to its status as the most widely taught language in the world (Crystal, 2003).

This is evident in South America, where recent educational policies emphasize the importance of teaching and learning FLs, principally English, in order to facilitate economic and technological exchange at a global level. Although these policies seem to represent a positive development with respect to FL education, observations regarding the implementation of various English teaching programs in the region reveal tensions among the global and the local (see chapter by Diaz Maggioli, this volume). This can be seen in the limited autonomy that teachers have regarding their professional development in diverse contexts and the influence of external forces (publishers, the British Council, the US embassy) that prefer general program and materials design over tailoring to particular needs in local communities (see chapter by Banfi, this volume).

Similar challenges have been documented in Argentina, particularly with respect to a policy known as the *Acuerdo-Marco para la Enseñanza de Lenguas* [Agreement-Framework for the Teaching of Foreign Languages] (Consejo Federal de Cultura y Educación, 1998), passed in 1998, which required the teaching of English in Argentina and made the teaching of other FLs optional. In his article outlining the role of English in Argentina, Nielsen (2003) predicted that this law[1] would lead to a greater number of users of English from a variety of socioeconomic classes. However, as Zappa-Hollman (2007) found in her study regarding the effects of policy changes on EFL instruction in Argentina, this law did not necessarily lead to high-quality English instruction, in large part due to the lack of teacher preparation for the unique challenges that educators face in diverse contexts.

Considering this, linguistic policies that aim to provide equal access to global forces do not always successfully include local populations in globalizing processes or grant them equal treatment across socioeconomic lines. That said, this chapter aims to address the glocalized space in which the global and the local collide to explore how access to English (Gee, 2003) contributes to a class-based divide in the City of Buenos Aires, Argentina. It seeks to do this by means of a situated approach to offset the top-down view of policy research that focuses exclusively on language policy documents in order to concentrate on how teachers engage with language policies on the ground (Hornberger, 2002; McCarty, 2011; Ramanathan, 2005).

Educational Policy in Argentina: FL Instruction

Prior to examining teacher perspectives, I will begin with a brief review of policy information that is most relevant to the teaching of FLs in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Since Argentina's return to democracy in 1983, several educational policy reforms that affect the teaching of languages in the City of Buenos Aires have been enacted at both the national and the city level. As previously mentioned, in 1998 with the *Acuerdo-Marco para la Enseñanza de Lenguas* [Agreement-Framework for the Teaching of Foreign Languages] (Consejo Federal de Cultura y Educación, 1998), the teaching of English became compulsory across the country starting in fourth grade, negatively affecting the teaching of other FLs, which became optional. Nearly a decade later, another national policy known as *Educación Intercultural Bilingüe* [Intercultural Bilingual Education], passed as part of the *Ley Nacional de Educación No 26.206* [National Education Law No. 26.206] (Ministerio de Educación, Ciencia y Tecnología de la Nación Argentina, 2006), called for the inclusion of the home languages of indigenous students in their public education. It aimed for an emphasis on respect and understanding of indigenous groups in all schools in the country with the goal of teaching students to appreciate cultural diversity and recognize it as a positive characteristic of Argentine society.

Regarding educational policies of the City of Buenos Aires, the *Diseño Curricular de Lenguas Extranjeras* [Curricular Design for the Teaching of Foreign Languages] (Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, 2001), developed in 2001, outlines the goals for the teaching of FLs. It focuses on promoting tolerance and acceptance of different languages and cultures and emphasizes the importance of equal access to global forces by means of language learning. While this *Diseño Curricular* [Curricular Design for the Teaching of Foreign Languages] (Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, 2001) shows no favor toward the teaching of one language over another, the importance of English is emphasized in a citywide policy that began in 2009 known as *Incorporación de Idiomas en Primer Ciclo* [Incorporation of Language Teaching in the First Three Years of Elementary School] (Dirección Operativa de Lenguas Extranjeras, n.d.). According to this policy, the teaching of FLs (limited to English in most schools) is introduced in primary schools across the City of Buenos Aires starting in first grade. Nevertheless, considering that this policy is limited to the city's jurisdiction, the presence of English is much broader there than in provinces throughout the country, where it is not introduced until fourth grade.

An additional city policy, *Plan Sarmiento Buenos Aires* (Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, 2011), though not a linguistic policy, emerged as particularly relevant to this study during interviews with teachers (see chapters by Banfi; Veciño, this volume).

It provides all teachers and students with computers and internet access. Furthermore, it promises technological training for teachers, students and community members through the dissemination of reference documents and the administration of a variety of meetings and workshops. In this way, at least in theory, it attempts to promote quality education through equal technological opportunities for all.

Thus, policies at the national and city level emphasize equality, be it through the promotion of ethnic and linguistic diversity in all schools in Argentina or the guarantee of equal access to FL education and technology for all students in the City of Buenos Aires. However, as Canagarajah (1999: 211) points out, the micro-social level of the classroom is not necessarily 'at the mercy of power dictated unilaterally from above' but rather there may be 'alternative discourses and power equations within its own walls' where 'teachers and students enjoy some agency to question, negotiate, and resist power'. With this idea in mind, I turn now to the methods used to explore how local educators interpret and engage with policies according to their specific contexts.

Methods

Sites and participants

I began this project with a desire to find out what EFL teachers thought about language policies and how policies were implemented in public schools in different parts of the City of Buenos Aires. As a native speaker of English from the United States, my curiosity regarding the teaching of EFL in Argentina began when I first lived and worked there as an EFL teacher in 2009. During that time, I visited EFL classes in public schools in several areas of Buenos Aires, where I observed differences in EFL instruction according to the socioeconomic status of the neighborhood. Through these experiences, my attention was called to the divides carved in society based on access to and knowledge of English. That said, this study was designed to address the following question: What are EFL teacher and EFL teacher trainer perceptions of educational language policies and their implementation in public elementary schools in socioeconomically diverse neighborhoods in the City of Buenos Aires, Argentina?

With this in mind, I visited three public elementary schools (Table 8.1): (a) School 613 in a shanty town quite far south of downtown Buenos Aires, which I refer to as Edgeville, where I interviewed three EFL teachers: Anita, Laura and Rafaela[2]; (b) School 804 in a poor western neighborhood next to the main highway separating the city from the province of Buenos Aires, which I refer to as Speedway, where I interviewed one EFL teacher: Bianca; and (c) School 521 in a wealthy north central neighborhood, which I refer to as Elite Town, where I interviewed two EFL teachers: Sofia and Alberto. My

Table 8.1 Institutional sites and participants

School number	*Neighborhood location*	*Community*	*Participants*
School 613	Shanty town in southern neighborhood	Edgeville	EFL teachers: Anita, Laura, Rafaela
School 804	Poor western neighborhood near highway	Speedway	EFL teacher: Bianca
School 521	Wealthy north-central neighborhood	Elite Town	EFL teachers: Sofía, Alberto EFL teacher trainer: Josefina

analysis also includes insights from an interview with Josefina, an EFL teacher trainer at a local university, whom I encountered at school 521 in Elite Town.

In my examination of teacher perceptions on language policy, I draw on ethnographic language policy research (Cassels Johnson, 2009; Hornberger & Cassels Johnson, 2007; McCarty, 2011; Ramanathan & Morgan, 2007), which calls for data collection that addresses how agents in local contexts interpret and appropriate policies (Cassels Johnson, 2009). With this in mind, I conducted interviews with EFL teachers and I observed their classes. I also recorded and later transcribed these interviews and I took detailed field notes during class observations. Then, I used inductive coding and comparative analysis strategies to determine recurring themes across participants and data sources (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Recorded interviews lasted at least 30 minutes each with the EFL teachers and the EFL teacher trainer mentioned above. They were conducted in English and/or Spanish, depending on the preference of the interviewee. Additionally, I observed at least one 40-minute EFL class at each school, where I spent at least one school day, which lasted between four and eight hours. Each school, regardless of its schedule, offered five hours of EFL instruction per week. Although I aimed to be an inconspicuous observer, most of the teachers introduced me to their classes and allowed students to ask me questions in order to practice their English, thus making me an observer participant. Field notes were taken during class observations and informal conversations with teachers during school visits.

Findings

An analysis of the aforementioned qualitative data shows how inequities are reproduced across social classes and how and why EFL teachers in diverse local contexts attempt to bridge the gap between the challenges they face and top-down policies. In the following sections, EFL teachers' voices will reveal how globalization is meant to reach all students in all neighborhoods of Buenos Aires, Argentina, by means of access to EFL instruction and

technology, but the application of well-formulated linguistic policies in diverse neighborhoods demonstrates that such globalizing influences reach these different parts of the city in distinct ways.

Inequities across schools

Upon examination of the data collected for this project, a number of common themes were determined regarding the complexities involved in the implementation of language policies in focal schools in different neighborhoods of Buenos Aires. First, it became clear that access to EFL instruction in these schools differs according to local context due to differences in class size. Additionally, EFL teachers described a number of gaps between policy and practice with respect to training, pedagogical materials and curricular goals. Finally, these teachers described the ways in which they exercise agency as they engage with language policies in their classrooms.

Differences in class size

As previously mentioned, city policies including the *Diseño Curricular* [Curricular Design for the Teaching of Foreign Languages] (Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, 2001) and the *Incorporación de idiomas* [Incorporation of Language Teaching] (Dirección Operativa de Lenguas Extranjeras, n.d.) stress the importance of equal access to FLs. Moreover, the latter specifies that said access should apply to students from all socioeconomic backgrounds in all neighborhoods. Nevertheless, interviews with the participating EFL teachers in this study reveal stark differences in the number of students in each class. In Edgeville, one of Anita's classes had 52 students (Field notes, August 28, 2012). In Speedway, Bianca's classes had an average of 25 students (Field notes, September 5, 2012). In Elite Town, there were as few as 11 students in one of the classes I observed (Field notes, September 14, 2012). That said, the number of students in the largest class in Edgeville was nearly five times that of the smallest class in Elite Town. Considering that class size affects not only the amount of practice time provided to students but also the number of hours of target language interaction they engage in over the course of the school year, such variation in class size across schools has a great effect on access to English.

Gaps between policy and practice

In addition to variation regarding the number of students in a class, interviews with and observations of EFL teachers revealed gaps between policies and the everyday realities of participating schools. This sentiment can be summed up well using Anita's (Edgeville) words: 'The law is up

way high and we are here on the ground, so we need something to cover the distance'[3] (Interview, August 28, 2012). As outlined in the following sections, teachers expressed their feelings toward irrelevant or insufficient training with respect to diversity, technology and pedagogy. Furthermore, they indicated that unreasonable expectations exist with respect to the curriculum and the materials provided for classroom use. In response to these expectations, teachers resisted policies (Canagarajah, 1999; Ramanathan, 2005) and chose to proceed in ways they deemed most appropriate for their local contexts.

Lack of diversity training

There were students from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds in all the schools I visited, regardless of the neighborhood; however, there were significantly more in Edgeville than in other areas. The population of the Edgeville school was primarily from Bolivia, Paraguay and Peru; the Speedway school had some students from Bolivia and China; the Elite Town school had a few students from Bolivia and a couple from Korea. In addition to Spanish, students who attended these schools spoke languages including Guaraní, Aymara, Quechua, Mandarin and Korean. Still, most of the teachers I spoke with had never heard of *Educación Intercultural Bilingüe* [Intercultural Bilingual Education] (Ministerio de Educación, Ciencia y Tecnología de la Nación Argentina, 2006), which claims to define common curricular content that promotes respect for multiculturalism and knowledge of native cultures in all of the country's schools, allowing students to value and understand cultural diversity as a positive attribute of society (Ministerio de Educación, Ciencia y Tecnología de la Nación Argentina, 2006, Artículo 54). When I asked the teacher trainer, Josefina, whether EFL teachers receive any training regarding this policy, she responded:

> Absolutamente cero…no veo que haya ninguna materia o ninguna instancia en ningún momento ni transversalmente ni longitudinalmente donde se incluya algo relacionado con pueblos originarios o con Educación Intercultural Bilingüe. No en el profesorado de inglés.
>
> (Absolutely zero… I don't see that there is any class or any instance at any time either transversally or longitudinally in which information is addressed regarding indigenous communities or Intercultural Bilingual Education. Not in the English Teacher Training School.) (Interview, September 13, 2012)

Josefina's comment is curious, considering that the goals of the *Educación Intercultural Bilingüe* [Intercultural Bilingual Education] (Ministerio de Educación, Ciencia y Tecnología de la Nación Argentina, 2006) policy are not only meant to reach all the country's schools but they are also relevant

to the goals of FL instruction outlined in the *Diseño Curricular* [Curricular Design for the Teaching of Foreign Languages] (Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, 2001), which emphasize the promotion of tolerance and acceptance of differences. Nevertheless, Josefina's statement was corroborated by Alberto, one of the teachers in Elite Town, who described the lack of diversity training and the need for addressing the issue in his wealthy, north central school. He put it this way:

> No class in the *profesorado* [teacher training school]… teaches you how to deal with students with disabilities, students from diverse backgrounds, etcetera… we're taught that we live in a very homogeneous society. So… it's needless. We don't have to learn about diversity. But the thing is… even at this school, I witnessed… racist comments between Argentineans. I had to call… his mom… [and] tell him, 'don't say "negro de mierda" [*fucking black*] to another classmate'. (Interview, September 14, 2012)

As seen here, even in Elite Town, students and teachers encounter issues related to diversity, including the use of racial slurs among students, yet they do not receive the necessary training to learn how to effectively address it.

The task of embracing cultural and linguistic diversity in the Argentinean classroom is not an easy one. As Lucas (2008) reports, indigenous languages (e.g. Guaraní, Aymara and Quechua) are not given prestige in Argentinean society, which leads to students from bilingual families devaluing and denying their home languages and cultures. This was evident in my observation of Anita's fourth-grade classroom in which she asked each student to go up to the blackboard in front of the class, tell me where he or she was from, point to the place on the map and tell me the other languages he or she spoke. Roughly 90% of those students were from bordering countries and spoke indigenous languages at home; however, the majority of those students claimed they were Argentinean and denied that they spoke other languages (Field notes, August 28, 2012). This behavior in which students deny their cultural and linguistic heritage (Edgeville) and insult each other's diverse appearances (Elite Town) reveals a great need for diversity training for students and teachers alike in educational settings across socioeconomic lines.

Absence of technological training

With respect to technology, teachers at all three schools reported a lack of support regarding *Plan Sarmiento Buenos Aires* (Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, 2011), which provides computers to teachers and students (see chapters by Banfi; Veciño, this volume). Regarding the challenges that accompany this policy in the

impoverished context of Edgeville, Anita mentioned that students do not bring their netbooks to school every day and that it can be difficult to connect to the internet when they do. Furthermore, she reported that many students have broken their computers and those who actually bring them to school tend to use them for entertainment instead of educational activities. In fact, she described a situation in which one student took his netbook home and his mother, with the best of intentions, washed it, hoping to ensure it was clean for her son to take to school the next day. In this way, due to the mother's limited contact with this technology and the lack of training provided regarding its use and care, the computer was destroyed in the water.

In Elite Town, on the other hand, Alberto explained that he thought the netbooks were useful for teaching EFL. He felt that having students search the internet using their English skills to find more information about course topics was a good way to motivate them. Still, since he had not received any training regarding the use of computers in class, he hoped to find more ways to incorporate them effectively. That said, there is a great need for implementation of the technology training mentioned in the *Plan Sarmiento Buenos Aires* (Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, 2011) policy not only for teachers but also for students and their families.

Resistance to irrelevant pedagogical training and curricular expectations

In regard to pedagogical training, Anita (Edgeville) explained that the city provides training workshops for teachers (see chapter by Banfi, this volume); however, the topics are determined without consulting individual schools and the same training sessions are implemented throughout the city. She said:

> Ellos traen los temas. No nos preguntan a nosotras…por comunidades… porque también somos distintas. Lo arman para toda la ciudad y no es lo mismo acá [Edgeville] que … [Elite Town]. Entonces nos vinieron a hablar acá de los Juegos Olímpicos… ¿Juegos Olímpicos? Estos chicos no tienen la cultura general como para saber qué es un juego olímpico. No me iba a meter en eso…in English. Entonces, eso sentimos. Por eso, es como que, hay un gap entre eso que debería ser y lo que nosotros sentimos que pasa.
>
> (They bring the topics. They don't ask us… by communities… because we are different too. They make it [the training session] for the whole city and it's not the same here [Edgeville] as it is in… [Elite Town]. Then, they came here to talk to us about the Olympic Games… Olympic Games? These kids don't have the general culture to know what an olympic game is. I wasn't even going to go there… in English. So, that's what we feel. Because of that, it's like there's a gap between

> what it [the training] should be and what we feel happens.) (Interview, August 28, 2012)

As seen here, Anita resists certain topics that policymakers expect her to cover in her classes based on the realities of her students.

Similarly, other teachers in Edgeville (Laura) and Speedway (Bianca) express how and why they resist the ambitious curricula set forth by policymakers. Laura said:

> I try to adapt to my groups…. what I think they need… We have to make our plans and the Curricular Design is very strict and… I try to do as much as I can… as much as they can… I should have started with Happy Street 2 [the textbook; see Maidment & Roberts, 2009], let's say… three months ago, and I haven't started already. But, I put it in my plan. So, if someone comes into my classroom, I would say, 'oh, well, we are just reciting because we are going to start with…' (Interview, August 28, 2012)

Here, Laura (Edgeville) explains that the curriculum is not realistic for her students. For this reason, she adjusts her teaching based on their needs and abilities.

Bianca (Speedway) expressed similar concerns and makes comparable adjustments to the curriculum:

> …todo lo que… imparte… del ministerio, del estado, yo lo tomo, lo recibo y después yo lo bajo a mi criterio. Es decir, yo digo, bueno, el Diseño Curricular dice que en séptimo grado yo tengo que dar 'could, should, and would'… Ahora, yo no tengo nivel para dar 'could, should y would', prefiero enseñar el present continuous… siempre estoy pensando en lo que es bueno para el chico… muchas veces la gente que hace los diseños curriculares o la gente que hace bajadas, grandes lineamentos pedagógicos… no tienen ni idea de lo que es estar acá adentro…. entonces, ahí tenés un bache muy grande…si nosotros somos docentes pragmáticos, y somos docentes que tenemos criterio y sentido común, tenés que decir, bueno, tengo este grupo con estas necesidades…
>
> (…everything that comes from the Ministry of Education, from the State, I take it, I receive it, and afterwards I use my best judgment. That is, I say, well, the Curricular Design says that in seventh grade I have to teach 'could, should, and would'… Now, I don't have the level to teach 'could, should, and would', I prefer to teach the present continuous… I am always thinking of what is best for the students… a lot of times the people that make curricular designs or the people that make top down, big pedagogical guidelines… don't have any idea what it's like to be in here… so, there you have a big breach… if we are pragmatic teachers,

> and we are teachers that have good judgment and common sense, you have to say, ok, I have this group with these needs…) (Interview, September 5, 2012)

Bianca's (Speedway) explanation also reveals the unrealistic expectations set out by the *Diseño Curricular* [Curricular Design for the Teaching of Foreign Languages] (Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires, 2001) for the reality of her local context. She describes how she resists this policy, handling the situation according to the needs of her students. As seen here, teachers in diverse neighborhoods are not only provided with irrelevant pedagogical training, but they are unable to realistically adhere to the curriculum. With this in mind, teacher training sessions should be adapted for local contexts and curricular expectations should be realistic for the diverse realities that can be found in the City of Buenos Aires.

Irrelevant pedagogical materials

Turning now to classroom materials, in Block's (2008) article regarding globalization and language teaching, he describes how EFL teaching materials flow one way from the United Kingdom and/or the United States and market the English language as a standardized consumer good related to a set of world views, behaviors and lifestyles to which global populations can aspire. Anita recognizes this phenomenon, pointing out that the beginning textbooks used at her school (*Happy Street*; see Maidment & Roberts, 2009) are often inappropriate for the realities of a country like Argentina, and particularly for an impoverished community like Edgeville. For example, given that *Happy Street* (Maidment & Roberts, 2009) was made in the United Kingdom for middle-class learners, in the chapter about the parts of a house, students see pictures of a large house. However, in Argentina many students from a variety of socioeconomic backgrounds may not necessarily live in houses but rather in apartments and students from impoverished communities may live in particularly small, overcrowded conditions. Laura (Edgeville) explained it this way:

> Let me show you something. My House. They [our students] live in a bedroom. Ten people in a bedroom. You see? They haven't got a house. They [pointing to children in the book] have a play room here in the attic [pointing to images in the book]. Hall. Garage. This is alien thing to them [our students]. They [our students] don't know what a hall is. (Interview, August 28, 2012)

Another problematic example from the book occurs in the family lesson, which includes both mothers and fathers as well as other familial support figures. However, many students in the Edgeville school come from broken families and some do not know their families.

As seen here, teaching materials created in the United Kingdom that are meant for mass production and distribution (see chapter by Banfi, this volume) are often irrelevant to the local contexts in which they are utilized, thus representing a gap between those who create and/or choose such materials and those who actually use them. While EFL textbooks adopted in Buenos Aires are chosen by a team of EFL teachers from the city, participants in this study indicated that those teachers do not always represent the diverse neighborhoods where textbooks are used. Therefore, it may be beneficial to incorporate more teachers from a wider variety of neighborhoods in the choice of materials. Even if this occurs, however, EFL teachers would benefit from having a greater variety of materials to choose from that are meant for more diverse audiences.

Philosophies of teaching

Upon explaining their reasons for teaching EFL, many of the teachers interviewed described motives related to social justice and telling beliefs regarding English and minority languages. Some of the themes that emerged in their philosophies of teaching included English to reinforce the home language, English for future careers, English for access to knowledge and other cultures, English to show another reality and English to equalize the playing field. Anita (Edgeville), for example, described how she uses English as a bridge to help students connect with their home languages and cultures:

> I believe that these kids don't have the same opportunities that other kids because…they come from a very hard environment, socially speaking… I'm teaching English to teach something else through English. I'm using most of the time English to foster another thing… because if you teach language you are teaching a whole culture through the language. Yes? And you help them to learn their own culture through another one. It's like building bridges. At the beginning they will say, 'no, I'm not from Bolivia', 'no, I don't speak Guaraní', 'I don't speak Quechua' and if you tell them it's wonderful to speak another language like English, like Spanish… (Interview, August 28, 2012)

As seen here, Anita uses the teaching of English to instill a sense of pride in knowing another language in order to combat the negative messages that indigenous and immigrant students internalize from society about their heritage.

For Sofía (Elite Town), English is necessary for a successful career. Since many of the students at her school are interested in working or going to college, she defends the utility of English to them. She explained this, saying, '…especially here in Argentina, they are all asking for people who are bilingual in every kind of work' (Interview, September 14, 2012). Sofía

chose to study and teach English because of its utility and thus uses the same ideas to motivate her students. Similarly, for Alberto (Elite Town), English provides access to other world cultures. He described how he learned about different peoples of the world through English, not Spanish, which is something he desires for his students as well.

Bianca (Speedway) believes in teaching English to show students another reality. She explained that some students ask 'si yo nunca voy a salir de acá, ¿para qué quiero aprender inglés?' (if I'm never going to get out of here, why would I want learn English?) (Interview, September 5, 2012). In response, she shares her belief that everyone should be given the same opportunities and EFL teachers have the responsibility to show their students that there is another way of life beyond the one they see in their homes, their families and their neighborhoods.

Finally, Rafaela (Edgeville) described how she views English as an equalizer for differences among social classes:

> Durante muchos años en la Argentina y en Buenos Aires en particular la enseñanza de inglés era vista como algo de clases altas… para las personas con muchísimo dinero y que podían pagarlo. Y para mí, que en una escuela como esta, estos chicos que… que para muchas personas no deberían tener las mismas oportunidades…. tengan cinco horas de inglés… quiero que aprovechen esas horas, quiero que entiendan que finalmente pudieron conquistar un derecho, que pueden ser un poquito más iguales, aunque sean esas cinco horas, a otros chicos…entonces, para mí, la lengua, sin lugar a dudas, enseñar una lengua extranjera, es placentero en ese sentido, es sentir que uno, por lo que aprendió, como que lo retribuye a sectores que no podían, que no podrían de otra manera acercarse.
>
> (For many years in Argentina and Buenos Aires particularly, the teaching of English was seen as something of the upper class… for people with lots of money and that could pay for it. And for me, in a school like this one, these kids that… for many people shouldn't have the same opportunities… have five hours of English… I want them to take advantage of those hours, I want them to understand that they finally managed to obtain a right, that they can be a little more equal to other kids, even if only through these five hours… so, for me the language, without a doubt, teaching a foreign language is pleasing in this way, it's feeling that one, because of what he or she learned, can share it with others that couldn't, that wouldn't be able to access it in any other way.) (Interview, August 28, 2012)

As shown in Rafaela's philosophy of teaching, providing equal access to English through offering all students in public elementary schools five hours of EFL classes per week is viewed as a powerful way to level the playing field for students from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds. It is

clear that Rafaela recognizes the importance of learning English in her country and her city and she believes that all students, including those in the shanty town, deserve equal access to EFL instruction.

Discussion and Conclusions

This study demonstrates English becoming a global force to reckon with as framed in the linguistic policies of Argentina and as revealed through interviews conducted with EFL teachers and a teacher trainer in the City of Buenos Aires. Despite the status of English as a FL in Argentina, the utility of the English language is highly regarded and has taken on compulsory status in the public school system. In this way, globalizing processes have made their mark on the city in terms of linguistic policy; however, the application of well-formulated policies in the impoverished areas of the city reveals that globalizing influences reach these diverse areas in different ways.

Overall, policies aim to value both the global and the local through offering universal access to English and guaranteeing immigrant rights and diversity education. In an effort to equalize the playing field with respect to access to English for students from different ethnic, linguistic, and socioeconomic backgrounds in vastly dissimilar neighborhoods in Buenos Aires, uniform policies have been enacted throughout the city. One such policy guarantees equal access to the teaching of EFL in all of the city's schools starting in first grade. However, providing all students with the same access to English (five hours of EFL instruction per week in elementary schools citywide) leads to inequalities in the delivery of EFL instruction, considering that the number of students per class is considerably higher in schools in impoverished neighborhoods.

In this effort to extend equal opportunities to all, EFL teachers across the City of Buenos Aires are provided with technological resources, a curriculum, professional development and pedagogical materials. Nevertheless, no training or support regarding the use of technological resources is provided, leading to a lack of effective use and/or handling of these resources. Moreover, participating teachers in less affluent areas elect to abandon curricular goals that are not realistic for their contexts and choose instead to address topics appropriate for their students' needs and abilities. Finally, textbooks and teacher training workshops provided throughout the city have been developed for a middle-class audience; hence, they are often inappropriate for students from modest realities. Thus, despite inclusive wording in policies, teacher interviews revealed non-existent technological training, unrealistic curricular expectations and irrelevant pedagogical materials and professional development in low socioeconomic contexts, which leads to unequal implementation of policies across schools.

Furthermore, while policies aim to guarantee indigenous rights and diversity education, teacher interviews revealed that (1) most teachers

participating in this study, regardless of the number of indigenous or immigrant students enrolled in their respective schools, had never heard of *Educación Intercultural Bilingüe* [Intercultural Bilingual Education] (Ministerio de Educación, Ciencia y Tecnología de la Nación Argentina, 2006); and (2) the teachers in the socioeconomically diverse neighborhoods represented in this chapter were not trained to address issues of diversity. Nevertheless, the use of racial slurs among students and instances of indigenous and immigrant children denying their heritage in front of their peers reveal a need for addressing such matters in schools.

Despite the presence of these challenges relating to diversity and the lack of formal teacher preparation for managing them, many EFL teachers who participated in this study included their beliefs about embracing diversity in their philosophies of teaching. Some teachers indicated that they view the teaching of EFL as a way to empower the cultural and linguistic heritage of indigenous and immigrant students, while others stated that providing these students with equal access to EFL instruction provides them with rights they have previously been denied.

In conclusion, making EFL classes compulsory or stating that indigenous languages and backgrounds should be respected in schools in linguistic policy does not necessarily lead to effective teaching or incorporation of such policy into instruction, especially when training and resources are not effectively provided for doing so. Therefore, EFL professional development in the City of Buenos Aires should focus, according to the participants in this study, on providing materials, resources and training sessions that are appropriate for the contexts in which EFL teachers work. Otherwise, equal access to English in the city's public schools is found only in policy rhetoric, not in reality (Zappa-Hollman, 2007).

Although this study was conducted in Buenos Aires, similar challenges related to the implementation of EFL policies have been reported throughout Argentina and South America. In Argentina, the teaching of EFL in public schools has been characterized by unrealistic goals and inadequate professional development, especially in economically disadvantaged areas (Zappa-Hollman, 2007). In South America, the implementation of various EFL teaching programs has been accompanied by the incorporation of projects, professional development and teaching materials designed to be used and replicated in a number of locations instead of prepared with local communities in mind (see chapter by Banfi, this volume). That said, the need to bridge the gap among policies and particular realities occurs not only in Buenos Aires, but also throughout the country and the region. Through reflecting on these glocalized spaces, particularly that of Buenos Aires addressed in this chapter, it becomes evident that local impoverished populations are left out of globalizing processes in surprising ways. Applied linguistics scholarship needs to address these omissions.

Questions for Reflection

(1) In what ways does 'glocalization' take place where you live and/or work? What are the ramifications, both positive and negative, of this collision between the global and the local in your local context and beyond?
(2) What are some of the policies you are expected to adhere to in your professional life? How do you comply with and/or resist policies based on the needs of your local context? How do you justify any deviations from adhering to these policies?

Notes

(1) Although in Nielsen's (2003) article, he refers exclusively to the *Ley Federal de Educación No. 24.195* [Federal Law of Education No. 24.195] and not to the *Acuerdo-Marco para la Enseñanza de Lenguas* [Agreement-Framework for the Teaching of Languages], I refer exclusively to the latter since it was the addition to the Federal Law of Education that addressed the teaching of English as a requirement starting in fourth grade, making the teaching of other FLs optional.
(2) School numbers mentioned in this chapter are fictitious. School community names and participant names are pseudonyms. Community pseudonyms were designed to call attention to distinguishable characteristics of the communities that are uniquely tied to their resources and socioeconomic status. This was done to help the reader avoid confusing the schools and/or the neighborhoods throughout the chapter.
(3) Interview quotations have been recorded verbatim and translated into English by the author when the answers were given in Spanish. Quotations provided in English have not been adjusted, maintaining original grammatical choices.

References

Block, D. (2008) Language education and globalization. In S. May and N. Hornberger (eds) *Encyclopedia of Language and Education: Vol 1. Language Policy and Political Issues in Education* (2nd edn; pp. 31–43). New York: Springer.

Canagarajah, S. (1999) On EFL teachers, awareness, and agency. *ELT Journal* 53 (3), 207–214.

Cassels Johnson, D. (2009) Ethnography of language policy. *Language Policy* 8 (2), 139–159.

Consejo Federal de Cultura y Educación [Federal Council on Culture and Education] (1998) *Acuerdo-Marco para la Enseñanza de Lenguas. (A-15). Anexo I. Resolución 66/97* [*Agreement-Framework for the Teaching of Languages. A 15. Annex I. Resolution 66/97*]. Buenos Aires, Argentina. See http://www.me.gov.ar/consejo/resoluciones/res97/ane-re66.pdf (accessed September 29, 2016).

Crystal, D. (2003) *English as a Global Language* (2nd edn). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dirección Operativa de Lenguas Extranjeras [Operational Direction of Foreign Languages] (n.d.) *Buenos Aires y Sus Idiomas: Políticas Lingüísticas de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires* [*Buenos Aires and its Languages: Linguistic Policies of the City of Buenos Aires*]. See http://www.buenosaires.gob.ar/areas/educacion/niveles/idiomas/ba_y_sus_idiomas.pdf.

Gee, J.P. (2003) Opportunity to learn: A language-based perspective on assessment. *Assessment in Education: Principles, Policy, and Practice* 10 (1), 25–44.
Hornberger, N.H. (2002) Multilingual language policies and the continua of biliteracy: An ecological approach. *Language Policy* 1 (1), 27–51.
Hornberger, N.H. and Cassels Johnson, D. (2007) Slicing the onion ethnographically: Layers and spaces in multilingual language education policy and practice. *TESOL Quarterly* 41 (3), 509–532.
Kagawa, Y. (1978) Impact of Westernization on the nutrition of Japanese: Changes in physique, cancer, longevity and centenarians. *Preventative Medicine* 7 (2), 205–217.
Lechner, F.J. and Boli, J. (2015) General introduction. In F.J. Lechner and J. Boli (eds) *The Globalization Reader* (5th edn; pp. 1–5). Chichester: Wiley & Sons.
Lucas, M.F. (2008) *Documento de Sistematización del Estado de Situación y Tratamiento de las Lenguas en el Sistema Educativo Nacional* [*Document on the Systematicity of the Status and Treatment of Languages in the National Educational System*]. Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Educación de la Nación.
Maidment, S. and Roberts, L. (2009) *Happy Street*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
McCarty, T. (2011) Introducing ethnography and language policy. In T.L. McCarty (ed.) *Ethnography and Language Policy* (pp. 1–28). New York: Routledge.
Merriam, S. and Tisdell, E. (2016) *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation* (4th edn). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
Ministerio de Educación, Ciencia y Tecnología de la Nación Argentina [Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology of the Nation Argentina] (2006) *Ley Nacional de Educación No. 26.206* [*National Education Law No. 26.206*]. See http://www.me.gov.ar/doc_pdf/ley_de_educ_nac.pdf.
Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires [Ministry of Education of the City of Buenos Aires] (2001) *Diseño Curricular de Lenguas Extranjeras: Niveles 1, 2, 3 y 4* [*Foreign Language Curriculum Design: Levels 1, 2, 3, and 4*]. See www.buenosaires.gob.ar/areas/educacion/curricula/dle_web.pdf.
Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires [Ministry of Education of the City of Buenos Aires] (2011) *Plan Sarmiento Buenos Aires* [*Sarmiento Buenos Aires Plan*]. See http://sarmientoba.buenosaires.gob.ar/.
Nielsen, P.M. (2003) English in Argentina: A sociolinguistic profile. *World Englishes* 22 (2), 199–209.
Ramanathan, V. (2005) *The English-Vernacular Divide: Postcolonial Language Politics and Practice*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
Ramanathan, V. and Morgan, B. (2007) TESOL and policy enactments: Perspectives from practice. Introduction to the special issue on language policy. *TESOL Quarterly* 41 (3), 447–463.
Ritzer, G. (1983) The 'McDonaldization' of society. *Journal of American Culture* 6, 100–107.
Robertson, R. (1995) Glocalization: Time-space and homogeneity-heterogeneity. In M. Featherstone, S. Lash and R. Robertson (eds) *Global Modernities* (pp. 25–44). London: Sage.
Sharifian, F. (2009) English as an international language: An overview. In F. Sharifian (ed.) *English as an International Language: Perspectives and Pedagogical Issues* (pp. 1–18). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (2000) *Linguistic Genocide in Education, or Worldwide Diversity and Human Rights*? Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
Swales, J. (2004) *Research Genres*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Zappa-Hollman, S. (2007) EFL in Argentina's schools: Teachers' perspectives on policy changes and instruction. *TESOL Quarterly* 41 (3), 618–625.

9 Film as a Consciousness-Raising Tool in ELT

Carmen T. Chacón

Introduction

The teaching of English as a foreign language in Venezuela

Venezuela is one of the countries that belongs to what Kachru (1992) called the 'expanding circle' where English is taught as a foreign language (EFL), and where Inner Circle varieties (particularly, those in the United States and England) serve as the models to attain native-like proficiency.

According to the Ministry of Education Office of Planning and Budgeting (1987), students are required to study English in junior and senior high school based on the need to use English as a means of communicating with people from English-speaking countries and being able to read and understand English to have access to journals, magazines and books written in English. English is a required academic subject in public and private middle and high school in order to obtain a diploma. Moreover, in college, most programs require English for specific purposes (ESP) courses as part of the core curriculum.

More recently under the Chavez administration, under a new mandate, the Ministry of Popular Power for Education (2007) officially incorporated the English language into the primary school curriculum from fourth to sixth grades. Additionally, the present national curriculum establishes the 'use of an indigenous and/or foreign language oral and written as a means for communication with the rest of the world, and as a means of having access to scientific and humanistic knowledge' (Ministry of Popular Power for Education, 2007: 15). In addition, among the directives of the 2007 curriculum is 'to respect and value multiethnic, multilingual and cultural diversity of indigenous people and Afro descendants in Venezuela, Latin America and the Caribbean' (Ministry of Popular Power for Education, 2007: 62) as well as 'to be proficient and value both mother languages (Spanish or indigenous) and a foreign language as elements to communicate, participate, integrate and strengthen the national' (Ministry of Popular Power for Education, 2007: 63). In the case of a foreign language, English is taught at all levels (primary, secondary and college) taking into account that this is the language of international communication.

Weekly hours of instruction range between three and four from first to fifth year of high school. Classes are usually large, consisting of about 38–40 students per classroom. Many EFL teachers still rely on US materials and textbooks although the Ministry of Popular Power for Education has recently published a collection of textbooks developed and adapted to the Venezuelan context with topics including national history, geography, holidays and community matters, among others.

Communicative language teaching in the Venezuelan context

For the past three decades, Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) has been, and still is, the predominant approach to EFL instruction in the country. CLT was introduced by the Ministry of Education in 1987. The rationale for the CLT advent lies in the need to use English for communication across the language skills – understand, speak, read and write in the target language. However, research (Chacón, 2003, 2005, 2006a) has shown that although teachers comply with CLT, they generally rely on the grammar-translation approach for the teaching of English. Additionally, not surprisingly, much class time is dedicated to drills of grammatical patterns and pronunciation with more emphasis on accuracy over meaning. Under this traditional approach, students fail to carry out meaningful 'authentic' tasks because the focus is on learning about the language rather than using it for real communication (see the chapters by Abrahams & Silva Ríos and Veciño for a description of the same issue in Chile and Argentina, respectively).

Furthermore, contextual factors such as large classes (consisting of 38–40 students), lack of resources, not enough time in the curriculum devoted to English and lack of in-service teacher development are among the difficulties in the implementation of CLT (Chacón, 2003, 2005). In fact, in a recent study, supported by the British Council, and designed to investigate the state of the art of EFL teaching in Venezuela, Beke (2015) collected data from multiple sources (e.g. surveys, interviews and journals) from 230 English teachers in public schools selected within 24 states in the country. Beke (2015: 58) showed the persistent 'prevalence for the Structuralism or traditional views of language teaching, being grammar more important than communication in English… and repetition in order to achieve good pronunciation'. Beke's findings are consistent with those of Chacón's (2003, 2005) in regard to a mismatch between EFL teachers' practice and the policies mandated by the national curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1987; Ministry of Popular Power for Education, 2007). In other words, the implementation of CLT, as mandated by the national curriculum, is not culturally situated, anchored in the real world or indicative of authentic interaction (Kumaravadivelu, 2001).

From communicative language teaching to a critical approach to instruction

As already noted, over the last few years, scholars in the field of teaching English to speakers of other languages (TESOL; e.g. Canagarajah, 1999, 2002; Kumaravadivelu, 1994, 2001, 2003) have argued that CLT has failed to address teachers and learners' needs in all contexts, and that CLT falls into what Pennycook (1999, 2001) calls prescriptivism, i.e. language teaching based on a neutral standpoint centered on the mastery of its grammar, phonology, lexicon and morphology. In addition, Canagarajah (1999: 188) asserts that 'Communicative pedagogy inducts students into the foreign culture in a non-reflexive manner, often insensitive to the ideological implications of this induction'. In a similar vein, Peirce (1995: 13) adds that 'It is through language that a person negotiates a sense of self within and across different sites at different points in time, and it is through language that a person gains access to—or is denied access to—powerful social networks'. Both Canagarajah and Peirce's views, which I agree with, imply the need to teach language from a sociopolitical perspective that takes into account not only the individual's context but also his or her identity as a member of a particular society.

Framed on the above critique of CLT, I believe that educational authorities need to rethink the goals of ELT. For instance, do Venezuelan students really need to acquire communicative competence in terms of sociolinguistic, discourse and strategic knowledge as defined by Canale and Swain (1980)? In answering this question, it can be argued that in Venezuela, students learn English in formal settings (classrooms) and are not likely to interact with native speakers from English-speaking countries. For this reason, it is not realistic to teach them to behave and follow the standards of the target culture as shown in most US textbooks as a way of enculturation. Besides, no longer can we teach about a standard or North American culture as this term encompasses many subcultures and diverse regional dialects and ways of living.

Another drawback of the concept of communicative competence as propagated in CLT has been its focus on the idealized 'native' speaker as the yardstick to assess non-natives. This ideal fails to acknowledge the existence of English regional accents within the US and World Englishes. Thus, expecting to reach native-speaker proficiency is also unrealistic. However, the goal in most teacher education programs in the country is to train prospective teachers to learn and teach 'Standard English' and imitate the native speaker as the legitimate model; non-standard varieties of English are neglected and considered as devaluated or inferior.

The foregoing discussion is aligned with Holliday's (2005: 138) critique of the standards imposed by the English-speaking Western TESOL

methodology that affirm the 'ideology of the native-speakerism'. He goes on to add that the 'appropriate methodology' standards of CLT used in English-speaking Western TESOL contexts is not appropriate in most contexts of the world, but it is used as the instrument of English spread and 'the instrument of native-speakerism' (Holliday, 2005: 144).

In light of CLT's shortcomings in a context like Venezuela, I argue that English language teaching (ELT) demands a post-method pedagogy that incorporates the notions of 'particularity, practicality, and possibility' (Kumaravadivelu, 2001: 538). In Kumaravadivelu's (2001: 544) words, 'particularity' entails 'context-sensitive, location specific pedagogy that is based on a true understanding of local, linguistic, social, cultural, and political particularities'. By 'practicality,' he asserts that there is a gap between practice and theory which is reflected in the fact that classroom teachers generally teach what researchers propose; as practitioners, they do not generally conduct research to build their own theories based on their own practice. 'Possibility' has to do with raising consciousness about 'who we are' and 'where we come from' as individuals who can act and transform our own reality.

Aligned with the call for a post-method pedagogy, the TESOL field is proposing a shift from prescriptivism, i.e. language teaching isolated from socioeconomic, historical, cultural and political forces that interact in a particular society, to a critical linguistic perspective that considers language teaching as a discursive practice through which power relationships are exercised (Canagarajah, 1999; Norton & Toohey, 2004; Pennycook, 1994, 2001; Phillipson, 1992).

Following this line of thought, an appropriate methodology and the goals of ELT should be rethought and defined taking into account the teachers' local teaching expertise, students' needs and expectations and, above all, the educational context. Framed on this perspective, I echo scholars (Freire, 2002; Pennycook, 1994, 1999, 2001) who call for a critical praxis (Chacón & Alvarez, 2001; Samimy & Brutt-Griffler, 1999) for ELT to raise students' awareness about the intersection of language, race and power in a wider context. Under such an approach, language is considered to be a discursive practice which means that language conveys messages and exerts power. In this sense, van Dijk (1995: 17) asserts 'ideologies are typically, though not exclusively, expressed and reproduced in discourse and communication, including non-verbal semiotic messages such as pictures, photographs and movies… Thus racist ideologies may be expressed and reproduced in racist talk, comics or movies in the context of mass media'.

Precisely, the influence of popular media, particularly Hollywood movies and music in Venezuela, motivated me to use them as a tool for consciousness-raising to call students' attention to discriminatory practices and stereotypes portrayed in movies.

English language teacher education in Venezuela

Students who enroll in teacher education programs for teaching EFL can obtain the degree of *Licenciado en Educación Mención Inglés, Licenciado en Lenguas Modernas or Profesor de Inglés* (Licentiate in Education major English, Licentiate in Modern Languages or English teacher, degrees that are equivalent to a bachelor's degree in the United States). Generally, each university requires five years (or nine semesters) to obtain the diploma. The university in the western part of Venezuela where the study took place at the time of data collection required five years of study. The two major goals of the curriculum are to develop EFL prospective teachers' pedagogical knowledge and communicative competence to speak, read, write and understand English.

I believe that not only should teacher education programs be concerned about developing EFL teachers-in-preparation proficiency, but at the same time it is fundamental to make them aware of the messages conveyed through language. By intelligibility, I echo Kenworthy's (1987: 13) definition as 'being understood by a listener at a given time in a given situation'. Undoubtedly, intelligibility and communicative effectiveness are fundamental in teacher education programs, but as already noted, language carries people's ideology, and as teachers we might unconsciously help reproduce and perpetuate social inequity.

Thus, according to these views, I thought of utilizing films in popular media as a vehicle for having students question and problematize (Canagarajah, 1999; Pennycook, 2001) language ideologies discursively constructed in films' plots. From this perspective, films served as instructional materials for a task-based project, and thus they were integrated with course content for several reasons. First, movies are meaningful sources of input that can help teachers-in-preparation deconstruct social practices through which forms of class, race, gender and power are exercised. Cinema served as a springboard for exposing these students to different accents and English varieties and having them challenge taken-for-granted assumptions of discriminatory practices such as the idealized native speaker model.

Furthermore, based on the characters' interactions and conflicts as portrayed in films, and through inductive questioning, students were confronted with the reality of marginalized groups, and in so doing, they uncovered racist stereotypes, bias and subtle forms of discrimination.

Second, movies are authentic materials, i.e. not created for teaching English; therefore, having learners watch movies is a meaningful task that provides input for top-down and bottom-up processes. Top-down processing involves strategies such as anticipating, inferring and getting the main gist while bottom-up, on the other hand, requires focusing on the individual components of a message. Third, movies are popular among

learners. Most enjoy watching films. In the case of my students, they orally reported going to the movies on weekends, or regularly watching films at home, because in Venezuela renting movies is an inexpensive and common practice.

The focus of this study was the use of films in project work for fostering the critical language awareness of EFL teachers-in-preparation, so that they would start to open up their consciousness about language as a discursive practice. The values and situations portrayed in films triggered their reactions and reflection about discriminatory practices and stimulated lively discussions where they confronted their own assumptions related to gender, racial bias and stereotypes of *the Other* with their own experiences.

On the other hand, it is noteworthy to mention the improvement in terms of the teachers-in-preparation fluency and intelligibility. Tasks such as paraphrasing, retelling, rehearsing, reporting back to the class, role-playing scenes and creating didactic activities for a movie guide engaged them in social interaction and negotiation of meaning for problem-solving in order to collaboratively carry out the communicative tasks in the movie guide (see Chacón, 2012).

The use of films in project-based tasks

The use of CLT as an approach or philosophy to teach English has been widely accepted in foreign/second language teaching. However, since its advent there have been many interpretations of what CLT is. What is in consensus though is that CLT promotes communicative competence in real-life communication. As Brown (1994: 80) affirms, 'In fact, some of those in the profession, with good reason, feel uncomfortable using the term, even to the point of wishing to exorcise it from our jargon'. Brown's words are supported by the argument put forward by Kumaravadivelu (2001). Yet, the term is still alive in the profession.

For this study, I chose Task-Based Language Teaching (TBLT) as a perspective within CLT but informed as a more precise set of procedures, framed on Van den Branden's (2009: 269) definition of tasks as 'the kinds of activities in which people engage in order to attain some non-linguistic objective, and which involve or necessitate the functional use of language'. In so doing, I followed these pedagogical principles for TBLT:

(1) Movies are authentic real-world texts for non-linguistic purposes.
(2) Movies are used as stimulus and input for meaning-oriented tasks.

This is quite important in the EFL case of Venezuela, where English is usually taught following a traditional, linear curriculum in formal classrooms, where there is hardly any time or opportunity for interaction or negotiation of meaning, and where teachers face numerous constraints

such as lack of materials and school facilities, tight schedules and large classes (Chacón, 2005).

(3) Meaning-oriented, open-ended tasks trigger social interaction and meaningful communication, negotiation of meaning and problem-solving.

(4) Film-oriented tasks demand that teachers-in-preparation work in teams applying the principles of cooperative learning to join efforts in carrying out the tasks. I echo Johnson and Johnson's (1999) main element in cooperative learning, which establishes that team work emphasizes cooperation in working together to accomplish goals that benefit all group members. This implies 'students work together to maximize their own and each other's learning' (Johnson & Johnson, 1999: 5).

In addition, from a sociolinguistic perspective, movies have been widely used as a teaching tool in college-level courses in fields such as sociology, psychology, history, political science and counseling, among others. Scholars have incorporated them into their classes as a way to enhance student learning. Nonetheless, the practice of using this kind of popular media in revealing EFL teachers-in-preparation stereotypes and prejudices in film messages has not been addressed. Films portray images of discrimination against minority groups; therefore, they are potential tools to make students aware of the relationship between language and power. In sum, framed on Freirean pedagogy and a critical approach to literacy (Auerbach, 1992; Norton & Toohey, 2004; Pennycook, 2001), I used movies as authentic input and TBLT as an approach for developing conscious-raising awareness of cultural codes, stereotypes and messages in film images. I was also inspired by Kumaravadivelu (2003) and Pennycook's (2001) arguments against the lack of CLT appropriateness and contextualization in foreign contexts.

The next section describes an action research project implemented in an English language teacher education program at one of the largest universities in the western part of Venezuela, whose main purpose was to open up the teachers-in-preparation awareness of worldviews and ideologies so that they would confront their own assumptions and alter their worldviews in regard to power relationships.

The project relied on the use of contemporary films for developing conscious-raising awareness of cultural codes, stereotypes and messages embedded in discursive practices as portrayed in movies. The goal of the project was to have teachers-in-preparation: (1) examine discriminatory practices related to gender, racial bias and stereotypes of *the Other*; (2) confront their own biases and beliefs; and (3) develop an understanding of discriminatory practices. It was also expected that through this project-based task (PBT), teachers-in-preparation' use of English would enhance their communicative competence.

Method

An action research intervention

Working within the qualitative research paradigm, I drew on critical Freirean pedagogy and action research (Carr & Kemmis, 1986; Kemmis & McTaggart, 1988) to foster the critical language awareness of teachers-in-preparation. My goal as a teacher educator and researcher in Venezuela, over the past years, has been to help transform and renew the curriculum as well as to innovate and change realities in our contexts (see Chacón, 2006b, 2009). In so doing, I have thought and reflected about my teaching practices and, in light of that process of 'self-reflective enquiry' (Carr & Kemmis, 1986; Zeichner & Liston, 1996), I acknowledge social inequities that call for change and transformation. Hence, I followed the suggested steps of action research: (1) developing a plan of action to foster teachers-in-preparation critical language awareness through film viewing; (2) implementing the action plan; (3) observing the effects of action in context; and (4) reflecting on the outcomes.

Participants

The participants included third-year EFL prospective teachers enrolled in the course Experiences for Developing Oral Expression in English II. I taught the class for four consecutive school years (2006–2010). Data were gathered during those four years from four different sections comprising 32 teachers-in-preparation each. Participants included a total of 128 students from which 8 dropped out of the class. All participants were native speakers of Spanish who ranged in age from 21 to 30 years. The majority of the participants had no experience travelling to or living in an English-speaking country. Their English proficiency level was considered high intermediate by the program's diagnostic test administered at the beginning of the year. Students at this level are able to read, write, understand and speak in English intelligibly, but without complete control of structure and pronunciation. At the time of the study, these teachers-in-preparation were receiving 12 hours of English instruction each week: 4 hours of grammar, 4 for reading and writing and 4 for Experiences for Developing Oral Expression in English.

Course description: PBT in experiences for developing oral expression in English II

I drew on film content for a PBT that allowed teachers-in-preparation not only to enhance their listening and speaking abilities (see Chacón, 2012; Chacón & Koroneos, 2008) but also examine language as a discursive practice as portrayed in film images. The PBT was carried out in groups of four that I formed at the beginning of the course based on the results

of a diagnostic test. I organized the class in eight 'cooperative-based groups' that according to Johnson and Johnson (1999: 15) 'are … long-term (lasting for at least a year), heterogeneous groups with stable membership whose primary purpose is for members to give each other the support, help, encouragement, and assistance each needs to progress academically'. Groups were required to get together as an out-of-class activity to watch the whole movie for planning and rehearsal of an in-class presentation, create a movie guide and then deliver an oral report in class. Students were given guidelines for the movie guide (see Appendix A) and inductive questions to help them critically analyze the movie plot during the watching activity: What do you see? Who are they? What are they doing? What seems to be the problem? Why do you think so? Have you experienced this? Do you know anybody who has? Why do you think this happens? Why is it a problem? Or not? It was necessary to train them as they had no previous experience in watching movies for these kinds of tasks in their classes. They were also trained in the use of cooperative learning principles (Johnson & Johnson, 1999).

The criteria for movie selection were (1) choosing a movie from the list on the Teachers' Against Prejudice website (http://www.teachersagainstprejudice.org/), or one of their own as long as it contained a social issue related to discriminatory practices; (2) selecting one- to two-minute segments in length for the class report accompanied by activities; and (3) creating a movie guide with pre-, during and post-viewing activities to be used in class.

Data collection

A total of 32 movies were used for in-class oral reports during the 4 school years. Due to space constraints, in this chapter I chose 11 out of the 32 movies as representative samples and activities (see Appendix B), and what the students said about them. The 11 movies selected were *Crash* (Schulman *et al*., 2004); *Babel* (González Iñárritu *et al*., 2006); *The Pianist* (Rywin *et al*., 2002); *The Boy in the Striped Pajamas* (Heyman & Herman, 2008); *The Secret Life of Bees* (Smith *et al*., 2008); *Freedom Writers* (DeVito *et al*., 2007); *The Great Debaters* (Black *et al*., 2007); *Philadelphia* (Demme *et al*., 1993); *I Am Sam* (Herskovitz *et al*., 2001); *Animal Farm* (Smith *et al*., 1999); and *Blood Diamond* (Herskovitz *et al*., 2006).

The data here were collected from audio recordings of students' oral presentations and students' documents or products (movie guide) which included narrative and descriptive tasks – summary of the plot, main characters' descriptions and resolution of the plot – as well as reflections about the film. The data were analyzed in light of students' perceptions of racist discourses during the intervention phase. In the next section, I briefly transcribe excerpts from the movie guides, and examples that illustrate

students' reactions and comments on the plot and segments presented during the in-class oral report.

Findings

Findings revealed the progress of the teachers-in-preparation in terms of challenging their assumptions and developing a deeper understanding of hegemonic practices that discriminate against *the Other*. At first, the participants did not recognize racist discourse and were color blind, but through a process of concientization they started to change their attitudes and developed self-awareness of discriminatory discourse practices (see Chacón, 2009; and Guevara & Palacios, 2014, for more on racialization in Venezuela). From a critical perspective, this understanding has great potential in the education of EFL teachers as through language we express who we are and where we come from. The focus of English education cannot merely be based on descriptive and normative language isolated from the sociocultural and political forces that exert power in a particular community, but in using English to express one's identity and voice against social inequity.

Film analysis

The students' own projection onto the characters in the films selected combined with their peers' projections onto the characters, and their reflections on how these portrayed injustice and racial conflicts are presented in the next section.

Students' awareness of discrimination

The following excerpts taken from the movie guide are evidence of the participants' awareness of discrimination as portrayed in the films. Names are pseudonyms.

> *Crash* is a controversial movie because there are many scenes of discrimination and racism. People are connected by the actions they did. This movie teaches people to see the world in a different way. For example here (in Táchira) there are citizens from different countries (China, Portugal, Spain, Colombia) we have to learn that we cannot offend people by their color of skin, religion, or social condition, or nationality. The movie features people from different race, social class, ethnicity and each one suffer discrimination in one way or another. (Yaneth)

> *Babel* shows several racial issues in different places that are connected to each one even though the characters do not know each other. One scene shows how immigrants are treated at the border, and all the troubles they get into like Amelia. This is not far from reality. (Ronald)

> We think that the idea of *Philadelphia* is to make people aware of the meaning of the word 'discrimination' because in fact many of us do not even think about that. In most cases, no matter the occupation, position, level of education or age, people do not think about discrimination as an act, or do not know the meaning or implications of this act. (Alexis)

In the above excerpts, Yaneth, for instance, reflects an understanding of discrimination because of social class, gender, race and ethnicity as portrayed by characters in the film *Crash*. She goes on to question her own prejudices and racist attitudes toward people from different cultures who live in her state. Ronald's view suggests empathy toward immigrants referring to the scene where Amelia, a Mexican immigrant who crossed the border to attend her son's wedding, gets into trouble with an American officer at immigration when returning to the United States. Alexis' reflection shows a similar understanding of discrimination, acknowledging that, in general, Venezuelans are not even aware of it. As Alexis says, the denial of racism is common among Venezuelans, but reality shows that there exists a covert racism expressed in feeling of xenophobia and racial biases or stereotypes against dark-skinned people, particularly Afro-Venezuelans.

Discrimination represented by the characters in *The Boy in the Striped Pajamas* and *Animal Farm* was also identified in Ana and Jorge's reflections.

> *The Boy in the Striped Pajamas* is a very sad story of prejudice, hatred, and violence against Jew people during the Second War World. It struck us how much injustice and persecution people suffered. We also learned from the movie how far friendship can go and the sad end of what could have been a story of love. (Ana)

> This fable (*Animal Farm*) teaches us valuable lessons about society and politics. There's always injustice in every society. Someone takes the privileged position just like the pigs in the farm, and soon they become corrupt. A society is basically a farm: there are politicians (pigs), workers (horses), peasants (sheep), artists (ducks), religious authorities (raven) and military (dogs), and as farm they must coexist together, but those with the power exert oppression and exploitation. (Jorge)

Referring to the film *The Boy in the Striped Pajamas*, Ana says that she was struck to watch the discrimination, hatred and intolerance against the Jews by the Nazis during the Holocaust. Also, after watching the documentary *Animal Farm*, Jorge's excerpt emphasizes the comparison between Orwell's farm and society stressing that those holding the power exert exploitation and oppression over those who do not. As already noted, the above extracts

reflect an understanding of racist stereotypes and social injustice as depicted in the films.

Besides the reflections as documents in the movie guide, I also transcribed teachers-in-preparation reflections recorded during class reports, as a source of data to constantly compare patterns in students' recognition of theirs and others' attitudes toward discrimination:

> In *Crash* we see reality and how different people behave in society. Reflecting upon this, we sometimes discriminate a bit … unconsciously, and it is through this kind of film that we can self- evaluate ourselves through introspection. (Manuel)

> You learn about racism. I live for a while in the US and there you see it. I live it for being Latino, particularly because of the stereotypes, if you are Colombian you may be labeled as a drug dealer, or Bolivian cocaine, or Peruvian Indian. (Betty)

> Movies help you so that people … obviously, even here we have discrimination, but not as in the US … we have been raised and used to think all equal, but there is like a certain kind of racism in the society. (María)

Manuel, Betty and Maria's reflections suggest a lack of awareness of racist stereotypes, bias and subtle forms of discrimination embedded in the Venezuelans' discourse. Maria recognizes, 'here we have discrimination, but not as in the US … we have been raised and used to think all equal' while Manuel justifies it, 'we sometimes discriminate a bit… unconsciously'. Betty, on the other hand, tells that as a Latina, in the United States, she experienced racist stereotyping. As can be seen, none of them openly acknowledge the existence of racist discourse and discriminatory social practices in their own contexts. As I have described elsewhere (see Chacón, 2009: 219), in Venezuela, 'discriminatory social practices seem to be so normal that most people ignore them'. In other words, racism is justified under the ideology of *mestizaje*, i.e. historically, we are a mixed-race, an amalgam of indigenous people, Africans and Spaniards; therefore, there are no established race categorizations in the country. This fact makes racialization in Venezuela complex; we are all supposed to be equal. However, there is a covert racism present in daily practices expressed in stereotypes and racist talk against dark-skinned people, particularly Afro-Venezuelans, people with a different sexual orientation and the poor.

Another film that called the participants' attention was *I Am Sam.* Sam's story made some participants wonder if they were prepared or pedagogically formed to deal with people with special needs or children with disabilities. Fanny, for instance, states:

> *I am Sam* makes us think about our future role as teachers, and how we would act in such scenario. It makes us think about new teaching strategies on how to teach the mentally challenged kids. What would we do if we had these special students in class? (Fanny)

Some were also touched and inspired by Sean Penn's character (Sam). In the following two excerpts, Mayra expresses that love and compassion matter in life while for José, this film is an example of discrimination and 'a seed in our hearts' to stop racism.

> Compassion is an important aspect in Sam's character; it is a milestone to understand life's conflicts and confrontation. Sam is mentally impaired and goes through a lot of pain to fight for the custody of his daughter Lucy. Love and compassion matter. (Mayra)

> This is a touching film. *I am Sam* teaches us about discrimination. Sam is so brave and courageous and loving. I think Hanks's (Sean Penn's) performance is remarkable; his character is like a seed in our hearts so we do not discriminate. (José)

The film *Blood Diamond* was also touching and provoked the participants' advocacy to condemn the violence and exploitation of children as a global issue in the world. In Daniel's words:

> This is a film that shows how cruel and brutal humans can be to get rich at any cost. It's a global situation that we experience every single day in any corner of the world, the violation of children's rights. The sad thing of all this is that we are a part of this because we have no any idea, or pretend that we don't know about the pain and suffering that a beautiful rock brings with it. (Daniel)

In a similar way, after watching the film *Philadelphia*, the participants engaged in a heated discussion about the case of Andrew Beckett, a lawyer with AIDS who is fired after the firm where he worked discovered his disease. Andrew Beckett, portrayed by Tom Hanks, is discriminated against because of his sexual orientation. One participant says, 'In *Philadelphia* a man is discriminated against and fired because he has AIDS. It is a terrible situation for him'. Similarly, Norma, another participant, contests racist discourses against gays particularly in Venezuela where they are generally stigmatized, laughed at and the object of bad-taste jokes and name-calling.

> The issue of sexual orientation depends on the mentality that each of us has. It is influenced of course, by the education we receive. We are

> all human beings and everyone should have the right to decide what to do with his life. But, there are people who don't respect gay people, they prefer to ignore them, or reject them or call them bad names, even worst, laugh at them. It shouldn't be, gays have the same rights and feelings like we do. (Norma)

Alicia echoes Norma's words when she says:

> As teacher we need to instill in the students respect towards gays because they have the same feelings like we do. Nowadays, in many factories, offices, companies, etc., some employees are gays, lesbians, and it is excellent. (Norma)

As the testimonies reveal, teachers-in-preparation were straightforward in rejecting derogatory practices as they watched the films. However, when it came to acknowledge racist discourses in their everyday life, they struggled with their identities as Venezuelans. Thus, in order to help them challenge long-held beliefs and assumptions about racism, I constantly interrogated and posed thought-provoking questions (e.g. How do you see racism and discrimination expressed in Venezuela? What can you do to stop racism?) that served as an incentive for engaging teachers-in-preparation in lively discussions of social inequity in our own context. The testimonies below illustrate the participants' struggle to uncover and challenge racist ideologies and attitudes hidden and reproduced in daily talk:

> The scenes shown (*Crash*) are realistic and may happen in other contexts, but in Venezuela I don't believe we have skin color discrimination like in the US … but yes, there are other types of racism because of gender, religion, physical appearance, or sexual orientation, and the most common nowadays, political discrimination. (Teresa)

> We can see clearly that in Venezuela discrimination is very common… In schools and universities, for instance, political differences are not tolerated. If people do not agree with the government they're discriminated against. (Carlos)

> We don't want to be close to gays, hippies, nerds, emos, punk, people with AIDS or handicapped… Some are even cruel to them. (Marta)

> In Venezuela, discriminatory practices are common but people consider them as part of the culture… for example, the jokes where characters are darker skin people and gays. (Juan)

In these extracts, Teresa seems to contradict herself when she denies discrimination against dark-skinned people, but admits the existence of discrimination because of gender, religion, physical appearance, sexual orientation and political discrimination against those Venezuelans who do not share the ideology of the current government. Like Teresa, Carlos also recognizes political intolerance as part of a racist attitude. On the other hand, Martha and Juan openly accept the existence of derogatory practices against those Venezuelans who are, or look different.

These findings evidence that the participants started to open up their awareness of the existence of racist discourses making explicit practices that intersect with racism. Thus, it can be argued that the critical inductive approach through films used in this intervention led teachers-in-preparation to confront their own racist attitudes and biases hidden in everyday social discourse practices, such as telling jokes about *the Other* as a way to express 'a Venezuelan sense of humor' as 'part of the culture'. As a result of concientization (Freire, 2002), they engaged in critical reflection, questioning and problematizing their own experiences to challenge Eurocentric worldviews and hegemonic practices that perpetuate injustice and oppression:

> I was not aware at all… yeah, I believe we discriminate people because of the accent and skin color, with words such as Gocho[2], Negro, Chacaro[3] among others… Also, we say, this job is for Blacks, I work as a Black to live as a White, we discriminate. (Paula)

Sara echoed Paula's recognition:

> We discriminate others for their skin color, accent, social status, religion or sexual orientation in an indirect way, making fun of them; jokes are a common type of discrimination in Venezuela. Also, when we have to work hard, we say 'I am working like a black' a message that implies that hard work is for dark-skinned people. (Sara)

Luisa added:

> When you forbid children to be close or have contact with certain kind of people for being a different race or religion or sexual condition that is discrimination. (Luisa)

It is worth mentioning that despite the consciousness-raising among the majority of participants, a few of them still struggled with their identities to acknowledge racist talk. Hector, for example, said that bad-taste jokes are done 'indirectly', 'without bad intention' or as a demonstration of 'a sense of humor'. In his own words:

> Here in the university my classmates make racist jokes and call people names such as Negro, Indian, *gordo* (fat) without bad intention though. (Hector)

The denial of racist discourses in Venezuela lies in the fact that we have been educated to live in the myth of 'racial democracy' as a result of the *mestizaje* (mixture of Spaniards, Africans and indigenous people). But the truth is that our society is characterized by a deeply ingrained Eurocentric ideology that associates Whiteness with educated, beautiful and sophisticated images while the image of the Black tends to be looked down on and connected with stereotypes of uneducated, ugly and poor people; a perspective I myself came to recognize during my years as a doctoral student at one of the largest universities in the United States (see Chacón, 2006b). It was then that, for the first time in my life, I started to consider my racial identity. The experience of being perceived as *the Other* opened up my awareness of the intersection between race, language and power. As a result of that awareness, I started to question my long-held beliefs of color blindness in Venezuela, and I began noticing prejudices and stereotypes against those who look, or are different, in particular Afro-Venezuelans. That was a call for me as a teacher educator that led me to contest racism and incorporate it as a topic in my classroom.

Nowadays, despite the fact that the present government has recently issued a law against discrimination that establishes that 'any act of racial discrimination, racism, endoracism and xenophobia whose purpose limits or lessens the recognition and exercise of human rights and freedom of a person or group of people is prohibited' (Article 8 of the *Organic Law against Racial Discrimination*, National Assembly of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, 2011), racist discourse remains a part of daily practices. It can be noted that this law refers to racial discrimination and endoracism in terms of phenotypic characteristics. In other words, it does not explicitly mention discrimination against gender, sexual orientation, religion or political preferences.

As Escalona (2007) and Ishibashi (2004) point out, racism denial characterizes the people of Venezuela, which is in fact the main constraint to developing conscious awareness among the population. A clear example of this denial is shown in the last census of the population conducted by the Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas (National Institute of Statistics[1]) in 2011, which showed that the majority of Afro-Venezuelans do not even recognize themselves as descendants of Africans. According to the results, from 100% of the population (approximately 27,227,930) only 1% (181,157) recognized themselves as Afro descendants (Guevara & Palacios, 2014). This statistic can be interpreted in light of the endoracism, i.e. the tendency to reject one's non-White physical features, 'actively and contradictorily reproduced by the Afro Venezuelans themselves' (Montañez, 1993: 168).

The ideology of mixing of races or *'mestizaje'* justifies color blindness and perpetuates and reproduces racist discourses and attitudes.

Discussion and Conclusion

The shift from a 'neutral' stand on CLT to critical pedagogy in TESOL in foreign contexts will open new venues for change and transformation on the grounds of developing critical consciousness regarding structures of power and domination embedded in language. One big challenge for TESOL educators is to re-educate colleagues and future teachers in the idea that ELT is not apolitical, and that language expresses an ideology. As findings reveal, prospective EFL teachers in this study struggled to recognize their own biases and prejudices; they discriminate but are also victims of discrimination. Some students deplored political discrimination while other students mentioned racial stereotypes and prejudices against accent. Using a critical approach and films as materials helped the participants in this pedagogical intervention uncover the linguistic racism hidden in daily discourse practices both in English and Spanish. They challenged racist portrayals of minorities in the films, expanded their thinking, struggled to renegotiate their identities and opened up their awareness to become agents of change and transformation of their own realities.

The above findings suggest profound implications for English teacher education programs. First of all, teacher educators and TESOL programs should rethink the goals of ELT in light of the call for a shift and the recognition of multiculturalism and diversity in our societies. Today's classrooms should consider diversity as a goal in education, as we have students of different backgrounds, e.g. ethnic, religious, social class and sex, and above all, tolerance and respect toward *the Other* should be encouraged in a world characterized by multiculturalism. This movement can only be possible if we introduce critical approaches into TESOL education as an alternative paradigm that enables us to examine sociolinguistic issues from a broader perspective.

Being critical implies to 'problematize' and question what Pennycook (1994: 346) calls 'the given' referring to '…complex clusters of social, cultural, political, and pedagogical concerns'. A critical approach to TESOL in foreign contexts will lead teachers to reflect on who they are and where they come from. Critical reflection not only helps future teachers gain new insights regarding their practice and role in ELT but it also enables them to evaluate their own taken-for-granted assumptions in light of the relations of language, race and power.

Second, in the era of post-methods, as teacher educators, we need to become aware that there is no unique method or recipe that works best in all contexts. We need to become reflective practitioners who observe one's particular reality and implement alternative ways of teaching to

meet students' needs and context. Taking into account the particularity, practicality and possibility in each foreign setting is a key toward agency and transformation. In so doing, as reflective practitioners, we act to change and transform our praxis.

As I have described in this chapter, films can serve as a pedagogical tool for fostering critical language awareness by providing learners with contextualized input in the form of images and the portrayal of conflicts represented in this type of media. In this sense, films can play a significant role in helping teachers-in-preparation construct and deconstruct knowledge, uncover biases or prejudices, challenge their own beliefs and develop an understanding of media stereotypes and representations of *the Other*. In addition, the use of films for PBTs encourages students' autonomy and facilitates the integration of the four skills – listening, speaking, reading and writing – through negotiated interaction in cooperative small groups.

In conclusion, films in the education of EFL teachers can be used as tools to trigger students' consciousness and self-reflections about derogatory practices against *the Other*, as well as to expose teachers-in-preparation to authentic input that, like in the case of this study, contributes to enhancing communicative effectiveness and intelligibility. Finally, as I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, research in using films in the teaching of EFL is scarce; therefore, more studies are needed to explore the implementation of film-oriented tasks and PBTs within CLT in South American contexts.

Questions for Reflection

(1) The author argues that CLT continues to be the dominant paradigm in the teaching of English in Venezuela and proposes a shift to a critical approach to ELT. In your opinion, are CLT principles still suitable for EFL teacher education programs in your context?
(2) To what extent do you agree with the author's idea that FL teachers might unconsciously help reproduce and perpetuate social inequity?
(3) The author explains that most Venezuelans deny racism and even devalue their own ethnic and racial identity. Why do you think that is so? Think about your own context and examine racist discourses and people's attitudes toward *the Other*.
(4) The author uses films in project work for fostering EFL teachers-in-preparation critical language awareness. Would you use this approach in your context for developing your students' conscious awareness of social inequities in society? Explain your answer.

Notes

(1) According to the Institutional Office of Central Statistics, Instituto Nacional de Estadística, there are at least 31 indigenous dialects in Venezuela.

(2) Gocho generally has a derogatory connotation, meaning stupid for people of the Andean parts of Venezuela.
(3) Chácaro is another pejorative term for natives of Pregonero, a rural town in the Andean part of Venezuela.

References

Auerbach, E.R. (1992) *Making Meaning, Making Change: Participatory Curriculum Development for Adult ESL Literacy*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Beke, R. (2015) Inglés en la educación secundaria pública en Venezuela [English in public secondary schools in Venezuela]. In E.M. Zeuch and M. Gregson (eds) *La Enseñanza del Inglés en la Escuela Pública Venezolana* [*The Teaching of English in the Venezuelan Public School*] (pp. 47–76). Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela.

Black, T., Forte, K., Winfrey, O., Roth, J. (producers) and Washington, D. (director) (2007) *The Great Debaters* [motion picture]. United States: Miramax Films.

Brown, H.D. (1994) *Teaching by Principles: An Interactive Approach to Language Pedagogy*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall Regents.

Canagarajah, A.S. (1999) *Resisting Linguistic Imperialism in English Teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Canagarajah, A.S. (2002) Globalization, methods, and practice in periphery classrooms. In D. Block and D. Cameron (eds) *Globalization and Language Teaching* (pp. 134–150). London: Routledge.

Canale, M. and Swain, M. (1980) Theoretical bases of communicative approaches to second language teaching and testing. *Applied Linguistics* 1, 1–47.

Carr, W. and Kemmis, S. (1986) *Becoming Critical: Education, Knowledge and Action Research*. Abingdon: Deakin University Press.

Chacón, C.T. (2003) Hacia el desarrollo de una práctica pedagógica reflexiva mediante la actualización de los docentes de inglés de la tercera etapa de educación básica. Evaluación de una experiencia [Towards the development of a reflective pedagogical praxis through training English teachers in the third stage of basic education. Assessing an experience]. *Acción Pedagógica* 12 (2), 104–113.

Chacón, C.T. (2005) Teachers' perceived efficacy among English as a foreign language teachers in middle schools in Venezuela. *Teaching and Teacher Education* 21 (3), 257–272.

Chacón, C.T. (2006a) Formación inicial y competencia comunicativa: Percepciones de un grupo de docentes de inglés [Initial formation and communicative competence: Perceptions of a group of English teachers]. *EDUCERE* 10 (32), 121–130.

Chacón, C. (2006b) My journey into racial awareness. In A. Curtis and M. Romney (eds) *Color, Race, and English Language Teaching: Shades of Meaning* (pp. 49–63). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Chacón, C. (2009) Transforming the curriculum of NNESTs: Introducing critical language awareness (CLA) in a teacher education program. In R. Kubota and A.M.Y. Lin (eds) *Race Culture, and Identities in Second Language Education. Exploring Critically Engaged Practice* (pp. 215–233). New York: Routledge.

Chacón, C.T. (2012) Task-based language teaching through film-oriented activities in a teacher education program in Venezuela. In A. Shehadeh and C.A. Coombe (eds) *Task-Based Language Teaching in Foreign Contexts: Research and Implementation* (pp. 241–266). Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins.

Chacón, C. and Alvarez, L. (2001) *Critical Pedagogy and Empowering in Teacher Education in Venezuela*. See http://eric.ed.gov/?q=ED457700&id=ED457700.

Chacón, C. and Koroneos, G. (2008, May) *Teaching Perception of Suprasegmentals Using Popular Media*. Paper presented at the VenTESOL Annual Convention and 9th Caribbean and Central American Congress, Caracas, Venezuela.

Demme, J., Saxon, E. (producers) and Demme, J. (director) (1993) *Philadelphia* [motion picture]. United States: TriStar.
DeVito, D., Shamberg, M., Sher, S. (producers) and Lagravenese, R. (director) (2007) *Freedom Writers* [motion picture]. United States: Paramount Pictures.
Escalona, B. (2007) Rehaciendo nuestra propia imagen: Discriminación racial y étnica, participación comunitaria y perspectivas reparativas en el contexto venezolano [Remaking our own image: Racial and ethnic discrimination, communitarian participation and perspectives for repairing this problem in the Venezuelan context]. *Humania del Sur* 3, 43–58.
Freire, P. (2002) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (30th anniversary edn). New York: Bloomsbury.
González Iñárritu, A., Kilik, J., Golin, S. (producers) and González Iñárritu, A. (director) (2006) *Babel* [motion picture]. United States: Paramount Pictures.
Guevara, A.J. and Palacios, B.L. (2014) En Venezuela no nos gusta que nos llamen Afro descendientes [In Venezuela we do not like being referred to as Afro-descendants]. *EDUCERE* 18 (60), 353–357.
Herskovitz, M., Nelson, J., Solomon, R., Zwick, E. (producers) and Nelson, J. (director) (2001) *I Am Sam* [motion picture].United States: New Line Cinema.
Herskovitz, M., Weinstein, P., King, G., Zwick, E. (producers) and Zwick, E. (director) (2006) *Blood Diamond* [motion picture]. United Sates: Warner Bros.
Heyman, D. (producer), and Herman, M. (director) (2008) *The Boy in the Striped Pajamas* [motion picture]. United States: Miramax.
Holliday, A. (2005) *The Struggle to Teach English as an International Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Ishibashi, J. (2004) Hacia una apertura del debate sobre el racismo en Venezuela: Exclusión e inclusión de personas 'negras' en los medios de comunicación [Towards an opening of the debate on racism in Venezuela: Exclusion and inclusion of the Black person in the media]. In D. Mato (ed.) *Politicas de Identidades y Diferencias Sociales en Tiempos de Globalizacion* [*The Politics of Identity and Social Differences in Times of Globalization*] (pp. 33–61). Caracas: FACES-UCV. See http://200.18.45.28/sites/afirme/docs/Artigos/int03.pdf.
Johnson, D.W. and Johnson, R.T. (1999) *Learning Together and Alone: Cooperative, Competitive, and Individualistic Learning*. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
Kachru, B.B. (ed.) (1992) *The Other Tongue: English across Cultures*. Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press.
Kemmis, S. and McTaggart, R. (1988) *The Action Research Planner: Doing Critical Participatory Action Research*. Victoria: Deakin University Press.
Kenworthy, J. (1987) *Teaching English Pronunciation*. New York: Longman.
Kumaravadivelu, B. (1994) The postmethod condition: (E)merging strategies for second/foreign language teaching. *TESOL Quarterly* 28 (1), 27–48.
Kumaravadivelu, B. (2001) Toward a postmethod pedagogy. *TESOL Quarterly* 35 (4), 537–560.
Kumaravadivelu, B. (2003) *Beyond Methods: Macrostrategies for Language Teaching*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
Ministry of Education, Office of Planning and Budgeting (1987) *Programa de Estudio y Manual del Docente 7, 8, 9 Grados Tercera Etapa de Educación Básica Asignatura Inglés* [*Program of Study and Teacher's Manual 7th, 8th, 9th Grades Third Stage of Basic Education Subject English*]. Caracas: Author.
Ministry of Popular Power for Education (2007) *Currículo y Orientaciones Metodológicas. Subsistema de Educación Secundaria Bolivariana* [*Curriculum and Methodological Orientation: Bolivarian Subsystem of Education*]. Caracas: Author.
Montañez, L. (1993) *El Racismo Oculto en una Sociedad no Racista* [*The Hidden Racism in a Nonracist Society*]. Caracas: Fondo Editorial Tropykos.
National Assembly of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela (2011) *Ley Orgánica contra la Discriminación Racial* [*Organic Law against Racial Discrimination*]. See http://

venezuela-us.org/es/wp-content/uploads//2009/05/Ley-contra-la-discriminaci%C3%B3n-racial-Espanol-23-05-12-LOCDRA-GO-N%C2%BA-39823-oficial.pdf.
Norton, B. and Toohey, K. (2004) *Critical Pedagogies and Language Learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Peirce, B.N. (1995) Social identity, investment, and language learning. *TESOL Quarterly* 29 (1), 9–31.
Pennycook, A. (1994) *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language.* New York: Longman.
Pennycook, A. (1999) Introduction: Critical approaches to TESOL. *TESOL Quarterly* 33 (3), 329–348.
Pennycook, A. (2001) *Critical Applied Linguistics: A Critical Introduction*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
Phillipson, R. (1992) *Linguistic Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Rywin, L., Polanski, R., Benmussa, R., Sarde, A., Burrill, T. (producers) and Polanski, R. (director) (2002) *The Pianist* [motion picture]. United States: Focus Features.
Samimy, K. and Brutt-Griffler, J. (1999) Revisiting the colonial in the postcolonial: Critical praxis for non-native-English-speaking teachers in a TESOL program. *TESOL Quarterly* 33 (3), 413–431.
Schulman, C., Haggis, P., Cheadle, D., Moresco, R., Harris, M.R. (producers) and Haggis, C. (director) (2004) *Crash* [motion picture]. United States: Lions Gate Entertainment.
Smith, G., Halmi, R., Lowin, P., O'Sullivan, M. (producers) and Stephenson, J. (director) (1999) *Animal Farm* [motion picture]. United Sates: Hallmark Films.
Smith, W., Pichirallo, J., Lassiter, J., Shuler Donner, L., Pinkett Smith, J. (producers) and Prince-Bythewood, D. (director) (2008) *The Secret Life of Bees* [motion picture]. United States: Fox Searchlight.
Van den Branden, K. (2009) Mediating between predetermined order and chaos: The role of the teacher in task-based language education. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 19 (3), 264–285.
van Dijk, T.A. (1995) *Discourse Analysis as Ideology Analysis*. See http://discourses.org/OldArticles/Discourse%20analysis%20as%20ideology%20analysis.pdf.
Zeichner, K.M. and Liston, D.P. (1996) *Reflective Teaching: An Introduction*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Appendix A

Movie Guide
TASK-BASED GROUP PROJECT GUIDELINES

STEP 1: Watching the film.
Directions: In teams, set up the time to watch the movie selected. Based on the title, make predictions about the film, brainstorm the vocabulary that may appear in the movie and check your predictions after you watch the film. Draw inferences and use context to help you get the main ideas. You can search the web to find information about the film or download digitalized films.

STEP 2: Writing your movie guide.
In creating your movie guide include the following:

(1) a cover page with the title of the film;
(2) director, year and audience;
(3) a brief description of main characters and their roles;
(4) the sequence or storyline (intro, development, conclusion);
(5) one- to two-minute segments (scenes) you will show to your peers;
(6) at least two activities for previewing, viewing and post viewing;
(7) all references you used;
(8) a reflection or your insights about the film.

STEP 3: Oral report (25 minutes per group)
The day of your oral presentation:

(1) Report the movie title, audience for whom the movie was designed, producer and year.
(2) Provide a brief description of the main characters and their roles.
(3) Describe the plot – include the summary of main events, climax and resolution of the plot.
(4) Show two movie segments (scenes) of one to two minutes in length for your peers to watch.
(5) Describe at least two activities you will use to engage your peers during previewing, viewing and post viewing.
(6) Ask questions for discussion, reflection or debate to engage your peers in discussing or debating about a social practice you consider as discrimination in the film.

Appendix B

Activities from the movie guide

Movie	*Previewing*	*Viewing*	*Post viewing*
Crash	Making predictions Who has watched the movie *Crash*? Are you a racist person? How would you define racism?	Watch the segment and respond to these wh-questions: Who is the car registered to? How many Black people did Conklin murder? What was the reason why Graham Waters accepted to accuse Conklin for the murder of Detective Lewis? Fill in the missing words in the conversation Listen to the song 'Ebony and Ivory'	Make a summary of the scene you liked the most. Discuss these questions with a partner: What did you learn from this film? Is there racism and discrimination in Venezuela?
The Pianist	Predictions based on the title Did anybody watch this movie? What can you expect from this movie?	Watch the scenes Fill in the missing words in the conversation Team role-played a segment	Questions for discussion: What can you say about life values? What do you think about Zpilman? What can we learn from this movie?
Babel	Predictions based on the title Tell us how you would define racism As teachers, what can we do to stop racism?	Watch the scene and respond: Why do you think Amelia migrated to the United States? What do you think about immigration issues at the Colombia–Venezuelan border? Team role-played the scene	Questions: What did you learn about this movie? Share with a classmate your answer How do you see racism and discrimination expressed in Venezuela?
Blood Diamond	Predictions based on the title Brochure – summary of the film	Watch the scene and fill in the missing word in the conversation Team performed a dialogue they created about the topic of the movie	Brochure with a summary Read the brochure and in your groups discuss what solutions do you propose to solve this problem?

Philadelphia	Listen to the song 'Streets of Philadelphia' Brief presentation of the song	Team role-played the scene at the library between Andrew and Miller Watch the scene and complete the missing words in the conversation	Summary of scene in groups Questions: Discuss with your partners: How do you see racism and discrimination expressed in Venezuela? What can you do to stop racism?
Dangerous Minds	Predictions based on the title What is a 'Dangerous mind?' What do you expect to find in *Dangerous Minds*?	Watch the scenes Fill in the conversation with the missing words Listen to the song 'Mr Tambourine Man' by Bob Dylan	Questions for reflection Discuss with your partner: What was the problem LouAnne face? If you were LouAnne, would you act as she did? What did LouAnne accomplish?
The Great Debaters	Dramatization to introduce the topic Game: Hangman (to guess the phrase racial discrimination	Watch the scene and answer wh-questions Watch the scene again and fill the missing words	Retell the story in your own words
Freedom Writers	Performance of a dialogue created by the team about the movie	Watch the scene Fill in the missing words of the conversation	Role play: In your groups, assign roles to perform the scene
The Secret Life of Bees	What do you know about the Civil Rights Movement? What does the title tell you?	Watch the scene and fill in the missing word in the conversation Watch the scene and respond: Why did the White man beat up Rosaleen?	What struck you the most in the scenes you watched? How do you feel about Rosaleen's story?

(contiuned)

Appendix B (*contiuned*)

Activities from the movie guide

Movie	*Previewing*	*Viewing*	*Post viewing*
The Boy in the Striped Pajamas	Predictions based on the title: What do you think this film is about?	Watch the scene and fill in the missing words in the conversation	Write a summary of the scene you watched
Animal Farm	Brainstorm all the ideas that come to your mind based on the title	Watch the scene Pictures handed to peers to respond: According to the film what does each animal represent in a communist society?	What do you think about this movie? What's the theme? What does the theme represent for you? Share your opinion with a partner

10 Students' Beliefs about Learning English as a Foreign Language at Secondary Schools in Argentina

M. Inés Valsecchi, M. Celina Barbeito and M. Matilde Olivero

Introduction

As a result of our experience as teacher educators and from evidence in previous studies in the area of second language teacher education (SLTE), we embrace the idea that beliefs about learning English as a foreign language (EFL) are a valuable resource to understand learning processes and teaching practices (e.g. Barcelos & Kalaja, 2011; Borg, 2003; Horwitz, 1988; Kalaja & Barcelos, 2003; Woods, 1996). Thus, in order to advocate for meaningful learning approaches that will cater to students' needs, we are convinced that teaching practices should consider students' voices. There is a clear need for further research on beliefs about learning a foreign language (FL) at the secondary school level. Moreover, to the best of our knowledge, no large-scale studies have been conducted in Argentina to explore students' beliefs about EFL learning in this context. Given that secondary school students in our context tend to finish their studies without the level of competence expected, and considering the influence of beliefs in the learning process, a study was carried out to explore students' beliefs about how they envision learning EFL in secondary schools in the central region of Argentina.

The insights gained from this study would be a point of reference for further inquiry about students' beliefs on their process of learning EFL in Argentina. This study also serves as a contribution to the field of EFL teaching and SLTE, especially in South America, as exploring secondary school students' beliefs about EFL learning can be beneficial for students, teachers and teacher educators.

In this chapter, we first explain how the term 'beliefs' has been defined by educational psychologists and second language (L2) researchers and how it will be operationalized in the present study. Then, we provide an overview of belief studies in the field of applied linguistics over the past three decades. After that, we explain the role of English according to current curricular designs, describe the secondary school context in Argentina and explain the importance of studying beliefs about EFL learning in this context. We continue with a description of the design of the instrument for data collection and the steps taken to conduct the study, followed by a discussion of the main findings. We then conclude the chapter by addressing both the main pedagogical and research implications of this study in the field of L2 education.

Literature Review

Defining beliefs

Research in educational psychology and applied linguistics has documented that the beliefs we hold about learning act as filters and heuristic cues, impacting the way that we perceive new knowledge, and consequently, how we approach an activity (e.g. Borg, 2001; Johnson, 1994; Kubanyiova, 2012). Even though there is a vast amount of research on beliefs in these fields, there is still disagreement on how to define them. In a critical literature review, Barcelos (2003) recognizes that beliefs have been defined from a variety of perspectives, including folk linguistics (Nespor, 1987), theories of learning (Miller & Ginsberg, 1995), learner representations (Holec, 1987), learners' philosophy of language learning (Abraham & Vann, 1987), metacognitive knowledge (Wenden, 1986, 1987) and the culture of learning languages (Barcelos, 1995), among others. From these perspectives, as Barcelos (2003) suggests, it becomes evident that beliefs are not only cognitive, but also cultural and social.

The ever existing disagreement on how researchers have attempted to define beliefs can be partly related to the different theoretical frameworks underlying the investigations. Pajares (1992) states that beliefs are culturally bound, formed early in life and tend to self-perpetuate. From a cognitivist point of view, beliefs are defined as metacognitive knowledge, that is, individual understandings that are relatively stable but may change over time (Wenden, 1999). Within a contextual framework, Barcelos (2003) characterized beliefs as being dynamic, emergent, socially constructed and contextually situated. More recently, Barcelos and Kalaja (2011) added to the notion of beliefs as being fluctuating, related to affective constructs, other-oriented and influenced by reflection. In alignment with Barcelos, in our study we define beliefs as

> a form of thought, constructions of reality, ways of seeing and perceiving the world and its phenomena which are co-constructed within our experiences and which result from an interactive process of interpretation and (re)signifying, and of being in the world and doing things with others. (As cited in Kalaja *et al*., 2015: 10)

Beliefs about language learning

Beliefs about FL learning in the field of applied linguistics have been a topic of interest for the last 30 years. Research has documented the use of multiple instruments for data collection. Some authors have resorted to questionnaires to explore learners and teachers' beliefs among large populations (e.g. Horwitz, 1985, 1987; Peacock, 2001; Rieger, 2009; Riley, 2009). In more recent studies, researchers in favor of discursive approaches have explored beliefs through qualitative data sources, including learning journals, self-reports, interviews, metaphors, drawings and classroom observations, among others (e.g. Allen, 2002; Aragão, 2011; Barcelos, 2000; Kalaja *et al*., 2008; Mercer, 2011). Many others, instead, have adopted both quantitative and qualitative methods (e.g. Pan & Block, 2011; Sakui & Gaies, 1999) in an attempt to explore beliefs from multiple perspectives and, in this way, have a deeper understanding of the phenomenon under investigation.

Results from previous studies have demonstrated that beliefs play an essential role in the learning of an FL (Cotterall & Murray, 2008; Horwitz, 1987, 1988; Kalaja & Barcelos, 2003). Given the recognition that in formal learning situations beliefs are always contextualized in relation to some learning task or situation (Benson & Lor, 1999), researchers in L2 education have been particularly curious about how students' beliefs about different dimensions influence their language acquisition.

Of special interest to us are those beliefs that relate to the variables that mostly impact our learning environment, including the beliefs that students hold about the importance assigned to the FL, the influence of beliefs on motivation, beliefs about the role of culture in the FL class, the use of technology, beliefs about the teaching of grammar and language learning strategies and the development of reading skills.

In the last decades, researchers have been concerned about the relationships between beliefs and the above dimensions of learning, mainly among university students (e.g. Diab, 2006; Genç & Aydin, 2011; Kamhi-Stein, 2003; Loewen *et al*., 2009; Yamashita, 2007; Zhang, 2010). Diab (2006) studied EFL and French Lebanese university students' beliefs about the importance of English and their motivation for learning the language. Results revealed that the role of EFL in Lebanon was related to the political and sociocultural context of FL education. The students viewed English as an easy and important language, and manifested a strong instrumental motivation for learning.

Genç and Aydin (2011) explored motivation and attitudes toward Computer-Assisted Language Learning (CALL) among 126 EFL university students. The quantitative analysis of their data showed that whereas more than half of the students held positive attitudes toward the usefulness of CALL in FL learning, there was still a considerable percentage of students who did not believe strongly in CALL or did not feel motivated in the EFL class when working in the computer lab. The contents and quality of materials on the internet seemed to be important factors in determining students' motivation and attitudes toward CALL.

Loewen *et al*. (2009) investigated the beliefs of English as a second language (ESL) and FL learners at a North American university about the role of grammar instruction and error correction in L2 learning. Responses to a Likert-scale questionnaire showed that ESL learners considered the efficacy of grammar instruction less positive than FL learners did. Regarding the way that grammar should be taught, the open-ended responses revealed that ESL learners tended to favor deductive approaches. Moreover, most participants expressed that grammar should be taught for communicative purposes, in context and by using examples from everyday speech.

Researchers have suggested that metacognition and language learning strategies have an impact on L2 reading. Kamhi-Stein (2003) explored the relationship between first language and L2 strategy use and beliefs about reading among four underprepared L2 college students. Results showed that the beliefs that students have about reading will influence the way that they approach a text and the different strategies they will use. Other studies on beliefs about reading have focused on how students' beliefs impact their comprehension. In a recent meta-analysis on the correlation between reading comprehension and different reading component variables, Yamashita (2013) found a weak correlation between metacognition about reading and reading comprehension. However, Zhang's (2010) qualitative study indicated that there is a strong relationship between the two, and that successful and less successful EFL readers differ in the amount and quality of metacognitive knowledge they possess.

As noted above, research in students' beliefs about reading in applied linguistics has increased significantly in the last decades around the world, and Argentina has been no exception. Most Argentine universities include English for specific purposes (ESP) courses in their curricula with the main aim of developing students' reading comprehension skills within their area of studies. In preparation for university work, students are expected to learn to critically read texts of different genres and topics associated with a specific field such as biology and tourism, among others. Few studies have investigated students' beliefs about L2 reading and their relationship with other variables such as behavior (Longhini *et al*., 2008), content-based teaching methodology (Barbeito & Placci, 2008) and motivation (Placci *et al*., 2012).

Beliefs and secondary schools

Limited research has focused on beliefs and secondary schools, and more specifically, students' beliefs. Sakui and Gaies (1999) and Oz (2007) have noticed this gap in the literature and addressed the need to further investigate this specific context. Saeb and Zamani (2013) compared the language learning strategy use and beliefs about language learning of high school students and students attending English institutes in Iran. Results revealed significant differences between the two groups investigated: the institute students used significantly more learning strategies and held stronger beliefs about the difficulty of language learning than their peers in high school. Also in Iran, Reza and Azizi (2013) explored high school students' general attitudes toward CALL and the use of CALL for learning receptive skills. Their findings showed that the majority of students in their study had positive attitudes toward CALL, especially for receptive language skills teaching purposes. In another related study that implemented exploratory factor analysis, Oz (2007) investigated what beliefs Turkish students in secondary education held about EFL learning, how their belief systems were organized and whether there were significant differences in belief systems among learner groups. The results concluded that learners' metacognitive knowledge or beliefs about language learning had variability in terms of social and educational contexts, age, gender and stages of language. From an emic perspective, De Costa (2011) studied how the language ideologies and discursive positioning of a 16-year-old immigrant ESL learner from China affected her language learning outcomes positively. Beliefs in this study were discursively constructed through the participant's negotiation with the different social actors that surrounded her. The findings prompted him to argue for an expanded learner beliefs framework characterized by the constructs of language ideology and discursive positioning, as these help explain how learner beliefs develop and influence language learning outcomes.

In South America, recent studies demonstrate that the interest in beliefs about learning in secondary schools is incipient, with the exception of Brazil where several studies have been carried out (see Lima, 2012). In fact, Lima (2012) has documented that students in Brazilian public secondary schools did not believe that English could be learned in that setting due to various reasons, including students' disruptive talk and behavior, few lessons per week, insufficient materials, crowded classrooms and students' lack of basic knowledge of the English language. In Argentina, Portesio and Vartalitis (2009) investigated the beliefs of 50 sixth-year[1] students about the usefulness of learning English as a school subject and the role of the teacher of English in the learning process. Findings indicated that students regarded EFL as a relevant tool, but evaluated English as a school subject negatively, and assigned teachers a key role in their process of learning.

Although there are belief studies among university students, and to a lesser extent, secondary school students, in Argentina, there is an evident gap in the study of EFL learning beliefs at secondary school level. In an attempt to provide a first snapshot of the ways that students understand their EFL learning process, a large-scale study (Valsecchi *et al*., 2011) was carried out with the aim of exploring both secondary school teachers and students' beliefs about teaching and learning EFL in secondary schools in the central region of Argentina. The study presented in this chapter is part of the larger study mentioned above, and aims at describing the beliefs that students hold about seven dimensions that might play a predominant role in our EFL secondary school classrooms: the importance assigned to the FL, the influence of beliefs on motivation, the role of culture, the use of technology, the teaching of grammar, the teaching of language learning strategies in the FL class and the development of reading skills.

Secondary schools and second languages in Argentina

Argentina is situated in the southern area of South America and it has a population of 36,260,130 people (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censo, 2010). Due to colonization by Spain in the 16th century, Spanish was established as its official language. With the exception of Brazil, where Portuguese is spoken, the rest of Argentina's neighboring countries also speak Spanish, and the same happens in most of the countries in South America.

The English language, in particular, has been used in Argentina for centuries: Nielsen (2003) explains that it was used to do commerce with British merchants in the early 19th century, to negotiate British investments in the early 20th century and to communicate among British farm administrators in the south of the country. Additionally, by the end of the 19th century, the British managed the meat industry in Argentina and by 1914, British companies owned and ran 80% of the railway system.

Several decades after 1900, English, French and Italian started to be used for commerce, communication with other countries and education. As a consequence, the teaching and learning of English and French at schools was encouraged due to the instrumental value of the former and the cultural heritage of the latter. In 1993, Portuguese replaced French (National Law 24.195, Ministerio de Cultura y Educación de la Nación, 1993) after the creation of the MERCOSUR (Southern Common Market) (Porto, 2014, Pozzo, 2009). Additionally, in 1998, when the teaching of one FL was made compulsory by Federal Agreement A 15 [Acuerdo Marco para la Enseñanza de las Lenguas] (Consejo Federal de Cultura y Educación, 1998), more than half the provinces chose English as the sole FL of elementary and secondary education (Nielsen, 2003). (See Banfi, this volume, for a description of the initiatives implemented in the educational system in Argentina.)

In secondary schools, curricular guidelines include both the development of native language competence and the ability to understand and communicate in an FL (Article 30, Law 26.206) (Ministerio de Educación, Ciencia y Tecnología, 2006). The arguments that support the inclusion of FLs in the educational system are grounded on two dimensions of learning. On the one hand, there is a cognitive dimension, which supports the notion that learning an additional language helps students to reflect upon native language processes and optimize their use. On the other hand, there is an intercultural dimension, which considers that L2 learning enables students to become aware of the existence of other cultures and peoples, leading to a wider vision of the world and its diversity.

The secondary school level in Argentina lasts from five to six years, depending on the provinces, and is divided into two cycles: a basic cycle, core to the different areas of study, and a specialized one, which focuses on one of 10 areas of study (e.g. social science, natural science, tourism, etc.) (Article 31, Law 26.206) (Ministerio de Educación, Ciencia y Tecnología, 2006). The secondary school curriculum includes five or six levels of the FL (one per year) with an average of one 80-minute class per week.

In the province of Córdoba, the Curricular Guidelines 2011–2015 issued by the Ministerio de Educación de la Provincia de Córdoba (2011) state that, in secondary schools, FL teaching, particularly English, should consider the following dimensions: (a) *English for communication*, involving linguistic, discourse and sociocultural knowledge as well as oral and written practice; (b) *English and information and communication technology* (ICT), including the integration of new technologies to develop the ability to operate, access and search for data, increase the capacity to interpret reality and develop autonomy; and (c) *English and literary discourse*, entailing a space for sensitization to the world of literature through different genres, and for the development of reading habits.

In secondary schools in Cordoba, it is expected that classroom work focuses on the development of the four language skills at increasing levels of difficulty and in a variety of contexts. The activities to be included comprise those that promote autonomy through the application of learning strategies and foster metacognitive, metacommunicative, metalinguistic and intercultural reflection (Ministerio de Educación de la Provincia de Córdoba, 2011).

At present, secondary school is one of the most critical and complex levels in the Argentine educational system, as evidenced by dropout rate indicators, poor performance on academic tests and institutional functioning shortcomings (Tiramonti & Montes, 2009). Valsecchi *et al*. (2013) suggest that students' level of L2 competence when finishing secondary school does not seem to correspond to the standards of achievement expected after six years of systematic and uninterrupted teaching, which should allow students to perform effectively in the workplace and/or educational

world. In this vein, Liruso (2009) claims that nowadays not all students graduate having reached a 'threshold level' of English.

Contextual factors, internal and external to the classroom, such as the number of students in the classroom, classroom management, availability of resources and school policies, among others, play a key role in shaping students and teachers' beliefs about teaching and learning English at secondary school (Borg, 2003; Lima, 2012; Longhini *et al*., 2004). In our own experience as EFL teacher trainers for over 20 years, we have witnessed heterogeneous classes with groups of up to 40 students, teachers and students with low levels of motivation, the implementation of traditional teaching methods, a neglect of the integration of ICT and a lack of concern for the development of the four macro-skills for communicative purposes (Placci & Valsecchi, 2005). In fact, although curricular guidelines require the development of the four macro-skills, many secondary school teachers of English tend to focus almost exclusively on grammar and reading comprehension (Barrionuevo & Pico, 2006; Longhini *et al*., 2004). In most cases, this has been the case because of the great need to develop 'bottom-up' processing skills (e.g. lexical and grammatical decoding) simultaneously with 'top-down' ones (e.g. inferencing and making associations) for students to be able to achieve a minimum threshold level that will allow them immediate and automatic access to the necessary linguistic forms for the mind to achieve true negotiations or real communication (Longhini *et al*., 2004).

Method

Our study was designed to address teachers and students' beliefs about teaching and learning EFL in secondary schools in the central region of Argentina. It was a large-scale, mixed-methods study, implemented in two phases. While Phase 1 focused on students' beliefs, Phase 2 focused on teachers' beliefs. In this chapter, we will report the quantitative findings of Phase 1, which sought to explore students' beliefs about seven dimensions related to learning English at secondary school. The dimensions analyzed in this report are as follows: importance assigned to the FL, influence of beliefs on motivation, role of culture, use of technology, teaching of grammar, teaching of language learning strategies in the FL class and development of reading skills.

Participants

A total of 1522 secondary school students, from 40 schools, participated in the first phase of the study. They were, on average, 17 years old, attending the fifth year of private (n=836) and public (n=686) secondary schools in the district of Río Cuarto and surrounding areas. The choice

of this particular age group was made on the basis that it would provide a comprehensive picture of the way that the English language had been taught and learned at their institutions. The school authorities' consent was determinant since, as our participants were under 18, we wanted to guarantee that ethical issues were considered carefully before collecting the data. For this reason, prior to sending the final version of the survey to the school authorities, we had it supervised and authorized by the Research Ethics Committee of the National University of Río Cuarto.

Instrument

The data collection instrument for this part of the study was the Likert-scale section of the 'Secondary School Students' Beliefs Questionnaire' (Valsecchi *et al*., 2011), which was designed specifically for our context. It was necessary to create a new instrument since others, such as the Beliefs about Language Learning Inventory (BALLI) (Horwitz, 1988), failed to capture the reality of our specific context of Spanish-speaking adolescent students. The instrument had a demographic section, which inquired about students' age, gender, previous language experience, self-assessment of their performance and use of technology in the English class.

The questionnaire was semi-structured and was made up of two sections. The first section was a six-point Likert-scale which ranged from 'Totally disagree' (1) to 'Totally agree' (5). A sixth option was also incorporated, 'Never thought about that' (6), in order to offer participants the possibility of expressing that a certain idea was not part of their prior belief repertoire. This section was composed of 67 items organized under the following dimensions: importance assigned to the FL, influence of beliefs on motivation, role of culture, use of technology, teaching of grammar, teaching of language learning strategies, development of reading skills, role of the teacher, role of the student, teaching materials, role of context, role of practice, error correction, type of interaction, language skills and assessment. In this report, the dimensions considered for analysis are the first seven. The report of the answers of the complete questionnaire will be presented in a forthcoming publication. The questionnaire was built on the basis of some pre-established categories derived from our experience as teacher educators responsible for observing secondary school settings in a practicum course for more than 28 years, and from bibliographic inquiry. The instrument was piloted with a sample of 120 students from a public secondary school and those statements that did not discriminate well were reworded, removed or conflated.

The second section of the questionnaire was qualitative in nature and included three open-ended completion items. Two items inquired about perceived difficulty when learning the language skills and one item asked about ways in which EFL could be best learned in the secondary school

context. The analysis of the qualitative section will not be reported in this chapter.

The choice of an approach to study secondary school students' beliefs was not simple. Even when the approach to data collection and the descriptive nature of the study could be associated with a normative approach[2] (Barcelos, 2003), we felt our approach was more related to the way that beliefs are understood in the social context where they develop, 'encompass[ing] limited *a priori* expectations and allowing meaning to emerge from the data' (Freeman, 1996, as cited in Barcelos, 2003: 27). In our case, the design of a semi-structured questionnaire was considered to be the most useful option to capture a first snapshot of a wide population of secondary school students, which would allow us to deepen our understanding of their beliefs later on through qualitative data sources. As Barcelos (2003) states, when investigating beliefs, it is not always simple to position a study within one specific approach.

Data collection and analysis

The Likert-scale items of the questionnaire were tabulated into the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences software (SPSS), version 22. As the statements of the questionnaire sought to inquire about participants' beliefs, and thus were not susceptible to be rated as correct or incorrect, the typical statistical procedures to calculate the internal and external consistency of the instrument were not carried out. For this reason, no Cronbach's alpha value for the scale was calculated. Instead, frequency distributions were run with SPSS in an attempt to obtain a description of the beliefs that our participants held. In order to simplify the data and ease the interpretation of the results, the responses 'Totally agree' and 'Agree' were combined into one category called 'Agree'. Similarly, 'Totally disagree' and 'Disagree' were combined into one category called 'Disagree'. In this way, four different types of responses were analyzed: Agree=5/4; Disagree=1/2; Neutral=3; Never thought about that=6.

Results and Discussion

The analysis of the data revealed that whereas there seemed to be agreement on some ideas about the learning and teaching of EFL in the secondary school context, there was not much consensus on others. Some responses to items belonging to the same dimension revealed that the students' beliefs were somewhat contradictory.

Of the seven dimensions, the two that indicated strong agreement included *the benefit of being able to use English in the students' future careers* and *the importance of including language learning strategies in the EFL classroom.* In relation to the first dimension, *the importance assigned to the English language*,

most of our participants (82%) agreed that English would be beneficial for them in the future. This response could be attributed to the value given to the English language in the Argentine sociopolitical and educational contexts. English has been considered the most important FL in many national universities in an attempt to reach the goal of the full internationalization of the university community. Also, more than half of our respondents (57%) expressed that the purposes for which English is taught in their schools would probably serve their near future needs. A similar percentage (54%) considered English to be one of the most important school subjects and 42% reported that they found English to be more difficult than other subjects in the curricula (see Table 10.1). These findings seem to contradict Portesio and Vartalitis' (2009) and Lima's (2012) studies. In Portesio and Vartalitis' (2009) study in Villa María, Córdoba, students considered EFL as a valuable tool but evaluated English as a school subject negatively, considering that the English they learned at school was not of much use in the future. Similarly, Lima (2012), whose study was conducted in Brazil, found that his participants did not believe in the value of EFL learning at secondary school.

Table 10.1 EFL secondary school students' beliefs about the importance assigned to L2, influence of beliefs on motivation, role of culture and use of technology (*n*=1522)

Dimensions/items	*Frequency*	*Agreement (%)*
Importance assigned to the foreign language		
Learning English will be beneficial for me in the future	1244	82%
English learned at school will be useful for my future	859	57
English is one of the most important school subjects	820	54
English is more difficult than other subjects in the curricula	638	42
Influence of beliefs on motivation		
We are difficult to motivate	986	65
The teacher of English motivates me to learn	818	54
Role of culture		
Culture is an important aspect to be developed in the foreign language class	700	46
The English teacher should teach contents, culture and values	740	49
Use of technology		
Textbooks should be complemented with technological resources	642	45
I learn more when we use the internet in class	459	30
The use of technology in class does not change the way I learn	494	33

The second dimension that showed strong participant agreement was the one titled *language learning strategies*. The vast majority of the participants were definite about their beliefs that language learning strategies should be fostered in the English class (83%). In addition, more than half of the students expressed that they would use learning strategies if they were taught (55%). The students' beliefs seem to be in alignment with the results of many studies in this area of research, which emphasize the importance of explicit strategy instruction, i.e. the systematic and explicit teaching and application of language learning strategies embedded in everyday classroom language instruction (Oxford, 2011; Oxford *et al*., 2014). In fact, as Oxford (2011) points out, when enhancing strategy-based instruction, teachers are enabling students to take responsibility for their own learning by teaching them how to gain self-control and autonomy. Participants' responses also showed beliefs related to the development of learner autonomy. More than half of the secondary school students in our study (61%) indicated that they believed it was the teacher's task to encourage them to learn on their own (see Table 10.2).

Table 10.2 EFL secondary school students' beliefs about teaching of grammar, language learning strategies and development of reading skill (*n*=1522)

Dimensions/items	*Frequency*	*Agreement (%)*
Teaching of grammar		
Grammar activities are the ones that help me the most in my foreign language acquisition process	865	57
The teacher should foster grammar self-discovery	655	43
It is useful that the teacher explains the grammar rules	1199	79
Learning English means, to a great extent, learning its grammar	1044	69
Knowing about grammar rules is not enough to be able to communicate in English	824	54
Language learning strategies		
I think I would use LLS, if taught	831	55
Language learning strategies should be fostered in the English class	1252	83
Strategies are difficult to apply	477	32
The teacher should encourage students to learn on their own	925	61
Development of reading skills		
English classes at school help me understand written texts	845	56
I learn better in the English class when we read authentic texts, such as magazines, newspapers and information from web pages	531	55

The responses for the other dimensions did not reflect as much agreement as for the two above. Specifically, in regard to participants' *motivational aspects*, 65% expressed that they considered they were, in general, difficult to motivate: a surprising finding when observing that a high number of students had rated English as beneficial for their future. In fact, previous studies on motivation have found that students who perceived English as important were motivated to learn (Genç & Aydin, 2011). Interestingly, more than half of the students (54%) believed it was the teacher of English who motivated them to learn (see Table 10.1). Students' answers seem to place a lot of responsibility on the teacher as an external source of motivation.

Beliefs toward *the importance of developing cultural competence* in the English class were also explored in our study. Almost half of the participants (46%) manifested that this was an important aspect to be developed in the EFL class, and 49% believed that the English teacher should develop not only linguistic but also intercultural competence by addressing their own culture and that of others (see Table 10.1). Given these results, it would be interesting to engage in more in-depth studies in this respect, since cultural competence in the secondary school curricula does not seem to be receiving much attention (a conclusion made by Salcedo and Sacchi [2014] in their study of EFL teachers in Río Cuarto, Argentina). Their results suggested that even though teachers believed in the teaching of culture, they did not integrate it into their teaching practices due to a variety of contextual factors, including the content of the course curriculum, time constraints and lack of pedagogical knowledge.

Another dimension explored was in relation to the students' beliefs about *the use of technology* in the English class. When asked whether textbooks should be supplemented with technological resources, participants' responses varied considerably. While almost 37.5% reported being indifferent to this issue, 45% manifested to be in favor of technology integration and another 8% expressed never having thought about this topic.

No definite answer was provided to the item 'I learn more when we use the internet in the English class' since students agreed and disagreed about this issue in equal percentages (30%). A similar indefinite stance was found in relation to the actual use of technology in the EFL class: 33% believed technology could help change the way that the FL was learned; 28% did not believe that the use of the internet promoted better learning; 25% did not have a definite opinion on the topic; and 15% expressed never having thought about it (see Table 10.1). This is an interesting finding as it was expected that students would have a more favorable attitude toward technology given that in 2010, the national government implemented a nationwide digital inclusion program called 'Conectar Igualdad' (*Connecting Equality*) (Poder Ejecutivo de la Nación, 2010, Act 459/10) with the aims of

enhancing the public school system and reducing digital, educational and social gaps in the country (see the chapters by Banfi and Veciño in this volume for a description of Conectar Igualdad and a project implemented under Conectar Igualdad). Between 2010 and 2012, this program made possible the distribution of about 3,000,000 netbooks among students and teachers from Argentinean public high schools, schools of special education and teacher training institutes (Fontdevila, 2012). The conclusions of a study carried out about the 'Conectar Igualdad' program in a school in Jujuy, Argentina, are somewhat similar to our results. Vásquez Luc and López (2015: 14, own translation) reported that 'not in all cases the changes brought about by the netbooks in the classroom and its dynamics have been positive or enriching'.

Beliefs about the way that *grammatical competence* should be developed were also a focus of our inquiry. The results of this study revealed that the majority of students (79%) found it useful that the teacher explained grammar rules. Also, for a high number of participants (69%) learning English meant, to a great extent, learning its grammar. These results seem to favor a deductive approach to grammar instruction, and are in consonance with Loewen *et al.*'s (2009) findings, which revealed that students preferred to be explained grammar rules. However, in contrast to these results, in another response item, 43% of the participants indicated that the teacher should foster grammar self-discovery. Therefore, a contradiction could be observed in relation to how students conceive the most useful approach to learn grammar, since students reported to believe that both inductive and deductive approaches were the best ones. Still, regardless of the approach to grammar instruction favored by the students, in our study, more than half of the participants (57%) believed that grammar activities were the ones that helped them the most in their EFL learning process (see Table 10.2). This belief might stem from the fact that in our secondary school context, many teachers conceive teaching as the development of linguistic competence and, to this end, engage students mostly in grammar exercises (Milanesio, 2014). However, a total of 54% of the participants stated that knowing grammar rules was not enough to be able to communicate in English. This finding, once again, seems to reconfirm the complex and conflicting nature of beliefs.

Regarding the *development of reading skills*, more than half of the participants (56%) believed that the instruction received in the five years of schooling attended at the moment of data collection had been conducive to the enhancement of their reading skills. During the last 20 years, there has been a focus on the development of reading skills in the English secondary school curricula, especially in the last two years of the specialized cycle. In 1997, for instance, Longhini *et al.* (2004) proposed implementing a reading approach to instruction designed to foster the simultaneous development of both 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' skills on the basis of an interactive,

constructivist and process-oriented model. In this way, the joint action of teacher, student and text would be promoted. Agreement (55%) was also found in the participants' responses as to the type of activities that they believed were the most useful in reading classes: activities based on authentic texts taken from magazines and newspapers (see Table 10.2).

Conclusion and Implications

The results reported here constitute an exploration of secondary school students' insights into EFL teaching and learning, which may impact the way that students and teachers approach the processes of learning and teaching. As shown above, these findings reflect the complex, multifaceted and sometimes contradictory nature of beliefs.

In this study, our students' voices express clear views about what they consider should be offered in their EFL classes in secondary schools: they favor the use of authentic texts; prefer a deductive approach to the teaching of grammar; think that the teaching of language learning strategies should be enhanced; and believe that the teaching of EFL in their years in secondary school has led to the development of their reading competence. At the same time, they believe that English is important in their education, while acknowledging being difficult to motivate and not having a definite positioning about the roles of technology and cultural competence in the EFL class. Students' beliefs seem to be in consonance with the curricular guidelines proposed by the government. However, sometimes, teaching practices might be in dissonance with some of these beliefs. These connections are beyond the scope of this study and will be addressed in upcoming work.

The findings revealed in this study give rise to a variety of pedagogical and research implications that could help advance the field of L2 education. Most specifically, we believe that there are two specific pedagogical implications and a research implication that address the need for teachers to engage in continuing professional development (CPD).

The first classroom implication draws from participants' beliefs regarding the potential benefit of language learning strategies. We believe that our findings should serve as a catalyst for the adoption of a strategy-based approach in our secondary school classrooms. However, adopting such an approach may not always be feasible due to lack of published materials suitable to our students' learning needs. In order to fill this gap, for more than 20 years, our research team has studied different ways of implementing strategy-based instruction, and published EFL learning materials for secondary school students with the aim of helping them develop their autonomy as language learners (Longhini & Martinez, 1997). We adhere to the idea that the strategies to be taught should be tailored to the aims of instruction, be context-specific and be related to the task

at hand (Oxford *et al*., 2014). In light of this idea, more materials should be designed and used in secondary schools since the inclusion of language learning strategies could help democratize the EFL classroom, in the sense that they can provide students of heterogeneous socioeconomic and educational backgrounds with similar learning opportunities and ways of approaching the learning process. In Oxford *et al*. (2014: 18), it is claimed that in Argentina there is an 'urgent need for teachers to appeal to resources that [can] help them offer their students similar academic opportunities, that is, resources that can help them equalize in the classroom what is so unequal in the outside world'. (See Pozzi in this volume for a study on classroom inequities in Argentine classrooms.)

Another pedagogical implication of this study leads to the reconsideration of how grammatical competence can be developed in the secondary school English class. The participants of our study assigned an important role to grammar learning since they reported that grammar activities were of great help in their English language learning process. However, there was no consensus regarding the preferred way in which grammatical instruction should be delivered in secondary school, since both deductive and inductive approaches were favored.

Our participants' preference toward a deductive approach to grammar teaching may be explained by the way in which they were taught English at elementary and secondary school. As Milanesio (2014) affirms, most teachers in Argentina seem to favor deductive grammar approaches. Consequently, if the influence of the so-called 'apprenticeship of observation'[3] phenomenon (Lortie, 1975) is considered, it would seem that students in our study believe that those practices which they have observed to take place in their lessons and experienced for years are the only ways to learn grammar. However, research suggests that an inductive approach to the teaching of grammar seems to offer students a meaningful and memorable way of learning the grammar of an FL (Brown, 2007). In light of this, we propose that grammar instruction at secondary school in our context could also be implemented following a learner-centered approach in which *form-meaning* connections are promoted (Nunan, 2003; Sharwood Smith, 1981). In this type of rule-discovery learning approach, learners are encouraged to identify for themselves the relevant grammatical features present in the oral or written input that will guide them toward the comprehension of the relationship existing between certain grammatical forms and the meanings which they signal (Ellis, 2004). In this sense, learners first observe a number of specific instances of a certain grammatical pattern, and then, on the basis of that observation, are able to infer a general principle. It is an approach that intends to bring order, clarity and meaning to learners' experiences (Eisenstein, 1987). The guidelines for grammar discovery learning can be framed as follows: focus on one teaching point at a time; keep meaning in focus; get learners 'to do something' with the input (VanPatten & Sanz,

1995); focus on the development of procedural rather than declarative knowledge (Nunan, 2003); use both oral and written input; and check students' comprehension or rule activation (Widodo, 2006). Many of these premises are illustrated in the contextually bound handbook *Understanding Grammar: Grammar Awareness*, which was the result of a three-year action research study conducted with third-year Argentinean secondary school students (Valsecchi & Busso, 2003). It is worth noting that after a certain grammar teaching approach is adopted, it is always necessary to assess its acceptance among the population where the proposal is implemented – surveying students and teachers alike – in search of possible adjustments or modifications.

The last major implication relates to the need for EFL teachers in our secondary school setting to be mindful of their teaching practices and their students' learning process. In light of this, we suggest that secondary school teachers should be encouraged and given spaces for CPD through which they can reflect on their classroom practices, and thereby on their students' learning experiences. Through reflection, teachers will be able to think consciously of what, how and why things are done in the classroom (Burton, 2009) and take the necessary actions to better cater for their students' needs. We propose that secondary school teachers should engage in CPD projects, which involve being researchers of their students' learning process as well as of their teaching practices. Such instances of CPD may include: (a) exploration of students and teachers' beliefs about teaching and learning EFL through different artifacts and classroom activities; (b) reflective meetings between teachers and supervisors; and (c) collaborative reflection among teachers within the same institution and other secondary school settings.

Regardless of the specific instances that CPD teachers choose to engage in, it is important to note that long-lasting changes, conducive of potential success, tend to be those that are gradual and bottom-up instead of radical and imposed in a top-down manner, for example, by government policies (Hayes, 2014). In this vein, in order for changes to be intrinsic and meaningful, we firmly believe that when planning and implementing CPD projects, realities of the local setting should be acknowledged. In the case of our EFL secondary school setting, any CPD initiative would need to consider contextual factors, such as teachers' heavy workload, possible unfamiliarity with CPD activities, the institutional support they would receive and lack of interdisciplinary work that tends to exist among teachers in the same institution (involving English teachers and teachers who teach the other school subjects) and between teachers and supervisors. These aspects that broadly describe our secondary school setting will surely influence the types of professional development activities that participants choose to engage in, their experiences throughout the projects, as well as the final outcomes of such actions.

Final Remarks

This study on secondary school students' beliefs about EFL learning in Argentina has intended to provide a description of the EFL secondary school context and explain the role assigned to English in the current curricular designs. It has also served to give voice to students' views, which are otherwise mostly unheard in the educational context. The results obtained have provided us with a first picture of the beliefs that secondary school students hold about EFL learning and teaching in the Argentine setting, and have thereby offered the possibility to engage in deeper inquiries of the phenomenon in follow-up studies.

Findings indicate the presence of salient beliefs about the benefit of strategic learning in the EFL classroom, the role of grammar in EFL learning and the importance of learning EFL in a Spanish-speaking country like Argentina. Participants valued the reading skill instruction received at school, and considered their teachers to be motivational sources and responsible for enhancing autonomy. Also, students' responses suggest somewhat contradictory beliefs about the role that technology and culture play in their FL acquisition process. It was surprising to find indecisive answers in relation to the use of technology in the language class as this population is mostly composed of digital natives. On the other hand, the inclusion of culture in the curriculum has been a more recent requirement by the Ministry of Education, a reason for which many students might not have considered it an important component of learning an FL. Undoubtedly, more qualitative research is needed on these issues.

What is certain, as mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, is that inquiring into secondary school students' beliefs about EFL learning and teaching can be enriching for students, teachers and educators. Firstly, students would benefit from knowing about their own beliefs as these would inform them about how to better approach the learning process. In addition, exploring students' beliefs would provide teachers with an understanding of what specific approaches to embrace in order to cater for their students' needs. Finally, it is likely that inquiring into students' beliefs will impact curricular design policies and practices as they will shape the way that FLs are taught in the Argentine secondary school context.

Questions for Reflection

(1) How is ESL/EFL learning viewed at the secondary school level in your teaching context?
(2) In what ways do you think students' beliefs can impact instructional practices at the secondary school level?

(3) In what ways could you explore the beliefs that students hold in the institutional setting you teach? How do you think those beliefs would inform and permeate your teaching practice?

Notes

(1) In the province of Cordoba, Argentina, high school lasts six years.
(2) The studies within the normative approach describe and classify the type of beliefs which learners have. This approach generally resorts to Likert-type questionnaires, such as the BALLI (Horwitz, 1988) to collect data.
(3) Lortie (1975: 61) asserts that 'the average student has spent 13,000 hours in direct contact with classroom teachers by the time he graduates from high school'.

References

Abraham, R.G. and Vann, R.J. (1987) Strategies of two language learners: A case study. In A.L. Wenden and J. Rubin (eds) *Learner Strategies in Language Learning* (pp. 85–102). London: Prentice Hall.

Allen, L.Q. (2002) Teachers' pedagogical beliefs and the standards for foreign language teaching. *Foreign Language Annals* 35 (5), 518–530.

Aragão, R. (2011) Beliefs and emotions in foreign language learning. *System* 39 (3), 302–313.

Barbeito, M. and Placci, G. (2008) The role of students' beliefs in the process of planning content-based teaching methodologies. In D. Fernandez (ed.) *Using the Language to Learn and Learning to Use the Language* (pp. 303–309). Santiago del Estero: Kontinuous.

Barcelos, A.M.F. (1995) *The Culture of Learning a Foreign Language (English) of Language Students*. Unpublished master's thesis, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Sao Paulo, Brazil.

Barcelos, A.M.F. (2000) *Understanding Teachers' and Students' Language Learning Beliefs in Experience: A Deweyan Approach*. Doctoral dissertation, the University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa. Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database (UMI No. 9966679).

Barcelos, A.M.F. (2003) Researching beliefs about SLA: A critical review. In P. Kalaja and A. Barcelos (eds) *Beliefs about SLA: New Research Approaches* (pp. 7–33). New York: Springer.

Barcelos, A.M.F. and Kalaja, P. (2011) Introduction to beliefs about SLA revisited. *System* 39, 281–289.

Barrionuevo, A. and Pico, M. (2006) Systemic functional linguistics: An aid to improve reading comprehension at secondary schools in Tucumán, Argentina. Proceedings of the *33rd International Systemic Functional Congress* (pp. 171–180). Tucumán, Argentina. See http://www.pucsp.br/isfc/proceedings/Artigos%20pdf/07e_barrionuevo_171a180.pdf (accessed January 15, 2017).

Benson, P. and Lor, W. (1999) Conceptions of language and language learning. *System* 27, 459–472.

Borg, M. (2001) Key concepts: Teachers' beliefs. *ELT Journal* 55 (2), 186–188.

Borg, S. (2003) Teacher cognition in language teaching: A review of research on what language teachers think, know, believe, and do. *Language Teaching* 36 (2), 81–109.

Brown, H.D. (2007) *Principles of Language Learning and Teaching*. New York: Pearson Longman.

Burton, J. (2009) Reflective practice. In A. Burns and J. Richards (eds) *The Cambridge Guide to Second Language Teacher Education* (pp. 298–308). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Consejo Federal de Cultura y Educación [Federal Council on Culture and Education] (1998) *Acuerdo-Marco para la Enseñanza de Lenguas. (A-15). Anexo I. Resolución 66/97* [*Agreement Framework for the Teaching of Languages. A 15. Annex I. Resolution 66/97*]. Buenos Aires, Argentina. See http://www.me.gov.ar/consejo/resoluciones/res97/ane-re66.pdf (accessed September 29, 2016).

Cotterall, S. and Murray, G. (2008) Enhancing metacognitive knowledge: Structure, affordances and self. *System* 37, 34–45.

De Costa, P. (2011) Using language ideology and positioning to broaden the SLA learner beliefs landscape: The case of an ESL learner from China. *System* 39 (3), 347–358.

Diab, R. (2006) University students' beliefs about learning English and French in Lebanon. *System* 34 (1), 80–96.

Eisenstein, M. (1987) Grammatical explanations in ESL: Teach the student, not the method. In M. Long and J. Richards (eds) *Methodology in TESOL: A Book of Readings* (pp. 282–292). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Ellis, R. (2004) The definition and measurement of L2 explicit knowledge. *Language Learning* 54 (2), 227–275.

Fontdevila, P. (2012) Estudio de Caso: Conectar Igualdad [Case study: Connecting Equality]. *CTS* 18 (6), 173–181. See http://www.scielo.org.ar/pdf/cts/v6n18/v6n18a10.pdf (accessed September 29, 2016).

Genç, G. and Aydin, S. (2011) Students' motivation toward computer-based language learning. *International Journal of Educational Reform* 20 (2), 171–189.

Hayes, D. (2014) Innovations in continuing professional development: Sector-wide, institutional and personal perspectives. In D. Hayes (ed.) *Innovations in the Continuing Professional Development of English Language Teachers* (pp. 5–18). London: British Council.

Holec, H. (1987) The learner as manager: Managing learning or managing to learn? In A.L. Wenden and J. Rubin (eds) *Learner Strategies in Language Learning* (pp. 145–156). London: Prentice Hall.

Horwitz, E.K. (1985) Using student beliefs about language learning and teaching in the foreign language methods course. *Foreign Language Annals* 18 (4), 333–340.

Horwitz, E.K. (1987) Surveying student beliefs about language learning. In A.L. Wenden and J. Rubin (eds) *Learner Strategies in Language Learning* (pp. 119–129). London: Prentice-Hall.

Horwitz, E.K. (1988) The beliefs about language learning of beginning university foreign language students. *The Modern Language Journal* 72 (3), 283–294.

Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censo. (2010) *Censo Nacional de Población, Hogares y Viviendas 2010. Censo del Bicentenario* [*National Census of Population and Housing: Census of the Bicentencial Anniversary*]. See http://www.estadistica.sanluis.gov.ar/estadisticaWeb/Contenido/Pagina148/File/LIBRO/censo2010_tomo1.pdf (accessed January 15, 2017).

Johnson, K. (1994) The emergent beliefs and instructional practices of pre-service English as second language teachers. *Teaching and Teacher Education* 10 (4), 439–452.

Kalaja, P. and Barcelos, A.M.F. (2003) *Beliefs about SLA: New Research Approaches*. New York: Springer.

Kalaja, P., Alanen, R. and Dufva, H. (2008) Self-portraits of EFL learners: Finnish students draw and tell. In P. Kalaja, V. Menezes and A.M.F. Barcelos (eds) *Narratives of Learning and Teaching EFL* (pp. 186–198). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kalaja, P., Barcelos, A.M.F., Aro, M. and Ruhothie-Lyhty, M. (2015) *Beliefs, Agency and Identity in Foreign Language Learning and Teaching*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kamhi-Stein, L.D. (2003) Reading in two languages: How attitudes toward home language and beliefs about reading affect the behaviors of 'underprepared' L2 college readers. *TESOL Quarterly* 37 (1), 35–71.

Kubanyiova, M. (2012) *Teacher Development in Action: Understanding Language Teachers' Conceptual Change*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lima, F. (2012) *Signs of Change in Adolescents' Beliefs about Learning English in Public School: A Sociocultural Perspective*. Master's thesis, Universidade Federal de Viçosa, Viçosa, Brasil.

Liruso, S. (2009, September 27) Inglés en el colegio: Ser o no ser [English at school: To be or not to be]. *La Voz del Interior*. See http://archivo.lavoz.com.ar/nota.asp?nota_id=554512 (accessed September 29, 2016).

Loewen, S., Li, S., Fei, F., Thompson, A., Nakatsukasa, K., Ahn, S. and Chen, X. (2009) Second language learners' beliefs about grammar instruction and error correction. *The Modern Language Journal* 93 (1), 91–103.

Longhini, A. and Martínez, I. (1997) *Reading Together. The Joint Action of Teacher and Student of the Text*. Río Cuarto, Córdoba: Editorial de la Fundación UNRC.

Longhini, A., Chiappello, M. and Valsecchi, M. (2004) Inglés en el nivel medio hoy: ¿Qué y cómo podemos enseñar para que los alumnos aprendan? [English at secondary school today: What and how can we teach to help our students learn?]. In A. Vogliotti, M. Cortese and I. Jakob (eds) *En Tiempos de Adversidad: Educación Pública* [*In Times of Adversity: Public Education*] (pp. 229–234). Río Cuarto, Córdoba: Universidad Nacional de Río Cuarto.

Longhini, A., Valsecchi, M., Parodi, L., Chiappello, M., Barbeito, M. and Placci, G. (2008) *Relación entre las Creencias sobre la Lectura en Inglés y el Comportamiento Lector de Alumnos Ingresantes al Profesorado de Inglés* [*The Relationship between Beliefs about Reading and the Reading Behavior of Freshmen at an English Teacher Training Program*]. Unpublished manuscript, Universidad Nacional de Río Cuarto, Córdoba.

Lortie, D. (1975) *Schoolteacher: A Sociological Study*. London: University of Chicago Press.

Mercer, S. (2011) Language learner self-concept: Complexity, continuity and change. *System* 39 (3), 335–346.

Milanesio, C. (2014) *EFL at State Secondary Schools in Córdoba: Do Teachers Approach the Teaching of English as a Structural System and/or as a Tool for Communication*? Master's thesis, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Córdoba, Argentina.

Miller, L. and Ginsberg, R.B. (1995) Folklinguistics theories of learning. In B. Freed (ed.) *Second Language Acquisition in a Study Abroad Context* (pp. 293–215). Amsterdam: John Benjamin.

Ministerio de Cultura y Educación de la Nación [National Ministry of Culture and Education] (1993) *Ley Federal de Educación* N° 24.195 [*Federal Education Law N° 24.195*]. See http://www.educ.ar/sitios/educar/recursos/ver?id=90044 (accessed January 15, 2017).

Ministerio de Educación, Ciencia y Tecnología [Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology] (2006) *Ley de Educación Nacional N° 26.206* [*National Education Law N° 26.206*]. See http://www.me.gov.ar/doc_pdf/ley_de_educ_nac.pdf (accessed January 15, 2017).

Ministerio de Educación de la Provincia de Córdoba [Ministry of Education of the Province of Córdoba] (2011) *Diseño Curricular del Ciclo Básico de la Educación Secundaria 2011–2015* [*Curriculum Design for the Basic Cycle in Secondary Schools*] (Vol. 2). See www.igualdadycalidadcba.gov.ar/ (accessed January 15, 2017).

Nespor, J. (1987) The role of beliefs in the practice of teaching. *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 19 (4), 317–328.

Nielsen, P. (2003) English in Argentina: A sociolinguistic profile. *World Englishes* 22 (2), 199–209.

Nunan, D. (2003) *Practical English Language Teaching*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Oxford, R. (2011) *Teaching and Researching Language Learning Strategies*. Harlow: Pearson.

Oxford, R., Griffiths, C., Longhini, A., Cohen, A., Macaro, E. and Harris, V. (2014) Experts' personal metaphors and similes about language learning strategies. *System* 43, 11–29.

Oz, H. (2007) Understanding metacognitive knowledge of Turkish EFL students in secondary education. *Novitas Royal* 1 (2), 53–83.

Pajares, F. (1992) Teachers' beliefs and educational research: Cleaning up a messy construct. *Review of Educational Research* 62, 307–332.

Pan, L. and Block, D. (2011) English as a 'global language' in China: An investigation into learners' and teachers' language beliefs. *System* 39 (3), 391–402.

Peacock, M. (2001) Pre-service teachers' beliefs about second language learning: A longitudinal study. *System* 29, 177–195.

Placci, G. and Valsecchi, M. (2005) Developing lower-level skills through verbalization: A model lesson for an EFL reading class. In L. Anglada, M. Lopez Barrios and J. Williams (eds) *Towards the Knowledge Society: Making EFL Education Relevant* (pp. 355–362). Córdoba: Editorial Comunicarte.

Placci, G., Barbeito, M. and Valsecchi, M. (2012) EAP students' motivation to learn English: What do they believe in? In B. Anglada and D. Banegas (eds) *Views on Motivation and Autonomy in ELT: Selected Papers from the XXXVII Federación Argentina de Asociaciones de Profesores de Inglés Conference* (pp. 131–136). Bariloche, Río Negro: Asociación de Profesores de Inglés de la Zona Andina y Línea Sur.

Poder Ejecutivo de la Nación [National Executive Power] (2010) *Decreto* Nº 459/10 [*Act Nº 459/10*]. See https://www.boletinoficial.gob.ar/#!DetalleNormativa/279188/null (accessed September 29, 2016)

Portesio, P. and Vartalitis, A. (2009) Social representation of English as a school subject: How do high school students conceive English as a school subject? In D. Fernandez (ed.) *Teachers in Action: Making the Latest Trends Work in the Classroom: XXXIV Federación Argentina de Asociaciones de Profesores de Inglés Conference Proceedings* (pp. 260–265). Bahía Blanca, Buenos Aires: Almirón Gráfica.

Porto, M. (2014) The role and status of English in Spanish speaking Argentina and its education system: Nationalism or imperialism? *SAGE Open* 4 (1), 1–14.

Pozzo, M. (2009) La enseñanza de lenguas extranjeras en Argentina [Foreign language teaching in Argentina]. *Diálogos Latinoamericanos* 15. See http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=16220868002 (accessed September 29, 2016).

Reza, M. and Azizi, M. (2013) The Iranian high school students' attitude toward CALL and the use of CALL for EFL receptive skills. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies* 3 (2), 329–337.

Rieger, B. (2009) Hungarian university students' beliefs about language learning: A questionnaire study. *WoPaLp* 3, 97–113.

Riley, P. (2009) Shifts in beliefs about second language learning. *RELC* 40 (1), 102–124.

Saeb, F. and Zamani, E. (2013) Language learning strategies and beliefs about language learning in high-school students and students attending English institutes: Are they different? *English Language Teaching* 6 (12), 79–86.

Sakui, K. and Gaies, S. (1999) Investigating Japanese learners' beliefs about language learning. *System* 27 (4), 473–492.

Salcedo, N. and Sacchi, F. (2014) The role of culture in the EFL classroom: A study of teachers' beliefs and practices. In D. Banegas, M. López-Barrios, M. Porto and M.A. Soto (eds) *English Language Teaching in the Post-Methods Era: Selected Papers from the 39th FAAPI Conference* (pp. 81–91). Santiago del Estero, Santiago del Estero: Federación Argentina de Asociaciones de Profesores de Inglés.

Sharwood Smith, M. (1981) Consciousness-raising and the second language learner. *Applied Linguistics* 2 (2), 159–169.

Tiramonti, G. and Montes, N. (2009) *La Escuela Media en Debate: Problemas Actuales y Perspectivas desde la Investigación* [*Secondary Schools at Stake: Current Issues and Perspectives*]. Buenos Aires: Manantial/Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales.

Valsecchi, M.I. and Busso, M.A. (2003) *Guías para Facilitar la Comprensión de la Gramática Inglesa: Level 1, Level 2, Level 3* [*Guides to Facilitate the Comprehension of English Grammar: Level 1, Level 2, Level 3*]. Córdoba, Córdoba: Imprecom Editora.

Valsecchi, M.I., Barbeito, M.C., Placci, G., Olivero, M., González, L., Ponce, S., Sánchez, A. and F. Sacchi (2011) *Creencias de Docentes y Alumnos sobre el Proceso de Enseñanza Aprendizaje del Inglés en el Nivel Medio: Diagnóstico de las Creencias que Favorecen u Obstaculizan el aprendizaje* [*Teachers and Students' Beliefs about Teaching and Learning English at Secondary School: A Diagnosis of Beliefs that Enhance or Hinder the Learning Process*]. Unpublished manuscript, Universidad Nacional de Río Cuarto, Córdoba.

Valsecchi, M., Barbeito, M. and Placci, G. (2013) El rol del sistema de creencias en la enseñanza y aprendizaje de una lengua/cultura extranjera en el nivel medio [The role of the beliefs system in the teaching and learning of a foreign language/culture in secondary school]. In L. Miranda, L. Rivas and E. Basabe (eds) *Desafíos de la Glotodiversidad en el Siglo XXI: Enseñanza, Investigación y Extensión* [*Challenges of Glotodiversity in the XXI Century: Teaching, Research and Transfer*]. Santa Rosa, La Pampa: Universidad Nacional de la Pampa.

VanPatten, B. and Sanz, P. (1995) Input processing and the comprehension approach. *Language Learning* 45 (2), 159–176.

Vásquez Luc, A.M. and López, M.L. (2014) Las netbooks en el nivel medio de Jujuy [Netbooks at secondary school level in Jujuy]. *Revista de Ciencia y Tecnología* 14 (22), 7–15.

Wenden, A.L. (1986) What do second language learners know about their second language learning: A second look at retrospective accounts. *Applied Linguistics* 7 (2), 186–201.

Wenden, A.L. (1987) How to be a successful language learner: Insights and prescriptions from L2 learners. In A.L. Wenden and J. Rubin (eds) *Learner Strategies in Language Learning* (pp. 103–114). London: Prentice Hall.

Wenden, A.L. (1999) An introduction to metacognitive knowledge and beliefs in language learning: Beyond the basics. *System* 27, 435–441.

Widodo, P. (2006) Approaches and procedures for teaching grammar. *English Teaching: Practice and Critique* 5 (1), 122–141.

Woods, D. (1996) *Teacher Cognition in Language Teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Yamashita, J. (2007) The relationship of reading attitudes between L1 and L2: An investigation of adult EFL learners in Japan. *TESOL Quarterly* 41 (1), 81–105.

Yamashita, J. (2013) Effects of extensive reading on reading attitudes in a foreign language. *Reading in a Foreign Language* 25 (2), 248–263.

Zhang, L.J. (2010) A dynamic metacognitive systems account of Chinese university students' knowledge about EFL reading. *TESOL Quarterly* 44 (2), 320–353.

11 Toward a Multimodal Critical Approach to the Teaching of EFL in Brazil

Danielle Barbosa Lins de Almeida and Veralúcia Guimarães de Souza

Introduction

Images are part of daily life and carry social and cultural meanings, beliefs, values and power relations. Though images are a major part of what we do and see every day, teachers may not be aware of how to deal with them in the classroom. Theorizing visual communication in order to include it in a curricular program is a necessary step in teaching (Unsworth, 2001). In the context of teaching English as a foreign language (EFL), a multimodal pedagogical approach applied to images that identifies specific dimensions of reading visual images and written texts is very important since it contributes to the ability to read texts in a critical manner. This is especially the case of schools in Brazil, where official curriculum guidelines include suggestions about multimodal teaching.

This chapter explores the implementation of a multimodality theory with EFL high school students in a Brazilian context. A multimodality framework for teaching multimodal texts (Almeida, 2011a) was used to establish a bridge between a theory designed to analyze visual structures (e.g. Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006) and its adaptation to educational contexts (e.g. Jewitt, 2006; Oliveira, 2006; Riesland, 2005).

This multimodal pedagogical framework includes dimensions that are not usually dealt with in the EFL classroom, namely, the *linguistic, situational* and *sociocultural* dimension of images (Almeida, 2011a). Each one of the three dimensions allows teachers to address different aspects of an image in the classroom, thus enabling students to think critically about visual texts by confronting them. The *situational dimension* considers questions such as *Who created this image*? *Who is it targeted at*? *Why was the image produced*? (or what was the intention for creating the image?). A focus on these questions allows the reader to understand aspects related to the production, circulation and consumption of images. The *sociocultural dimension*

emphasizes issues such as *Who are the participants within the image*? and *What emotions, attitudes, values, power relations and/or symbols are being portrayed*? By focusing on this dimension, teachers succeed in raising students' attention to the interpersonal nature of images. Finally, the innermost dimension of the framework is concerned with what is called the *linguistic dimension* of images, that is, the metalanguage that both teachers and students should use in order to talk about visual elements, such as, background, color, size, information value, distance from the observer, etc.

After investigating how images were explored by teachers of EFL in the context of a public institution in northeastern Brazil, Almeida (2011b) observed that the teachers' approach to reading the images was not as effective as it could have been. This conclusion was based on the fact that the teachers missed multiple opportunities to explore the ideas in the images and to promote critical reflection on the images. Based on these findings, we decided to investigate the following question: Would EFL students improve their level of visual reading if they had contact with multimodality theory in the classroom? Given the emphasis on multimodal texts in official curricular guidelines in Brazil, we believe that this is an important question to investigate.

Multimodal Reading

When readers engage in critical reading, they understand how words are used in order to create discourse (Freire, 1992). As Freire (1989: 9) explains 'the reading of the world is preceded by the reading of the word'. This means that children begin to read well before they begin school since they acquire knowledge from their experiences with the world, and this reading is essential for building critical comprehension about the importance of the reading act.

Critical reading should not be limited to text-based resources. In fact, given that, currently, society is bombarded with visual images, it can be argued that students need tools that will help them understand the values and ideologies presented in visual texts (Browett, n.d.). In this way, they will be able to see what is behind the lines of a text, its intention. Doing this in the classroom would promote the integration of the school world and the real world (Oliveira, 2006, 2008); engage students in critical thinking; ultimately, leading to a transformative experience that will open windows to the world.

Images are articulated in visual compositions also producing ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings. As with oral or written discourse, images act as a form of representation, identity negotiation and social relations (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). Ideational meanings refer to whether the images are narrative or conceptual. Additionally, images that have one participant (the actor) are non-transactional in their structure since there is no overt action involved. Instead, if they have more than one actor, they are transactional since there is an action aimed at one (or more)

of the picture participants. Interactive meanings are transmitted through the various aspects of an image, which are meant to establish the nature of the relationship between the viewer and the image. Interactive meanings include: (1) contact (offer or demand); (2) social distance (intimate, impersonal, social); (3) attitude (subjective or objective); (4) viewer power (high, low, eye level). The compositional meaning of an image involves issues of information (given, new, ideal, real); salience (involving issues of color, context, depth, detail and light); code orientation (sensory/naturalistic/technological); and framing. As explained by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), visual images are produced to prompt a response, which results from the interaction of the various aspects of an image described above.

Several studies have investigated the teaching and learning of visual literacy using linguistic theory (Almeida, 2009, 2011a; Browett, n.d.; Callow, 2003; Oliveira, 2006, 2008; Unsworth, 2001, 2006). These studies have contributed to the teaching of visual literacy in the foreign language classroom by preparing teachers and students to read images using their knowledge and experience of the world. As discussed by Souza (2010) and Zolin-Vesz and Souza (2010), research has concluded that a focus on the teaching of visual images will contribute to the development of more active and critical citizens.

While the various aspects of a visual image, described above, are always present in visual sources, they have not been widely explored in the context of Brazil, though multimodality, or practices that use multiple modes – textual, spoken, linguistic, spatial and visual resources (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006) – have been emphasized as a key notion to explore (Oliveira, 2008). In Brazil, the importance of implementing instructional activities that focus on literacy, multiliteracy, multimodality and hypertext is highlighted by the Ministerio da Educação Secretaria de Educação Básica's [Ministry of Education, Secretary of Basic Education] (2006) *Curricular Guidelines for Secondary School*, an official curriculum document. This document guides the curriculum of all schools in Brazil and includes suggestions about the teaching of multimodality, such as reading and viewing multimodal texts with students and pointing out how the sociocultural, situational and linguistic dimensions are used to create meanings in these texts. To achieve this goal, the Grammar of Visual Design (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006), discussed above, is seen as an important theory for teachers to learn since it can help them understand how to read images and associate both kinds of text, visual and written. Ultimately, the knowledge that teachers gain can be expected to be transferred into their classrooms.

Based on the information presented in this section, it can be argued that classroom instruction in the Brazilian context should engage students in activities that will help them explore how visual texts playfully communicate information, and how visual elements such as colors, shapes,

lines, angles, focus, light and shadow are used to express meaning. To this end, this chapter explores a multimodal approach to critical reading in the context of an EFL classroom, as described next.

Method

Participants and context

In order to explore the implementation of the multimodal framework, we completed a study in two different classrooms with 70 beginner to intermediate-level English proficiency students who were studying the school subject titled 'Integration of High School to the Environment'. This is a technical course offered in public schools that aims to develop technicians who will work to both conserve and preserve the environment. The students in the course ranged in age from 14 to 16 years old and were in their third year of high school.

Data collection and analysis

The multimodal framework already described was introduced in the two classrooms. Our goal was to determine whether knowledge of multimodality theory would affect students' reading of texts. To this end, we developed two exercises focusing on the same multimodal text; the first one (Exercise 1) was used as a pre-instruction text and the second one was used after instruction (Exercise 2).

Exercise 1, completed before instruction in multimodality, was designed to assess if students were able to mention any of the three dimensions proposed by the multimodal framework, namely, the *linguistic*, *situational* and *sociocultural* dimensions of images when students read a multimodal text. Exercise 2, completed after instruction, aimed to identify what dimensions – linguistic, situational or sociocultural – students would be able to identify in the text.

The picture[1] used for Exercises 1 and 2 was the same. It was a picture of a man whose face looked like the face of a fish. The man was looking up and was wearing a blue shirt. At the bottom of the picture, centered in relation to the picture, and in capital letters was the following text: 'STOP CLIMATE CHANGE BEFORE IT CHANGES YOU'. Below the text and centered in relation to the text, there was a picture of a panda with the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) acronym below it, followed by the text 'for a living planet' in lowercase.

While the picture used for the pre- and post-instruction exercises was the same, instructions for the exercises were different. Exercise 1 (pre-instruction) asked students to 'analyze the text writing about all aspects of its composition' and Exercise 2 (post-instruction) asked students to 'write a descriptive argumentative text using a linguistic visual analysis'.

Instruction in multimodal theory involved teaching eight 50-minute lessons, each containing theory and exercises, in which students explored the three dimensions already described in this chapter – linguistic, situational and sociocultural – before completing Exercise 2. Instruction started with students reading texts, in both English and Portuguese, and having the opportunity to discuss them. A variety of activities incorporating multimodal texts, requiring students to pay attention to the linguistic, sociocultural and situational aspects of the texts, were completed as a means to make students aware of the importance of these three aspects while they read any text. The activities required that students identify the linguistic dimension of the text (the colors, the size of the pictures, the way pictures were disposed in the text, their background, framing, degree of salience and eye contact, distance). For the sociocultural dimension, students had to be able to answer wh- questions (who, why, where, when, which attitudes and values) and observe the emotions, situations, relations, symbols, power relations, characters and cultures involved in the picture. Finally, for the situational dimension, they had to analyze who created the picture, who it was targeted at, where it appeared, how much background knowledge was required to understand the picture and its explicit and implicit ideological values. If students were not able to apply what they had seen in previous lessons on multimodal texts, we guided them using an inductive approach by asking them questions.

Data sources included the calculation of the number of instances in which the students used language referring to the three dimensions in the theory: the sociocultural, the situational and the linguistic dimensions. However, most of the analysis was done using a qualitative approach to data analysis (Merriam, 2002). Our comparison between Exercise 1 and Exercise 2 involved several levels of analysis. First, we categorized the students' activities according to the dimensions of a text reflected in their writing (e.g. sociocultural, situational and linguistic). Then, we analyzed the language that students used and the aspects of each dimension present in the students' responses, as well as the vocabulary used by students to make their arguments.

Findings and Discussion

Of the 70 students who participated in the study, 67 completed both of the exercises; the remaining 3 were absent when the exercises were completed. Of these 67, 59 demonstrated the ability to read between the lines after instruction, though this was done to different degrees.

Figure 11.1 presents a graphic representation of how the three dimensions –sociocultural, situational and linguistic – were realized in the students' texts in Exercise 2.

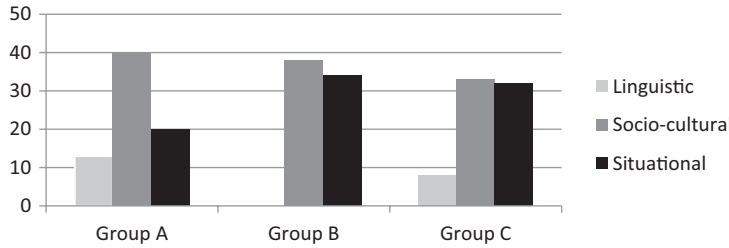


Figure 11.1 Instances of the linguistic, sociocultural and situational dimensions identified in the post-instruction exercise

Prior to receiving instruction on multimodality theory, the students' answers were very simple and did not suggest that they were able to engage in critical reading. In fact, students only focused on what was on the surface of the text. Following are three representative examples from the corpus.[2] 'The text tells about environment'. 'If man does not stop destroying the environment, he will die'. 'The man will become a fish he keeps on destroying the environment'.

After instruction, the analysis of the texts produced by the students showed that the texts could be categorized into the three different dimensions. In fact, as shown in Figure 11.1, we were able to categorize the students' texts into three different groups that reflected the extent to which the three dimensions were incorporated in post-instruction texts. Group A texts presented a higher level of understanding of the socio-cultural, situational and linguistic dimensions. Group B texts reflected the socio-cultural and situational dimensions. While Group C texts presented the three dimensions, they also presented the socio-cultural and situational dimensions to a much higher degree than the linguistic dimension. As shown in the figure, in general, the students' texts incorporated the sociocultural and the situational dimensions more than the linguistic dimension. The situational dimension, focusing on questions such as Who created the image? and Who is it targeted at? seemed to be easier for students to understand and write about. This finding could be attributed to the fact that the linguistic and cognitive demands of these questions are not high, particularly for beginning and intermediate-level students like those who participated in the study, whose English proficiency is limited.

The sociocultural context of images, emphasizing questions related to the students' worldview, emotions, attitudes, values and power relationships, was also easy for students to grasp and was reflected in the students' post-instruction exercise. In contrast, students did not explore the linguistic aspect of the pictures. In fact, the focus on the linguistic dimension, involving how the visual's colors, size, focus, background or degree of sharpness conveyed a message, was significantly less prevalent

than the other two dimensions. This finding could be attributed to two factors. First, a comparison of the questions addressed in the sociocultural and the situational dimensions, on the one hand, and the linguistic dimension, on the other hand, shows that the vocabulary necessary to talk about the linguistic aspect of a visual image could have been new to the EFL students in the study. In fact, technical language to describe pictures is not commonly used or taught in the language classroom. Second, if the vocabulary was new to the students, then the time spent on teaching about multimodal texts might have been too short for students to be able to actually use the vocabulary.

The answers given after instruction on multimodality were more critical; in fact, as could be expected, students used some concepts from the theory and were able to point to some aspects of the three dimensions, like who was in the picture or what the writer's intention was. Students also wrote about the colors and the background of the picture and why the writer had used the image of the fish and not another one. Finally, they were able to associate the man's face to the words accompanying the visual.

Below, we present the responses of three students to the two exercises completed *before* and *after* classroom instruction on multimodal theory. As we explained in this chapter, the picture was the same pre- and post-instruction. However, Exercise 1 (pre-instruction) asked students to 'analyze the text writing about all aspects of its composition' and Exercise 2 (post-instruction) asked students to 'write a descriptive argumentative text using a linguistic visual analysis'. Following are three responses, which were selected because they contained the greatest number of answers using one or more dimensions of the multimodal framework proposed.

Student 1
Before Instruction

> The picture is a critique of global warming facing the world's population, as a way to make people aware. The picture shows that if we do not stop the climate change, one day this will turn against us.

After Instruction

> May be perceived **interpersonal** relations between the reality of the **reader** and the text. The text is clear and direct. Exist **a dependency of the image so that text** can be understood: It shows a man adapted himself to the world that he has changed with his actions. This is a critical to global warming.

Student 1 kept the same idea in his second text, but he used some of the words he had learned during instruction, such as 'interpersonal' and

'reader'. He also related the visual image to the written text, showing their interdependency. Furthermore, he pointed to human's culpability for changing the world. This idea exemplifies Freire's (1987: 40) point that 'the pedagogy of the oppressed is the pedagogy of men'. This pedagogy promotes effective actions that provide opportunities for freedom based on the knowledge the students acquire. In the case of this student, after instruction, he communicates an articulated thought that explains the reality of the world in which he lives.

In addition, the text produced by Student 1 after instruction aligns with the notion that teaching multimodal theory can contribute to the ability to critically read a text (Almeida, 2009; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006; Oliveira, 2006; Unsworth, 2006).

Student 2
Before Instruction

> If we don't stop climate changes, these won't stop changing, they adapt us to a new world and climate in a way they can lead us to phenotype state about human beings and to the end of human race and humanoids and new races will come up.

After Instruction

> With the **linguistic structure** we can observe the verb change as a **process** of this text that links the subjects (men) and climate in a interrelationship that considers the climate to a mutation characteristics due to man and man due to climate.
>
> As a **direct component** we have, represented by a human and as an **abstract component** the climate represented in the verbal text. Observing the **interrelationship of the word climate and the non verbal text** propose the idea of a man is mutable by the climate and the climate by the man. The interrelationship occurs through the picture of the man and the phrase that synthesizes that we, human beings, have to stop changing the climate, otherwise the climate will change us.
>
> The text follows an **environmental ideology** based on WWF.
>
> Through this cartoon the WWF informs and at the same time alert the readers about the **problem** (climate change).

The responses produced by Student 2 to the pre- and post-instruction prompts were qualitatively different. As can be seen in the text after instruction, Student 2 integrated vocabulary from multimodal theory into

his text, observing some ideological aspects of the text. In this respect, the student pointed out that the author of the advertisement had an objective to achieve. Therefore, the visual text was designed to interact with the reader. The visual text also guided Student 2 to think about the problems associated with the planet and the environment, a topic that is highly relevant to Brazil – where the Amazon rainforest is under serious threat. In fact, the post-instruction text produced by Student 2 reflects Browett's (n.d.) idea that by reflecting on visual images through the use of critical literacy and multimodal theory, students can develop an in-depth understanding of a particular sociocultural context and, more importantly, a more critical awareness about their life and the world, thereby contributing to the possibility of emancipating them.

Multimodality has been the basis for the contention that the simultaneous processing of different modes of text, image, sound and gesture in visuals, media or digital texts requires an approach to reading that is qualitatively different from the linear, sequential reading approach implemented when one reads print-based texts (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). This idea can be observed when Student 2 used the image itself to amplify his reading comprehension. In doing this, the student went well beyond decoding, comprehending or reproducing the printed word on the page. This kind of reading enacts social practices that show a complex interaction between the learner's background and language and the context, purpose and discourse of the text.

Student 3
Before Instruction

> The sentence near the image emphasizes that IF there isn't a decrease of climate changes we will suffer a lot.
>
> The Earth warming is a fact, and this warming can increase according to man acting in the environment. The polar calottes are smelting and the sea level Will increase, this situation can lead cities to be flooded. The image of fish in a human form has the intention to call people's attention to the fact.

After Instruction

> The **metafunctions** presented in the text are:
>
> **Interpersonal:** where the observer identifies himself indirectly to the image exposed.
>
> **Textual:** because the set of image and text passes the message to the **observer reader**.

> **Ideational**: we have the image representing humanity in the future day according to text message.
>
> The **vector** of image is directed to the top of the **multimodal text** showing a feeling of sorrow and reflection.

From Exercise 1 to Exercise 2, some students changed their answers completely, as Student 3 did. In Exercise 2, the student, like other students in the class, was able to use the metalanguage specific to multimodality theory and, at the same time, used it to analyze multimodal texts. Student 3's response after instruction shows that she paid attention to the mood conveyed by the image. She also analyzed the text using the three dimensions: ideational, interpersonal and textual. This illustrates what Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) mean when they say that images incorporate specific meanings, such as ideologies, interpersonal relationships and compositional aspects that can be cooperatively decoded by teachers and students.

At the same time, in her response to the post-instruction prompt, Student 3's text reflects Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) idea that people should think of language as being multimodal, since that meaning can be made from the interrelationship established between the different modes in the text (e.g. words, images). In this view, language can no longer be solely expressed through speech or writing and instead, it is through multimodal representations that meaning can be made.

In summary, it can be stated that to different degrees, students in the class titled 'Integrating Environmental Studies in High School Education' were able to use specific multimodal metalanguage after they learned about the theory. They were also able to read the texts more critically, perhaps because the theory provided ways to discuss the texts that made certain aspects of the texts clear to them.

Implications

The results of the study described in this chapter show that when students are taught how to deconstruct visual images and use the language of multimodal theory, they can actually critically read visual texts. However, for this to happen, students need to learn how visual texts in general are constructed. In turn, for this to occur, teachers need an understanding of multimodality theory, as well as knowledge of the appropriate pedagogical practices in the classroom environment to help students be (more) attentive to the ideologies presented in visual texts.

While instruction was successful in that the post-instruction texts showed that students were able to critically read the visual text, we believe that eight 50-minute periods were not enough for students to fully integrate multimodal theory into their repertoire. However, we believe that those

sessions gave students enough time to develop an overall understanding of the theory and its applications.

The quantitative analyses of the data also showed that the students, in general, used the three dimensions of Almeida's (2011b) proposed framework, but some students did not integrate the linguistic dimension into their critical reading of the texts. This might have happened because students may not have felt motivated or confident producing text in English, since English is the students' foreign language. In spite of this, the qualitative analysis demonstrated that in Exercise 2, the students wrote longer texts and explored images in much more depth than they did before instruction.

As advocated in the official document that describes the official curriculum for high schools in Brazil, and highlighted in much of the research with teachers (Oliveira, 2006, 2008), teachers need to be able to read and view multimodal texts with students and teach how the sociocultural, situational and linguistic dimensions interact and can be used to create meanings in texts. The findings of this study suggest that, through instruction, some students can develop an understanding of multimodal features, although there is no guarantee that students will be able to transfer these concepts to other literacy tasks.

The students' answers in this study showed that exposure to and practice in multimodal theory affords students knowledge of the purposes of multimodal texts. However, when learning to read or write in EFL, students need to understand the relevant vocabulary to convey texts that show their ability to read critically. In the case of the students in this study, in spite of having read some theoretical texts about multimodality in Portuguese and English, students were asked to write their analyses in English. This created a limitation since the Portuguese texts did not give students the vocabulary practice they needed to write texts in English. However, this is an issue that needs to be considered in future research. Even with this limitation in mind, it is clear that the application of a multimodal framework to classroom reading would contribute to EFL students' higher understanding of the wider cultural and social aspects of text production and reception.

Questions for Reflection

(1) How can multimodal theory be applied with students with different levels of English language proficiency?
(2) What are some ways in which students can explore multimodal texts in your teaching context?

Notes

(1) The picture is available at http://adsoftheworld.com/media/print/wwf_fish_0.
(2) No edits were made to the students' responses.

References

Almeida, D.B.L. (2009) Do texto às imagens: as novas fronteiras do letramento visual [From text to images: The new frontiers of visual literacy]. In R.C.M. Pereira and P. Roca (eds) *Linguística Aplicada: Um Caminho com Diferentes Acessos* [*Applied Linguistics: A Pathway with Different Access Points*] (pp. 173–202). São Paulo, Contexto.

Almeida, D.B.L. (2011a) Multimodalidade e ensino: Integrando o texto e o contexto em estruturas visuais [Multimodality and teaching: Integrating the text and content in visual structures]. In L. Barbara and E. Moyano (eds) *Textos e Linguagem Acadêmica: Explorações Sistêmica Funcionais em Espanhol e Português* [*Texts and Academic Language: Systemic Funcational Explorations in Spanish and Portuguese*] (pp. 55–66). Campinas: Mercado das Letras.

Almeida, D.B.L. (2011b) Pelos caminhos do letramento visual: Por uma proposta multimodal de leitura crítica de imagens [Pathways to visual literacy: For a multimodal proposal of critical reading of images]. *Linguagem em Foco* 3 (5), 43–63.

Browett, J. (n.d.) *Critical Literacy and Visual Texts: Windows on Culture*. See http://www.proceedings.com.au/aate/aate_papers/083_browett.htm (accessed October 11, 2016).

Callow, J. (2003) *Talking about Visual Texts with Students*. See https://www.researchgate.net/publication/281069609_Talking_about_visual_texts_with_students (accessed October 11, 2016).

Freire, P. (1987) *Pedagogia do Oprimido* (9ª ed) [*Pedagogy of the Oppressed*]. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra.

Freire, P. (1989) *A Importância do Ato de Ler: Em Três Artigos que se Completam* (23ed.) [*The Importance of the Reading Act: In Three Articles that Complete Themselves*]. São Paulo: Editora Cortez.

Freire, P. (1992) *Pedagogia da Esperança: Um Reencontro com a Pedagogia do Oprimido* [*Pedagogy of Hope: A Meeting with Pedagogy of the Oppressed*]. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra.

Jewitt, C. (2006) *Technology, Literacy and Learning: A Multimodal Approach*. London: Routledge.

Kress, G. and van Leeuwen, T. (2006) *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* (2nd edn). London: Routledge.

Merriam, S.B. (2002) *Qualitative Research in Practice: Examples for Discussion and Analysis.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Ministerio da Educação Secretaria de Educação Básica (2006) *Orientações Curriculares para o Ensino Médio: Linguagens, Códigos e Suas Tecnologias: Conhecimentos de Línguas Estrangeiras* [*Curricular Guidelines for Secondary School: Languages, Codes and Their Technologies: Knowledge of Foreign Languages*] (pp. 87–124). Brasília: MEC/SEB. See http://portal.mec.gov.br/seb/arquivos/pdf/book_volume_01_internet.pdf (accessed October 10, 2016).

Oliveira, S. (2006) Texto visual e leitura crítica: O dito, o omitido, o sugerido [Visual text and critical reading: What is said, ommitted, and suggested]. *Linguagem & Ensino* 9 (1), 15–39. See http://www.fundaj.gov.br/geral/educacao_foco/sara_oliveira.pdf (accessed October 10, 2016).

Oliveira, S. (2008) Texto visual, estereótipos de gênero e o livro didático de língua estrangeira [Visual text, gender stereotypes and L2 textbooks]. *Trabalhos em Linguística Aplicada* 47 (1), 91–117. See http://www.scielo.br/pdf/tla/v47n1/v47n1a05.pdf (accessed October 10, 2016).

Riesland, E. (2005) *Visual Literacies in the Classroom: New Horizons for Learning*. See http://education.jhu.edu/PD/newhorizons/strategies/topics/literacy/articles/visual-literacy-and-the-classroom/ (accessed October 10, 2016).

Souza, V.G. de (2010) A charge e o ensino de língua inglesa em curso de ensino médio integrado em meio ambiente. *Revista InterteXto* 3 (1). See http://seer.uftm.edu.br/revistaeletronica/index.php/intertexto/article/view/100 (accessed January 15, 2017).

Unsworth, L. (2001) *Teaching Multiliteracies Across the Curriculum: Changing Contexts of Texts and Image in Classroom Practice*. Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press.

Unsworth, L. (2006) Towards a metalanguage for multiliteracies education: Describing the meaning making resources of language–image interaction. *English Teaching: Practice and Critique* 5 (1), 55–76. See http://education.waikato.ac.nz/research/files/etpc/2006v5n1art4.pdf (accessed October 10, 2016).

Zolin-Vesz, F. and Souza, V.G. de (2010) A concepção do ensino médio integrado e o ensino crítico de línguas estrangeiras: Convergências e aproximações [The conception of integrated secondary school and the critical teaching of foreign languages: Convergences and approximations]. *Pesquisas em Discurso Pedagógico*. See http://www.maxwell.vrac.puc-rio.br/16056/16056.PDFXXvmi=VxxiP2C9ilcs0k6lMMLtuKupLgRCEaQAJOSzRuIaRUERgLe4z0x4K4uvkn90z0BiPtSI0CSSxxLPj0TT1sZLwtiRSsSsttMkZF3ZiWSRuFHPGCKH5JtDeMv7goBLSn6R4aRn7LfDqxt7AePGZjjd7QlofWa9lh1prTOAF4e72IeDx5jWoEbvuwULt6UQnWhPQ6qvaFEdnTRmZcknQvUm3Q8xW4ok1GbSMCpxh4cGx44Wgol8UhuZ8Ew6JWrKEEDr (accessed October 10, 2016).

12 Seeking Information to Promote Effective Curriculum Renewal in a Colombian School

Mónica Rodríguez-Bonces

Introduction

In Colombia, the promotion of bilingual education originates in national and institutional policy. The Programa Nacional de Bilingüismo: Colombia 2004–2019 [National Program of Bilingualism: Colombia 2004–2019] has as one of its goals the acquisition of at least one foreign language, with the aim of citizens becoming active members of a globalized and productive world (Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de Colombia, 2005). The goal is for students to reach a basic level of English language proficiency in elementary school and an independent level in secondary school; A2 and B1, respectively, as determined by the user bands set by the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEFR; Council of Europe, 2001).

In 2009, standardized tests administered across Colombia demonstrated that schools were not achieving the desired goals (see Banfi, this volume, for a summary of a variety of Colombian programs). To address this issue, several governmental policies were implemented. Specifically, the Colombian government designed the Proyecto de Fortalecimiento al Desarrollo de Competencias en Lenguas Extranjeras 2010–2014 [Project for Strengthening the Development of Competencies in a Foreign Language 2010–2014], whose main objective was to enhance teachers and students' communicative competence, as well as the English teaching and learning processes. In 2013, Law 1651 or Ley de Bilingüismo [Bilingual Law] favored the development of the four language skills and quality assurance through certifications (Senado de la Nación, Colombia, 2013). In 2014, the government launched the Programa Nacional de Inglés 2015–2025–Colombia Very Well [The 2015–2025 National English Program–Colombia Very Well] (Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de Colombia, 2014a), designed to consolidate the teaching of English in the

country. More recently, in 2016, the Ministry of Education published the Derechos Básicos de Aprendizaje [The Basic Learning Rights] (Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de Colombia, 2016a) and the Esquema Curricular Sugerido [English Curriculum] for Grades 6 to 11 (Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de Colombia, 2016b), designed to provide information to a wide audience (parents, educators, students) on the scope and sequence, grade-level standards and syllabi for English language instruction.

The initiatives described in the previous paragraphs have crucial implications for the teaching and learning of English in Colombia. For instance, many private and public schools in Colombia have adopted various bilingual models by offering content learning, mostly in English, in the early years of school. However, little has been done to evaluate the effectiveness of such programs and understand the challenges that may be faced upon their implementation (Rodríguez-Bonces, 2011).

This chapter presents an evaluation study of a bilingual education program (BEP) that was gradually implemented from 2010 through 2014 in a private school in the Bogotá district. The school, Liceo Hermano Miguel La Salle – known as Lhemi Salle – is part of the LaSallian community, a Catholic teaching congregation of brothers who share the Lasallian education mission and call of St John Baptist De La Salle. The themes examined in this chapter reflect the situation of thousands of public and private schools that are in the process of implementing bilingual programs in Colombia and other South American countries. Therefore, this study has implications for the implementation of bilingual programs in the South American region.

The chapter presents a review of the literature focusing on government initiatives related to the implementation of BEPs in Colombia and research focusing on such programs in the Colombian context. Then, the chapter describes the data collection and analysis methods, the results of the study and the discussion and implications in light of the formulation of a bilingual education school policy.

Literature Review

The Colombian situation

As noted above, the 2016 Basic Learning Rights (Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de Colombia, 2016a) and the English Curriculum (Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de Colombia, 2016b) set the basic standards that students have to achieve at each grade level. These standards identify the scope and sequence of the English language curriculum for the different grade levels. The English Curriculum also provides recommendations on the pedagogical approaches to be implemented (e.g. task based, project based, inquiry based); the assessment principles guiding the instructional process; the characteristics of the language curriculum (e.g. flexible, contextual, cross-curricular and

sociocultural); and the classroom topics that lend themselves to the development of interdisciplinary projects (e.g. health, democracy, peace and sustainability). While these guidelines provide valuable information, Colombia has an education secretariat in each district (commonly known as 'departments') that is entitled to establish its own strategic plan to accomplish the Ministry of Education goals.

In order to further enhance English language instruction, as mandated by the national government, in 2006, the Consejo de Bogotá (2006) [Bogotá's Municipal Council] passed Acuerdo 253 [Agreement 253], designed to implement a program titled Bogotá Bilingüe [Bilingual Bogotá], whose goal was to produce bilingual citizens who would participate in the global economy. Acuerdo 559 [Agreement 559], also passed by the Consejo de Bogotá (2008) [Bogotá's Municipal Council, 2008], further contributed to elevating the role of bilingual education in Bogotá by promoting cooperation between the private and public sectors to strengthen English language education. As a result of these agreements, language institutes and schools engaged in collaborative professional development activities and private companies provided funding to schools.

Much like in the Bogotá district, other districts have set their own bilingual education policies. Valle Bilingüe, Antioquia Bilingüe and Manizales Bilingüe are some examples of government initiatives in relation to bilingual education. For example, the governorship of Valle del Cauca (Gobernación del Valle del Cauca, 2012) signed Agreement 345 to guarantee that teachers and students in Valle would reach the communicative competence required by the Ministry of Education according to the CEFR. In the case of Antioquia Bilingüe, the government promotes the social, cultural and educational development of the region. Manizales Bilingue promotes economic development via tourism and export business along with private companies. Therefore, in order to meet their goals, the two departments engaged in a variety of privately/publicly funded initiatives, involving but not limited to providing English language preparation though local binational centers.[1] In summary, regional programs cater to the needs of the region in which they function.

Besides the above initiatives, implemented at the local level, the national government created a variety of programs designed to further improve the teaching and learning of English in Colombia. Virtual learning environments include *Inglés para Todos* [English for Everybody] and *Yes! e-English for Teachers*, which are designed to provide online English language instruction for teachers. *Bunny Bonita* (Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de Colombia, 2012) is an English video series for children ages 4–8; and *English for Colombia*-ECO (Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de Colombia, 2014b) is an online program designed to prepare English language teachers who work with children in rural areas.

A cursory examination of the above policies and programs reveals a strong emphasis on the development of communicative competence from

a utilitarian perspective which justifies learning English on the basis of economic competitiveness and improved quality of life. The policies and programs have been criticized on the grounds that they emphasize the teaching of the English language (and the cultures associated with the language) to the detriment of native languages and local cultures (Galindo & Moreno, 2008; Pal Forero, 2010; Usma, 2009; Vargas *et al.*, 2008).

In addition, several studies have shown the mismatches between government policies, linguistic standards, curriculum guidelines and the actual educational system. For example, Fandiño-Parra (2014) explains that the implementation of BEPs doesn't necessarily contribute to narrowing the gaps between different socioeconomic groups. He also explains that despite the fact that time and money are invested in professional development and testing, teachers and students still show low performance on standardized tests and many teachers recruited to teach content areas in English lack certification for teaching subjects like science or math in a foreign language. Much like Fandiño-Parra, Usma (2009) argues that bilingual programs and bilingual projects only benefit certain social groups, resulting in social inequality.

López *et al.* (2011) identified several challenges related to the implementation of English language education and teachers and students' profiles. These challenges include the need for more time for teacher training and better teacher preparation in the area of methodologies for teaching content areas in a foreign language. These ideas were affirmed in a document analysis conducted by Sánchez Jabba (2013). In this study, the CEFR was used as a reference to measure how close students were to reaching the desired language proficiency levels of B1 and B2, respectively. Average scores obtained by Colombians on national and international standardized tests were analyzed. Results indicated that both teachers and students had low levels of proficiency in English and were unlikely to achieve the goals required per national policies. Sánchez Solarte and Obando Guerrero (2008) argue that rather than looking at teachers' language proficiency and their teaching methodologies, there is a need to look at the poor teaching conditions under which teachers have to function. They explain how in the Colombian educational system, many schools transitioning into BEPs do not offer the best teaching environment. Some of the negative aspects mentioned by the authors were associated with the school environment and included minimal contact hours, overcrowded classrooms, lack of didactic resources and heterogeneous groups. As Sánchez Solarte and Obando Guerrero (2008) explain, these factors have a negative effect on the learning situation, even if teachers have high English language proficiency.

Other researchers have studied the role of school administrators in improving the quality of education. For example, Miranda and Echeverry (2011) argue that the Colombian system should focus more on improving local contexts rather than incorporating international standards like the

CEFR. Torres-Martínez (2009) argues that governments plan according to international policies and forget about local contexts. European and Latin American contexts differ; for instance, when considering reasons for being bilingual, educational systems or mobility factors.

In conclusion, the literature reviewed in this section shows that while the Colombian government, both at the local and national level, is invested in the implementation of BEPs, recent studies have questioned the implementation of such programs since, oftentimes, they do not consider the local realities. In light of the literature reviewed, the next section describes the context of the bilingual program investigated for the purposes of this chapter.

Method

The school context

With the aim of following the directives of the Ministry of Education, Lhemi Salle implemented a model of English language instruction that integrated content-based instruction (CBI). As explained by Brinton *et al*. (1989), CBI involves the integration of language and content instruction. The literature has identified three models of CBI. The first model is the theme-based model, whose goal is to teach language through a variety of themes that are relevant to students' lives. The second model is the adjunct instruction model, in which language classes are 'adjuncted' to content classes (Brinton *et al*., 1989); in this model the language teacher focuses on the linguistic demands of the content course and the content instructor is responsible for delivering content. Ideally, in this model, the content and the language instructors collaborate to enhance their teaching both in terms of language and content (Snow & Kamhi-Stein, 2002). The last model is the sheltered instruction (SI) model (Echevarria *et al*., 2012). Lhemi Salle followed a pedagogical sequence that draws on SI: the Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol (SIOP) (Echevarria *et al*., 2012), a model designed to facilitate content and language learning for English language learners. The four stages in the pedagogical sequence implemented at Lhemi Salle were aligned to the eight SIOP components as shown in Table 12.1.

Additionally, the BEP at Lhemi Salle evolved over a period of four years, 2010–2014. Table 12.2 presents the evolution of the program.

Bearing in mind that Colombia is a diverse country and there are significant differences in access to and conditions of education, schools should adapt bilingual education models in accordance with institutional needs, student characteristics, personnel qualifications and previous experiences with language teaching. For example, private schools in rural vs urban areas have different educator profiles and even options for making personnel decisions; therefore, there are differences in how they implement

Table 12.1 Lemhi Salle's pedagogical sequence

SIOP component	*Lhemi Salle pedagogical sequence*	*Description*
Lesson preparation	**Contextualization:** – Motivación y Encuadre [Motivation and Setting Stage]	Objectives are set and the topic is presented by making connections to students' previous experiences and background. Concepts are applied to real-life situations. The chief indicators are expressing, demonstrating, explaining and stating.
Building background Comprehensible input	**Structure of Content:** – Enunciación [Enunciation/ Presentation] – Modelación [Modeling]	Teachers make explicit and direct links between past learning, new concepts and current reality. The teacher models for students to understand what to do. The teacher needs to use a variety of techniques. The explanation of tasks should be made clear. The chief indicators at Lhemi are explaining, modeling, processing, exemplifying and organizing.
Strategies Interaction Practice and application	**Application:** – Simulación [Simulation] – Ejercitación [Practice]	Teachers use a variety of learning strategies and scaffolding techniques for students to apply and practice knowledge. The emphasis should be placed on the process rather than the product. Feedback is provided for students to adjust. The chief indicators are providing feedback, scaffolding, applying learning strategies, controlling time on task and interacting.
Review and assessment	**Verification:** – Sintesis y demostración [Synthesis and demonstration]	Teachers verify how well students have retained knowledge and understood. Providing feedback through clarification and reviewing main concepts allows the teacher to move on or reinforce. At Lhemi, teachers may assign homework. Instructional decisions are made based on students' responses.

Source: Adapted from Echevarria *et al.* (2012).

Table 12.2 Evolution of the bilingual education program at Lhemi Salle

2010	*2011*	*2012*	*2013*	*2014*
In preschool and first grade: Intensive English language instruction: 8 hours a week. Science: 3 hours a week. School shift: changes from a morning shift to a 7am–3pm shift.	Preschool to second grade: Intensive English language instruction: 8 hours a week. Science (3 hours), art (2 hours), social studies (3 hours) in English. These three core areas were taught by the same teacher. Secondary: Intensive English language instruction: 7 hours a week. An agreement was signed with an international university for teachers and seventh graders to participate in summer camps.	Curriculum evaluation took place. Partial immersion model, involving 50% of instruction in English, was extended to third grade.	Bilingual education school policy was formulated and distributed. Partial immersion model, involving 50% of instruction in English, was extended to fourth grade. Team teaching was implemented. School events were organized: Language Day, Spelling Bee Contest. SIOP implementation.	Curriculum evaluation took place and bilingual education school policy was modified. Technology was integrated into the teaching of science and English. Professional development activities related to BEP were conducted.

bilingual programs. In the case of Lhemi Salle, the models implemented were early partial immersion for the primary grades and maintenance of English for the secondary grades. Early partial immersion, which began in preschool, involved the use of English for at least 50% of the instructional time for at least five years, which is the length of primary school in Colombia. As both Spanish and English were used during instruction, the objective was to produce balanced bilinguals. English language instruction using scaffolding, language development strategies, vocabulary and explicit learning strategy instruction was incorporated into the curriculum. Project-based instruction and the teaching of arts and science were also included in the curriculum.

Despite the fact that most schools in Colombia support the immersion model at the elementary level, they face serious problems offering bilingual programs at the secondary level. Difficulties arise due to the lack of prepared bilingual teaching staff to teach content areas in English, the reduction in the number of hours of instruction in English and the time schools spend in extracurricular activities. As a consequence, secondary schools mainly implement a maintenance model. This was the case of Lhemi Salle. In the secondary school, a decision was made to adapt a US model of maintenance bilingualism since this model permitted the teaching of strategic competencies, such as note-taking, summarizing, time management and test-taking skills, among others; and, at the same time, reinforced academic language instruction. In fact, in the Colombian context, the objective of adopting such a model is to maintain the second language (L2) acquired in primary years. In the Lhemi Salle context, this was done through the intensification of English classes – eight hours a week – following a methodology of project-based instruction and the inclusion of readings in English in classes taught in Spanish. In the English class, language skills were reinforced through practice and explicit grammar instruction when necessary. Additionally, projects were interdisciplinary, meaning they were related to content areas such as science or social studies.

Without a doubt, the changes made in the school curriculum required the community (parents, administrative staff, teachers and students) to make a variety of adjustments related to practice. For example, some teachers had to refresh their knowledge of and take on the challenge of teaching content in English, while others had to begin taking English language classes. Content area teachers were not proficient in English, and this resulted in English teachers teaching subjects like science or social studies. At the same time, some language teachers were not certified to teach the grade level of the subject area they were asked to teach; therefore, they had to prepare themselves by studying the subject areas they were assigned to teach. Teachers did not necessarily become certified, but engaged in academic readings and team-teaching with a certified teacher in the core area being taught. If the school wanted to be certified as bilingual

by the Ministry of Education, all the teaching staff needed to demonstrate language proficiency according to the CEFR (Council of Europe, 2001), being A2 or basic user for teachers teaching subjects in Spanish and B2 or independent user for English teachers and teachers teaching subject areas in English.

The administration, in addition, incorporated new ways of working. First, Human Resources had to establish new teacher hiring criteria, which included the certification of English language proficiency and experience in bilingual schools. Second, principals and assistant principals in charge of professional development had to add a variety of workshops and discussion sessions focusing on bilingualism, bilingual education, SI, differentiated instruction, classroom management and science instruction in English. However, up to 2012, participants in these workshops and discussions were only English department teachers. Starting in 2013, the year in which the bilingual education policy was formulated, administrators and science and social studies department heads attended the meetings. In 2014, when the bilingual education policy was modified, the whole school staff and administration were involved in professional development activities. Last, the school underwent an internationalization process through the signing of agreements with universities and international schools.

Data collection and analysis

For the purposes of this study, designed to evaluate the BEP at Lhemi Salle, data were collected during one school-year. Data were synthetized and organized into major categories and examples through content analysis (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). The following data sources were used as a means of triangulation to determine the context in which the school operated.

Document analysis: A review of a variety of documents was conducted in order to delineate the institution's philosophy and the methodological approaches implemented by the teachers. These documents included curriculum guidelines, syllabi for the different content areas, as well as lesson plans and textbooks for the English and Spanish language classes. Additionally, an analysis of the Proyecto Educativo Institucional [the Institutional Educational Project, PEI) was conducted. This is a document used in Colombian educational institutions which lays out the mission, vision and broad guidelines explaining processes related to teaching, assessment and institutional goals. The document analysis was also used to determine what baseline knowledge students possessed in their first language (L1).

Parents' survey: A parents' survey was administered in order to determine parental perceptions regarding the needs of their children in relation to the study of English and the implementation of a BEP. This survey included seven closed questions and eight open-ended questions

and focused on three main topics: the importance of offering bilingual education; students' progress in the BEP; and the parents' degree of support of the BEP. A total of 120 surveys were administered to preschool and first-grade parents, 120 surveys were returned. These parents were chosen to participate in the study because by the time their children started school, the immersion program had been implemented for four years (2010–2014).

Teachers' survey: A teachers' survey was also administered in order to determine the teachers' perceptions with regard to the needs and interests of students in relation to the study of English and the implementation of the BEP. The survey contained six closed and nine open-ended questions. Questions focused on bilingual education models, the school environment, methodologies, resources and quality assurance. The survey was administered by the counseling department during grade-level meetings for the primary-level teachers. Twenty-six questionnaires were given out, of which 22 were returned.

Teachers' interview: Ten content area and English teachers were interviewed in order to understand their beliefs about the process of students' L1 acquisition; to obtain information on the teachers' perceptions regarding bilingual education; and to identify mechanisms for professional development. These non-structured interviews were recorded via notes. Together with the document analysis, they were an important source of information regarding processes related to the acquisition of the L1, which is fundamental when beginning a transition into a bilingual model. The method for data analysis involved identifying emerging categories, as was done with the document analysis.

Classroom observations: Five teachers were observed five times each by four people (a research assistant, an international teacher, the assistant principal and an external consultant) for a total of 25 observations. The objective of these observations was to identify the methodological approach implemented by the content area teachers and the English teachers who taught content areas. An observation protocol, adapted from Echevarria *et al*. (2012), focusing on the stages of instruction emphasized by the school was used. As shown in Table 12.1, these stages were contextualization, structure of content, application and verification. Five teachers were observed five times each. The observations lasted between 30 minutes and an hour and were non-participatory, which means that the observer did not intervene in the classes and was limited to observing and filling out the observation protocol. Results were reached by calculating the means and overall standard deviation in Microsoft Excel.

The instruments and documents used in data collection can be organized into four main categories of analysis. The first one consisted of the BEP foundations, which refers to the principles guiding the BEP implementation. These foundations arose from the analysis of the BEP document and the teachers and parents' survey. The second category,

named Instructional Considerations, arose from the teachers and parents' survey responses pertaining to instructional issues, as well the teachers' classroom observations. The third category, named Bilingual Environment, made reference to the infrastructure, resources, school setting, L1 and L2 status and extra-curricular activities that promoted bilingual education. The last category, named Professional Development, focused on the teachers' responses to the interviews and survey, as well as the parents' survey.

Results

This section presents the results of the analysis. The section is organized into four subsections, including foundations or principles guiding the bilingual program; instructional considerations; the bilingual environment; and the professional development opportunities.

Foundations or principles guiding the BEP

The analysis of the BEP document, as well as the teachers' and parents' survey showed that the school has clear principles that guide bilingual education. Table 12.3 presents the documents analyzed and the results of the analysis.

As can be observed in Table 12.3, the documents analyzed clearly demonstrate that the institution's philosophy advocates for the development of not only communicative but also technological, entrepreneurial and scientific competencies in a globalized world. The curriculum guidelines provided by the administration state a four-stage pedagogical sequence that teachers should plan for, bearing in mind the incorporation of critical thinking skills and school assessment criteria. The Spanish and English languages share the same status; this means that they are both equally important.

Reasons to be bilingual

The results of the analysis of 120 parents and 22 teachers' surveys showed that, in general, both parents and teachers were largely positive about their children being bilingual. As shown in Figures 12.1 and 12.2, parents and teachers coincided in the reasons given for supporting bilingualism, naming students' future competitiveness in the labor market, as well as the potential to work or study abroad which may be facilitated when interacting with others. In terms of culture, there was a difference in teachers' and parents' perceptions in that only 8% of the parents as opposed to 17% of the teachers believed that bilingual education helped children value other people's culture.

Table 12.3 Summary of document analysis: BEP foundations

Documents selected	*Bilingual education program foundations*		
	School's mission and vision	*Students' profile and outcomes*	*Teachers' profile*
The Institutional Educational Project (PEI)	Comprehensive management of quality control which requires the rigorous oversight of the implementation of any new program. The school contributes to research processes that favor the development of talents according to the regional, national and global needs.	The school is a space to develop communicative, scientific, technological and entrepreneurial competencies in the community.	Educators should promote critical thinking, values, scientific and technological competencies. Educators are seen as innovators in the sense that they renew practices, research and provide a safe environment for children.
Pedagogical Program	Social studies should emphasize national identity. The pedagogical sequence contains the cycle of planear-hacer-verificar-y-actuar [planning-doing-verifying-acting].	Lesson plans are used to determine mechanisms of assessment and match the course plan.	Spanish teachers emphasize critical thinking and English teachers emphasize vocabulary. Example: Write labels and describe pictures and people with basic vocabulary words (first-grade English teacher) vs create short narratives, descriptive and informative texts in which a clear point of view is stated and ethics of language use is shown (first-grade Spanish teacher).
Spanish and English textbooks		Four language skills are developed in both languages.	Teachers wrote the Spanish textbook.
Subject area documents	The subject area documents explain the communicative competency objectives of Spanish and the foreign language under two conceptual axes: linguistic and communicative.	The focus is on the development of scientific, critical and social thinking.	

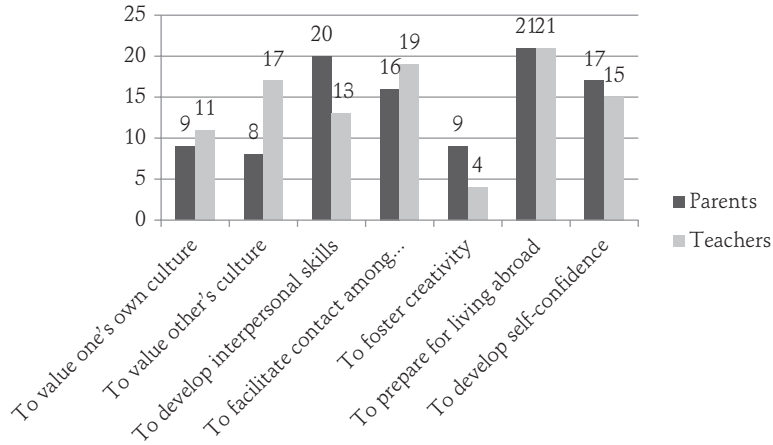


Figure 12.1 Parents' and teachers' reasons for children to be bilingual in percentages

When teachers and parents were asked about the advantages of offering a BEP, a low percentage, 5% of teachers and 8% of parents, respectively, believed it gives a higher status (Figure 12.2). In contrast, they agreed that quality education, academic exchanges, cognition and competitiveness are the main advantages of the program offered at the school.

The results described in the previous paragraphs support the findings of the interviews of 10 teachers, who argued that the BEP enhanced students' cognitive potential, provided opportunities for the school to implement

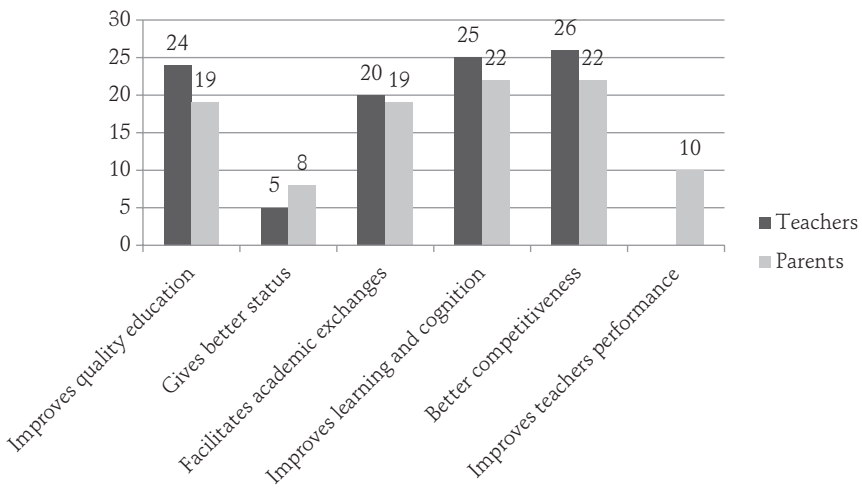


Figure 12.2 Parents' and teachers' perceptions of the advantages of a BEP in percentages

innovative practices and promoted strong student performance in the English language. Following are three teachers' quotations supporting this idea:

> I believe students' brain is like a sponge and they are able to learn as many languages as they want. I wish I knew a language. (First-grade Spanish teacher)
>
> Bilingual education is new in the Lasallian Community. Lhemi is making progress and a difference. (Foreign languages department head)
>
> I always use English; my students understand, they even want to use more and more English. (Preschool science teacher)

Quality of the BEP

The parents' and teachers' surveys and the teachers' interview results showed different opinions on the quality of the BEP. The BEP was considered to be excellent or good by 35% and 64% of the parents, respectively. Some of the reasons given by the parents included the fact that 'teachers are using more English in class' and 'Children are happy in the English class'. In contrast to the high perceptions of parents, 32% of teachers revealed lack of knowledge about the program itself and only 9% considered the program excellent (Figure 12.3).

Effects of the English language on Spanish

During the interview, when primary-level teachers – including content and English language teachers – were asked about the quality of the BEP, they expressed concern about the effects of English on the students' Spanish

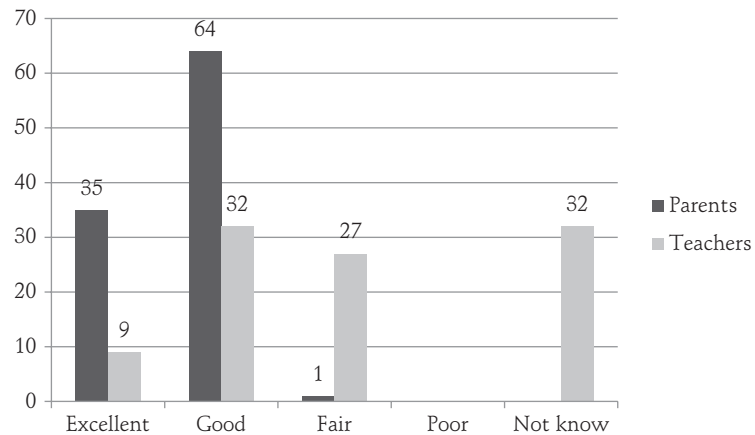


Figure 12.3 Parents' and teachers' opinion about the quality of the BEP

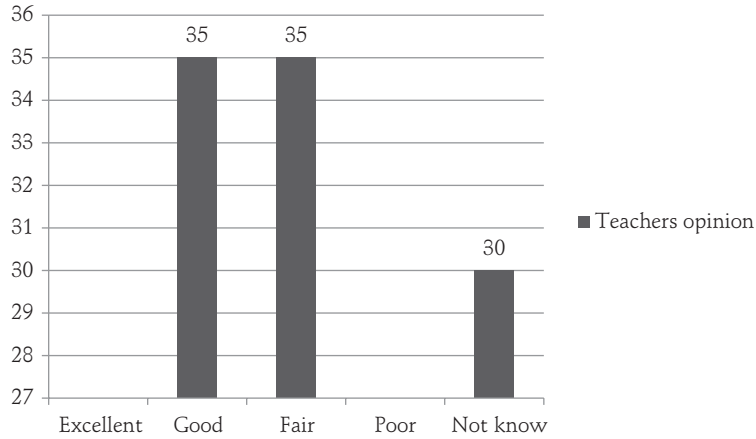


Figure 12.4 Students' performance in Spanish according to teachers in percentages

skills. In fact, 100% of the teachers agreed that the students' experiences and their levels of literacy in their native language should be taken into account when offering a BEP. Additionally, 80% of teachers expressed the opinion that parents should be actively involved in the process of teaching L2 literacy.

Teachers also expressed concern regarding the potential impact of a BEP on the development of children's native language. For example, 35% of the teachers reported that the students' level of Spanish was good and fair, while 30% affirmed that they did not know the quality of the students' performance in Spanish as shown in the survey results in Figure 12.4.

Teachers and parents agreed that it was necessary to reinforce students' native language so that the English language learning process did not interfere with it. Teachers manifested that if there was a balance between the two languages – what they called 'real bilingualism' – a foreign language should not be viewed as a threat to Spanish.

Instructional considerations

The second category of analysis, named Instructional Considerations, arose from the teachers' and parents' survey responses pertaining to instructional issues, as well the teachers' classroom observations.

Content areas in English and English language instruction

The interviews of 10 English and content area teachers showed that, in general, teachers were cautious regarding which subjects should be taught in English and how long it would take to train teachers to implement instruction in English. This is shown in the following teachers' comments:

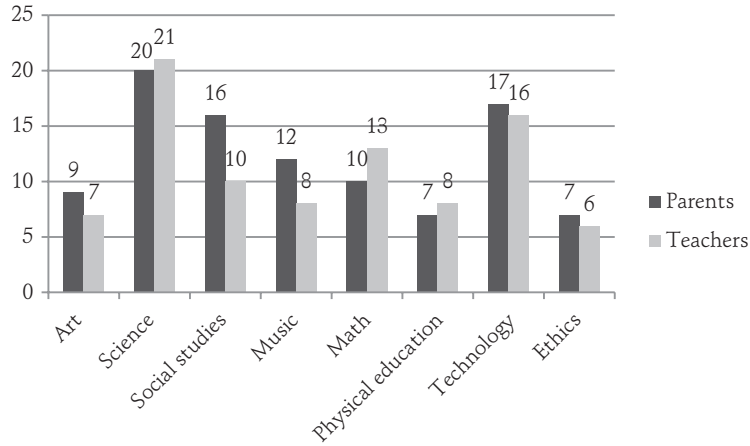


Figure 12.5 Parents' and teachers' opinion on which subjects should be taught in English in percentages

> The school can no expect bilingualism in one year, it takes time. (Preschool coordinator)

> Math teachers are doing a great job, what happens if Math is taught in English? (First-grade teacher)

As shown in Figure 12.5, survey results for both parents and teachers showed that technology and the natural sciences were the best choices for the implementation of the BEP. However, regarding the subjects that should not be taught in English, more teachers selected those that were related to values, such as ethics and social studies. In contrast, 72% of the parents chose mathematics (Figure 12.6). Most likely, the teachers' response was related to the close association between values (e.g. patriotism, appreciation of national and cultural identity) and the use of the L1. Also, the teachers' responses could be attributed to the fact that it is undeniable that the teaching of values in an L2 places high linguistic and cognitive demands on students.

Students' background

One theme that stood out in the interviews was the teachers' perception that new students, especially first graders, sometimes fell behind in English because the background with which they arrived from other institutions was not as strong as the background of the students who began their education at Lhemi Salle. 'If students do preschool at la Salle, it is OK but if they come from other schools I have to reinforce, even teach them numbers' (First-grade teacher).

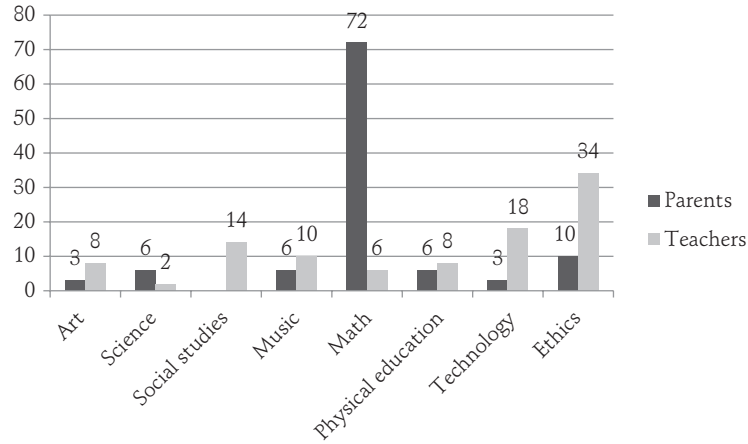


Figure 12.6 Parents' and teachers' opinion on which subjects should not be taught in English in percentages

Pedagogical sequence

In order to assess the extent to which the pedagogical sequence was implemented by the teachers, five teachers – two science teachers and three English teachers – were observed. The former were chosen because they were teaching content areas in English in second and third grades; grades whose students had participated in the BEP since its initiation in 2010. The latter were chosen because they had been teaching in the school since 2010.

Classroom observations focused on the four stages of the pedagogical sequence already presented in Table 12.1. For each area of observation (contextualization, structure of content, application and verification), the rating scores were: 0, non-observed; 1, did not meet expectations; 2, barely met expectations; 3, met expectations; and 4, surpassed expectations.

As shown in Table 12.4, there was a wide range in the teachers' implementation of the stages of the sequence adapted from the SIOP model (Echevarria *et al*., 2012). Given this range, a couple of relevant points need to be highlighted. Specifically, in the area of contextualization, while the observers found that the content was mostly appropriate for the age and previous knowledge of the students, at times, the use of materials was limited to having students make drawings, fill in the blanks or copy vocabulary from the board. Additionally, several of the observers' comments addressed the fact that oftentimes the examples given in support of a new concept were not meaningful for the students.

The second stage in the sequence observed was structure of content. Observations in this area focused on how content was presented and modeled to the students. Much like in the previous area, there was a range

Table 12.4 Teacher observation means

Teachers/pedagogical sequence	*Preschool English teachers (M)*	*Second-grade science teacher (M)*	*Third-grade English teacher (M)*	*Third-grade science teacher (M)*	*Fourth-grade English teacher (M)*	*Overall mean*	*Overall SD*
Contextualization	3.50	2.50	2.50	1.00	1.00	2.10	0.96
Structure of content	4.00	2.50	2.00	1.00	1.00	2.10	1.1
Application	2.50	2.00	2.00	2.50	1.00	2.00	0.55
Verification	4.00	4.00	3.50	3.00	.00	2.90	1.50

Note: Rating scores: 0, non-observed; 1, did not meet expectations; 2, barely met expectations; 3, met expectations; and 4, surpassed expectations.

in how teachers structured content and no clear differences were observed for the English and content teachers. In the application stage, there was more consistency in that the range in means was not as big as it was for the first stage of the lesson. However, as shown in Table 12.4, the application stage means ranged from 1.00, reflecting that the teachers did not meet expectations, to 2.50, reflecting that the teachers' practices were between barely met expectations and met expectations. The low average means observed for the application stage could be attributed, at least in part, to the fact that while teachers made use of learning strategies to help students apply information, their utilization was inconsistent and scaffolding techniques were only sometimes applied. Additionally, the observations also showed that, in general, class activities within the application stage followed the same format, namely fill-in-the-blanks or drawing exercises. In other words, application tasks were used, but with limited variety in some cases. Furthermore, the classroom observations showed that error correction and activities related to higher-order thinking skills were only done at the knowledge level in Bloom's Taxonomy (Huitt, 2011). This means that students focused on direct recall of information and the activities completed included listing, naming and defining ideas.

Teachers provided opportunities for interaction; however, the observers' comments on the observation protocol revealed that the interaction was mostly teacher–student; as shown in the following comment by two of the observers: 'The teacher organized groups, however students continued working individually and the teacher monitored'. 'Students work in pairs, the teacher asks students to approach her if they have any questions'.

Language skills were integrated by most of the teachers. However, the information gathered in relation to the development of communicative skills showed disparities. While there was a focus on communicative skills in the lessons, the observers' remarks pointed to the fact that teachers

showed a strong inclination toward writing activities, with little emphasis on speaking.

Appropriate pacing and student engagement were observed. Pacing was assessed as appropriate due to the fact that teachers controlled class time, although all the observers agreed that teachers provided more time than necessary for the completion of activities.

The last stage in the pedagogical sequence at Lhemi is verification. This was the teachers' strongest area since the means ranged from 3.00, met expectations, to 4.00, surpassed expectations, though in several cases, the observers noted that while the teachers had students review vocabulary, they did not necessarily have students make connections between vocabulary words and the ideas those words reflected.

In conclusion, the observations showed that rigorous work remains to be done in order to incorporate methodologies and strategies that support language and content learning.

Bilingual environment

Bilingual environment at home and at school

The third category of analysis, the bilingual environment, focused on the bilingual resources available to students. The results of the parents' survey showed that the most popular resource available to parents was music (30%), followed by television in English (26%), websites (25%) and, finally, CDs (14%). This finding shows that student input is not limited to the input received at the school.

The teachers' interviews showed that the teachers felt they had resources to foster bilingualism. Some of the resources included online platforms, overhead projectors, CDs, videos and CD players. During the interview, it could be inferred that preschoolers displayed their classwork and made posters in English and that announcements were made in English. However, this was not the case for high school students. Following is what a teacher had to say about this: 'I love the information displayed in English in the preschool area; however we do not have any information in English in high school area'.

Professional development

The last category of analysis identified was professional development. As shown in the parents' and teachers' surveys, professional development was an area of concern for both groups. Specifically, 35% of teachers and 34% parents explained that for a bilingual program to succeed, teachers need training. At the same time, 26% of parents and 30% of teachers stated that parental involvement is necessary in a bilingual program (Figure 12.7).

As shown in Figure 12.7, parents also showed concern regarding the need to invest in new teachers; although they acknowledged the investment

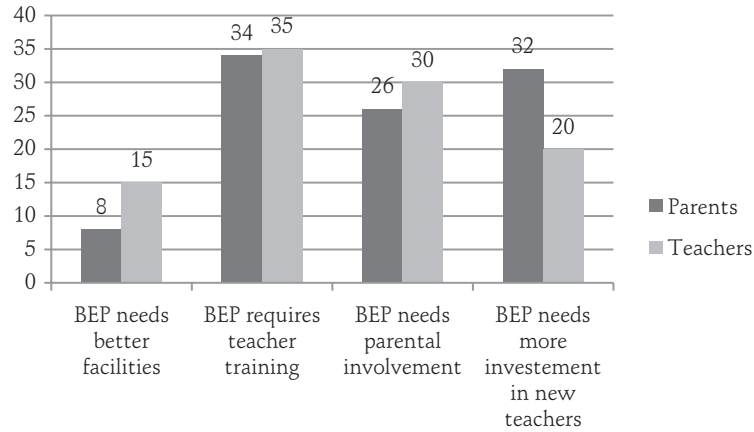


Figure 12.7 Challenges when offering BEPs, as expressed in percentages in the parents and teachers' survey

the school made in training teachers in bilingual education topics and the resources made available in order to carry out the program.

When teachers were asked about opportunities for teamwork, such as co-planning or co-teaching, the results of the interviews revealed that teachers only formally interacted with their colleagues in weekly department meetings. Knowledge of what other content area teachers were doing was obtained informally, through hallway conversations, or through questions about resources other teachers used. In fact, there was no academic space for teachers to work as a team. In relation to this, one of the teachers stated, 'I usually ask what the others are going to do this week and that's how I plan my own classes'.

The interviews showed that the teachers strongly agreed on the idea that it was important to have opportunities to work as a team. When asked if they would like to plan together, one of the teachers stated: 'It would be great to sit down together to plan', and another teacher said: 'The truth is I don't ever work with the first grade teachers, but it would be a great opportunity, and also I've taught that class'. All the teachers agreed that they would like to have the opportunity to collaborate.

Discussion and Conclusion

The findings of the evaluation study described in this chapter prompt several considerations in regard to the development of BEPs in Colombia, in particular, and in other South American countries, more generally. Specifically, in countries as diverse as Colombia, it is difficult to state that *one size fits all.* The study presented in this chapter serves as an example

of the type of information that school administrators and policymakers should consider before and after they establish a BEP. While national policies (e.g. National Program of Bilingualism: Colombia 2004–2019, Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de Colombia, 2005) provide guidelines for curriculum implementation, they do not consider the voices of teachers, who are responsible for developing and imparting instruction, and parents, whose involvement can further contribute to the BEP.

Colombian national and regional policies advocate for the implementation of BEPs in the name of globalization, competitiveness and equity. However, several researchers (e.g. Fandiño-Parra, 2014; Usma, 2009) argue that these programs do not necessarily enhance social mobility and should not be implemented to the detriment of the local culture and language. The findings of this study both contradicted and supported the arguments made by researchers like Fandiño-Parra (2014) and Usma (2009) and Colombian national and regional policies. While parents and teachers agreed on the idea that BEPs contribute to enhanced academic achievement and access to the labor market – an instrumental motivation for the implementation of such programs advocated by national policies – the teachers favored the use of Spanish when the content taught was associated with issues of values, patriotism and national and cultural identity. These findings show that, in spite of the fact that researchers have argued that knowledge of an L2 does not necessarily contribute to social mobility, parents still continue to associate knowledge of the English language with economic competitiveness.

As noted in the previous paragraph, teachers expressed concern regarding the cognitive and linguistic demands placed on the students when English was used to present content related to issues of national and cultural identity. In response to these concerns, the school administration decided that subjects like science, art, problem-solving (part of math), current events (part of social studies) would be taught in English, while technology, PE, math, social studies and ethics would be taught in Spanish. In making decisions about what subjects were to be taught in the students' L1 or L2, consideration was given to the fact that the development of academic language proficiency is a more complex linguistic and cognitive endeavor than the development of communicative language proficiency. In addition, in making the decision, administrators took into account the national government's expectation that students will reach A2 level in primary school and B1 level in secondary school according to the CEFR and, at the same time, considered the human, financial and technical resources available to reach these levels.

This study also showed that the school documents analyzed were clear in terms of the school's philosophy of bilingual education, as well as in the four-stage pedagogical sequence that teachers were expected to implement. However, the implementation of the instructional sequence was not

consistent for the five teachers observed. As shown in this study, several of the teachers observed barely met instructional expectations. This finding supports the notion that there is a need for continuous in-service training and supervision for a BEP to succeed (a point made by Diaz Maggioli [2003]). In fact, this idea was supported by both parents and teachers' responses to the survey questions. Training should not only include workshops designed to prepare teachers in the implementation of the four-stage sequence, but it should also allow time for teacher-to-teacher communication. As shown in this study, one of the greatest areas of teacher concern was related to the limited opportunities for teacher-to-teacher communication and collaboration. Additionally, team-teaching opportunities should be formally promoted and communication among parents, teachers and administrators needs to be enhanced; otherwise, teachers and parents may manifest lack of knowledge of and involvement in bilingual education activities in the school setting, as shown in this study.

López *et al*. (2011) argue that teachers are an asset to a BEP. English teachers in Colombia are expected to have three main characteristics. First, they should have an expected command of the English language, as shown on the CEFR (A2 or basic user for teachers teaching subjects in Spanish and B2 or independent user for English teachers and teachers teaching subject areas in English) (Council of Europe, 2001). Second, they also need to have knowledge of bilingual methodologies and approaches. For instance, teachers should know about phonemic awareness, scaffolding, L1 and L2 literacy development, as well as the approaches identified in the Basic Learning Goals (Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de Colombia, 2016a). Third, teachers should know about curriculum design and be able to adapt school curricula to meet international and national standards such as the Esquema Curricular Sugerido [English Curriculum]. Overall, it can be seen that these expectations are not only very high, but they seem to put the burden of the success of a bilingual program on teachers. Therefore, in the specific case of the school investigated, teachers would benefit from participating in professional development activities focusing on issues of curriculum design, lesson planning according to the SIOP model, etc. More broadly, strong consideration needs to be given not only to the teachers, but also to all the factors that need to be in place in order to contribute to the success of a BEP. These include, but are not limited to, classroom size, availability of instructional resources and an acknowledgment of teachers as professionals who deserve higher pay and societal recognition.

One area of teacher concern identified in the teachers' interviews was in relation to the effects of English on the students' Spanish skills. In the context of Colombian society, where – in spite of the government goals – the use of English has limited purposes, this concern seems to be irrelevant. However, what *is* important is the fact that teachers believe that in the

Colombian setting, English can have an effect on the students' Spanish skills. Therefore, it could be argued that teachers need to develop a better understanding of the goals of a BEP in Colombian society.

The results of this study also demonstrated that teachers were satisfied with the resources available to implement the BEP. As noted by Sánchez Solarte and Obando Guerrero (2008), the school environment is critical to the success of a BEP. In the case of the school investigated, the setting was conducive to the BEP success. Additionally, the resources provided by the parents at home were also meant to contribute to the program success. However, it remains to be seen if the same findings could be identified in public schools, where the teaching conditions are different from those offered in private institutions.

In summary, success in the implementation of a BEP relies on the interplay of a variety of factors. These factors involve, but are not limited to, developing clear principles guiding the implementation of a BEP that is designed to meet local needs and expectations; having the necessary infrastructure and financial and logistical resources to support the program; implementing a systematic approach to instruction; supporting teachers in their professional development so that instruction is successful; and creating a community in which the practices and values implemented in the BEP are clearly communicated among administrators, teachers and parents. These factors should be taken into account, regardless of whether a BEP is implemented in a public or private school. Only by considering how these factors interact with one another will BEPs in Colombia specifically, and other South American countries more generally, be successful in meeting local expectations.

Questions for Reflection

(1) What type of data would you collect if you were to carry out a diagnosis to implement a national policy – a language learning policy – in your institution?
(2) What considerations can be drawn from this chapter in regard to the development of bilingual programs in your country/region/city?

References

Brinton, D.M., Snow, M.A. and Wesche, M.B. (1989) *Content-Based Second Language Instruction*. Boston, MA: Heinle and Heinle.

Concejo de Bogotá (2006) *Acuerdo 253: Bogotá Bilingüe* [*Agreement 253: Bilingual Bogotá*]. Bogotá: Author.

Concejo de Bogotá (2008) *Acuerdo 559* [*Agreement 559*]. Bogota: Author.

Corbin, J. and Strauss, A. (2008) *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory* (3rd edn). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Council of Europe (2001) *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Diaz-Maggioli, G.H. (2003) *Professional Development for Language Teachers* (ERIC Digest EDO-FL-03-03). See https://www.academia.edu/1754875/Professional_Development_for_Language_Teachers (accessed September 29, 2016).

Echevarria, J., Vogt, M. and Short, D. (2012) *Making Content Comprehensible for English Learners: The SIOP Model*. Boston, MA: Pearson.

Fandiño-Parra, Y. (2014) *Bogotá bilingüe: Tensión entre política, currículo y realidad escolar* [Bilingual Bogotá: Tension between policy, curriculum and actual conditions in the schools]. *Educación y Educadores* 17 (2), 215–236.

Galindo, A. and Moreno, L.M. (2008) Estructura, resultados y retos del programa de bilingüismo Colombiano 2004–2009 [Structure, results and challenges of the 2004–2009 Colombian bilingualism program]. *Revista de Investigaciones de la Universidad del Quindío* 18, 172–179.

Gobernación del Valle del Cauca (2012) *Agreement 345: Valle Bilingüe* [*Agreement 345: Bilingual Valle*]. Santiago de Cali: Author.

Huitt, W. (2011) *Bloom et al.'s Taxonomy of the Cognitive Domain*. See http://www.edpsycinteractive.org/topics/cognition/bloom.html (accessed September 29, 2016).

López, A., Peña, B. and Guzmán, M. (2011) Transición hacia el bilingüismo en colegios públicos Colombianos: Un estudio de caso [Transitioning toward bilingualism in Colombian public schools: A case study]. In A-M. Truscott de Mejía, A. López Mendoza and B. Peña Dix (eds) *Bilingüismo en el Contexto Colombiano: Iniciativas y Perspectivas en el Siglo XXI* [*Bilinguism in the Colombian Context: 21st Century Initiatives and Perspectives*] (pp. 23–45). Bogotá: Uniandes.

Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de Colombia (2005) *Programa Nacional de Bilingüismo: Colombia 2004-2019* [*National Program of Bilingualism: Colombia 2004–2019*]. See http://www.mineducacion.gov.co/1621/articles-132560_recurso_pdf_programa_nacional_bilinguismo.pdf (accessed September 29, 2016).

Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de Colombia (2012) *Bunny Bonita*. See http://www.colombiaaprende.edu.co/html/productos/1685/article-158726.html (accessed September 29, 2016).

Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de Colombia (2014a) *Programa Nacional de Inglés 2015–2025 – Colombia Very Well* [*The 2015–2025 National English Program – Colombia Very Well*]. Bogotá: Author.

Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de Colombia (2014b) *English for Colombia*-ECO. See http://www.colombiaaprende.edu.co/html/micrositios/1752/w3-propertyvalue-49165.html (accessed September 29, 2016).

Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de Colombia (2016a) *Derechos Básicos de Aprendizaje*. [*Fundamental Learning Rights*]. Bogota: Author.

Ministerio de Educación, Gobierno de Colombia (2016b) *Esquema Curricular Sugerido*. [*English Curriculum*]. Bogota: Author.

Miranda, N. and Echeverry, A. (2011) La gestión escolar en la implementación del Programa Nacional de Bilingüismo en instituciones educativas privadas de Cali (Colombia) [The management of schools in the implementation of the National Program of Bilingualism in private schools in Cali (Colombia). *Revista Íkala* 16 (29), 67–125.

Pal Forero, S. (2010) *Análisis de la Implementación del 'Programa de Transición hacia el Bilingüismo 2004–2019 en Bogotá y Cundinamarca' en el Colegio Distrital Cundinamarca IED, en la Jornada de la Mañana. [Analysis of the Implementation of the 'Transition Program Toward Bilingualism 2004-2009 in Bogotá and Cundinamarca' in the Cundinamarca School District]*. Master's thesis. See http://repository.javeriana.edu.co/bitstream/10554/1041/1/edu64.pdf (accessed September 29, 2016).

Rodríguez-Bonces, M. (2011) CLIL: Colombia leading into content language learning. *Íkala* 16 (28), 79–89.

Sánchez Jabba, A. (2013) *Bilingüismo en Colombia* [*Bilingualism in Colombia*]. Cartagena de Indias: Centro de Estudios Regionales, Banco de la República.

Sánchez Solarte, A.C. and Obando Guerrero, G.V. (2008) Is Colombia ready for 'bilingualism'? *PROFILE 9*, 181–195.

Senado de la Nación, Colombia (2013) *Ley 1651* [*Law 1651*]. See http://wsp.presidencia.gov.co/Normativa/Leyes/Documents/2013/LEY%201651%20DEL%2012%20DE%20JULIO%20DE%202013.pdf (accessed September 29, 2016).

Snow, M.A. and Kamhi-Stein, L.D. (2002) Teaching and learning academic literacy through Project LEAP: Learning-English-for-Academic-Purposes. In J. Crandall and D. Kaufman (eds) *Content-Based Instruction* (pp. 169–181). Alexandria, VA: TESOL.

Torres-Martínez, S. (2009) Las vicisitudes de la enseñanza de lenguas en Colombia [Factors affecting the teaching of languages in Colombia]. *Diálogos Latinoamericanos* 15, 56–75.

Usma, J. (2009) Globalization and language and education reform in Colombia: A critical outlook. Íkala 14 (22), 19–42.

Vargas, A., Tejada, H. and Colmenares, S. (2008) Estándares básicos de competencias en lenguas extranjeras (inglés): una lectura crítica [Basic standards in foreign language (English) competencies: A critical reading]. *Lenguaje* 36 (1), 241–275.

Epilogue

As we set out to work on this volume, our goal was to provide readers with an understanding of the many English language teaching (ELT) initiatives that are emerging in South America. We believe that the volume has accomplished this goal in that it contains 12 chapters that feature current policies designed to integrate English language instruction in elementary and secondary schools in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Uruguay and Venezuela. The volume also describes innovative practices designed to adapt Inner Circle pedagogies to the realities of South American language learners and provides an analysis of the impact of these practices on learners' language and critical literacy development. The volume further presents results of research designed to analyze the status of the English language in elementary and secondary classrooms and describes initiatives designed to enhance the preparation of language teachers.

We believe that the chapters in our volume provide much needed information on a geographical region that, to a large extent, has been neglected in the fields of TESOL and applied linguistics. As we wrote in the Introduction of the volume, given the many creative ELT initiatives in South America, this is an exciting time in the region. While we hope that the volume reflects this excitement, we are also well aware that in no way does the volume present an exhaustive account of the English language situation in South America. We hope this is only the first of many volumes on the topic and that future volumes expand the coverage by focusing on other countries. After all, as the great Uruguayan poet, Mario Benedetti (1985) wrote in one of his poems:

'El sur también existe' [The South also exists.]

Lía D. Kamhi-Stein, Gabriel Díaz Maggioli and Luciana C. de Oliveira

Reference

Benedetti, M. (1985) El sur también existe [The south also exists]. On *El Sur También Existe* [*The South Also Exists*] [record]. Barcelona: Ariola Records.

Index