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45

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Teaching English in Chile

A Study of Teacher Perceptions of their Professional Identity, Student Motivation and Pertinent Learning Contents

PETER LANG
EDITION

Contents

“Estar no mundo sem fazer história, sem por ela ser feito, sem fazer cultura,
sem “tratar” sua própria presença no mundo, sem sonhar, sem cantar, sem musicar,
sem pintar, sem cuidar da terra, das águas, sem usar as mãos, sem esculpir,
sem filosofar, sem pontos de vista sobre o mundo, sem fazer ciências, ou teologia,
sem assombro em face do mistério, sem aprender, sem ensinar,
sem ideáis de formação, sem politizar não é possível.”

“To be in the world without making history, without being made by it, without creating culture, without attending to one’s own presence in the world, without dreaming, without singing, without playing music, without painting, without caring for the earth, for the water, without using one’s hands, without sculpturing, without philosophising, without any points of view about the world, without doing science or theology, without awe in the face of mystery, without learning, without teaching, without ideas on education, without being political,
is not possible.”

Paulo Freire, *Pedagogia da autonomia* (1996: 65)
[Translation into English by Katharina Glas]

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Contents

1. Introduction

When I started teaching English in Further and Higher Education in Chile in 2005, I began to become aware of the nature of the particular challenges of being an English teacher here. My new students brought to class several years of English learning at school, but very little actual previous knowledge of the language, and it was not long before I identified, at least within my own teaching situation, two problematic areas.

First I realised that there was an enormous difference in *motivation* for learning English between students in the European context (which is my personal experience) and those in the Chilean context. In Europe, having foreign language skills, often in more than one language, is becoming the norm, yet in the Chilean context, many of my students did not seem to perceive English to be a priority. Many were very reluctant to prepare for tests, do their homework, or to participate actively in class. My first idea, preliminarily confirmed in a few informal conversations, was that it was an attitude problem at the level of context, the society as a whole: English still seems to be considered "the (second) language of the posh, upper-class" ("*los cuicos"*) by many; English-speaking countries are far away; all neighbouring countries are Spanish-speaking, too; and many young people have few or no opportunities to travel any further than Brazil – where tourists get by with Spanish, anyway.

Second, teaching within the constraints of a set coursebook, I became aware of how few meaningful *texts* were being offered to students in English classes (if any were offered at all). The repeated complaint that I heard in conversations with friends and students was that in their school experience, they had never really read anything interesting in English classes. What they remembered most were loose vocabulary items, for example, "*pen*", "*window*"; "these conversations" and the verb "to be". I began searching for ways to include new, diverse cultural information in my classes, especially in order to avoid reiterating the stereotypical image of everyday (U.S. American) culture that is presented in Hollywood movies and TV series.

Accordingly, I began to develop an interest in the relationship between student demotivation and the lack of stimulating, meaningful teaching material, especially in the form of reading texts. My initial research idea was also inspired by studies on attitudes and motivation in second language learning, such as the ones carried out in Canada (e.g. Gardner & Lambert 1972), as I had the suspicion that many Chileans' held negative attitudes towards the English language and English-speaking cultures (especially the USA), which created barriers that prevented them from truly engaging with English.

However, it was not long before I discovered that the situation had already started to change: the government had taken action in favour of more effective English teaching in schools, by designing and implementing a programme called *English Opens Doors.* This included the distribution of English textbooks to all public and state-subsidised private schools, and increased resources for initial and in-service English teacher training, among others. Also, my initial impression that the Chileans held negative attitudes towards the English language was challenged in more conversations. Without coming to the conclusion that all Chileans were desperate to learn English, I realised that the issue was far more complex than I had initially thought.

Thus, my research design started taking shape: first of all, I needed to get a more precise idea of the context, especially of the public image – policies, discourses, and counter-discourses - of English teaching and learning in Chile (cf. Pennycook 1995/ 2001, Wodak & Meyer 2001). It soon became clear to me that the situation was – and is – a representative example of several issues related to globalisation that are the subject of intense discussion both nationally and internationally, in various disciplinary research circles, not only of English Language Teaching, but also Cultural Studies, sociology, pedagogy, etc. (e.g. Beck 1998, 2002, Larraín 2001, 2005, Leal Hurtado 2005, Volkmann 2010). One of these issues is related to the world-wide growing demand for English language skills in the labour market, as part of the overwhelmingly rapid processes of modernising progress and internationalisation. Another concern is the ongoing search for cultural identity in a globalised world, where the often-quoted "McDonaldisation" is readily embraced by some, while being contested by others, sometimes violently so. Also, educational reforms that aim at adapting the curriculum to new challenges posed by a neoliberal market economy form part of these problems (cf. Cox 2003, Magendzo 2004, Pinto 2008). Part I is an attempt to provide a comprehensive overview of the most significant discussions and developments in this area, mainly in relation to Chile, but also to the wider Latin American and even global context.

A next step was to examine the textbooks that were distributed to the schools in the past few years, especially their cultural contents. Thus, my main question for Part II was to what extent the textbooks reflect the personally and socially meaningful – and motivating - learning objectives that (national and international) academic research has proposed for English language teaching in a "glocalised" world, especially in relation to intercultural learning objectives and learner empowerment (e.g. Bredella & Delanoy 1999, Bredella et al. 2000, Byram, 2000, 2005, Farías 2005). In order to provide a richer context for this analysis, I have also included an analysis of the governmental curricular frame-

works that establish minimum learning objectives and contents to be covered in all public and state-subsidised private schools in Chile.

Then, I had to find a way of obtaining empirical data to confirm – or disconfirm – my hypotheses:

1) The students' lack of motivation to learn English as a cause for their low proficiency levels.
2) Negative attitudes towards the language and English-speaking cultures, plus the lack of meaningful, interesting learning material as a cause for their low motivation levels.

I especially needed rich data that would mitigate my outsider status as a foreigner in Chile, with no local experience in secondary teaching. Therefore, I decided to base the research investigation on semi-structured problem-centred interviews with English teachers working in Chilean secondary schools. The questions centre on the teachers' perception of their own profession, and its specific challenges and rewards; on their conception of students' motivation and its perceived roots, and of the (cultural) contents to which the teachers give preference in their day-to-day teaching. As the teachers' personal, cultural, and professional identities are, to some extent, the "mediators" between the way in which they interpret their contexts and students' motivations to learn, and the curricular decisions that they take, I will give special attention to these concepts of identity (cf. Beijaard et al. 2000, 2004, Coldron & Smith 1999, Duff & Uchida 1997). The research design and analysis of these interviews is presented in part III.

The writing of a research report like this is very much a circular process, with reading informing the analysis, and analytical problems leading to more reading. More importantly, however, it cannot be detached from the life experiences that happen in "parallel" to the research work itself. In my case, I had the good fortune to become involved in initial English teacher training in Chile in the second year of my research project. My experience with these young Chileans – motivated English learners, and, what is more, highly motivated future language pedagogues with high hopes to improve school education – has not only helped me to gain more insight into the complexity of English teaching and learning in this country, but also to value the real relevance of this piece of research. In times of a prevailing "instrumental rationality" in educational management, which focuses its attention on the production of quick, measurable results, while students in schools are becoming increasingly disaffected, there is an urgent call to re-think the significance of our teaching contents and of our pedagogical goals and practices as a whole. Based on the findings of this research investigation, and in line with the principles of Critical Pedagogy I subscribe to (e.g. Freire 1970/2008, 1996/2004, Klafki 1991/2007, Pinto 2008, Prie-

to 2001, Norton & Toohey 2004), part IV proposes some specific measures for initial and in-service teacher training, material design, and governmental policies concerning English teaching in Chile.

PART I: The Context

The aim of this first part is to provide a comprehensive contextualisation of this research study. Therefore, in Chapter 2, socio-linguistic, sociological, and historical information will be brought together to set the cultural background in which English is taught and learned world-wide, in Latin America and particularly in Chile, at the beginning of the 21st century. Modernity, linguistic imperialism and globalisation are key words within this framework.

Then, a description of the Chilean educational system will be given in Chapter 3, first in general terms and then with a more specific focus on English as a school subject. Important areas for discussion are the structural inequities of the educational system and the current situation of English language teaching, especially in the publically funded sectors within the primary and secondary education system.

2. The Presence of English in Latin America and Chile

As a considerable portion of the empirical part of this study deals with attitudes towards the English language, and in particular with regard to cultural identities, it is necessary, first of all, to establish the socio-cultural context in which the learning and teaching of English takes place. This context can be visualised, in general terms, as on global, regional and national levels. The subdivisions of this chapter follow this logic: in 2.1, I will briefly examine the way in which the global spread of English, its connection with imperialism and globalisation, and its perceived implications, has been discussed in recent years, mainly on a world-wide level, including, of course, Chile and Latin America. Then, in 2.2, the historical relationship between Latin America and major English-speaking countries will be taken under scrutiny. This – complex - relationship is clearly made up of a combination of political, economic, and cultural forces. In 2.3, this Latin-American dimension will be developed further, by reviewing some important publications in the areas of applied linguistics and socio-linguistics, which give evidence of the current status of English in Latin America. Finally, in 2.4, the Chilean national context will be examined, including some observations about Chilean national identity, Chile's relationship with its immediate neighbours, and the latest developments in terms of the status of English in society.

2.1 The Learning and Teaching of English as a Global Phenomenon

2.1.1 The Global Spread of English

Linguistically speaking, the global spread of English is probably one of the most important phenomena of the past 50 years. Of course, even though the end of World War II, with the consolidation of the USA's status as a political and economic superpower, is often taken as a historical referent, the origins of this expansion can be dated back far earlier: the English spoken in the USA is one of the primary consequences of British colonialism. 1607 is a commonly quoted date, as it marks the arrival of an expedition to Chesapeake Bay, leading to the first permanent British settlement on the American East Coast (cf. Crystal 2003:31, McArthur 2003:165). In the following centuries, in a continuous process of colonisation, English reached more and more parts of the world, estab-

lishing itself as the mother tongue for most inhabitants of North America, Australia and New Zealand, and as the most important additional language of large populations in Africa and Asia. The fact that English is nowadays taught as a compulsory subject in most Chilean (and Latin American) schools, however, has effectively more to do with the most recent global growth of English, which started in the years after 1945, and which has received an extra boost from the digital and technological revolutions of the past twenty years, in particular from widespread access to the Internet and cable and satellite TV.

A very useful model of the phenomenon "Global English" has been provided by Kachru (e.g. 1992, also quoted in Crystal 2003). According to him, the spread of English can be visualised as three concentric circles:

The "Inner Circle" Countries are those where English has long been established as the dominant native language: apart from the obvious "cradle" of English, Britain, this circle includes the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Here, English is basically used by the whole population, for all the functions that a language can take in the life of a society.

The "Outer Circle" Countries are those where English arrived primarily through the British Empire, and where it has retained an important status even after these countries gained independence. Here, English operates as one – often the most privileged - among several languages in a multilingual setting, is usually acquired as a second language by large sectors of the educated population, and holds important functions in intra-national public life. Important examples are India, Singapore, and Nigeria, to name just a few.

Finally, the "Expanding Circle" Countries are those that do not have an English-speaking colonial past, but where English is increasingly learned as a foreign language, and where its uses, though in steady rise, are restricted to the contact with members of other extra-national linguistic communities, often as a *Lingua Franca* (i.e. none, or only a minority, of the participants of a communicative situation speaks English as a first language). Crystal (op.cit.: 60) remarks that 20 years after Kachru presented the model in the 1980s, this circle could already be called "expanded circle", as nowadays English has literally reached the last corners of the world. Even Latin America, which according to McArthur's sources (McArthur 2003: 244) in the early 1990s still remained largely "outside the net" of English, presents a fairly different picture nowadays. On the other hand, as I will show for the case of Chile (which clearly belongs to this circle), the expansion process is still going on, for example in sense that the number of people who currently have full functional command of the language is still comparatively low, but steadily increasing.

2.1.2 Linguistic and Cultural Imperialism?

Clearly, the growing importance of English has not been received in an entirely enthusiastic manner. The British linguist Crystal, who is a native bilingual in Welsh and English, definitely celebrates the advantages of having one global language at everybody's disposal. On the other hand, he does not fail to point out the dangers of a global language, summarising three important concerns in the keywords *linguistic power*, *linguistic complacency*, and *linguistic death*. The questions he asks are:

- "Will those who speak a global language as a mother tongue automatically be in a position of power compared with those who have to learn it as an official or foreign language?" (op.cit.: 16)
- "Will a global language eliminate the motivation for adults to learn other languages?" (ibid.: 17)
- "Will the emergence of a global language hasten the disappearance of minority languages and cause widespread language death?" (ibid.: 20)

Crystal defends the benefits of the global language, but those aspects that Crystal points out as "real risks" are criticised far more harshly by those who establish a closer link between the spread of English and what they call Cultural and / or Linguistic Imperialism. The "power question" plays an important role here, and is applied, not only to individuals (as suggested by Crystal's question), but to societies as a whole.

Phillipson (1992), who coined the term *Linguistic Imperialism* in order to describe the dominance of English in today's world, establishes a close connection to the more usual economic and political descriptions of imperialism. His definition of linguistic imperialism points directly at the unfair distribution of power, resources and opportunities, here, based on language:

> "A working definition of English linguistic imperialism is that the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages. Here structural refers broadly to material properties (for example, institutions, financial allocations) and cultural to immaterial or ideological properties (for example, attitudes, pedagogical principles)." (47)

In this sense, Phillipson exposes the direct and indirect policies that have, even after the fall of the British Empire, continuously helped English to become or remain a dominant language in certain Third-World settings, especially through the world-wide presence and acting of the British Council. According to his research, this organisation's aims are to support foreign policy, overseas trade and investment, but at the same time it conveniently manages to control, for exam-

ple, the language teaching market through the export of pedagogical expertise, EFL textbooks, etc. (cf. 145ff.) Later on, Canagarajah (1999) continued developing research in this area, combining the linguistic perspective with critical pedagogy, in order to look at the way in which linguistic imperialism is resisted in Sri Lankan English language classrooms.

The term "Cultural Imperialism" is far more widely used than "Linguistic Imperialism", with different authors putting emphasis on a variety of aspects. Tomlinson (1991) provides a comprehensive framework for understanding the different ways in which the term "Cultural Imperialism" has been used. He establishes four major categories in which the term is brought into play in order to criticise the dominant position of some cultures over others in todays' world: first, in the context of the media (e.g. Disney comics, TV series, cinema; twenty years later one must now add the Internet, of course); next, in counter-imperialist nationalist discourse (which Tomlinson criticises for its essentialist way of treating nation and culture as near-synonyms); then, as a critique of the culture of capitalism, with its world-wide homogenising tendencies and spread of consumerism; and finally, as part of the critical discourse of modernity itself. One area to which Tomlinson does not give great importance, but which other authors emphasise, is the idea that cultural imperialism is exerted (more or less purposefully) through the manipulation of different national educational systems, e.g. through textbook donations, teacher training, university reforms, etc. (e.g. Austin 2006).

When talking about Cultural Imperialism, the main difficulty that arises could be viewed as the typical "chicken and egg" problem: what comes first? Is "culture" (here, mainly in terms of cultural products, such as movies, music, TV series…) really used to intentionally propagate world views and lifestyles that will help the US (and British?) consumer industry to grow, or, conversely, is it a vast world-wide population that happily embraces "modernity" in the form of everything that sounds "American" (or British, for the more sophisticated) and constantly asks for more? Is there really a purposeful meddling with other cultures, or is it hegemonic forces – a widespread notion that these "guests" are pleasant, "good for us", maybe even necessary - that "naturally" invite Coca-Cola, Adam Sandler, and Cambridge University Press in? (cf. Said 1978/ 2003:7, Voigt-Virchow 2005: 54ff., Williams 1983:144ff.)

Tomlinson argues that even though Western imperialism and colonialism did use coercion in order to gain a dominant position, nowadays the situation has changed: "What dogs the critique of cultural imperialism is the problem of explaining how a cultural practice can be imposed in a context which is no longer actually coercive." (173) He chooses to view cultural imperialism as the "spread of modernity". This is, rather than cultural imposition, a process of "cultural

loss", and sounds reminiscent of Crystal's warnings of linguistic complacency, and linguistic death.

Even though they are not the only ones that have historically been involved in it, it is clear that it is English-speaking cultures that are normally accused of being cultural imperialists (Said 1993); Latin American intellectuals and politicians, primarily involved with social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, and inspired by the Cuban revolution, have been among those who criticise it most harshly (e.g. Dorfman & Mattelart 1971, Fernández Retamar 1998). On the other hand, as will be shown later on, the homogenising tendencies that are condemned in the world-wide discussion are also critically exposed when remnants of (Spanish) colonial mechanisms are analysed on a national level, as it is the case with the invisibilisation of indigenous populations in Spanish-speaking Chile (Marimán et al. 2006, Rubio 2009).

2.1.3 Modernising Processes and Globalisation

Although not everybody will agree with using the concepts related to imperialism, which are laden with ideology, there is no doubt that the world-wide spread of English is inextricably linked with modernity and globalisation. These two terms have been interpreted both in positive and negative ways, with some authors opting for highlighting their paradoxical nature (e.g. Beck 1997, 2002). In order to understand the way in which the presence of English is viewed and interpreted in contemporary Chile, it is necessary to be clear about what these concepts imply, both in general terms and specifically for the national and regional context. A review of some of the writings by Jorge Larraín (2001, 2005), a leading Chilean sociologist, will be helpful for gaining greater clarity.

First of all, it is important to know what the different components of *modernity* are, and which of them have taken root here in Chile: with its origin in the Western European philosophy of the Age of Enlightenment, it implies an abandonment of metaphysics, superstition, and eventually religion, and a turn towards the key ideas of liberty, tolerance, science, progress, and reason. From the beginning of the nationalist independence movements in the early 19th century, Latin American thinkers, politicians, and economists, have always looked towards Europe and the USA as referents and inspirations on their own way towards modernity. Hegemony might be at work here, but it should not be forgotten that the literate elite in Latin America – however liberal they might have been - emerged from the ruling classes of the colonial regime, which had its roots in Europe, and saw themselves in sharp opposition to the indigenous and

mestiza majorities. Bringing "civilisation" into a "barbarous world" was their declared aim (Rössner 1995: 178ff.).

Larraín (2005) highlights the existence of two different and potentially independent strands of modernity: one is related to *autonomy*, which could be understood as individual autonomy, but also as collective autonomy, and revolves around the key ideas liberty and tolerance. The concepts science, progress and reason relate more closely to the other strand of modernity, which refers to the *control over nature and things*. The author quotes Touraine, who has criticised unilateral interpretations of modernity, e.g. by neoliberal thinkers and economists: these over-emphasise instrumental rationality, science and technology, while subordinating the ideas of subjectivity, liberty and creativity (24). This is an important distinction, to which I shall come back later, in 2.2.4, and also in the interpretation of the interview data (9.3).

Globalisation is viewed by some as the culmination of world-wide technological, economic and cultural modernisation. Its critics argue that the term "globalisation" is only used in order to disguise US-American imperialism, or capitalist domination. However, Tomlinson points out that directed imperialism has been overcome and that era has, since the 1960s, been replaced by globalisation:

> "Globalisation may be distinguished from imperialism in that it is a far less coherent or culturally directed process. For all that it is ambiguous between economic and political senses, the idea of imperialism contains, at least, the notion of a purposeful project: the *intended* spread of a social system from one centre of power across the globe. The idea of 'globalisation' suggests interconnection and interdependency of all global areas which happens in a far less purposeful way." (1991:175)

Larraín also discusses the term in relation to culture and emphasises that - although it is true that there is a new global culture that is dominated by US-American media, and the English language – there is also a new appreciation of local cultures. Also, the manifold ways in which the globally broadcasted culture is appropriated locally is of fundamental importance in order to fully comprehend the real nature of globalisation (2005: 111f., cf. also Beck 1997: 88ff.). In those terms, Larraín makes a fairly positive evaluation of globalisation. He mentions, for example, the Internet and the opportunities that it has opened to international environmentalist and human rights groups to carry out local and global campaigns in order to progress. On the other hand, he contends that two things should be avoided: one is the outright rejection of globalisation, including the effort to save "pure" or "original" national identities, which according to him are artificial constructs; in contrast, an uncritical reception of European and North American models of modernisation would be just as unwise (ibid.: 132).

2.2 The Historical Relationship between Latin America and English-Speaking Countries

As this is a study that concerns itself, partly, with the motivations and attitudes of Chilean English learners towards the learning of English, it is necessary to examine, though very briefly, the historical relationship between Latin America and English-speaking countries, as this might have some impact on the way in which English is perceived in today's classrooms. The learning of foreign languages, by bringing us into contact with other cultures, unquestionably brings into play questions about one's own identity, and about the way in which we see "significant others" – those who speak English as a native language, for example.

2.2.1 Latin American Identity: Ariel or Caliban?

Since the beginning of the newly founded nation states in Latin America, which won their independence from the Spanish Crown in the first half of the 19th century, writers and intellectuals have been caught up in the quest for a Latin American identity (e.g. Sarmiento 1845/1988, Martí 1891/2005, Rodó 1900/1991, Galeano 1971/1996, Fernández Retamar 1971/1997; cf. also Rössner op.cit.). The presence of the original indigenous people - some of who have, up to the present day, been able to preserve part of their cultural heritage and languages -, alongside that of a large population of African descent - brought to America as slaves -, and a dominant white elite of European descent, constitute a challenge for those looking for a "unified" identity. Cultural and biological *mestizaje*, or mixing of heritages, also play an important part.

Even though there have been many – especially from the political left - who have evoked, up until now, the idea of Latin America as one large entity, in which the brotherhood of a common colonial past, the call for greater social justice, and the cultural contribution of the indigenous and African peoples are valued, this view – based, for example, on the ideas of the Cuban thinker and activist José Martí (1853-1895) - has never become a reality. In truth, Latin America presents many frictions. For reasons of space, I will only mention the two most obvious ones, and in a very simplified manner:

On the one hand, the social and racial class divisions of colonial times are still noticeable in present times. These divisions largely have their origins in a feudalistic system brought by the Spanish to the colonies, and were reinforced by racist immigration politics in the 19th century, which invited "civilised" Europeans to colonise areas with a high percentage of indigenous populations

(Blakemore 2000: 167, Huatay & Jiménez 2011: 127ff.).[1] In our times, Chile's distribution of wealth is one of the most unequal in the world, the worst among all OECD countries; in other words, it displays one of the greatest divides between rich and poor (OECD 2011).

On the other hand, the leaders of the independent republics that were formed from around 1810 onwards, based on former administrative units of the Spanish Empire, soon engaged in discursive and educational campaigns to turn these former colonies into "cohesive" imagined communities, into the new nations to which the very thin educated, French- and English-speaking elite belonged as much as illiterate miners, servants, indigenous peasants, etc. (Anderson 2006: 47ff.) Later on, conflictive situations between different Latin American states, such as the Pacific War between Chile, Peru and Bolivia in 1879-1883, were ideologically linked to these campaigns, which still bear on even now[2] (cf. Huatay & Jiménez op.cit.: 125f.).

For the processes of identity constitution, "significant others" are always necessary, both for identification and for distinction. In those terms, even though it is difficult to view Latin America as a homogenous entity, English-speaking countries, especially the USA, have played an essential role as "the other" in the various discourses and writings on Latin American identity. One series of essays that might be particularly interesting in this context is that which refers to key characters in the Shakespeare play *The Tempest*, (1611), not only one of the most important literary works of Western tradition, but also, from the very early years of British overseas colonisation. Who do *The Tempest*'s Prospero, Ariel, and Caliban represent? These have been central questions in post-colonial re-readings of the play in the past decades. However, it was as early as 1900, when Uruguayan José Enrique Rodó published his influential essay *Ariel*. Here, he identifies with Ariel his ideal of an aesthetic-artistic and moral Latin America with Ariel, very much based, in fact, on a European tradition. In opposition, for

1 Surnames are still a common indicator of social status: those of French, English, or German origin are worth "more" on the social ladder than a Spanish-sounding "López"or "González", whereas a Mapuche indigenous surname can still be a serious obstacle for a Chilean trying to obtain, for example, a better-paid position on the job market.

2 For example, May 21st is celebrated with Navy Parades in Chile, commemorating the Sea Battle of Iquique between Chilean and Peruvian vessels. Even children in pre-school are taught about the "heroic deeds" of Captain Arturo Prat, who gave his life for Chile's victory on that occasion. The fact that Chile extended its borders far into then Peruvian and Bolivian territory, meaning that, among other things, Bolivia lost access to the Pacific Ocean, is still nowadays on the political agenda of these neighbouring countries, and used as a national unifier in times of interior political tensions.

him Caliban represents US American utilitarianism (Rodó 1900/1991). 71 years later, the Cuban author Roberto Fernández Retamar made an effort to correct Rodó's erroneous identifications with his publication of the essay *Caliban*. Drawing heavily on José Martí's *Nuestra América* (1891/2005), he explains how it is Latin America – its indigenous and black subordinated majorities – that is really symbolised by Caliban. However, the opposed *other*, the USA, remains (Fernández Retamar 1971/1998).

Is it only in intellectual writings where Latin American identity is established in opposition to its Northern neighbour? Larraín (2001) contends that there is also a "real", sociological base for a Latin American identity, which is expressed, for example, in the "mutual" consumption of TV series, support for each other's football teams in international competitions, and in the popular music that Latin Americans listen to and dance to across the continent. Apart from the *boleros* and *cumbias* that Larraín mentions, I would add the critical folk *Nueva Canción* song movement. Although its reach has, since its peak during the 1970s and 1980s, been somewhat reduced to an "alternative culture", its lyrics have been the expression of a resistant, popular power, in opposition to a world that is economically and culturally dominated by the USA, and are still used in powerful slogans, for example in the student protest movements that gain strength and momentum in cycles of about every 5 years.

In the following section, I will briefly outline the specific ways in which English-speaking countries have interacted with Latin America and especially Chile in the past 200 years, influencing the way in which they are perceived in these countries.

2.2.2 19th Century British "Informal Imperialism"

What is known as "the Age of Empire" in British history, in the late 19th century and early 20th, has also left its mark on Latin American societies. Although most Latin American states never became British political colonies like, for example, India, many of the natural resources present in American soils started to be exploited by British companies, to feed Britain's industries. However, it was not the British alone who invested money into the exploitation of raw materials in Latin America. In Chile, for example, there were numerous mining companies owned by Chileans, who sold these resources to British buyers. Thus, the Chilean elite greatly benefitted from the trade with the British. British companies also played an essential role in the development of infrastructure, like the railway system, electricity, street lighting, etc., and controlled part of the financial system (cf. Blakemore op.cit.: 164 ff.). As the British government did, for the most

part, not get directly involved with the politics of these countries, this part of Britain's imperial power is called "informal imperialism" (cf. Llanos 2007).

Britain's monetary power during those years, and the advances of British technology, also had its impact on the local cultures, in various ways. For example, the port of Valparaíso in Chile was an important place for this British elite: here, part of the city's architecture is a reminder of the British presence. In addition, English-language schools were founded for the children of British merchants, engineers and workers; later, these schools opened their doors to the sons and daughters of wealthy Chileans, and nowadays, they are considered an attractive educational option for those who can (and want to) afford this exclusive education for their children.[3] The Anglican Church also played a pivotal role in the development of some of these schools.

It can be seen that English as a "social distinguisher" has had a fairly long tradition in the Chilean educational system, and that it was the British (not necessarily US Americans) who have played an important role in this development.

2.2.3 20th Century US Interventions and Domination

During the first half of the 20th century, British power and influence gradually started dwindling, giving way to US dominance world-wide, with a special mission in Latin America. In comparison to the relative neutral political stance of the British Imperial government, the US government defended its economic and political interests through some more or less overt military interventions, especially during the times of the Cold War: this time is known as the 20th century US-American imperialism or neo-colonialism (Chomsky 1999, Young 2001).

Whereas the Latin American elites continued looking for trade partners and technological and military expertise in the USA and Europe, the exploited working classes of Latin America started gaining consciousness and more power, and particular self-confidence after the victory of the Cuban Revolution in 1959. Culturally speaking, this led to important developments from the 1960s onwards, such as the Latin American literary *boom*, important representatives of which include Gabriel García Márquez and Pablo Neruda, and the above-mentioned song movement, la *Nueva Canción*. The artists of that generation created a conscious "Latino" counter-point against the already expanding US

3 For example, the Mackay School in Valparaíso / Viña was founded in 1857; Santiago College in 1880; Saint Peter's School (Viña del Mar), in 1918; Saint Margaret's School for Girls (Viña del Mar), in 1941. For a longer list of British schools in Chile, see: www.asch.cl.

cultural industry, with its rock'n'roll, Walt Disney comics and Hollywood movies.

In Chile, with Allende's electoral victory in 1970, socialist politics and cultural creation went hand-in-hand. Accusing the English language of its complicity with the "Empire" was part of this new programme, as in this 1970 song by Luis Advis and Julio Rojas of the folk band Inti-Illimani:

> "Echaremos fuera al yanqui y su lenguaje siniestro / con la Unidad Popular ahora somos Gobierno. / Porque esta vez no se trata de cambiar al presidente / será el pueblo quien construya un Chile bien diferente."[4] ("Canción del poder popular", *¡Viva Chile!*)

2.2.4 21st Century Neo-liberalism and Globalisation

This venture of a new society was abruptly ended by the military coup in 1973 – one of many of the kind in Latin America. Apart from its obvious political consequences – democracy interrupted for nearly two decades - this event had serious and long-lasting consequences for economic, cultural and social life in Chile (cf. Collier & Sater 1998: 307ff.). According to Larraín, it impacted greatly on Chile's project of modernity (see above, 2.1.3): nowadays, the principle of *autonomy* is absent or very weak, especially among the working classes, while the notion of *control over nature and things* has basically "monopolised" the idea of modernity (2005: 53ff.).

This can be explained by the fact that the theories of neo-liberal economists were applied "by force" during the authoritarian military government (1973-1989), a period in which trade unions and a political opposition were not only forbidden, but their members and proponents persecuted, exiled, imprisoned, tortured, assassinated - silenced. At the same time, the concept of Chile's modernity as a *collective* project of autonomy building an egalitarian society, as pursued during the Allende years (1970-1973), was suppressed. It was replaced by an individualistic, de-politicised and consumerist model of autonomy. This individualism is inherent in the US-style modernity whereas the collective view of autonomy is more closely related to a European model of modernity, with comparatively strong trade unions and a relatively autonomous civil society. The leading neoliberal economists who played their part in transforming Chile's society during Pinochet's dictatorship had all received their training in the USA (they are also commonly referred to as the "Chicago Boys"). Finally, the demo-

4 "We'll throw out the yankee and his sinister language, with the *Unidad Popular* we are now the government. Because this time it's not about changing a president, it is the people who will build a really different Chile."

cratic State to which Chile returned in 1990 is built on the basis of the neoliberal economic system installed during the Pinochet years.

These past twenty years have also been characterised by the world-wide process of globalisation, which has left its mark on Chile, too; technological progress, widespread Internet access, and the expansion of English teaching are all part of this process. Whereas Larraín depicts neo-liberalism as highly problematic, as it undermines active citizenship and minimises the State's power in regulating the negative consequences of free market capitalism (such as growing social inequalities, unemployment, etc.), he is quite positive about globalisation. Further along, I will show his views about cultural identity and globalisation in more detail (see 2.4.1).

2.3 Review of Recent Research: World Englishes in Latin America

In his 2003 *Oxford Guide to World English*, Tom McArthur dedicates just one and a half pages to Latin America (243f.): this might be due to the relative scarceness of academic publications until very recently. On the other hand, as some of the quotations he uses point out, English has only very recently started to gain a greater "real" presence in Latin American societies; its command is still largely restricted to the middle and upper middle classes. Indeed, Spanish – alongside Chinese – might be able to bring World English's dominance into contention. McArthur also calls attention to the paradoxical situation where Spanish is gaining more ground in the United States, while English is starting to expand more seriously in Latin America. In contrast to the scarce coverage in McArthur (2003), the 2009 *Handbook of World Englishes*, edited by Kachru et al., contains an entire chapter on "South American Englishes" (Rajagopalan 2009), explaining the current status of English on the continent. After reviewing historical developments, current functions of English and English Language Teaching practices in South America, he comes to the following, accurate conclusion:

> "English is today securely established as the continent's number one foreign language. It is in many ways much more than a language; indeed, one might say, it is a commodity around which a powerful fetish is building up. As of now, it is also a powerful divider between the rich minority that has access to education and the vast majority of the peoples who toil under severe conditions of underemployment or downright unemployment." (153)

In order to enrich and illustrate this fairly general observation, I will summarise some important articles published on the present status of English in different Latin American states in the following pages. Here, I will follow Rajagopalan's division between the economically weaker countries like Ecuador and Peru, "where the presence of English is still considerably restricted, although, as in the rest of the continent, expanding rapidly", and those countries with a stronger (world-wide) economic presence like Brazil, Argentina and Chile, where "the presence of English is noticeable practically everywhere, from newspaper advertisements to billboards and shop windows" (2009: 151).

2.3.1 Peru and Ecuador: Two "Andean" Countries

Peru and Ecuador, two neighbouring countries with a relatively high percentage of Quechua-speaking indigenous populations (Spanish, however, being the dominant language in both countries) and the Andes as a major geographical reference, are the objects of study in two articles published in the journal *World Englishes* in 2003.

Ovesdotter Alm's investigation of "English in the Ecuadorian commercial context" (2003) explores the use of English in advertising, through surveys, interviews and the analysis of shop names and magazine ads. Her analysis gives account of a noticeably more frequent use of English in the advertising that is targeted at the upper and upper middle classes. In her opinion, this reflects an inferiority complex of the wealthier social strata, who tend to compare themselves more with developed countries (especially the USA); it also leads her to wonder whether English might be an "attitudinal device for the educated and richer higher classes to 'flee away' from social responsibilities" (155). On the other hand, socioeconomically disadvantaged and uneducated Ecuadorians seem commonly to be more secure in their Latin-American, Ecuadorian and Spanish-speaking identity. The conclusion of this article points out the problematic situation of English functioning as a "segmentizer and a gatekeeper on the Ecuadorian market" (143). Although the article is not primarily concerned with English teaching or language pedagogy, Ovesdotter Alm asks for "active intervention, especially in the educational sector", in order to ensure that English, rather than further separating the elite from the poor majorities, can work as an "instrument of empowerment for all" (157).

Social stratification also plays an important role in the article "'English is like the dollar': hard currency ideology and the status of English in Peru" (Niño-Murcia 2003). Based on survey data, the article describes how English is a coveted commodity across all social strata, from urban professionals of European

descent in Lima paying for exclusive bilingual schooling for their children, to peasant communities with little access to effective English teaching. Drawing on Bourdieu's theories about language and currency as part of someone's "cultural capital" (cf. Bourdieu 2005), the author develops an interesting analysis that equates knowledge of the English language with the possession of "hard currency" dollars that are useful both for important intra- and international transactions, whereas local languages, especially the indigenous ones, have the limited reach of the national currency, the *sol*. Special emphasis is given to the bilingualism between Quechua (or sometimes Aymara) and Spanish, which is commonly perceived as a social disadvantage, and the hugely coveted Spanish-English bilingualism. Moreover, the findings suggest that learning English is closely associated to the dream of emigrating to the United States in order to find a better job. Negative "nationalist" attitudes towards English have not been found to be widespread in this study, whereas unrealistic beliefs about language learning processes and US immigration options seem to abound.

2.3.2 Argentina and Brazil: Major MERCOSUR Players

Two large countries with long coasts along the Atlantic Ocean, with different native languages (Spanish in Argentina, Portuguese in Brazil), and different ethnic heritages (a strong European, especially Italian, influence in Argentina, and a widespread mixed European, native American and African heritage in Brazil), still have enough features in common to be mentioned together here: both are the major players of MERCOSUR; they are also described as the two countries that, in terms of socio-economic development, are most similar to Chile (cf. Rajagopalan 2009).

Patricia Friedrich is a US-based socio-linguist who has researched (and taught) English in both Argentina and Brazil. In spite of her clear stance in favour of pluralist World Englishes (cf. below, chapter 4.1.1) at the service of peace and empowerment, in her questionnaire studies about attitudes to English she focused only on adult students in a private language school in Brazil (2000), and on MBA students in Argentina (2003). In terms of attitudes and motivation, these students can hardly be representative of the large majorities of the populations of these countries: on the one hand, they must be in a fairly favourable financial situation in order to enrol in one of these courses. On the other hand, as adults who have chosen to pursue these studies, they must be relatively self-motivated, and cannot be compared to teenagers who have to study English because it is a compulsory school subject. In spite of the advantageous position which Friedrich's informants hold within Latin American societies, what is in-

teresting in her studies is the conclusion that the teaching of English should place greater emphasis on culturally empowering contents, on a broader view of the large number of existing native and non-native varieties of English (beyond the typical dichotomy British "vs." American English), and more realistic learning goals for students, aiming at a functional knowledge of English, rather than a native-like proficiency.

Maersk Nielsen (2003) describes the socio-linguistic profile of English in Argentina, placing special emphasis on the historical presence that British companies have had in Argentina from the end of the 19th century onwards. The English language enjoyed special prestige among other minority languages (especially Italian and Portuguese): English-language newspapers, theatre, and, last but not least, British-model schools for the children of the workers of British companies started to be established. Nowadays, apart from the exclusive remnants of former British expatriate grandeur, the presence and uses of English are perceivable in English-speaking channels on cable TV, new private language schools and institutes, and in the official state curriculum for education, where English has been introduced as part of a compulsory foreign language education. The situation seems to be fairly comparable to Chile, while taking into account Argentina's larger population. What is surprising is that, even though he points out that "[l]earning English is perceived as a must, but not necessarily enjoyed" (208), Maersk Nielsen seems very optimistic when he highlights the fact that simply by rolling out English across the public educational system, Argentineans of all social classes will soon be able to use the language:

> "Since the implementation of the Federal Law of Education, English is available to all socio-economic classes, as even the poorest schools in the country have to comply by including a foreign language in their curriculum. Consequently as of the year 2004 there will be greater numbers of English and, more significantly, these users – all trying to ascend the social ladder – will come from different socioeconomic classes." (208)

The articles by Rajagopalan (2003) and Cox and Assis Peterson (2008) about English in Brazil show the other side of the coin as being substantially more complex. Rajagopalan discusses the implications of a law that is to restrict the use of English in Brazil to a minimum, drawing attention to the ambivalent attitude of many Brazilian towards the English language – "an object at once liked and loathed" (98). From a more educational perspective, Cox and Assis Peterson describe a rather sombre scenario of the teaching of English in publically funded schools in Brazil: a vicious circle of poorly trained teachers lacking English proficiency, low salaries and difficult working conditions, resulting in a lack of access to good English teaching in those social sectors that depend on a publically funded education; in opposition to greater job opportunities in the socially more

exclusive private sector for those English teaching graduates who have a better command of the language, leading to a consolidation of the social divide through – respectively good or poor - English instruction.

2.3.3 Chile

Chile's comparatively strong economy within Latin America, and the great emphasis that the government has placed on expanding English teaching in all publically funded schools, has attracted several international ELT researchers' attention to this country. Thus, Sandra Lee McKay uses Chile as a prominent example in her handbook *Teaching English as an International Language* (2002), when analysing teachers' attitudes towards diverse origins of cultural contents for world-wide English teaching. Another larger study was carried out by Julia Menard-Warwick (2008, 2009), also focusing on the selection of cultural contents for English Teaching in Chile. Both authors' contributions will receive special consideration in later chapters of this thesis (4.1.2 and 9.2.3, respectively); therefore, they are only briefly mentioned at this stage.

There are some other publications on the presence of English in Chile, though only with a national or regional scope: Sáez Godoy (2005) focuses on Anglicisms in Chilean Spanish; Glas (2008) analyses public discourse on English Language Teaching. They will be presented with more detail in 2.4.

2.3.4 Conclusion

The presence of English in Latin America has been studied in various areas: advertising, language attitudes, teaching and teacher training, teaching materials, etc. However, there are some common, unifying referents in most of these studies. For example, the global status of English and a call for a pluralist stance towards its different varieties, including non-native ones, is common to both attitude studies and those concerned with the appropriateness of teaching materials and contents. Another important referent are Bourdieu's theories on cultural capital (Bourdieu 2005), evoked when the social stratification of the access to and use of English is examined: in the target audiences of advertising, on the one hand, and in the unequal distribution of effective English teaching in the publically funded education sectors and exclusive private schooling, on the other. The association of English with globalisation, modernity and social status, and upward social mobility are also important topics in these articles. Resistance

against English, or against cultural imperialism, though not altogether absent, constitutes only a minor issue addressed by this research branch.

2.4 Chilean Cultural Identity and the Presence of English in Chile

As will be shown in the chapters on the empirical part of this study (especially chapters 9 and 10), the general situation of English in Latin America described above is largely paralleled in Chile, despite the oftentimes invoked "exceptionality" of this country (Larraín 2005: 175). In order to firmly establish the national context here, I will now refer to a few societal and attitudinal aspects that stand in close, though indirect, relationship to the study of a foreign language: the Chileans' own cultural identity (or identities?) and their relationship to their immediate neighbours, and some more general aspects of the presence of English in Chile. Chapter 3 will then focus more closely on the presence of English in the Chilean educational system.

2.4.1 Chilean Cultural Identity in the 21st Century

Although talking of a "unified" national identity is highly problematic in any context, it is still useful to refer to it here, not least because "el cuidado y el reforzamiento de la identidad nacional" ("the care and reinforcement of national identity") is a cross-curricular objective established in the curricular framework for publically funded education (MINEDUC 2009: 23), and especially invoked in the curriculum for English (ibid.: 87, cf. also chapter 5).

Larraín (2001, 2005) warns his readers not to visualise identities as being static, and summarises the most important "versions" of Chilean identity, as established through public and academic discourses. Apart from those points for identification that the Chileans share with other Latin American nations (as outlined above), he focuses on three aspects or versions that are currently present and valid, though with different emphases in different sectors of society, and with different dynamics (2001: 144ff.). One is the military-racial version of Chilean identity, which was officially propagated during the military dictatorship (1973-1989). Its content focuses on warfare and the related bravery and heroism, evoking partly the *Guerra de Arauco* during colonial times in the South of Chile, between the "brave" resistant Mapuche (who are here seen as the basis for the Chilean "race") and the "colonial Spaniards", and partly the *Guerra del Pacífico* against Peru and Bolivia in the late 19th century. Although this ver-

sion – with all its male and ethnic chauvinism - is still present in some sectors, it is now largely discredited by the human rights violations that occurred during the time in which this was the official version of Chilean identity, celebrated and taught in history lessons in schools.

Another version of contemporary Chilean identity is, according to Larraín, religious-Catholic. Although in its origins it goes back much further in time, it has partly to do with the forced de-politicisation of Chilean society during the dictatorship, when the Church became a source of mutual support for many Chileans. Replacing some grass-roots political movements then, it has now extended to the mushrooming evangelical churches (many of which are of Anglo-Saxon origin, such as the Mormon, Pentecostal, Methodist, or Adventist churches), which have penetrated lower and middle-class sectors of Chilean society. Although these are clearly important points of identification for many Chileans, it is not clear how they related to a simultaneous *national* identity, as both Catholicism and Evangelism are phenomena that cross national borders.

A third, and in this context, maybe the most important version of Chilean identity, is what Larraín calls the "new postmodern entrepreneurial" version of Chilean identity. It is highly relevant due to its dynamism and to its proximity to the ideals of modernity, development and globalisation – all closely related to the current status of the English language. Emerging as a new public discourse and new values from the 1990s onwards, it is based on the neoliberal politics inherited from the military government - basically without any visible alternatives – and "sells" the image of a modern Chile that is different - a "winner" (ibid.: 163). Some of its facets are successful businesses and business people, growing individualism and consumerism, and the idea that Chile is soon to become a developed country through sustained economic growth (which is, in fact, based to a great extent on the exportation of raw materials, especially copper). Larraín criticises its over-emphasis on the economic and technological side of modernity, which has meant it has left out a strong and convincing cultural project. On the other hand, as a postmodern version of identity, it places a new trust in pluralism – the "old" fear of heterogeneity has been overcome (ibid.: 168).

This last and most "modern" version of Chilean identity is also related to a long-standing tradition, belonging in particular to the Chilean elites, which Larraín calls a fascination with the foreign. France and England are the two main historical referents for this fascination, although the USA can be included later. This "fascination with the foreign" was cemented by the neoliberal period starting in the 1990s: nowadays, there is a nearly unrestricted openness towards international markets. For example, shopping malls and supermarkets are full of products from other countries, with a preference for those of European and US origins. On the other hand, the entrepreneurial version of Chilean identity im-

plies the idea that Chile is different to other Latin American countries: it is more European, open to the world (2005:166).

The downside of this "new Chileanness" is that in spite of economic progress, Chile perceives itself as an increasingly selfish, individualistic, aggressive and morally insane society (2005: 180f.). Stress has become a major epidemic; also, many Chileans feel excluded from the national development. Larraín concludes that in fact, there is no such thing as a Chilean "imagined community". The mistakes and eventual failure of Allende's government, and the following years of brutal oppression, the invisibilisation of political opposition, human rights violations and assassinations under the military government, have produced a fractured national identity (ibid.: 166ff.).

2.4.2 "Los Ingleses de América Latina": Chile and its Immediate Neighbours

As already observed above, social identity constitutes itself through the contact and comparison with "significant others". In this multiethnic and multiracial continent, the "other" is, first of all, the one who is different within one's own society but does not have access to dominant discourses (cf. Fairclough 2001); whose voice is silenced or subdued in the "noise" of national and global TV, radio, the press, advertising, official educational textbooks, political speeches, etc. In an increasingly visual world, this includes, of course, the use of images. As in many other Latin American countries, the connotations "white" (especially blond and blue-eyed), "beautiful", "European", "civilised", "modern", "efficient" are often directly or indirectly opposed to "black" (*negro*), "Indian" (*indio*), "ugly", "backwards", "lazy", etc., which are inherited from colonial times and reinforced through European waves of immigration during the 19th and 20th centuries: Italians, Spaniards, Germans and Croats arrived and established themselves as a potent merchant and artisan middle-class in many Chilean cities, apart from the already mentioned British (who, however, often left once they had accomplished their their professional and commercial assignments) (cf. Estrada 2011). Larraín highlights the close connection between Chilean class consciousness and racism when noting that "[s]ocial stratification, even if it is capitalist in nature, has always been accompanied by a racial element: in Chile, generally speaking, the darker the skin, the lower the social class" (2001: 232; my translation).

Although *mestizo* Chileans with their mixed Spanish and indigenous heritage continue as the great majority in the country, the hegemonic ideas of European "superiority" are common preconceptions that permeate the whole society

and are only seriously challenged by a few left-wing intellectuals, even if they imply a comparatively negative self-image. Of course in official discourse, nowadays there is a generalised political correctness in not making the negative connotations of "non-Europeanness" too explicit; however, there is no stigma attached to openly celebrating the positive connotations that go along with European origins. The values of punctuality, efficiency and order are, at least in theory, often placed higher on the ethical scale than the (partially competing) ideals of cordiality, spontaneity and relaxedness, which are often considered "backwards" (cf. Larraín 2001).

The relatively strong European influence on dominant Chilean public life has led to the tongue-in-cheek saying that the Chileans are "los ingleses de América Latina" (Latin America's Englishmen, cf. Blakemore 2000: 158). According to this idea, the Chileans are more orderly, reserved, serious and structured than the rest of a loud, chaotic, impulsive continent that spends more time dancing and singing than working – which is sometimes lamented as an insipid and uninteresting, but still, all in all, a beneficial fact. It also testifies to the great importance that the British have had as a point of reference for the Chilean elite (Larraín 2001: 263).

Beyond the merely anecdotal, this supposed greater modernity and therefore "superiority" as opposed to "other" ethnicities that are present in and around Chile implies a more or less tacit racism that has to be taken seriously, as it leads to and illegitimately justifies discrimination and aggressions against people of different origin, physical appearance, or surname.[5]

The first and most obvious significant "others" are members of the bordering countries, especially Peru and Bolivia. They are important as, on one hand, there are still repeated diplomatic tensions because of the results of the Pacific War in the 19th century, which has left Bolivia without access to the Pacific Ocean, and both countries with considerably smaller territories, favouring Chile. On the other hand, both Bolivia and Peru are countries with far weaker economies, which has pushed many young Bolivians and especially Peruvians to emigrate from their countries to neighbouring Chile, looking for better job opportunities (cf. Huatay & Jiménez 2011). The higher percentage of indigenous populations in these countries, who have often retained their languages (mainly Quechua and Aymara), reinforces the idea of supposed Chilean superiority. It is only in the realm of Spanish pronunciation that Chileans self-critically admit that Peruvians speak "more clearly" than themselves.

5 In 2011, the University of Concepción got a bad press because they had called "Caucasian"students to participate in advertising photographs ("Cuestionan a U. de Concepción", 2011).

Then, of course, there are the indigenous peoples living on Chilean national territory, mainly the Mapuche, who seem to be the most politically organised ethnic minority in Chile, with claims over parts of the South of Chile (cf. Marimán et al. 2006). Other indigenous peoples include the Aymara, Rapa Nui, Likan Antai, Diaguita, Quechua, Colla, Kawashkar, and Yamana. The negative stereotypes that have been propagated against the Mapuche over the centuries, such as laziness, alcoholism and an incapacity for progress, are condemned and contradicted by Chileans (Larraín 2001: 264) and Mapuches alike (Marimán 2006: 55f.). In dominant discourse, their "bravery" seems to be invoked only as part of "Chilean blood" when it suits the interest of powerful groups (cf. Subercaseaux 1999).

On the other hand, it is important to remember that even if certain thought patterns and stereotypes dominate in Chilean society, there are always alternative and resistant discourses and actions that challenge the *status quo* of racial and classist discrimination. Thus, for example, the Human Rights violations against the Mapuche who are fighting for the recuperation of their territories in the South of Chile have caused non-Mapuche (*winka*) Chileans to organise solidarity campaigns for Mapuche activists on hunger strike.[6]

2.4.3 English in Chile

The presence of English in Chile can be characterised in various ways: first, it can be described in terms of a more or less involuntary exposure to English – on TV, in the radio, in Anglicisms that have been integrated into the Spanish language. This could be viewed in contrast to the real number of speakers who have made a conscious effort to attain certain levels of proficiency, perceiving real uses for English in society. Then, it is important to look at the language planning that occurs on a governmental level, which transcends the mere educational politics and aims at improving the English skills of large proportions of Chile's workforce. Any aspects related to English in the Chilean educational system (up to secondary education) will be examined in great detail in chapter 3. Here, I will only refer to the importance of the English language in Chilean society in general.

As in many other countries, a considerable proportion of the music broadcast on national and local radio is in the English language. Taking into account that each radio station will have its own preferences, in total English- and Span-

6 See, for example, the facebook group "En apoyo a los presos políticos mapuches en huelga de hambre" with more than 700 members (November 2011).

ish-speaking music have probably equal shares, with a small fraction going to French and Italian music, and minimal inclusion of music in other (minority) languages. The music genres that can be heard in English range from popular classics (e.g. Frank Sinatra, Elvis Presley, Ray Charles) to newer developments like Britpop, rock, hip hop, etc. Sometimes there are translated versions of famous songs: "Dust in the wind" becomes "Polvo en el viento", etc. Even though not everybody understands all the lyrics, there is awareness of the various social and political orientations of English-speaking popular music, at least among young people (e.g. *Pink Floyd* as a band whose lyrics challenge authoritarianism, etc.). It is important to remember here that Spanish is also a world language and that Spanish-speaking music (both from Spain and Spanish America) also enjoys world-wide popularity, with all age groups. Thus, there are few Chilean bands that would opt to sing in English, even though some of them use English names (e.g. *Los Bunkers*). Finally, although anti-imperialist or - on the other side of the political spectrum - nationalistic stances sometimes go hand-in-hand with the type of Chilean music that people prefer and listen to, this seldom means that the same people would refuse to listen to English-speaking music altogether; it is rather an indication of the type of English-speaking music to which they would give preference.

As far as television is concerned, although the most basic national coverage provides only Spanish-speaking programmes - with dubbed foreign movies and series - many Chileans have access to cable TV (though some using "pirate" connections). This medium provides many foreign TV channels (in their majority of US origin, though there are also some British- and Australian-owned, and a few from other Latin American countries), broadcasting a great variety of English-speaking movies and TV series with Spanish subtitles (or in some cases, with a double audio option) 24 hours a day. This provides a lot of exposure to English; however, it does not necessarily translate into English proficiency. Also, it is clear that not everybody watches English-language TV all the time; however, the *cultural* weight that comes along with this influx is not to be underestimated, not to mention the stifling of a sophisticated cultural industry of one's own that is implied in this powerful presence of foreign TV.[7]

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7 As an example, it is not uncommon in Chilean families to allow their children to watch the 24-hour cartoon channel *Discovery Kids* for several hours a day, as they can rely on this channel to show only programmes and advertising that are suitable for all audiences. Without ignoring the negative health consequences of excessive television exposure in general, I would like to focus here on the cultural implications. Although there is an audio language selection option, with many people opting for Spanish, the contents, scripts, and images are obviously based on children's experiences, customs, discourses, from English-speaking cultures. This is not to imply that all of these programmes are

Another aspect in which the presence of English is very noticeable, like in most languages in the world, is the growing number of Anglicisms that Chilean Spanish has adopted in the past decades. In comparison to the case of Spain, many Latin American varieties of Spanish (including the Chilean one) are even more open towards these English words and also try to conserve their original pronunciation. For example, the word *surf* – as in the sport – is pronounced /surf/ in Spain, but /sɜʳf/ in Chile; in Spain, it is common to hear the word *ordenador* for what in Chile is *computador* (*computer*). Sáez Godoy (2005) points out how this influx of foreign words is linked to the "American Way of Life" being seen as a desirable model for many young Chileans. Apart from the new words that are related to technology, such as *pen drive*, *CD*, *DVD* (pronounced /si:di:/ and /dividi:/, as opposed to the Iberian Spanish pronunciation, which adapts the letters to the Spanish alphabet), Sáez Godoy draws attention to the way in which language change (in the form of new lexical items) parallels a cultural change. He quotes examples such as multiplex cinemas in shopping *malls*, *Halloween* celebrations, park cemeteries, *donuts* and *jeans*, and places great emphasis on the different music styles of English-speaking origin, such as Hip Hop, Rock, Grunge and Funk (175). An interesting observation is that – although English is generally strongly associated with the commercial and technological side of modernity (see above) – there are also instances where the use of English words implies a more tolerant or liberal view of society, for example *gay* to refer to homosexuals (177).

In certain Chilean business and academic circles, there is a tendency towards an increasing intra-national use of English. For example, Larraín draws attention to the use of English titles for academic conferences, especially in Economics and Business Studies: "It seems that people believe that the title in English validates the contents or it gives them a scientific aura that they would not have, were it otherwise" (2001: 264; my translation). After pointing out that in Economics at university level, the USA is the leading influence, Larraín goes so far as to state that "the language of business and economy in Chile is English" (ibid.). However, Economics is not the only branch where English is of prime importance: in Psychology, for example, words like *Coaching* are used in the English original, and there is an abundance of loan translations like *resiliencia*, *agenciamiento* (for *agency*), *empoderamiento* (for *empowerment*), etc.

Sáez Godoy mentions socio-economic divisions in the use of Anglicisms, stating that they are more widely used in upper-class circles. For some Chileans,

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educationally worthless, or – much less - that contact with another culture is in any way negative in itself; the problem is that there are 'culturally closer' experiences and realities that children do *not* get to know through the powerful medium of television.

an overuse of English words might even be viewed as *siutiquería* (affected snobbery). On the other hand, at some point most of these new lexical items reach all Chileans by ways of a massive transmission through the press and especially TV. Paradoxically, this greater use of Anglicisms in higher social strata contrasts with the fact that bearing an English-sounding first name (Sáez Godoy uses the examples of popular first names such as *Johnny, Washington, Elizabeth, Jenny, Scarlet*, and *Richard*) is usually a sign of belonging to a lower social class (175).[8]

All of this points at a generally friendly attitude towards English:

> "[In Chile t]here is no generalized resentment against the US, nor does any possibly lingering distrust translate into a rejection of the English language. Quite on the contrary, the overall attitude to English amongst Chileans has been described as 'positive'." (Rajagopalan 2009:150)

In spite of all this exposure to English, and the - by and large - positive attitude both towards the language and towards the cultural influence from English-speaking countries, the Chileans' level of English has been found to be upsettingly low (cf., for example, the newspaper articles quoted in Glas 2008). This is interpreted as having, first of all, a negative impact on Chile's global economic competitiveness. Other domains of public life are also affected, however: after the 2010 earthquake and tsunami, the devastating consequences of lacking English skills were made visible to the public eye, as apparently the tsunami warning was not given because the person in charge of receiving information from the Pacific Tsunami Warning Center (PTWC) could not read English well enough to deduce that the coasts had to be evacuated (cf. Brzovic et al. 2010).

Consequently, both in Business and Politics, there is a wide-spread opinion that English is a necessity for technological and scientific development, and in particular, for the Chilean economy to prosper (cf. Glas op.cit.). This is why the Chilean government, especially through the Economic Development Organisation CORFO, has taken various measures to help Chilean professionals to improve their English. In this three-step programme, the TOEIC test (given by the US-based testing agency ETS) plays a major role: job-seekers can enrol for free in English courses; with or without previously having taken these English courses, they can sit the TOEIC test; consequently, test results are collected in a CORFO-funded databank, to which companies looking for English-speaking

8 There are even cases of very expensive and exclusive private schools (with a large proportion of quality English teaching on their timetables, which is an important part of their marketing campaigns) that ask for the Christian names of all family members during the admission process and clearly discriminate against children whose non-"Greco-Latin" names give evidence of a "low-class culture".

candidates have access (ETS no year a). For example, in 2007, more than 21,000 Chileans were certified to have at least an intermediate level of English. (The more advanced levels are described as: basic work level, advanced work level and general professional level). According to the test results, more than a 37% of these voluntary test takers did not reach a "basic work level" and a 10% not even an intermediate level of English. The courses continue to be offered.

In those terms, it is important to recognise that the government pursues an overt policy to make English skills available to large sections of the Chilean population – beyond the traditional educational system. The driving factor behind this is the wish to increase competitiveness in a global economy.

2.4.4 Conclusion

To sum up, it seems that the English language plays, at least, a supporting role in the recent dynamics in Chilean society: a move towards an increasingly individualistic and success-oriented society, where many people wish to participate in economic prosperity and technological advancement. As stated above, this greater material modernity is *not* accompanied by the consolidation of an independent, autonomous civil society, in which "other" modern values, such as tolerance and liberty are fostered.

Looking at it from a regional-cultural perspective, Chile in these newer developments seems to have become estranged from a shared Latin American project of "collective autonomy", feeling, instead, closer to Europe and the USA. In free trade agreements, the latter are also Chile's real partners, as opposed, for example, to the MERCOSUR, where Chile does not participate (cf. Larraín 2005: 175). In sociological terms, for this globalisation project, Larraín warns Chile not to engage in an uncritical reception of a North American or European model of modernisation, advocating instead a regional integration process, in order to mutually value cultural contributions from Peru, Bolivia, Argentina and Chile (cf. 2001: 273).

All this is important to take into account when, in later chapters (especially 4-6, 9.3 and 10.4), the cultural contents of English language classes for Chile will be scrutinised: how can they challenge this one-sided model of modernity, which focuses on technological progress and "control over nature and things" and to some extent, consumerist individualism? And on the contrary, how can English teaching in Chile contribute to greater tolerance and respect for "otherness", especially in view to the *close*, often marginalised and looked-down-upon "others": indigenous peoples, immigrants and citizens from neighbouring countries?

3. English in the Chilean Educational System

After presenting some background about the presence of the English language in an increasingly globalised Latin America, and its implications for national and regional identities and language attitudes, I will now complete the contextualisation for this study by providing information about the Chilean educational system and about the role that English as a school subject plays within it.

3.1 The Structure of the Chilean Educational System

3.1.1 The Organisation of the School System

The Chilean school system is structured in two ways. Firstly, it is structured into common levels of study and subject specialisation which guide the organisation of the great majority of schools throughout the country, regardless of the way they are funded. Secondly, schools are categorised according to the type of administration and funding.

In table 1, I have summarised the most important levels into which Chilean primary and secondary education is divided. This study concentrates on Secondary Education (students' age: 14 to 18; Year groups 9 to 12), without specifically focussing on any of the specialised Humanities, Sciences or Vocational-Technical Secondary Education pathways (cf. MINEDUC 2005, 2009). In order to provide a consistent terminology across this study, and to make it as internationally comprehensible as possible, I have added information about students' ages and pre-primary education, and "translated" the Secondary Year Groups *Primero* to *Cuarto Medio* into a continuous number sequence that starts from Year 1 (primary school) onwards.

The administration and funding of schools in Chile is a complex and controversial issue (Belleï 2007, Gallego & Sapelli 2007, García-Huidobro 2007). Three types of funding are currently in practice, of which the two first share the common feature of receiving state funding:

- Publically funded education (*educación municipalizada*): schools belong to and are managed by the Local Authorities (town and city councils) and receive monthly state subsidies according to the number of students attending lessons. Up until the 1980s, these schools were state schools and managed centrally by the Ministry of Education.

Table 1: The Organisation of the Chilean School System

Students' Age	Level	Year Group (attempted "international" translation)	Recommended minimum number of hours of weekly English instruction (according to National Curricular Framework 2009)	
	Pre-Primary Education			
4-5	*Pre-kinder*			
5-6	*Kinder* (usually compulsory, complete coverage across all types of funding)			
	Primary Education – *Primer Ciclo Básico*			
6-7	*1º - Primero Básico*	Year 1		
7-8	*2º - Segundo Básico*	Year 2		
8-9	*3º - Tercero Básico*	Year 3		
9-10	*4º - Cuarto Básico*	Year 4		
	Primary Education – *Segundo Ciclo Básico*			
10-11	*5º - Quinto Básico*	Year 5	3	
11-12	*6º - Sexto Básico*	Year 6	3	
12-13	*7º - Séptimo Básico*	Year 7	3	
13-14	*8º - Octavo Básico*	Year 8	3	
	Secondary Education - *Enseñanza Media*			
14-15	*1º - Primero Medio*	Year 9	4	
15-16	*2º- Segundo Medio*	Year 10	4	
	Specialised Secondary Education		**Humanities /Sciences branch**	**Vocational-Technical branch**
16-17	*3º- Tercero Medio*	Year 11	4	2
17-18	*4º - Cuarto Medio*	Year 12	3	2

- State-subsidised private education (*educación particular subvencionada*): schools are owned and managed by private institutions. Traditionally and primarily, these have been (Catholic) religious orders and some Evangelical Christian congregations; since the 1980s, there is also an increasing number

of schools that have been set up by private initiatives or stakeholders, often in newly built neighbourhoods. Like the publically funded schools, they receive monthly state subsidies according to the number of students attending lessons. In addition, these schools are allowed to charge parents tuition fees to complement the state subsidies. In recent years, this practice called "shared financing" (*financiamiento compartido*) has grown significantly, as well as the average amount charged to parents in tuition fees (cf. García-Huidobro op.cit.). It has turned into one of the most criticised points during the 2011 student movement (cf. "Bases para un acuerdo social por la educación chilena" 2011).

- Private education (*educación particular pagada*): schools are owned and managed by private stakeholders. They are exclusively financed by tuition fees paid by parents. Typically, the most traditional and prestigious private schools were founded either by some Catholic religious orders or by British, French, German, Italian, Arabic, etc. expatriate communities. Even though nowadays the latter are open to all students whose parents can afford to pay, and very few of the traditional expatriate families are still fully bilingual, these schools play a predominant role in quality foreign language education.

Table 2: Types of administration and funding in the Chilean educational system. Figures are taken from García-Huidobro (op.cit.: 74)

Type of administration	Publically funded (Local authorities plus a minority of state-funded, privately managed type of voca-tional-technical secondary schools)	State-subsidised private	Private
Percentage of all Chilean primary and secondary students enrolled in 2006	46,6% (+1,6%)	45%	6,8%

As can be seen in table 2, less than seven per cent of Chilean students attend private schools: only those whose parents can afford it. State-subsidised private education has grown substantially in the past years, alongside a continuous "dismantling" of the exclusively public school sector (Riesco 2007, Colegio de Profesores 2011). Publically funded schools nowadays often have the reputation of serving those students who were not accepted by or excluded from state-subsidised private schools due to low academic achievement or for repeatedly breaking behaviour rules. Being the most affordable option on the "educational

market place", these schools also serve the most economically, socially and culturally disadvantaged children.

Marked by decentralisation and increasing privatisation from the 1980s onwards, this system has contributed to growing social segmentation and stratification, largely inhibiting social mixing and thus creating "education in ghettos" (García-Huidobro op.cit.: 73). This means that most students attend schools in which they will only mingle with students who belong to the same social class as themselves; in addition, other (practised, if officially not permitted) selection processes, especially those related to academic achievement and religion further consolidate the cultural homogenisation of students within their schools. García-Huidobro emphasises that this is counter-productive in various ways: for example, because of the missed opportunity that the *peer group effect* could have on academic achievement (stronger students 'pushing' lower-achieving students up). Another missed opportunity is related to Civic Education and the social construction of a democratic society: in Chile, there are very few (if any) schools where students from significantly differing sectors of society share a common space during the important years of secondary socialisation (op.cit.: 82). As we shall see below from the results of national and international achievement tests, this social stratification has disastrous effects on the provision of equal educational opportunities for students from different socio-economic backgrounds.

3.1.2 Reform in the 1990s

It is necessary to highlight that the decentralised and increasingly privatised school system outlined here is the result of educational laws passed during Pinochet's military dictatorship (Riesco op.cit.). The democratic centre-left government ruling Chile from 1990 to 2010 did not address the division of schools into state-subsidised private and publically-funded, nor did it return the management of the publically funded schools from the Local Authorities to the central government. The latter issue is often regarded as the single most important step towards safeguarding quality and an equal distribution of resources, by, for example, the teachers' association *Colegio de Profesores* and the student protest movements (Colegio de Profesores op.cit., Petitorio de Secundarios 2011).

However, one of the first significant actions taken by the government after the return to democracy was to start a comprehensive school reform of the existing system. One of its most important moves has been the progressive introduction of the *Jornada Escolar Completa* (expansion of the school day from 5 hours to 7-8 hours per day), which has now reached most publically funded schools in

Chile (Cox 2003a). At the same time, the National Curriculum was completely re-written and then continuously updated over the past fifteen years (see chapter 5). Teachers received in-service training to use more group work and learner-centred teaching forms (Gysling 2003).

Another achievement of the past twenty years is that compulsory schooling for all up to Year 12 has provided nearly full educational coverage for all sectors of society (Cox 2003). However, as will be shown below, there is still a lot to do: the fact that most Chilean children and teenagers nowadays spend a considerable deal of their time at school has not yet brought the expected results.

3.1.3 PISA 2009: Low Reading Results, Social Class Divisions Evidenced

In order to gain deeper insight into the outcomes that the above-outlined educational system produces, I will briefly summarise Chile's most important results in the 2009 international PISA assessment (OECD & MINEDUC 2010). Although this OECD-sponsored comparative study also evaluates student competences in mathematics and sciences, I will concentrate only on reading (here, in the national language Spanish). Chile has participated in these assessments since 2000. In the last assessment in 2009, out of the 65 participating countries, it achieved rank 44 in reading, which is considerably below the OECD average. 31% of all participating students were assessed as reading at Level 1 or below, which means that about third of all 15-year-olds do not have the necessary reading competences to be able to participate effectively and productively in society. Only 10% of Chilean teenagers reached the highest Levels 4, 5 or 6, in comparison to the OECD average of 28%. However, among the participating Latin American countries (which were, apart from Chile: Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Panama, Peru, and Uruguay), Chile still achieved the highest reading scores.

Apart from the low overall performance in reading, another point of concern is the fact that Chile, notoriously, is one of the group of countries in which the impact of the students' socio-economic background on their reading performance is among the highest: 52% of the lowest income group read at level 1 or below, while only 9% of the highest income group reach such a poor result. On the other end of the spectrum, only 2% of the lowest income group reach Level 4 or above, whereas 29% of the highest income group can read at this level or above. Given the high social stratification of the school system, this observation does not really come as a surprise. Results according to the type of school administration provide further evidence for the inequities that this school system

produces: as against the 493-point reading average in all OECD countries, students from publically funded schools scored 421, from state-subsidised private schools 458, and from private schools 540 points on average.

The good news is that since the first participation in a PISA assessment in 2000, reading scores have improved substantially, across all socio-economic levels. In that year, nearly half of all the assessed students were reading at level 1 or below.

3.2 English in Chilean Schools

3.2.1 Foreign Language Teaching Across the Segmented School System

As mentioned above, the private school sector has traditionally played a key role in foreign language teaching in Chile, led by those schools that were designed for the children of European – British, German, French and Italian – descent. With the exception of the British schools, these schools are also basically the only ones with a real commitment to pluri-lingual education, offering more than one foreign language in their curricula. Due to the importance of English as a global language, basically all private schools - bilingual or not - have now turned English into a priority. Many of them offer English from pre-school levels onwards. Some of them – generally the traditional British schools – also offer content-and-language-integrated learning (CLIL) programmes, where school subjects other than English are taught in English. For parents who are looking for education with a "difference" for their children and who are able to afford it, the amount of English on the curriculum is often the decisive factor.

This is also increasingly the case for state-subsidised private schools, where English lessons are also frequently offered to students in young year groups from pre-school onwards, much earlier than what is required by the National Curriculum. The "marketing factor English" in a system that is marked by parental selection is also visible in many of the newer schools' names: for example, 17 of the 133 schools in Viña del Mar have English names, ending in *school*, *high school* or *college* (MINEDUC no year c). They all belong to the privatised (state-subsidised or parent-financed) sector.

Although all schools in Chile are allowed to design their own programmes of study (in the sense of *planes de estudio*, i.e. assigning different year groups a certain number of weekly hours of instruction in different school subjects) as long as they respect the statutory minimum requirements, it is primarily in the

publically financed sector where English lessons are still restricted to the minimum (MINEDUC no year, no year a). As outlined in table 1 (above, in 3.1.1), since 2009 English has been a compulsory school subject from Year 5 onwards. In order for schools to provide sufficient regular language exposure, the Ministry of Education recommends three pedagogical hours (of 45 minutes each) per week at primary level, divided into three 45-minute sessions (MINEDUC, no year b). At secondary level, students should have four hours a week in Years 9 and 10, and can then, according to the curriculum area in which the school specialises, go back to two hours a week or continue with a greater number of hours up to Year 12. The reason for not introducing English in earlier primary school years or for a greater number of hours per week is mainly due to limited human resources, as the number of teachers even with very basic English competences is only gradually rising. On the other hand, the increasing importance of English has resulted in the disappearance of other foreign languages, especially French and German, from most programmes of study (Jaque 2005).

3.2.2 English Test Results

One of the first changes in educational policy to be brought in by the newly elected right-wing government in 2010 was the expansion of the SIMCE test to include a greater number of school subjects, including English (MINEDUC 2010 a). This test stands for the National System for the Measurement of Educational Quality and since the 1990s has been administered in Reading, Mathematics, and Comprehension of the Social and Cultural Environment, in Years 4, 8 and 10. In 2010, the test was taken in English from Year 11 students for the first time. Although the empirical part of this study, the teacher interviews, was completed much before this date (between July 2007 and January 2009), these test results are the most complete data about Chilean school students' English skills that are available at the moment, making their inclusion here imperative.

The instrument used was the TOEIC Bridge test, developed by the US-based Educational Testing Service (ETS). This test only measures listening and reading comprehension and works at a more basic level than the general TOEIC test, which is used to certify English skills up to the level of full professional proficiency.

Out of a maximum score of 90 points for each listening and reading in this test, the assessed Chilean teenagers reached an average of 48 points in listening, and 51 in reading (MINEDUC 2011, 2011a). For reference, in order to achieve level A2 of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (waystage / elementary level), test-takers should score a minimum of 64 points

in listening and 70 in reading. Therefore, only 11% of Chilean teenagers reached level A2 according to this national test.

Table 3: Test scores of the SIMCE Inglés / TOEIC Bridge test 2010, applied to Year 11 students (based on MINEDUC 2011, 2011a).

	Maximum possible score	Minimum to reach level A2	National Chilean average	Average of highest socio-economic group	Average of lowest socio-economic group
Listening	90	64	48	74	38
Reading	90	70	51	73	43

This result is alarming, given that according to the 2009 revised version of the National Curriculum (ideally, all) students in Year 8 (i.e. three years below the cohort assessed on this occasion) should reach level A2 (MINEDUC 2009: 86). Even though this version of the curriculum is only being implemented gradually and this requirement will not need to be met before 2012, it is questionable if improvements can be made at the necessary rate. What is more, once again, the difference between the average scores of the highest and the lowest socio-economic groups highlights the unacceptable levels of social and educational inequity in the country. On the other hand, this result is not surprising, as English has traditionally been a social status marker and high quality English instruction was, for a long time, something the exclusive private schools had a "monopoly" on. However, public policymakers have started taking affirmative action for English in publically funded schools, as will be outlined below.

3.2.3 The 2004 Government Programme "English Opens Doors"

In 2004, the Ministry of Education, with Sergio Bitar as a leader, decreed that English in schools had to be strengthened, and created the "Inglés Abre Puertas – English Opens Doors" programme (MINEDUC 2004: Decreto 81). The programme is targeted at the whole of the state-subsidised education sector, aiming to foster English language learning in primary and secondary education. The measures included in this programme were, to begin with, a nation-wide round of diagnostic tests, followed by in-service language and methodology training for Chilean English teachers both in Chile and overseas, the design of new

standards and curricula (see chapter 5), and a commitment to ongoing distribution of free textbooks to all state-subsidised schools.

In the mentioned decree, which justifies the necessity to spend public funds on English language instruction, the reasons given for launching the programme were firstly that new competences, such as learning a foreign language, were the key to improving the cultural, social and working life of this younger generation. Secondly, "basic and instrumental" English skills would open up better job opportunities, higher rates of pay, access to information on the internet, success at university, access to scholarships, and potential to start an exportation business, among others. Beyond the advantages mentioned for the individual lives of today's school learners, the decree refers to the government's essential commitment to social and economic development and to global economic and trade agreements with countries and regions such as the USA, the EU and Korea.

When the programme was launched, the Minister of Education, Sergio Bitar, made some confident statements in interviews asserting that Chile would soon become "bilingual" (Bañados 2005). The implementation of these measures, together with Bitar's pronounced forecast for English in Chile, caused quite a lot of "noise" in the media – both positive and negative. Some of these reactions will be summarised below, in the following sub-chapter.

The teachers' perception of the impact of this government programme was of great interest for this research project. Therefore, more information based on the interviews with Chilean English teachers will be provided in chapter 9.1.

3.2.4 Public and Academic Discourse on English in Chile

In an earlier article of mine, I carried out a critical analysis of the discourses surrounding this government programme ("El inglés abre puertas – ¿a qué?" – "English opens doors – to what?", Glas 2008). On that occasion, I analysed 36 texts, mainly from newspapers (e.g. Rojas 2004, Hald 2004, Bañados 2005, Frenzel 2005, Jaque 2005). Following Fairclough's (2001) distinction between dominant and resistant discourses, I extracted the following themes from dominant discourses:

1) The importance of English as a global language.
2) The concern about the low English level of Chilean students *and* their teachers.
3) The need to improve the Chilean population's level of English in order to guarantee the economic development of the country. This idea includes the objective of improving the English skills of *all* students.

4) As a means to meet this goal, the need to revise and improve English teaching methods in schools. New technologies and help from international experts should support this process.

The two themes that I analysed in greater depth were the reference to economic development and the Chileans' level of English. In relation to the former, there were two main lines of argument: one was concerned with the development of the country as a whole, where governmental measures for publically funded education had to *react* to the new needs imposed by economic progress and globalisation. This argument could be seen in contrast to the possibility of a democratic country's government to construct an educational agenda in which the whole society participates, not primarily the business sectors (cf. Magendzo 2004). The other line of argument, to which some articles belonged that "informed" readers about (or rather, advertised) what was on offer at private language schools, emphasised the individualistic side of economic progress: English skills provided a competitive advantage over other employees and job applicants, for example. This individualistic representation of development was opposed to the alternative idea of collective struggle (e.g. in trade unions, etc.) achieving the improvement of work and life conditions for whole groups of the population (cf. Larraín 2005:53 and above, chapter 2). Concerning the English level of Chilean students and teachers, the tenor of the discussions was mainly blame directed at English teachers for not teaching English through English and using outdated methodologies. The teachers' voices expressing their version of the difficulties they faced when teaching English were conspicuously absent in the debate.

The second part of the article focused on themes that were, in my view, treated only marginally and in little detail, or even entirely omitted:

1) Concern about the low level of Spanish mother-tongue proficiency (as a counter-argument against the destination of large sums of public resources to English, rather than to Spanish).
2) Non-economic motivations for learning English (such as cultural and general educational ones).
3) The contents of English lessons at school as against an over-emphasis on functional language.
4) The loss of the teaching-learning of other foreign languages in Chile, such as French.

In sum, the analysis of these texts provided strong evidence for the idea that English in Chile is mainly associated with economic progress and individual success, whereas other, alternative discourses, especially those challenging these notions, have become increasingly marginalised or even silenced (cf. Pennycook

2001). It is clear that the public discourse surrounding English in Chile is also strongly associated with the "entrepreneurial version" of Chilean identity described in chapter 2.4.1 (Larraín 2001). The conclusions that I drew at the end of the article partly served as a basis for the design of the present research study.

3.3 Conclusion

Chile's ailing educational system, with its blatant inequities, increasing privatisation and what appears to many a lack of commitment from the government to *really* safeguard minimum quality standards, has repeatedly become the central topic in social protest movements in past years, the most recent one (2011) gaining even international media coverage.[9] Of course, these problems are also widely discussed by sociologists and educationalists (e.g. García-Huidobro op.cit., Riesco op.cit.). The need for a deeper reform is clear, especially one that addresses the profound social class divisions in the organisation of the school system. I hope that the empirical part of this study serves as additional evidence of the unacceptable nature of the current system, by describing some of the constraints under which the teachers, especially of the publically funded system, are working. The suggestions made in the final part point to areas that could be improved within the current system, as it is; however, this does not mean that what is there should not be challenged and changed.

9 E.g. the article on student leader Camila Vallejos in UK's *Observer* (Franklin 2011), cf. also "Bases para un acuerdo social por la educación chilena", "Petitorio de Secundarios", Colegio de Profesores de Chile (all 2011). Previous large-scale protest movements over the past few years include the "Penguin Revolution" of 2006 (*la revolución de los pingüinos*), which took the grey-and-white colours of the school uniforms as its symbol, and a teacher strike of months-long duration in publically funded schools in 2009. The former pressured the government into changing the Education Law that was still in force from the Pinochet era, eliminating for example the (individual) schools' right to select students during the primary level admission process. However, in structural terms not much has changed up so far (cf. Riesco op.cit.).

PART II: Learning Contents and Goals

One of the aims of this investigation is to obtain greater clarity about which of the various options for culture teaching in EFL are currently practiced or considered relevant or necessary in Chilean EFL classrooms. In this part, which comprises Chapters 4, 5 and 6, I will focus on the learning contents and goals, especially in terms of culture learning, that are currently discussed, prescribed, and presented, for English learning and teaching, both world-wide and in Chile. In Chapter 4, to begin with, a more general overview of various approaches to the teaching of culture in the English classroom will be given. It is intended to be a theoretical and analytical framework, not only for chapters 5 and 6, but also for Chapters 9.3 and 10.4, in which the interviewed teachers' views on these issues will be analysed. In Chapter 5, the national curricular frameworks (*marcos curriculares*) that regulate English as a school subject in all Chilean state-subsidised schools will be examined. As there has been an important reformulation of these frameworks since this research project started, I will be able to show in what aspects the cultural learning goals have evolved in recent years. Chapter 6, finally, presents an analysis of some of the textbooks that the Ministry of Education has distributed to public and state-subsidised private schools, in order to establish how the cultural learning goals are expressed in the materials that most Chilean English teachers are recommended to use for their lessons. From there, I will move on to the empirical part of this research investigation (part III).

4. Approaches to the Teaching of Language and Culture

As demonstrated in Part I, the importance of English in the countries of the Expanding Circle – including Chile - is linked to global economy, and the use of and views about the English language have become increasingly detached from the language's geographical and cultural origins. This has had an important impact on the world-wide discussion of how English should be taught; among various other aspects, it is the cultural focus of the teaching materials that has been questioned. In this chapter, I will review some of the approaches that have been presented in this context, first, in terms of English language teaching in general, then, more specifically, in relation to the teaching of culture as part of the language learning process.

4.1 Where from? Pedagogical implications for the choice of cultural contents when teaching English as a global language

4.1.1 English as a *Lingua Franca*, English as an International Language, and World Englishes: a clarification of different concepts

For the phenomenon "Global Language English", a great variety of different terms are used by socio-linguists, applied linguists and language pedagogues: World English or *World Englishes*, Global English, English as a *lingua franca*, English as an International Language, to name the most common ones. In this section, I am going to present a selection of three of them, together with a short discussion of the possible socio-linguistic and socio-political implications of their uses. They are important here as they can all be considered alternatives to British or American English as the two sole acceptable language standards and cultural referents for English teaching.

The term *Lingua Franca* is usually defined as a "language variety used between people who speak different first languages and for none of whom it is the mother tongue" (Jenkins 2004: 63). In relation to English, the non-purist use of the term allows for the occasional inclusion of native speakers of English in ELF (English as a *Lingua Franca*) interactions. However, at the core of it, and in distinction from EFL (English as a Foreign Language) and ESL (English as a Se-

cond Language), ELF points to the fact that the language is primarily used and learned for interactions with other non-native speakers of English. This includes the idea that there are some common features to most oral non-native speaker varieties, both on the phonological and on the lexico-grammatical levels, e.g. the substitution of 'th' sounds by /d/, /t/ or /s/, the omission of the 3rd person singular *–s* in the present simple, or the avoidance of native speaker idioms.

The main difference between English as a *Lingua Franca* and *English as an International Language* is that in the latter, the inclusion of native speakers in linguistic interactions is more commonly accepted, although not necessary. However, and in distinction from a more common EFL [= English as a Foreign Language] approach, "native speakers also need to make an effort in international situations" (McArthur 2004: 8), in order to linguistically and culturally accommodate their interaction partners. Also, in comparison to English as a Lingua Franca, it seems to aspire more to an international standard:

> "It is what millions of non-native parents specifically want for their children, especially as provided by *international schools* in locations like Hong Kong and reflected in the *internationally acceptable English* that Singaporeans have as their collective goal." (ibid.: 9)

Even though some scholars use the term *English as an International Language* on very similar foundations as the ones just outlined under the heading *Lingua Franca* (e.g. McKay 2002), some ELF-scholars prefer the latter term, as they feel that the promotion of a single world standard carried out under the International Language paradigm leads to an "English as a Native Language in disguise": "Scholars who appear on the surface to support the concept of NNS[=non-native speakers]-led developments in the Expanding Circle are in reality in favour, it seems, of a monolithic English largely based on Standard American or Standard British English." (Jenkins 2004: 66)

The plural term *World Englishes* highlights the great number of co-existent varieties of English in our times. It is also associated with Kachru's three concentric circles of countries (cf. chapter 2.1) and with his pluralistic, inclusive and counter-imperialist stance (McArthur 2004). By emphasising the multiplicity of contexts in which English is used (both in geographical and in social terms), as well as the diversity of English users, those who prefer this term to others try to break with the traditional distinction between native and non-native speakers: "The concept of English in its inner, outer, and expanding circles is only superficially equivalent to *native, ESL,* and *EFL*. In thinking of a country as an ESL country or of a person as an ESL speaker, for example, we perpetuate the dichotomy of native versus non-native, 'us versus them.'" (Kachru / Nelson 2001:14) Rather, the use of English in a certain country is described in terms of

its *range* and *depth* - the former referring to the "contexts or domains in which English functions", the latter to "the extent of use of English in the various levels of society" (15). Last but not least, the term *World Englishes* emphasises creativity over standardisation and has also been used to propagate the inclusion of literary works from outer and expanding circle countries into the established canon of English-speaking literatures.

4.1.2 Pedagogical Implications

The different conceptualisations of *English as a Global Language* have not only created a vast body of descriptive socio-linguistic research[10]; they also contribute greatly to the debate about their implications for the world-wide undertaking of teaching English. There are several aspects that are discussed under all of the mentioned headings; some of them are more practical, some of them have a more pronounced ideological component.

One aspect is the question of a *standard to choose from* for teaching. Whereas the native varieties of British and American English have hitherto served as the most widely used and accepted varieties of English, especially for the formal written register, and will probably continue to do so for some time, it is mainly the spoken register that is becoming increasingly problematic for the teaching of English for international communication. One of the reasons for this is the fact that even native speakers from different Inner Circle countries or regions may find it difficult to understand each other's spoken English at times. What is more, in research on the *mutual intelligibility* of different English varieties, it is often the native speakers who cause the most difficulties (Kachru / Nelson 2001, Jenkins 2004). Thus, the *native speaker (= inner circle?) model* is increasingly questioned. A cautious but probably widely acceptable approach, at least for both teachers and learners, is the one proposed by Crystal (2001): he calls for distinction between the teaching of productive skills, for which he thinks it is reasonable to "conservatively" keep propagating a standard variety, and the teaching of receptive skills, especially listening comprehension, where – more innovatively - examples of non-native and native varieties should be used alongside each other: "[T]eachers need to prepare their students for a world of staggering linguistic diversity." (60) Crystal himself is one of those scholars

10 For example, English *Lingua Franca* corpora (Jenkins 2004, Allan 2006) and socio-linguistic profiles of the uses of and attitudes towards English in Expanding Circle countries, such as the ones published in the journal *World Englishes* (e.g. Ovesdotter Alm 2003, Maersk Nielsen 2003, Friedrich 2000, 2002, 2003, Niño-Murcia 2003, Rajagopalan 2009).

who visualises a future "World Standard Spoken English", "a regionally neutral international spoken standard" (58), or a "dialect" that will be spoken by English speakers across the world for international communication, in addition to their local varieties (2003: 186 ff).[11] This approach is viewed by some as more visionary than empirical (Gnutzmann 2000: 28). Also, in *Lingua Franca* research circles, in spite of their search for a non-native linguistic *core* that might be common to all ELF-users, an aspiration towards the teaching of a new standardised variety of English seems to be considered counter-productive to the real goals of a pedagogical *lingua franca* proposal, which emphasise a non-monolithic (= non-standardised?), non-conformist perspective on language use and pedagogy. In practical terms, this might mean that English teachers' *attitudes towards* minor grammatical *"errors"* (such as the omission of *–s* in the third person singular) and a L1 accent could become more accepting, as long as mutual intelligibility is safeguarded. Whether "international", inner-circle based exam boards will take steps in a similar direction remains to be seen (Jenkins 2004).

On a more ideological level, the *"standard question"* is at the centre of a world-wide discussion that involves many different, often paradoxical stances and views. However, we could highlight that, at one extreme end, there is the (unconscious?) defence of linguistic and cultural imperialism (Phillipson 1992), an abstract concept that at a practical level includes the global sale of English teaching textbooks from a handful of UK/USA-based publishing companies and expensive exam fees paid by non-native speakers of English in order to obtain internationally recognised certifications of their level of "standard" English (a powerful example of institutionalised cultural capital, cf. Bourdieu 2005: 61ff.). At the other end, there is an increasingly louder voice that stands for the non-native speakers' right to appropriate the English language for the expression of their own identity: "EIL [=English as an International Language] belongs to its users, there is no reason why some speakers should provide standards for others." (McKay 2002: 126) For teaching purposes, this obviously causes conflicts. Widdowson (1994) reminds us that for learning, cognitive, affective and personal engagement with the language is necessary:

11 He relates an anecdote about mutual incomprehension from an international seminar at a European University, when native speakers could not understand baseball and cricket idioms that other native speakers from different English-speaking countries were using: "What was immediately noticeable was that the native speakers seemed to become much less colloquial. In particular, I did not sense any further use of national idioms. Indeed, the speakers seemed to be going out of their way to avoid them." (187)

> "If natural language learning depends on asserting some ownership over the language, this cannot be promoted by means of language which is authentic only because it belongs to somebody else and expresses somebody else's identity." (387)

Canagarajah (1999), who also argues in favour of "appropriating discourses", tries to find a conciliatory approach:

> "Any pedagogy designed for [periphery students in ELT] will have to take account of their desire to master the language, their fears of ideological / linguistic hegemony, and suggest a way of acquiring English with a satisfactory reconciliation of the conflicts posed. What is demanded is a 'third way' that avoids the traditional extremes of rejecting English outright for its linguistic imperialism or accepting it wholesale for its benefits." (174)

The "standard question" might remain largely unanswered – or at least, without much likelihood of it being completely resolved – as long as we live in a world in which the call for a more democratic handling of linguistic issues is secondary to real hegemonic power structures that still marginalise users of non-standard varieties, and in which the mastery of a standard variety is key to be able to climb a steep and – towards the top - increasingly narrow social ladder. However, we can at least make a few conclusive remarks about the *meanings* that a liberating, "appropriating" *lingua franca*-English could promote: table 4 shows a possible way of differentiating between two alternatives, or maybe two extreme positions: a critical, non-conformist approach to the use of English as a global language (labelled *lingua franca*) and a mainstream, pro-imperialist viewpoint (which is called English as an international language here)[12].

4.1.3 Culture and Contents in English as a *Lingua Franca*

As can be seen, the global status of the English language has opened up the possibility of detaching the teaching of it from the standards imposed by its original speech communities. Now, when it comes to the cultural component, which has traditionally been part of the teaching and learning of any foreign language, what implications are there for the teaching of English in the 21st century? The question of how to treat cultural issues in this context has caused a heated debate among EFL researchers and teachers. I shall briefly outline the chief approaches in this discussion.

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12 In spite of her choice of the term 'international language' rather than *lingua franca*, McKay (2002) is an example of the fact that not all authors use the terms with the same differentiation of connotations; she has certainly not intended to adhere to the right side of the table.

Table 4: English as a Lingua Franca 'versus' English as an International Language (from: Gnutzmann 2000: 29, based on Alexander 1999)

Liberation: *lingua franca*	**Trap**: English as an international language
• articulation in English allows political expression	• being compelled to buy into Anglo-Saxon imperial ideology
• it contributes to a more 'open society' • economic actions extended • freeing up societies. cf. Eastern European 'opening' to the world since 1989/1993	• the 'Washington consensus' • 'forced to communicate in a foreign language' • 'swimming in a raincoat' • being locked into specific social practices
• educational opportunities • MBAs • university education abroad	• narrowing of choice • consumerism • McDonaldization
• personal growth • 'empowerment' • occupational choices broadened	• funnelled into a specific socio-cultural framework (neo-colonialist) • personal restriction
• Earthwatch	• Bay Watch
• expanding of cultural potential and growth through the lingua franca medium	• belittling of a person's native language. • Pacific Rim experience (indigenous languages 'crowded out', 'killed')
• acquisition of explicit values additional to one's own society/culture is possible	• undermining indigenous native tongues and cultures through dissemination of implicit values

First of all, sometimes the question is asked if it is at all possible to teach *English without a culture* (e.g. Meyer 1993, Byram 2000). Some have argued that this might be practicable in some teaching contexts where English is exclusively learnt for special purposes, such as the kind of English needed for reading a technical manual (cf. McKay 2002: 84 for proponents of this view). However, most scholars have answered the question negatively, the weakest reason being linguistic: the "inseparability of language and culture argument" has lost a great deal of its weight in recent years, as, on the one hand, the importance that had been claimed, for example, for the use of conversational gambits, has been shown to be largely absent in *lingua franca* use; on the other, the global language English, especially in outer circle countries, is nowadays used to express cultural values *other* than those associated with "Anglo-Saxon" cultures:

> "There is no necessary relationship between English and the cultures of one or more social groups living in Britain, the United States, Australia etc. English can be used to express another culture." (Byram 2000: 8)

The strongest reasons in favour of including cultural contents in English teaching continue to be pedagogical: Byram suggests that language teaching should have an educational purpose beyond the merely functional acquisition of foreign communicative patterns; those aspects that can foster cross-cultural understanding should form part of a foreign language curriculum. Arguably, cross-cultural skills and knowledge acquired in a language course might be the part of foreign language learning that will have a life-long significance for students, given the case that some of them will never use the language for communication after leaving school. Student motivation is another argument for the inclusion of cultural contents; however, the question of *which* cultural contents are considered most effective in motivating English learners is part of the discussion (McKay 2002, Prodromou 1988 and 1992; see also below, chapters 6 and 9.3).

In spite of these reasons, the *reality* of many language classrooms worldwide shows that there *is* a focus on *language function* learning; consequently, cultural learning goals, even if they are present in a curriculum, and cultural contents, even if they feature more or less explicitly in a textbook, are *in practice* often neglected and might never become an important feature in class. In Byram's view, this is due to the fact that the conceptual development of communicative language teaching (and therefore, the respective teacher training) was more influenced by linguistic paradigms, mainly taken from discourse analysis and speech act theory, and less by socio-cultural theories (cf. Byram 2000:2). On the other hand, it would be short-sighted to claim that the (worldwide) tendency to emphasise the functional aspects in language education is only the linguists' "fault": as Volkmann (2010: 29) outlines, there is a tendency in education at all levels (including Higher Education in Germany) to overemphasise a pragmatic-utilitarian orientation similar to the one that is necessary for running a business: whatever is taught and learned should be immediately *measurable* according to specific competence models, and *useful* for a future professional career. As we have seen in chapter 3, this tendency operates in just the same – and maybe in an even more "effective" way - here in Chile.[13] Proposals for culture learning in EFL are definitely subject to the same pressures that, in our times, operate against all educational goals that aim towards the holistic growth of the human being (such as the development of emotional, aesthetic, creative and critical capacities; cf. Volkmann 2010: 29, Pinto 2008, Klafki 1991/2007).[14]

13 This "new" tendency is only one side of the coin: previous practices have often had a "decontextualized, explicit grammar oriented approach" (Farías 2005: 218).

14 One might add "anything that reaches beyond the preparation of a well-functioning operator of machines and uncritical consumer".

If culture should be included in ELF teaching, then *what culture* should that be? McKay (2002, based on Cortazzi and Jin 1999), following a view of culture that is very much synonymous with *national culture*, presents a threefold distinction of possibilities for teaching English as an international language: target culture contents, referring to a country (or countries?) where English is spoken as a first language; source culture contents, referring to the students' own culture; and international target culture contents, where a variety of different countries (both English-speaking and non-English-speaking countries) figure. McKay appropriately identifies student motivation and interest, the teachers' ability to relate to and explain the topics, and the potential to establish a 'sphere of interculturality' (a term taken from Kramsch 1993) as the main factors for deciding which general approach is to be taken: "What cultural content to include is only part of the issue. Equally important is how to deal with this content in a particular context." (88) One of McKay's tenets is that one primary aim of learning English as an international language is to use English to explain one's own culture to others (95). Therefore, she has argued, in various contexts, including for Chile, in favour of including *source culture contents* (McKay 2003). Obviously the advantage is that students and non-native teachers of English are more likely to be able to relate to these contents. A possible danger of this approach is, as Byram points out, that English might be used as a code for the learners' own language (Byram 2000: 9). Moreover, it is imperative that source culture contents are compared and related to other cultural material to be able to identify what kind of information is relevant for international communication: "The definition of a group (national or racial or any other) makes no sense unless there are other groups around." (Tajfel 1978:88, quoted in Byram 2000:14). Although McKay mentions the pitfalls of culturally inappropriate material and repeatedly stresses that a "sphere of interculturality" in lessons and an awareness of diversity within all cultures are of greatest importance whichever content material is used, she does not differentiate any further between, for example, "essentialist" source culture contents and "interculturally dynamic" source culture contents, or in fact give examples of what kind of subcultures or aspects might invite students to deeper reflection and intercultural learning (something we shall look at in greater detail in chapter 4.2). The same applies to her treatment of *target culture contents* and *international target culture contents*. In the latter, it is even more necessary to distinguish between different options, as "international" can indeed refer to all countries in the world, and to politically and socially very diverse, even contrary implications.

For the teaching of English as a Lingua Franca, we can visualise the wish to "bypass" target culture contents, the main reasons for this being, first of all, the geographical and cultural remoteness of the USA and/or the British Isles from

the learners' own culture, and, second, cultural imperialism through English Teaching, the perpetuation of which does make some textbook writers and teachers uneasy. In this sense, a combination of *global* and *local* contents is favoured by several authors (Gray 2002, Baumgardner/ Brown 2003). Whereas the local perspective is often interpreted as simply being able to talk about one's own culture in English (see above), other authors emphasise the potential for intercultural learning when one's own culture is viewed in contrast to a target culture, or even through the eyes of a foreigner (e.g. Volkmann 2002, 2010). Global contents can include the topic of globalisation itself, studying both its economic and cultural aspects and also other issues that affect people worldwide, such as the environment or diseases like AIDS. Migration as a personal experience and the "internationalisation" of certain foods are other aspects that have been considered by textbook writers (e.g. Volkmann 2005, in *Viewfinder Topics: The Global Village – Progress or Disaster?*).[15]

In addition, *socio-linguistic concerns* are also often suggested as ideal topics for English language teaching. Farías (2005) proposes Critical Language Awareness, in coalition with Critical Pedagogy, as a content focus for English language education in Chile, to include topics and projects that examine the political and social dimensions of language use, and within this context, issues of gender, power, social justice and race:

> "From this alliance or coalition three major principles emerge: first, that teaching is emancipatory; second, that teaching is oriented towards the recognition of difference; and third, an engagement with teaching as an oppositional practice in which all participants are continuously thinking towards the prospects for empowerment, particularly of sectors that have been disempowered or excluded in the past." (216)

Within the *World Englishes* paradigm, awareness-raising for world-wide varieties of English is put forward as a pedagogical aim:

> "The spread of English provides a language teacher with an abundance of data for relating second language issues to pedagogical concerns. This can be done in several ways: through the study of variation, the pragmatics of variation, varieties and culture, and varieties and creativity." (Kachru / Nelson 2001: 22)

Consequently, some authors emphasise the potential of (especially) *World Englishes* teaching to contribute to education for international understanding (Matsuda 2002) and peace education, if topics and approaches are selected accordingly:

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15 The German educational publishing company Langenscheidt seems to be more tolerant in that it accepts some of the more controversial topics, such as AIDS, or anti-globalisation protests, in contrast to the "taboo" topics that Gray (2002) quotes from lists given out to prospective textbook writers in English-speaking countries.

> "Linguistic Peace Education comes as a specialized form of Peace Education (and Peace Linguistics), one that focuses primarily on conflict resolution through language, the dissemination of linguistic rights, sensitivity to linguistic cross-cultural differences, and the teaching of awareness-raising practices to help individuals use language responsibly. (…) Linguistic Peace Education aims to positively impact human relations through awareness and engagement." (Friedrich 2007: 79)

Especially for the combined teaching of receptive and productive language skills, an important perspective is the idea that English as an international language is used to bring together people from different countries but with common "glocal" interests and thus form "international discourse communities" around certain topics (McKay 2002, drawing on Swales 1990). In practice, this can be supported by active on-line participation in internet forums and the like, where teenage students can themselves comment on a variety of topics, such as the content and quality of (music) videos on *youtube*, the protection of animal rights in their home towns, etc.

In spite of the possibility of concentrating on a mix of global and local contents, a complete exclusion of target culture contents in ELT does not seem convincingly appropriate, even for those who have been researching the internationalisation of English for several years. Even though this quotation looks at English learners from a European perspective, it might as well be applicable to at least a portion of students in South America – maybe putting USA and Australia before Great Britain and Ireland:

> "It would be short-sighted to restrict pupils learning English at school to the use of English as a Lingua Franca. If English was only taught as a 'cultureless' language it would probably deprive many of our pupils of cultural encounters they were hoping to have through the medium of English. (…) For young people, Great Britain and Ireland, and also the U.S.A. and Australia, are popular destinations, not least because of their language and culture. For this reason it seems highly appropriate that pupils also learn and get to know English as a Foreign Language, i.e. a language that explicitly refers to the native English-speaking territories and societies. There is no doubt that under the influence of the globalisation, the topics and learning targets of English teaching will change in the direction of fewer Anglo-American and more global topics. However, detaching communication in an international context entirely from the standard variety of English and its associated cultures seems problematic, for linguistic and pedagogical reasons, as well as political ones." (Gnutzmann 2005: 117)

The discomfort that this defence of "inner circle country" culture teaching might cause to those who fear their students' cultural alienation and shrink away from blind reverence to cultural imperialism can, in my opinion, be solved via two different approaches: first, the history of inner circle countries can be taught in

combination with a more prominent cultural exploration of outer circle countries:

> "[A]n English curriculum that promotes international understanding must address the colonial past – and possibly present – of the English language somewhere along the line." (Matsuda 2002: 438-9)

Thus, the cultural focus can be put on countries whose colonial legacy includes a special status for the English language, such as the Caribbean, India or South Africa, or on individuals and social groups who have a personal history of migration from one of those countries to inner circle countries. This post-colonial perspective has the potential to expose unequal power relations, the unfair distribution of resources or access to opportunities in a globalised world – arguably with a greater possibility for learners in other post-colonial countries (like Latin America) to identify with the living conditions portrayed.[16] The second possibility is to exploit inner circle culture within a Cultural Studies paradigm. This will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

4.2 What Kind of Culture? What for? How? Approaches towards Culture Learning

4.2.1 Definitions: The Operationalisation of *Culture* for Language Learning and Teaching

We will all agree that *culture* is a fuzzy concept, and indeed we could quote hundreds of definitions of the word here. However, as we need to conceptualise culture in the context of foreign language learning and teaching, I will try to bring a few of those culture models together that have been elaborated or used for this particular purpose. In coming chapters, they will help us to categorise cultural issues presented in textbooks (chapter 6) or mentioned in the teacher interviews (chapters 9.3 and 10.4).

I will start with a model that is useful for two reasons: it relates back to the previous chapter in that it refers to cultural spaces, not only dimensions; and it is based on an empirical study of language teachers' definitions of culture: Byram (2000) plots various possibilities of viewing culture along two different axes, which could be considered as spaces (vertical axis) and dimensions (horizontal

16 Clearly without the "aspirational" component that upper middle-class Western contents could have and that are often propagated by textbook publishing companies (Gray 2002).

axis). Vertically, the culture dealt with in foreign language teaching can refer to (1) an international or cross-national phenomenon, e.g. international relations between countries or a "global civilisation"; (2) a national culture; (3) groups below the national level, e.g. ethnic groups, social classes, or regional differences; (4) someone's individual personal development; (5) a "neutral" space that analyses society in general. Horizontally, culture can refer to (a) a people's way of life or traditions: habits, life style, experience, communication; (b) the objective structures people live in, e.g. the social, political and economic institutions, living conditions, history, or landscape; (c) the norms and values characterising people's lives: This can include religion, attitudes, ways of thinking, behaviour, mentality etc.; (d) a people's valued artistic products, such as literature, music, and art (which could possibly refer to elite culture mainly).

Subdivisions of culture made by other authors concentrate on the different dimensions of culture. Volkmann (2005: 279, 2010: 41), based on Posner (1991), presents a three-dimensional model of a semiotic conceptualisation of culture, i.e. one that perceives culture as a system of signs that carry specific meanings according to the human groups that use them:

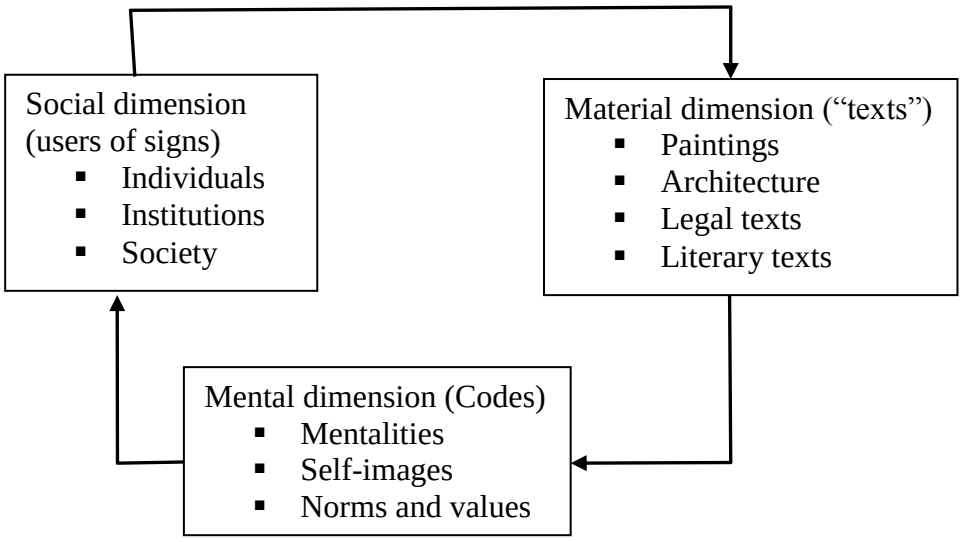

Figure 1: Three-dimensional model of a semiotic conceptualisation of culture (based on Posner 1991)

Similarly, Moran (2001: 24) divides culture into five different dimensions, and defines it as follows: "Culture is the evolving way of life of a group of *persons* [1], consisting of a shared set of *practices* [2] associated with a shared set of *products* [3], based upon a shared set of *perspectives* [4] on the world, and set within specific social contexts" (*communities*) [5]. (The numbers in brackets and emphases are mine.)

This definition also emphasises, as most authors agree, that we need to visualise culture as dynamic and heterogeneous. Even though in practice, culture is still sometimes represented as something static, monolithic (or "stereotypical"), those who have helped language teachers and learners to reflect more deeply on the issue would emphasise the fact that we should see culture dynamically, as a verb, rather than as a noun (Roberts 2001: 18).

In order to make the complexity of culture didactically accessible, it is sometimes presented with the help of metaphors, the most common being the iceberg and the onion: the iceberg represents, at its tip, the explicit, tangible or visible part of culture: Moran associates the dimensions of communities, products, practices and persons with it (28). Underneath the surface, below the water, it represents the tacit or invisible perspectives ("communication style, beliefs, attitudes, values, perceptions" - Volkmann 2005a: 58). The onion, on the other hand, "has many layers, which we need to peel away to understand the individual at the centre. When we talk about communication with people from different cultures, we usually think of communication with different countries. But countries form simply the outside layer of the culture onion. (…) At the centre we find individuals who have their own 'culture', usually called personality or identity." (Volkmann 2005a: 57)

There are various possibilities for making the complexity of culture accessible in the classroom, particularly in the context of cultural products and practices. One widespread distinction is that made between Culture with a "Capital C" and culture with a "small c", which has emerged in the second half of the 20th century from the (originally British) school of thought of *Cultural Studies* (see below for more on the methodical implications of Cultural Studies). An elitist view of Culture (with a capital C), which reduces the study of cultural production to a "high" literary canon, classical music and the fine arts, is largely rejected in Cultural Studies, in favour of a positive evaluation of everyday experience, especially that of the working classes, and popular culture (including film, music, TV programmes, and even sports events or clothing habits: culture with a small "c") (e.g. Skinner 2009, Delanoy/Volkmann 2006).

Finally, the heterogeneity of today's pluralistic, globalised societies, particularly the increased contact between cultures through world-wide migration (especially from former colonised countries to the *metropolis*), but also international trade and tourism, has led to more and more individuals and communities living a more or less "mixed" lifestyle. From there, we can observe a growing cultural production that combines cultural traditions from different origins, giving rise to new, cross-cultural perspectives. These have been described in various theories of transculturality and cultural hybridity. As we will see in the coming

section, they acquire particular importance for language learning (e.g. Delanoy 2006, Volkmann 2010).

4.2.2 Attitudes and Behaviours: Intercultural Competence as a Learning Objective

In European societies, which in past decades have seen a multi-cultural challenge due to both immigration (notably from Islamic countries) and the integration of the European Union, English teaching in schools has gradually taken on the aim of developing *intercultural competence* in students, complementing (or replacing?) the more traditional approach of teaching about the culture of English-speaking countries (*Landeskunde, civilisation*; see 4.2.3). Theories and concepts developed for the teaching of – or training in - intercultural competence have developed in two main contexts. On the one hand, in the area of international business communication, it is often interpreted as fairly easy-to-teach "dos and don'ts" that will guarantee success for smooth global negotiations and transactions (e.g. Gibson 2000). On the other hand, the pedagogical objective of intercultural competence has evolved as a daily necessity for peaceful, tolerant coexistence in those societies where several cultural or ethnic groups live together (e.g. Vollmer 1995, Hu 1999). In spite of the differing motivations for the proposal of this learning objective, some of the approaches and methods that are used to attain intercultural competence are fairly similar. It is important to note the origins of the concept, as the relevance of intercultural competence as a learning goal for school students in Chile is not always evident. However, as the concept has gained such prominence in discussions about cultural learning in foreign language teaching, it must be treated here with a view to its possible viability in the given context. On the other hand, I am not unaware of the fact that suggesting a "foreign" concept or learning objective to a society with different realities and needs is highly problematic (cf. Chilean educationalist Peralta Espinosa 1996 on the "*impertinencia*" of educational curricula, where she exploits the double meaning of the term, in the sense of "not belonging here", but also "insolence"). Therefore, I will also refer to the way in which *intercultural learning* is usually interpreted and applied in the pedagogical discussion in Chile.

In the same manner as other complex areas of human learning, the development of intercultural competence has a cognitive, an affective, and a behavioural component (e.g. Volkmann 2010, Byram 1995). This means that learners need to *know about* certain cultural dimensions, especially practices and perspectives (see above) (*savoir* in Byram's words); they need to *develop acceptance* of cultural differences, *empathy* and *tolerance* (*savoir être* according to Byram); and

they must learn to *act appropriately* in culturally different contexts (*savoir faire*, as Byram puts it). Byram suggests a fourth competence area, *savoir apprendre*, which refers to the process of acquisition itself, the interpretative means of exploring the new cultural phenomena and situations. In the area of EFL, it is important to emphasise that this requires, first of all, sufficient English proficiency. The more specific term (or learning objective) intercultural *communicative* competence reflects this connection to foreign language skills.

One important area of intercultural learning – often the first step in the development of learners' cultural awareness - is the analysis and – up to a certain point – *"deconstruction" of cultural (ethnic or national) stereotypes*. A good dictionary definition of the term stereotype can be found in the OALD: "image, idea, character, etc that has become fixed or standardized in a conventional form without individuality (and is therefore perhaps false)". The references to standard and convention make it clear that the stereotypes that peoples have about other peoples are part of their own cultural perspectives, or intra-culturally shared "knowledge" base, which help to construct their own group identity (of an "imagined community" – Anderson 1983/2006) by establishing boundaries between "us" and "them" (a mechanism that has been called *othering*, especially in post-colonial studies, cf. Said 1978/2003, Volkmann 2010:138f.). On the other hand, the reference to the lack of individuality and possible falseness reveals the intrinsic danger of these constructions. For approaching stereotypes in class, Volkmann (2010: 84ff.) provides a very useful framework, which highlights – on the one hand – the cognitive necessity of the human brain to digest and therefore *generalise* specific information about "characteristic traits" of diverse human groups. Stereotypes, in this sense, are not only conceived as potentially both negative and positive, but as simply inevitable. On the other hand, Volkmann reminds us that a critical pedagogy obviously demands an active stance against "mental laziness" and asks teachers and students alike to shed light on the dangers of overgeneralisations, which do not leave space for individual, sub-group specific or situational differences of cultural practices or perspectives. Therefore, it is necessary, first of all, that students understand what stereotypes are and what they do: they generally select just one aspect of reality that is over-dimensioned and applied to all members of a group. Also, it is important to bear in mind that stereotypes can be constructed about another group (hetero-stereotypes), but also about one's own group (auto-stereotypes) (ibid.: 86). In this sense, it is suggested that students be confronted with auto- and hetero-stereotypes of their own and foreign cultures, including in their most humorous forms, such as caricatures and satires; then, these should be discussed and criticised; finally, students should be asked to reflect upon the origins, functions, limits and dangers of stereotypes; this can be done repeatedly and applied

in various contexts (ibid.: 94ff.). Volkmann also gives helpful recommendations for avoiding the perpetuation of stereotypes in class: for example, the presentation of the target cultures should encourage the possibility of viewing members of the other groups as individuals with whom students can identify or empathise. Literary texts and (auto-) biographies in particular could provide these opportunities. Then, common aspects that are shared by the home and the foreign culture should be emphasised, as well as aspects that cross cultural boundaries in "transnational groups", e.g. in fan-clubs of famous actors or singers, in environmental interest groups, etc. Also, teachers should focus on global topics that highlight the common challenges to all humans on earth. Finally, the foreign culture should be presented as something "normal", rather than calling attention to the exoticism or strangeness of certain features. Sensitising students in order that they accept other perspectives is part of this process (ibid.: 93).

In terms of the methodological proposals for teaching intercultural competence, we can roughly distinguish between two approaches: the first one is more pragmatically oriented and more extensively used in intercultural training workshops, where professionals are prepared for face-to-face interactions with foreign clients or business partners. Its cognitive component aims towards knowing about behavioural rules in the foreign culture, especially in the area of politeness, attitudes towards time and punctuality, space and proximity, non-verbal communication etc. Apart from acquiring verbal routines for carrying out linguistic functions successfully, and learning about specific *dos and don'ts* (expected behaviour and taboos in communicative situations), learners are often asked to analyse and reflect upon *critical incidents* (short reading or audio/video passages that highlight clashes in practices and perspectives between the learners' home culture and target cultures). Role-play activities are also widely used. In this way, students are expected to understand foreign practices better, develop awareness for critical areas of intercultural communication, and acquire "soft skills" in order to tackle intercultural encounters with respect, tact, empathy and tolerance (e.g. Gibson 2000, Volkmann 2002, Schubert 2006, Lenz 2006).

The other approach is targeted at reflective-affective processes and is more widely used in educational contexts; there are numerous strategies proposed for from primary up to higher education. The reading of literary texts (especially narrative genres like short stories and novels; dramas and movies; but also poems and song lyrics) is at the centre of this approach, as they are considered to have promising potential to help learners to identify with the foreign fictional characters and thus bring about the necessary change of perspectives that can lead to empathy and tolerance. "Transcultural" literature that deals with identity issues in multicultural societies has been used in particular, e.g. short stories and/or movies by the British-Pakistani writer Hanif Kureishi or poems and es-

says by the Chicana poet Gloria Anzaldúa (e.g. Delanoy 2006). In this approach, with close connections to critical and action-oriented language pedagogies, learners are asked to enter a dialogic and reflective process with the literary works, their characters and perspectives, often by means of creative responses that involve personal reactions to the texts, rather than applying rigid cognitive-analytical frameworks for dealing with them. The aim is to learn to live, and deal constructively, with paradoxical and potentially conflictive situations, especially in the daily challenges of living in a multi-cultural society (e.g. Stierstorfer 2002, Nünning / Surkamp 2009)

Both approaches, if used wisely according to contextual necessities and conditions, have great potential to trigger the reflective processes that are required for the development of intercultural competence. However, it is important to remember that all intercultural learning has to be considered a life-long process. It starts with a gradual evolvement of awareness about one's own cultural conditioning and cultural differences, moving on to a tolerant stance towards foreign perspectives and practices, curiosity to find out more and willingness to understand the foreign culture even better. This process never really ends: when put to the test by the complexities and paradoxes of real life in intercultural space it may be challenged over and over again. Educational or training contexts can at best help learners to begin their journey towards the ideal aim of becoming the "cultural mediator" who is able to intercede in interculturally complex situations. Personal life experiences will be indispensable in reaching this target.

Within Chile, the word "intercultural" has specific connotations in relation to the indigenous peoples living on Chilean national territory. To name just a few, the most numerous population is Mapuche, concentrated in the rural areas of the centre-South of the country, but with a high level of emigration towards the capital, Santiago, and other cities in the centre of the country. In the North, the Aymara people is spread out over a territory that crosses the national borders to Bolivia and Peru. Finally, Rapa Nui is the indigenous population of Easter Island, culturally connected to other Polynesian peoples like the Maoris in New Zealand or the Hawaiians. A search on the Latin American online academic library *Scielo* shows us that academic articles published in Chile and containing the key word *intercultural* refer almost exclusively to Chile's indigenous peoples (e.g. García Barrera 2009, Forno et al. 2009, Carrasco Muñoz 2005, Donoso Romo et al. 2006), with very few publications referring to other topics, such as migration (e.g. exile and immigration in Chilean literature, Carrasco 2005). The contents of English Language Teaching do not seem to play a special role in this discussion.

Specifically, there is a government programme designed for the indigenous peoples, the *Programa de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe* (PEIB), which,

since the 1990s, has aimed to grant mother-tongue instruction to those children belonging to indigenous communities. This educational programme started out with rural and fairly homogeneous communities in mind. It then expanded to the cities, especially Santiago. Donoso Romo et al. (2006) criticise the fact that the contents of the programme concentrate on an essentialist, rural, folkloric view of indigenous culture and do not really account for dynamic, urban indigenous identities. What is more, workshops are mainly destined for students with indigenous backgrounds, in schools that serve the most marginalised sectors of society; therefore, their impact on the Chilean society as a whole is minimal.

At this time, intercultural competence as a learning objective is not postulated for Chilean education in general, in spite of increasing contact with other cultures through commerce and tourism, and especially migration from other Latin American and also Asian countries. The latter will, sooner or later, contribute to challenging the traditional view of a "homogenous" Chilean ethnic identity, especially in urban spaces. In the context of English Language Teaching, intercultural competence still remains a marginal field both in education and research, even in language programmes at universities. However, the reception of intercultural competence theories such as Byram's in postgraduate courses has led some authors to propose that the development of intercultural competence be included in general teacher training (Rubio 2009). According to Rubio, teachers in training should be made aware of the pernicious effects that an oppressive, "whitening" and culturally homogenising tradition in schooling has had on cultural diversity and social justice in Chile, and suggests an ethnographic approach that exploits the diversity of subcultures that are present in the country, including the reading of (polyphonic) literature and the analysis of critical incidents, in order to raise the levels of intercultural competence in the country's future teachers. Other authors suggest a slightly different focus, e.g. "facilitating pluricultural encounters" in education (Peralta 1996), with a strong emphasis on local, mainly indigenous cultures, and a revitalisation of a Latin American cultural identity, which crosses national borders and highlights the common colonial heritage of all Latin American countries.

It is important to be clear about the Chilean use of the concept, as this has important implications for the way Chilean English teachers visualise intercultural communicative competence within their own field.

4.2.3 Knowledge and Analytical Tools: Cultural Studies and Ethnography as Approaches towards Culture Learning

In recent years, at least in academic discussion, two related approaches have largely replaced the more traditional ways in which culture was taught in foreign language classes. Instead of a facts-and-figures-based instructional programme of area studies of specific countries, which would represent the foreign culture as fairly static or monolithic, *Cultural Studies* and *ethnography* are now often propagated as the most suitable approaches to apply when it comes to accessing foreign cultures in the classroom, not least because of their compatibility with commonly accepted constructivist views of learning, and the practical opportunities they present to integrate learning goals related to media and internet competences at the same time (cf. Volkmann 2010). As ethnography is mostly relevant for those learners who have easy access to spending some time in the country in which the language is spoken as a mother tongue by most people, I will focus here mainly on Cultural Studies. This multi-disciplinary movement, which started in England after World War II, was led by the academics Raymond Williams, Richard Hoggart and E.P. Thompson. Their understanding of culture is interesting in that it is close to critical pedagogical proposals developed at about the same time in Latin America (especially Pablo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, first published in Portuguese in 1968), with a socialist perspective of society: "This concept of Cultural Studies aimed at developing a counter-hegemonic perspective which would benefit working class people in the interest of a more equitable society" (Delanoy/Volkmann 2006: 11). In this sense, a Cultural Studies approach brings new perspectives both into the *content* of culture learning, in that it looks more closely at popular culture and practices of everyday life (as a reaction against cultural elitism), and into the *methods* used to access this cultural content.

The methodical procedures of Cultural Studies are *qualitative* rather than quantitative, as they start from the individual's experience which is then set into context, considering the wider societal background: "Cultural studies (…) use individual case studies in order to analyse the complexity of current (and past) cultures and the individual's position in it. Cultural formations as well as individual actions are seen as part of a larger context, in which personal, group, local, or national meaning is negotiated" (Teske 2006: 25). The advantages in relation to the learning process are seen in the activation of emotional / affective processes within the learner - which is important here, as it relates to our quest to find out about the motivational potential of certain contents:

> "(…) factual cultural information is often collected and reduced to teachable and memorisable chunks, which are mostly taught in an abstract way focusing on cognition. (…) Thus, the pupils have little chance to apply or transfer the information received, or to consolidate and integrate their knowledge through habitual or emotional processes. (…) New strategies therefore need to be developed, by which pupils can connect the factual information with personal experience, and learn to apply and extend cultural knowledge, identify cultural difference, infer and foresee cultural problems, and finally cope with misunderstanding and communication breakdown" (Teske 2006: 26f.).

In a process similar to inductive (vs. deductive) grammar learning, the student moves from the study of individual cases (or "examples") towards more factual information about the target culture. For example, the reading of a short story told from the perspective of a Pakistani girl living in Britain might lead on to a review of background information on multicultural Britain: percentages of different ethnic groups in the main cities; geographical information about the countries of origin; and especially from a Cultural Studies Perspective, an analysis of power relations and resistance to them (cf. Roberts 2001: 28).

One of the important new developments in approaching culture in the classroom is that cultural topics are also used to create some kind of "cultural meta-awareness" in students. Among the aims of Cultural Studies and ethnographic approaches is to develop "in students the habit of constantly interrogating the source of their knowledge and so questioning their own assumptions about how they construct meanings, values and attitudes. This, in turn, leads to developing the habit of relativising, of seeing one's own and others' worlds as socially constructed and not natural, normative or universal" (Roberts op.cit.:42). Part of this process is also the understanding that there are different ways of conceptualising culture, which can be related to the interests of certain societal groups. For example, Moran (2001: 84ff.) presents three different points of view on culture: The *functionalist view* shows culture as an integrated, harmonious (national) whole. This view is fairly static, and (national) institutions play an important role here in that they claim to work in the name of all, for the common good. Critics would say that this view often represents an élite middle-class culture that is imposed on everybody else, and needs, therefore, to be questioned. One possible solution is to work with an *interpretive view*, where culture is defined by distinct communities and members. It is more similar to a bottom-up process, in which the insider's view of their own cultural identity matters the most; multiple perspectives are accepted; in the end, "all culture is local". However, to some this is still not critical enough: the *conflict view* perceives culture as separate communities in conflict. This is the most dynamic view, as it focuses on struggles for influence, power, control: it sees the core culture in opposition to

micro-cultures, co-cultures or subcultures. Moran's threefold distinction is paralleled by Roberts' (op.cit.: 50 ff.), though from a more psychological standpoint, which differentiates between, first, a *cognitive view* of culture, which refers mainly to knowledge and learned behaviour, and the mental organisation of reality (models for perceiving, reacting to, and interpreting material phenomena, e.g. family relations). Second, a *symbolic view*, where culture is a system of public meanings (shared and acted out publicly); here, behaviour is seen as a symbolic action (e.g. attitudes and behaviours towards eating and food). Third, a *critical view*: culture is dynamic; questions are asked about power and social change; this view challenges essentialist notions and asks for resistance against dominant values and social relationships. In this sense, a Cultural Studies approach can help students to understand that all constructions of culture serve specific purposes. It can also be applied to both the learner's own culture, with a questioning attitude towards static, monolithic views of it, and to available representations of other cultures.

In order to allow students to access a variety of texts on certain cultural topics, Volkmann (2010: 224f.) provides very useful help in guiding teachers through the process of selecting materials: first, of course, the material should be appropriate to the age, experience, and language level of the students; second, it should consist of authentic and possibly "provocative" texts that have the potential to trigger emotional responses from the students; third, texts or text sequences should juxtapose various different, possibly conflicting, facets of cultural identities. In this sense, texts that show multiple perspectives that represent various groups of society (such as Andrea Levy's novel *Small Island*) could be particularly suitable; at the same time, the selected "voices" should lead to the construction of a multidimensional, but representative image of the target society. Of course, these "texts" should include, apart from shorter or more extensive prose, poems, pop songs, music videos, movies, interactive websites, pictures, amongst others.

As pointed out before, of prime interest to foreign language and culture learning are the issues of cultural hybridity and transculturality, especially in multicultural societies, as they present a curious affinity to the language learner's condition of moving between two (or more) languages and cultures. Under a Cultural Studies perspective, we can get to know the experiences of people who live between two or more different cultures (migrants, members of indigenous minorities, etc.) and who experience this mix of traditions, customs, or viewpoints in a way that potentially subverts political ideologies like nationalism or cultural chauvinism. Their viewpoint could serve as a model for developing a new consciousness in terms of anti-racist and peace education (on a very interesting classroom approach to transculturality, see Delanoy 2006: 233ff.). The

"state of perpetual transition" (ibid.: 235) which is described in transcultural texts can also be exploited, in the classroom context, as a cultural parallel to the language learner's "interlanguage" (Selinker 1972; cf. Meyer 1993) located in some place between the learner's native language and native-like proficiency of the target language.[17]

Culture teaching that aims towards representativeness and complexity cannot leave out a look at the official, institutional image of national culture(s), or up to a certain point "canonised" texts: "all interaction will make some reference to national identity and cultural beliefs and practices, even if the people involved are not part of the élite social group which has imposed them on the nation." (Byram 2000: 14) However, a Cultural Studies approach, by giving *priority* to popular culture, should prove favourable for developing students' integrative motivation, as learners will find it easier to identify with the observed and studied cultures. Especially for ELT, when English-speaking "pop" entertainment is present everywhere, this approach is easily compatible with the didactic principle that new information should be presented to students once it has been contextualised with examples that the students are already familiar with.

4.3 Conclusion

Whenever a proposal is made for the inclusion of certain learning contents, we need to come back to our view of the role of education in society, and of what the eventual learning outcomes of schooling should be. I can only repeat here that I subscribe to a critical, empowering view of education that should help young people to be able to understand the society in which they live, and bestow upon them both competences and the necessary sense of agency to contribute to its positive transformation towards more equity, social justice and humanity. Without aiming to provide a conclusive list of learning objectives, the develop-

17 Claire Kramsch, in her influential monograph *Context and Culture in Language Teaching* (1993) coined the term '*third place'* to refer to a similar idea of the Meyer's 'interlanguage' – 'interculture' parallel, which also includes the notion of "transculturality as a tool for (…) cultural empowerment" (Delanoy: 237). The third place is a space in which the language learner - whose linguistically constrained situation is marked by "uncommon subordination and powerlessness" (Kramsch 1993:238) – explores the "clash between the familiar meanings of the target culture and the unexpected meanings of the target culture" as an opportunity for personal and societal development. "The personal pleasures they can derive from producing these meanings come from their *power* to produce them" (ibid.).

ments in the discussion of cultural contents in EFL circles allow us to propose that:

1) English learners should enjoy learning English and in this way develop a sense of ownership of the language early on (Widdowson 1994, Norton 1997). The idea that English is a *Lingua Franca* that *belongs to all* (e.g. Jenkins 2006) will help them in this process; however, the necessity of reaching certain standards of accuracy cannot be neglected, as they grant not only mutual intelligibility but also respect from interlocutors.
2) English learners should be able to experience the English language as an instrument to access human experiences in the whole world that might be both similar and dissimilar to their own. In this sense, they should have opportunities to identify or develop empathy with others who belong to different national or ethnic groups, and understand that there are many different ways of facing the human condition on earth, some of which might be eye-openers and help them understand and confront their own situation.
3) English learners should have plenty of opportunities to appreciate cultural products of varying origins, have analytical tools to understand their meaning for themselves and the society in which they live, and be able to detect and criticise cultural manifestations that might impact negatively on their own or others' physical, mental, emotional or cultural integrity (e.g. Voigts-Virchow 2005).
4) English learners should be helped to develop clarity about the existence of national and ethnic stereotypes and be aware of the pernicious effects that prejudices can have when meeting people from other cultural entities. In this sense, they should be able to reflect on these stereotypes constructively in order to avoid them (Volkmann 2010).
5) English learners should be able to develop sensitivity for situations in which differing cultural perspectives and practices might lead to misunderstandings and possibly a breakdown of communication unless they are detected, analysed and dealt with at the right time.
6) English learners should be aware of the opportunities that they have in order to take part in the global discourse on issues that concern them, and that have global as well as local manifestations.
7) English learners should become familiar with the historical reasons of English being today's *Lingua Franca*. This should include a notion of the processes of colonisation, imperialism and globalisation, and the role that English-speaking countries have played in them (Farías 2005, Matsuda 2002).
8) Last but not least, English learners should have the opportunity to experience other additional languages in conjunction with their cultures, especially those

that are autochthonous to their country's territory, and value their cultural significance (Peralta Espinosa 1996, Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas 1996, Marimán et al. 2006).

5. Concepts of Culture and Language in the Chilean National Curricular Framework for Foreign Languages / English

As outlined in Chapter 3, English as a school subject has undergone significant changes in the past few years. I am now going to examine the governmental guidelines for English in the publically financed part of the educational system, especially in relation to the role of thematic topics and cultural contents within these guidelines. In order to provide sufficient background for the teacher interviews, which were carried out between July 2007 and January 2009, I am going to consider the first "reformed" version of the National Curriculum of 1998 (which was reprinted in 2004) and the update that was issued for secondary education in 2005. Then, the latest developments will also be taken into account: the new Curricular Framework that was issued in 2009, with important changes for English and other subjects.

The National Curriculum (in all of the above-mentioned versions) is divided into several sections: first of all, there are *Objetivos Fundamentales Transversales* (abbreviated as *OFTs*: Cross-Curricular Objectives); then, there are *Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios* (abbreviated as *OF-CMO*: Fundamental Objectives and Minimum Compulsory Contents) for each of the school subjects. The Ministry of Education, in addition, publishes study plans to inform schools about the number of hours that each school subject should be assigned in each year of schooling, and programmes for each subject and each level, which are mainly intended to be supplementary material to help teachers plan their courses and lessons, and used more or less flexibly in the different institutions. Also, based on the *OF-CMO*, publically financed schools are allowed to write their own programmes, which have to be sent to the Ministry of Education for approval. In those terms, the organisation of curricular decision-making at a systemic level is semi-centralised: there is a fairly slim statutory curricular framework, which is complemented with the option, for schools, to use either the government programmes (with more specific learning objectives and suggestions for activities and resources), or to present their own syllabus (Gysling 2003, 2007). The textbooks that the Ministry of Education distributes to the schools complement these governmental guidelines with specific, unified material. In 9.3, I will examine in more detail the teachers' perception of this division of curricular decision-making, of which the *de facto* implementation can vary from school to school.

One of the important changes in the past few years has been the extension of English teaching into the earlier years of primary school (from Year 7 to Year 5), with increasing curricular regulation. Although my focus is mainly on secondary education, I will briefly consider the objectives and contents for these levels, too, according to the latest version of the curriculum (2009). Finally, as a point of contrast concerning (inter)cultural contents, the curricular framework for the teaching of indigenous languages in Chile will also be taken into consideration.

5.1 The Government's Vision of Society in the Cross-Curricular Objectives (2009)

As governmental documents issued on cross-curricular objectives give valuable insight into the kind of society that schooling is meant to produce, I would like to briefly refer to the cross-curricular objectives outlined in the 2009 version of the curriculum, concentrating therefore on the latest developments only. My main interest is, of course, related to the references to culture – home culture(s) and foreign cultures – and attitudes that are to be fostered towards both of them.

There are five areas for which cross-curricular objectives have been formulated. These are: (1) personal growth and self-assertion; (2) development of thinking; (3) ethical education; (4) the person and her/his environment; (5) Information and Communication Technologies.

In the introduction, there is a reference to national identity and social integration which is then repeated several times in this document:

> "Los Objetivos Fundamentales Transversales tienen por propósito profundizar la formación de valores fundamentales, desarrollar habilidades para manejar el "mundo digital", para desenvolverse en él en forma competente y desarrollar en alumnas y alumnos una actitud reflexiva y crítica, que les permita comprender y participar activamente, como ciudadanos, en el *cuidado y reforzamiento de la identidad nacional y la integración social* y en la solución de los múltiples problemas que enfrenta la sociedad moderna."[18] (MINEDUC 2009: 23; the emphases in all quotes of this chapter are mine.)

18 "The aims of the Cross-Curricular Objectives are to further the development of fundamental values, to develop skills to handle the "digital world", in order to be able to deal with it competently, and to develop students' reflective and critical attitude, which should allow them to understand and participate actively as citizens, in the care and further development of national identity and of social integration, and in the solution of the multiple problems that our modern society faces."

Under the heading "Ethical Education" several references to the concept of *otherness* can be found, and also guidelines about the ways in which students are to be taught to deal with it:

> "En el plano de la formación ética se busca que alumnos y alumnas desarrollen y afiancen la voluntad para autorregular su conducta y autonomía en función de una conciencia éticamente formada en el sentido de su trascendencia, su vocación por la verdad, la justicia, la belleza, el bien común, el espíritu de servicio y el respeto por el otro.
>
> En el ámbito de la formación ética, en Educación Básica y Media, se deben promover los siguientes aprendizajes:
>
> • conocer, comprender y actuar en concordancia con el principio ético que reconoce que todos los 'seres humanos nacen libres e iguales en dignidad y derechos y, dotados de razón y conciencia, deben comportarse fraternalmente los unos con los otros' (Declaración Universal de Derechos Humanos, Artículo 1º). En consecuencia, *conocer, respetar y defender la igualdad de derechos esenciales de todas las personas, sin distinción de sexo, edad, condición física, etnia, religión o situación económica*;
>
> • valorar el carácter único de cada persona y, por lo tanto, la *diversidad de modos de ser*; (…)
>
> • respetar y valorar las *ideas y creencias distintas de las propias*, en los espacios escolares, familiares y comunitarios, con sus profesores, familia y pares, reconociendo el *diálogo como fuente permanente de humanización, de superación de diferencias y de acercamiento a la verdad*."[19] (24)

In the section on the person and her/his environment, mention is made of issues such as gender and sexual relations, family, work ethics and team spirit, the environment and, last but not least, national identity:

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19 "On the level of ethical development, students are to develop and consolidate the will to self-regulate their behaviour and autonomy according to an ethically developed conscience in the sense of its transcendence, its call for truth, justice, beauty, the common good, spirit to serve, and the respect for others. In the area of ethical education, in primary and secondary education, the following learning process is to be promoted: to get to know, understand, and act in accordance with the ethical principle that recognises that 'all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.' (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 1). In consequence, to know, respect and defend the equality of essential rights of all people, without discrimination of sex, age, physical condition, ethnic or economic background; to value the unique character of each person, and, therefore, the diversity of ways of being; (…); to respect and value ideas and beliefs different from one's own, at school, in the families and communities, with teachers, family and peers, recognising dialogue as a permanent source of humanisation, of overcoming differences and progressing towards the truth."

> "En relación con la persona y su entorno, los objetivos se refieren al mejoramiento de la interacción personal, familiar, laboral, social y cívica, contextos en los que deben regir valores de respeto mutuo, ciudadanía activa, identidad nacional y convivencia democrática.
>
> (…) se deben afianzar los siguientes aprendizajes: (…) conocer y valorar los actores, la historia, las tradiciones, los símbolos, el patrimonio territorial y cultural de la nación, en el contexto de un mundo crecientemente globalizado e interdependiente, comprendiendo la tensión y la complementariedad que existe entre ambos planos."[20] (25)

It is important to note that the objectives mentioned above figure in the cross-curricular section of the framework, and not specifically in the sub-curricular area of history, for example. Thus, while fostering ideas and values related to tolerance (with reference to different ethnicities *and* socio-economic backgrounds), cultural diversity takes a secondary stance *after* the consolidation of a national identity, as expressed in the knowledge and valuing of agents, history, traditions, symbols etc. Globalisation is presented as a challenge in this context, as it is perceived as creating tensions; migration, multiculturalism, or the indigenous peoples on Chilean territory are not mentioned specifically.

5.2 The Government's Vision of English in Chile in the Introductions to the Curricular Frameworks of 2005 and 2009

An important source of information on the government's conception of the learning and teaching of English in the country are the introductions to the curricular frameworks for the curricular sub-area Foreign Language / English. Here, I will only briefly consider the introductions to the 2005 and 2009 frameworks, as they are the ones where the latest developments can be observed in sufficient contrast. To begin with, the introduction to the curricular framework for *Foreign Language* of 2005 will be examined. Note that in that year, there was not a specific framework for English yet!

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20 "In relation to the person and his/her environment, the learning objectives refer to the improvement of personal interaction, in family, work, social and civic contexts, in which values of mutual respect, active citizenship, national identity, and democratic coexistence should reign. (…) The following learning should be consolidated (…): to acquire knowledge about and value the key figures, history, traditions, symbols, territorial and cultural heritage of the nation, in the context of an increasingly globalised and interdependent world, understanding the tension and the complementarity that exists on both levels."

> "Las demandas que la sociedad actual impone a los egresados de la Enseñanza Media son variadas y múltiples. Se requiere de su participación activa en el mundo laboral o en la educación superior. En este contexto, el propósito del subsector de idioma extranjero en la Educación Media es entregar a los estudiantes *una herramienta* que les permita acceder a información, conocimiento y tecnologías, *así como apreciar* otros estilos de vida, tradiciones y maneras de pensar. Tiene por tanto *propósitos de formación y enriquecimiento personal*, así como *instrumentales* para fines laborales, académicos o profesionales. Para alcanzarlos, se requiere de la renovación y actualización de los contenidos y del desarrollo de habilidades lingüísticas dentro de un marco de referencia acorde con *nuestra realidad educacional, social, geográfica y económica*."[21] (MINEDUC 2005: 63)

In this first paragraph, it is possible to observe that the stated requirements start from the necessities originating from societal demands, in terms of the world of work and higher education. The intentions and aims of the school subject are then stated in two sentences with a chiastic structure, "crossing" instrumental and integrative reasons for learning languages: first, the foreign language is presented as a *tool* for accessing information, knowledge and technologies; then, secondarily, the same tool can be used for appreciating other lifestyles, traditions and ways of thinking. The second sentence begins then with a reference to the latter aim, by naming personal development and enrichment first, ending by refining the former objective, referring again to instrumental (work-related, academic and professional) purposes. Finally, the paragraph ends with a list of adjectives describing several features of today's society: educational, social, geographic and economic. Culture is not mentioned literally in this first paragraph, although the reference to lifestyles, traditions and ways of thinking clearly establishes a link to what is generally summarised as *culture*.

The slightly longer 2009 version repeats parts of this introductory paragraph word-for-word. However, as the curriculum is now formulated exclusively for English, there is greater emphasis on the characteristics of this specific language, particularly its international status:

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21 "Varied and multiple are the demands that today's society makes on school-leavers. It is required that they participate actively in the world of work or in Higher Education. In this context, the purpose of the sub-curricular subject Foreign Language in Secondary Education is to provide students with a tool that allows them to access information, knowledge and technology, as well as to appreciate other lifestyles, traditions and ways of thinking. It has therefore purposes of personal development and enrichment, as well as instrumental ones with work-related, academic or professional aims. In order to achieve them, it is necessary to renew and update the contents and the development of linguistic skills within a framework of reference according to our educational, social, geographic and economic reality."

> "Las demandas que la sociedad actual impone a los egresados del sistema educacional son variadas y múltiples. Los cambios que ha experimentado el país como resultado de *su creciente inserción en el mundo globalizado exigen* que alumnos y alumnas egresen con un manejo de un idioma extranjero que les permita enfrentar *con éxito diversas situaciones comunicativas* y que, al mismo tiempo, favorezca *su participación activa en la educación superior o en el mundo laboral*. En este contexto, la enseñanza del idioma inglés resulta particularmente importante dado su amplio uso a nivel internacional, en el ámbito de las comunicaciones en general y, en particular, en *los ámbitos comercial, tecnológico y científico*. El pro-pósito principal del currículum de inglés es entregar a los y las estudiantes las habilidades necesarias para utilizar el idioma como una herramienta que les permita acceder a la información, así como resolver situaciones comunicativas simples de variada índole, en forma oral y escrita. Es también un propósito importante pro-mover progresivamente el desarrollo de habilidades cognitivas de orden superior *y desarrollar la capacidad de apreciar otros estilos de vida, tradiciones y maneras de pensar.* El aprendizaje del inglés como lengua extranjera tiene, por tanto, propósitos de formación y crecimiento personal, así como propósitos de orden instrumental para fines académicos, laborales y otros propios del mundo juvenil."[22] (2009: 85)

The chiastic structure with instrumental and integrative motives has been retained; however, there are other learning objectives that have appeared: higher-order thinking skills, and communicative purposes in the context of the teenage world, thus giving value to the developmental needs and wants of the students.

Further down, in the 2005 version, the instrumental aims are again described in far more detail than those related to culture; the areas in which access to information communicated in the foreign language is useful are spelled out. On the other hand, even though culture is mentioned twice here, there is no addi-

22 "Varied and multiple are the demands that today's society makes on school-leavers. The changes that the country has undergone as a result of its growing participation in the globalised world demand that students leave school with foreign language skills that allow them to tackle a range of communicative situations successfully and which, at the same time, favour their active participation in Higher Education or in the world of work. In this context, the teaching of the English language acquires particular importance due to its wide-ranging use on an international level, in the area of communication in general and in particular in the areas of commerce, technology and science. The main aim of the English curriculum is to provide students with the necessary skills to use the language as a tool that allows them to access information, as well as resolving simple communicative situations of various kinds, orally and in writing. Another important aim is also to progressively promote higher-order cognitive skills and to develop the ability to appreciate other lifestyles, traditions and ways of thinking. The learning of English has, therefore, aims related to personal development and enrichment, as well as instrumental purposes with academic, work-related aims or others specifically related to the teenage world."

tional information with regard to what is understood by culture or cultural diversity:

> "El sub-sector idioma extranjero propone desarrollar en el estudiante de Educación Media las habilidades necesarias para utilizar el segundo idioma como *instrumento de acceso a la información proveniente de diferentes fuentes, especialmente aquella que se origina en los ámbitos académico, tecnológico y productivo*, y como un *medio de comunicación y apertura a otras realidades y culturas*. Se busca que los estudiantes puedan comprender e interpretar discursos escritos y orales y resolver situaciones simples de comunicación oral y escrita, acordes con su nivel de desarrollo lingüístico, psicológico y afectivo; se busca, asimismo, que a través del acceso a otra lengua, *aprecien la diversidad cultural*."[23] (2005: 64)

In the new version, there are a few more hints regarding the aims of the cultural objectives. Globalisation as a challenge for Chilean society is a pervasive idea, leading to an emphasis on the instrumental aspects of language learning:

> "Esta actualización de los Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios para el aprendizaje del inglés como idioma extranjero, obedece a la *necesidad de responder a los requerimientos de la sociedad chilena de hoy*, que demanda que los y las estudiantes mejoren su nivel de inglés para *enfrentar los desafíos del mundo global*."[24] (2009: 86)

Then, after it is spelt out how students are to improve their level of English, especially their productive skills, in the second-to-last paragraph of this introduction there is another clue to understanding the "other aims" of learning English:

> "*Además de propósitos de orden instrumental*, el aprendizaje de una lengua extranjera persigue fines de formación y crecimiento personal. Este fin se evidencia en los Objetivos Fundamentales que apuntan a *descubrir y conocer la presencia de otras culturas y valorar la diversidad cultural*, como asimismo, reconocer y valorar *las bases de la identidad nacional* en un mundo cada vez más globalizado e interdependiente. Este objetivo y otros Objetivos Fundamentales Transversales relacio-

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23 "The sub-curricular area of Foreign Language proposes to develop those skills that are necessary to the secondary student for using the second language as an instrument to access information from different sources, especially those originating from academic, technological and manufacturing areas, and as a means of communication and opening up towards other realities and cultures. The goal is that students are able to understand and interpret written and oral discourses and resolve simple oral and written communicative situations, according to their level of linguistic, psychological and emotional development. At the same time, through their access to another language, students should come to appreciate cultural diversity."

24 "This revised version of the General Objectives and Minimum Contents for the learning of English as a foreign language responds to the need to meet the requirements of today's Chilean society, which demands that the students improve their level of English in order to face the challenges of the global world."

nados con la formación ética, el desarrollo del pensamiento, la persona y su entorno, y el crecimiento y la autoafirmación personal, tienen especial presencia y oportunidad de desarrollo tanto en la selección y tratamiento de los temas como en la propuesta metodológica para el desarrollo de cada una de las habilidades."[25] (2009: 87)

There is a vague reference to "the presence of other cultures" and cultural diversity. However, importantly, there is also a reference to (a homogenous?) national identity in a globalised world. Finally, other learning goals are related to personal growth, without a direct link to knowledge about or attitudes towards any particular cultures.

5.3 General Learning Objectives and Minimum Contents for English

5.3.1 The 1998/ 2004 Curriculum

In this version of the curriculum, the General Objectives and Minimum Contents are still formulated for "Foreign Language", not specifically for English. The main other language that has been taught on the basis of these documents is French.

General Objectives (Objetivos Fundamentales):

This document is very short: one page for the four years of study. Five objectives are prescribed for each year; the first relates to reading comprehension; the second to listening comprehension; the third to oral and written production[26]; the fourth objective presents the number of words students should know by the end

25 "In addition to instrumental purposes, the learning of a foreign language pursues aims of personal growth and development. This goal is reflected in the General Objectives that aim towards discovering and becoming familiar with the presence of other cultures and valuing cultural diversity, as well as recognising and valuing the bases of national identity in a world that has become increasingly globalised and interdependent. This objective and other Cross-Curricular Objectives which are related to ethical education, the development of thought, of the person and her or his environment, personal growth and self-assertion, have special presence and opportunities for development both in the selection and discussion of the topics and in the methodological proposal for the development of each of the skills."

26 An additional section of the programmes that are issued for each of the year groups, concerning the expected learning outcomes (*aprendizajes esperados*), stipulates that an 80% of class time should be spent on the receptive skills, the remaining 20% for the development of productive skills (MINEDUC 1998: 14f).

of each school year; the last is related to the personal attitudes to be developed through learning the language. The way in which these objectives are formulated makes it difficult to make a general observation about the way in which they should progress over time, as there is a certain lack of consistency in the terminology employed. For example, for reading comprehension, progress should be seen in that the texts become increasingly longer and more authentic. Up to Year 11, students are explicitly "allowed" to give evidence of their comprehension in Spanish, but in Year 12, there is no reference to the language that should be used in student responses. In Year 10, the dictionary is mentioned as an aid for comprehension, but is not so noted for the other year groups. Most clearly marked is the expected progress in the area of vocabulary: from 1000 words in Year 9 (taking into account the vocabulary acquired in primary school), to 1300 in Year 10, 1600 in Year 11, and 2000 words in Year 12. However, no distinction is made between receptive or productive vocabulary. Concerning topics, in the first three objectives there are some references to the world of work and education, but also – interestingly - to the *students' own interests or purposes*. Objective five, which refers to attitudes, deserves to be quoted here in detail:

> Year 9: "Comprender las ideas y respetar la diversidad de planteamientos, sentimientos y valores expresados en textos escritos y orales en la lengua extranjera."[27]
>
> Year 10: "Desarrollar una actitud receptiva y analítica ante las distintas formas de expresión de la lengua extranjera, valorando así la riqueza expresiva de la comunicación lingüística y el conocimiento de su propia lengua."[28]
>
> Year 11: "Desarrollar una actitud positiva hacia la lectura, respeto por la diversidad cultural e interés por la información entregada por los textos en idioma extranjero."[29]
>
> Year 12: "Apreciar la contribución del idioma extranjero a su formación integral y al desarrollo de potencialidades aplicables en el futuro campo laboral y/o académico."[30] (94)

Despite the observed lack of continuity in the phrasing of these objectives, we can still discern certain key words that are repeated in some way: respect for di-

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27 "To understand the ideas and respect the diversity of propositions, feelings and values expressed in written and oral texts in the foreign language."

28 "To develop a receptive and analytical attitude towards the various ways of expression in the foreign language, thus valuing the expressive richness of linguistic communication and the knowledge of the students' own language."

29 "To develop a positive attitude towards reading, respect for cultural diversity and interest in the information presented via the texts in the foreign language."

30 "To appreciate the contribution of the foreign language to the students' personal development and the development of competences applicable in their future field of work and/or academic studies."

versity (twice); a positive attitude (which seems to be synonymous to receptive and analytical here) towards different ways of expression; towards the students' own language; towards reading; towards the contribution of the foreign language to personal growth.

Minimum Contents (Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios):

This document is slightly more detailed. It is spread out over nearly four pages. The Minimum Contents are divided into three sections: *Linguistic contents* (macro and micro functions, morpho-syntactic structures, vocabulary), *text types* (for reading and listening comprehension) and *skills* (strategies and techniques for reading, listening, speaking, and writing). Thematic contents are not explicitly present here; there are very vague hints that are subsumed under the three subtitles and mostly present in the section for text types / listening and reading comprehension. In this sense, for example, the semantic fields for the vocabulary to be acquired are governed by the discursive genres proposed in that section. Thus, for Year 9, the proposed minimum contents for text types/ reading comprehension reads as follows:

> "Textos, auténticos o adaptados, de tipo instructivo, descriptivo, y narrativo, de longitud creciente, representativos de comunicaciones e intercambios del mundo estudiantil, laboral y académico; seleccionados según su extensión, complejidad, variedad y proximidad a las experiencias e intereses de los estudiantes. Por ejemplo: titulares, tiras cómicas, recetas, notas, cartas, invitaciones, anécdotas y cuentos cor-tos, graffitti, bitácoras, itinerarios, listados, instrucciones, descripción de máquinas, instrumentos, fenómenos, juegos u otros." (96)[31]

Here is another example for listening comprehension (also year 9):

> "Textos de longitud creciente, auténticos o adaptados, emitidos por personas o medios audiovisuales (cassettes), emitidos por el profesor o grabados por hablantes nativos, graduados de acuerdo a su extensión, complejidad, y proximidad a las experiencias e intereses de los estudiantes, cautelando la variedad de los discursos y de los medios de comunicación. Ej.: diálogos, poemas, rimas, instrucciones y advertencias, canciones, etc." (96)[32]

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31 "Instructive, descriptive and narrative texts, authentic or adapted, of increasing length, representative of the communication and exchanges found in the worlds of school, of work or of academic study; selected according to their length, complexity, variety and proximity to the students' experiences and interests. For example: headlines, comic strips, recipes, notices, letters, invitations, anecdotes and short stories, graffiti, diaries, itineraries, lists, instructions, descriptions of machines, instruments, phenomena, games or others."

32 "Texts of increasing length, authentic or adapted, spoken live or on audiovisual media (cassettes), spoken by the teacher or recorded by native speakers, graded according to

Year 10 adds a reference to "socio-cultural and leisure time activities" and as some of the examples, biographies, travellers' tales and stories about life experiences. The selection criteria "text length, complexity and proximity to the students' experiences and interests" are maintained through the four levels. However, what is interesting is that whereas in years 9 and 10 fictional narrative and poetic text types (short stories, poems, songs) are still explicitly mentioned, in Years 11 and 12 the proposals become increasingly technically or academically oriented, leaving aside the genres with a greater "affective" potential. Some examples are catalogues, brochures, business letters, manuals, faxes, scientific texts, reviews of cultural activities, interviews, job applications, statistics, articles and videos.

5.3.2 The 2005 Curriculum

For "Foreign Language", there are not many new developments in this version of the curriculum. The general objectives and minimum contents remain the same, with the only exception that for Years 11 and 12 there are additional objectives and minimum contents for specialist Humanities and Sciences secondary schools. They consider four optional specialisation modules, which can be chosen in addition to the common framework (which are also aimed at vocational-technical schools). The four modules are (1) scientific-technological; (2) vocational; (3) social-communicative and (4) literary-cultural. Again, they should be chosen according to the students' needs and interests (MINEDUC 2005: 231). Another interesting proposal is the fourth general objective presented for this curricular orientation, as it refers to the design of common interdisciplinary projects (232).

5.3.3 The 2009 Curriculum

The 2009 Curriculum can be considered a real innovation. Apart from being formulated now specifically for English (with no apparent equivalent for other foreign languages)[33], there are substantial improvements in terms of its coverage (it embraces both primary and secondary education, ensuring therefore greater continuity), depth (there is far more detail both in the general objectives and in

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their length, complexity, and proximity to the students' experiences and interests, providing a variety of discourses and means of communication. For example: dialogues, poems, rhymes, instructions and warnings, songs, etc."

33 There is, however, a (common) curriculum for Chile's indigenous languages (see 5.4).

the minimum contents), structure and contents. In the elaboration of this document, the students' expected progress was aligned to international standards, i.e. the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. Thus, in Year 8, students should reach level A2 (basic speaker: waystage / elementary); by Year 12, students should reach level B1 (independent speaker: threshold / pre-intermediate). Accordingly, all four language skills should now be given the same attention (MINEDUC 2009a: 5).

General Objectives (Objetivos Fundamentales)

In this new version of the curriculum, there are now six general objectives for each Year of study: (1) listening comprehension, (2) reading comprehension, (3) speaking, (4) writing, (5) vocabulary and (6) personal growth and development. There is greater consistency, detail and explicitness in all of the objectives. For example, vocabulary should expand from 300 words in Year 5 to 1200 words in Year 8 (primary levels), and then from 1500 words in year 9 to 3000 words in Year 12 (secondary levels). It is explicitly stated that these numbers refer to receptive use and that students should be able to use part of it productively, according to their needs and communicative purposes. The objectives for listening and reading comprehension, in comparison to the previous version of the curriculum, seem to be slimmer now and less ambitious, which is meant to work in favour of a more integrated skills approach, giving greater emphasis to the productive skills. In this sense, up to Year 12, students are only required to read simple texts; however, from Year 9 onwards they are to develop skills for writing texts which are descriptive and narrative, if short and simple.

I would again like to quote the sixth general objective for each of the levels, which is related to personal growth and attitudes. They gain special importance as some of the topic contents are subordinated to them (see below):

> Years 5 and 6: "Descubrir la presencia del idioma inglés en su entorno y acercarse a su aprendizaje con una actitud de respeto que contribuya a su crecimiento personal, y valoración de una sociedad pluralista." (MINEDUC 2009: 92)[34]
>
> Years 7 and 8: "Desarrollar una actitud rigurosa, abierta, creativa y flexible frente al aprendizaje del idioma inglés que le permita desarrollar el sentido de respeto y valoración de la diversidad entre personas y culturas." (100)[35]

34 "To discover the presence of the English language in their environment and approach the learning of it with a respectful attitude, which should contribute to their personal growth and the appreciation of a pluralistic society."

35 "To develop a rigorous, open, creative and flexible attitude towards the learning of the English language, which should allow them to develop a sense of respect and appreciation of the diversity among people and cultures."

> Years 9 and 10: "Descubrir la riqueza expresiva del idioma inglés como medio de comunicación mundial, a partir de la valoración de la riqueza expresiva de su propia lengua, como reflejo tanto de su patrimonio cultural, como del carácter único de su persona." (108)[36]
>
> Years 11 and 12: "Valorar la contribución del idioma extranjero a su formación integral, la confianza en sí mismo, el respeto a los demás, el sentido positivo frente a la vida y al desarrollo de potencialidades aplicables en el futuro campo académico y/o laboral." (116)[37]

In comparison to the previous version of the curriculum, a few substantial improvements can be observed. On the one hand, there is greater consistency in terms of the idea of personal growth and the students' relationship with a diverse world; it moves from the students' own (pluralistic) world towards diverse cultures and finally the awareness of English being a global language. In this sense, completely new elements are the reference to a pluralistic society and to English as a world-wide means of communication. Appreciation of the students' own language as a learning goal is maintained; however, now, it is progressing from the students' own linguistic experience here towards the English language, not the other way round, as previously stated. It is also worth noting that references to a more instrumental "applicability" of English skills are left for the end, whereas a respectful and positive attitude towards "diversity" and cultural "richness" cuts across all of the levels.

Minimum Contents (Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios):

For the new curriculum, the minimum contents were also organised from a new perspective. They are now divided into five different sections, beginning with Topics, and then covering the four skills (Listening Comprehension, Reading Comprehension, Oral Expression and Written Expression). The functional-notional / discourse approach that was over-emphasised in the previous version has thus been widely overcome, and finally topics are given their deserved prominence, at least in the primary levels (cf. Hutchinson & Waters 1987: 85ff.). There is also a marked progression in terms of topics:

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36 "To discover the expressive richness of the English language as a means of world-wide communication, starting from the appreciation of the expressive richness of their own language, as a reflection both of their cultural heritage, as well as the uniqueness of themselves as a person."

37 "To value the contribution of the foreign language to their personal development, their self-esteem, respect for others, a positive sense towards life and the development of competences applicable in their future field of academic studies and/or work."

- Year 5: School and the classroom; home and family life; food and health; nature / the immediate natural environment (flora and fauna).
- Year 6: Myself, my family and personal relationships; leisure time and social activities; holidays and special events; the city and other places.
- Year 7: Friends; sports and sports events; the people, places, customs and traditions of my country; the environment and its protection.
- Year 8: Famous people and places; addictions and self-care; life in other countries and communities; traditions, popular music and literature of other countries.

However, this approach is only partially followed through in the secondary levels. Even though "topics" are still the first point in the document, now they are stated – for the four levels, from Years 9 to 12 - as quoted:

> "Las habilidades en este nivel se desarrollarán resguardando la incorporación del sexto objetivo fundamental y en el contexto de temas que sean representativos de la cultura juvenil y del mundo estudiantil, y seleccionados según criterios de familiaridad, relevancia y pertinencia."[38] (117)

The sections that refer to the development of the four skills are each divided into two parts: the first part gives a description of the texts that are to be used or produced; the second part lists the strategies and techniques that should be used for achieving comprehension or expression successfully. Even though for secondary school the topics are not stated in greater detail, the descriptions of the texts in these first parts still gives some clues as to the genres and consequently, the topic areas that are to be given preference. In these parts, there is a fair amount of continuity from the previous version of the curriculum. However, the problem that was criticised before, i.e. that text types with a greater "affective" potential were left behind from Year 11 onwards, seems to have been tackled, at least in part: up to year 12, informative, descriptive *and* narrative text types are explicitly mentioned. Even though, for reading, again, in year 11 the text types become increasingly job- or study-oriented and include, as before, genres such as business letters and scientific texts, for listening comprehension songs and poems are present in all levels. In year 10, as in the previous version, stories and travellers' tales are still part of the curricular proposals. Finally, another development is that of authenticity, one of the criteria of text selection from year 5 onwards (adapted texts are "allowed" up to year 10), is no longer tied up with nativeness,

38 "The skills in this level should be developed safeguarding the incorporation of the sixth general objective and in the context of topics representative of youth culture and the students' world, and selected according to criteria concerning familiarity, relevance and pertinence." (For the sixth general objective, see above.)

as recorded audio material can be spoken by both native and non-native speakers.

5.4 The Intercultural Paradigm in Chile: Education for the Indigenous Population

In order to establish some contrast with the situation presented for the curriculum in general (in the Cross-Curricular Objectives) and for English specifically, I would like to briefly refer to the Curricular Framework presented for Indigenous Languages, which forms part of the same document (MINEDUC 2009: 121-143). Chilean law recognises as Indigenous Peoples of Chile the Mapuche, Aymara, Rapa Nui, Likan Antai, Diaguita, Quechua, Colla, Kawáshkar / Alacalufe y Yámana / Yagán peoples, and establishes that in those territories with a high density of indigenous population, schools *must* offer the respective language in their curriculum. However, it is not compulsory *for the students* to take the subject. In those parts of the country with a lower density of indigenous population, schools can voluntarily offer the subject, with the aim of favouring bilingualism and interculturality (122).

The country that is represented in this part of the document is quite different to the one presented in the other parts. For example, it commences with the following introduction:

> "Chile es un país multicultural y plurilingüe, en el cual convergen una diversidad de culturas y sistemas lingüísticos, lo que impone el desafío de convertir la escuela en un espacio educativo en el cual se asegure a niños y niñas de culturas y lenguas diferentes, el acceso a oportunidades de aprendizaje de las lenguas indígenas, de modo sistemático y pertinentes a su realidad."[39] (121)

Later on, it is affirmed that the indigenous peoples and their cultures are valued, as they form part of the roots of the Chilean nation. Intercultural Bilingual Education (which is the system that embraces the curricular framework for indigenous languages) aims at preparing indigenous students to cope adequately in their original society as well as in global society (ibid.).

39 "Chile is a multicultural and multilingual country, where a diversity of cultures and linguistic systems converge, which imposes the challenge to convert school into an educational space ensuring access, for children of different cultures and languages, to opportunities to learn the indigenous languages in a systematic manner which is pertinent to their reality."

The conception of language and its close interconnection with culture that is presented in this part of the document is greatly different to the way in which English is described:

> "La lengua es un conocimiento esencial en la comprensión y valoración de la cultura, por lo que este sector enfatiza el aprendizaje de la lengua y fomenta, a través de la lengua, la aproximación a la cultura, ya que desde el aprendizaje del idioma se pueden aprender aspectos fundamentales de una cultura, tales como la circularidad del tiempo, la relación de parte a todo con la naturaleza, la posición y definición de la persona en relación con el entorno, la armonía entre pares."[40] (121)

In terms of the General Objectives that are presented for this elective subject of education, there is a marked presence of the idea of interculturality, which becomes, as the age of the students increases, more and more detached from the immediate indigenous context, moving towards greater inclusiveness of cultural diversity in general:

> Year 5: "Comprender situaciones de relación intercultural y resolución de problemas desde la perspectiva indígena."[41] (130)
>
> Year 7: "Comprender y analizar situaciones interculturales en contexto indígena y no indígena."[42] (136)
>
> Year 8: "Comprender la riqueza de las distintas lenguas como expresión de las culturas que simbolizan. (…) Valorar la existencia de la diversidad lingüística y cultural, que favorece la práctica de la interculturalidad."[43] (139)

As an example of the way in which these general objectives are developed in the minimum contents, in the framework for Year 7, students are to analyse intercultural relations in indigenous and non-indigenous tales, and to analyse and comment on intercultural communicative situations in relation to interaction forms and the use and value of the indigenous language (138).

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40 "Language is essential knowledge in the comprehension and valuing of culture. For this reason, this subject area emphasises the learning of the language and fosters, through the language, the approach to the culture, given that from the learning of the language fundamental aspects of a culture can be learned, such as the circularity of time, the relationship of part and oneness with nature, the position and definition of the person in relation to his/her environment, the harmony between peers."

41 "To understand situations to do with intercultural relations and the solution of problems from an indigenous perspective."

42 "To understand and analyse intercultural situations in indigenous and non-indigenous contexts."

43 "To understand the richness of different languages as an expression of the cultures which they symbolise. To value the existence of linguistic and cultural diversity, which favours the practice of interculturality."

In relation to other contents, in comparison to the English curriculum there is also far greater detail in terms of the cultural dimensions and aspects to be treated in class. For example, in year 5, students are familiarised with topics related to the conceptualisation of space and time according to an indigenous view of the world (132); in year 6, local and territorial historical memory play a key role in the curriculum; later, both traditional and topical texts about their own, but also other indigenous realities and histories are analysed and produced.

Of course, the formal schooling in one's own communities' (endangered) language and traditions *must* be treated differently from the acquisition of a foreign language which is used globally with a high emphasis on instrumental transactions. It must be taken into account that the status of English is often perceived as a challenge to cultural identities of non-English speaking communities all over the world. However, in my view, the potential that the expansion of English teaching in Chile has for including intercultural learning *for all* has not been fully exploited yet, in spite of the awareness that exists in relation to the indigenous languages and cultures.

5.5 Conclusion

Before summing up, I would like to emphasise that none of Chile's recent governments have shown a commitment to seriously challenge the status quo of the distribution of power in Chile's neoliberal society through its educational policies or a critical centralised curriculum, together with its complementary materials and statutory requirements. Maybe it would also be naïve to expect this. In this sense, at least in theory, the slimness of the curriculum has the advantage of leaving a good deal of curricular decision-making to the schools and teachers themselves. The teachers' perception of the practical *de facto* situation will be analysed in chapter 9.3.[44]

To conclude, I would like to make the following observations about the curricular framework for foreign language / English education in Chile:

1) Up until 2005, the curricula were formulated for Foreign Languages in general. They had a marked prioritisation of the development of receptive skills, which must have been based on the premise that in the given context, most of foreign language interaction would be one-directional, the Chilean students being exposed to foreign language materials without having to respond in the

44 Some of the difficulties related to the development of local curricula in a semi-centralised curricular organisation are outlined in Gysling 2007: 346f.

foreign language. This fact explains in part why intercultural *communicative* competence (as for face-to-face interactions) is not a required learning objective. Also, without reference to a specific language, and consequently, to a specific target culture, it was impossible to formulate any specific target cultural contents. In terms of the selection of thematic topics, the students' interest and experience were always prioritised over strictly standardised governmental guidelines.

2) With the renewed version of the curriculum of 2009, and the specification of *English* as a school subject, the emphasis given to the teaching of the receptive language skills was changed towards a more equalitarian integration of the productive skills, thus giving credit to increased opportunities to interact actively with other English speakers. Although topics are now prescribed for the primary school years, they are, for the most part, fairly abstract and applicable to different cultural contexts.
3) It is clear that the curricular framework for English subscribes to a Lingua Franca conception of the language: there is explicit reference to English as a global means of communication; audio material can be recorded by both native and non-native speakers; in addition, there is not one single instance in which the English language is brought into the context of the Anglo-American cultures, or any other specific culture or country. Rather, the guidelines refer to "other communities and countries" in general, allowing teachers to make a definite selection at their own discretion, while taking into account the students' interests. The students are not asked to develop specific attitudes towards or knowledge about English-speaking countries.
4) An effort is made to balance instrumental and integrative reasons for learning English; the former are brought into context with the globalised world; the latter are more closely linked to personal development and growth; none of them is related to contact with any specific cultural group or nation or to a particular aspect of (a) foreign culture. Learning objectives aiming for the development of cultural awareness are extremely vague and without the detail and richness that have been presented for the development of skills and linguistic objectives.
5) The only national culture that is explicitly mentioned is Chile's itself. Although there is repeated reference to cultural diversity and, in the newest version, mention of a pluralistic society, the whole of the curricular framework seems to aim at a rather homogenous national identity, which is to be consolidated through all subjects, including English.
6) Globalisation is mentioned in the section on cross-curricular objectives, in the English framework and in that on indigenous languages. In general terms it is described as a challenge, even as a factor of tension against a supposedly

homogeneous national identity. However, there is no reference to migration (both into and from Chile) as an issue related to globalisation.

7) The only place in the curriculum in which Chile is described as a multicultural society, and in which intercultural learning objectives are formulated, is the framework for indigenous languages. However, it must be remembered that this subject is not compulsory for any student in the country, and that those schools that have only a minority of indigenous students in their catchment area are not obliged to teach the subject. In this sense, it appears that the government prioritises a homogenising agenda for the majority, while marginalising culturally diverse sectors. Intercultural education as a pedagogical proposal remains as isolated as the communities that could be favoured by such approach (cf. Rubio 2009).
8) There are no visible attempts to include cross-curricular or subject-specific (English) objectives related to the development of intercultural awareness, let alone, intercultural competence, for *all* students. However, as the inclusion of a framework for indigenous languages shows, there seems to be certain awareness that Chile does present degrees of multiculturalism. By the way the curriculum is constructed, it appears that it is only the minority (indigenous) groups that need to be trained and prepared specifically for living in a multicultural society, whereas the majority can rely on vague indications that point towards respect of cultural diversity in very general terms.

It is clear that the expansion that English teaching in Chile has experienced in the past few years poses an enormous challenge to schools and, in particular, to English teachers. In the view of some teachers, the new curricular framework as it is, with higher demands on the development of productive skills, is already difficult to implement. Asking for the inclusion of intercultural learning objectives might seem an even greater burden for many English teachers at this moment. However, in the context of this research, I believe it is necessary to detect some of the weaknesses and potentials that the current curriculum presents. In my opinion, in the future a greater effort could be made to join forces and to include some of the advances that have already been made in the area of intercultural education for the indigenous peoples into the curricular frameworks of English in order to promote intercultural learning in all sectors of society, aiming at an anti-racist education that will actively promote a positive integration of majority Chilean, indigenous and immigrant population sectors (cf. also Gysling 2007: 341 and the proposals contained in “Petitorio de Secundarios” 2011). In this way, English as *the* intercultural school subject could gain cognitive, affective and social depth, and could benefit from the inclusion of motivating and

stimulating contents. This is probably more feasible and plausible than calling for the teaching of indigenous languages to all, desirable as it may seem.

Apart from the curricular framework, other governmental documents are progress maps and programmes for the different subjects and year groups. However, as they are not binding for all schools, but rather to be used as suggestions, I prefer to focus on an analysis of the most widely used textbooks in Chile, in the coming chapter.

6. Cultural Content Analysis of Some of the Most Commonly Used Textbooks in English Teaching in Chile

In this chapter I will examine three textbooks or courses for English teaching in Chilean secondary schools, which have been commissioned for and distributed to publically funded schools by the central government in past years. The choice of the analysed textbooks is partly based on the date of the research: *Going Global* and *Global English* were compulsory during the years in which the teacher interviews were carried out (2007-2009). I left out another book, *In Contact*, which was also distributed to schools in 2007-2008, as nearly all the interviewed teachers informed me that they were not using it due to its advanced level. Instead, I added *Go for Chile!*, a choice made on repeated recommendations from the teachers in the interviews (cf. chapter 9.3). All the textbooks that are analysed here are special editions (sometimes adapted from other editions) commissioned by the Chilean Ministry of Education and distributed free of charge to all public and state-subsidised private secondary schools in Chile; they are not available for sale in bookshops.

6.1 The Leading Questions for the Analysis

One of the aims of this research is to establish what kinds of (cultural) contents have potential to generate student motivation, especially through opportunities for identification. Therefore, the analytical tools applied here are more directly concerned with the topic contents presented in the coursebooks, rather than with criteria related to language acquisition processes. Of course, this does not mean that I do not recognise the importance of these in other research contexts. Additionally, as stated before, this investigation is strongly committed to a critical and empowering view of education, and English learning and teaching (cf. Chapter 4.3). In this sense, apart from considering the developments in Culture-and-Language Teaching presented in Chapter 4, such as the status of English as a *Lingua Franca*, models of intercultural learning, and analytical instruments derived from Cultural Studies, the framework is based on Critical Discourse Analysis and related proposals (Fairclough 2001, Volkmann 1999, 2010; cf. also Kubanek-German 2005, Gray 2000, 2002, Farías 2005).

The leading questions for the analysis of the textbooks are therefore the following:

1) Is there a tendency to teach English "without a culture", focusing on supposedly universal (occidental) topics stripped of their cultural particularities, or does culture – in whichever form – play an essential role in the selection of texts, topics, and pictures?
2) Beyond the development of English language skills, what are the stated or implicit *educational* goals of the textbooks, and how are they translated into topic contents and tasks? Is there an explicit or clearly marked link to some of the outlined proposals, such as peace education, education for international understanding, or world citizenship education (cf. chapter 4)? To the governments' aim to strengthen the students' sense of national identity? Or to some of the more critical pedagogue's vision of a "Latin American education" (e.g. Peralta 1996, Pinto 2008)?
3) How is the global status of the English language treated? Can it lead to the development of "critical language awareness" (Farías 2005)?
4) Are global issues given centre stage? If so, which are they, and how are they connected to the idea of English being a global language?
5) What (national) cultures are considered in the selection of coursebook contents? If there is a variety of different cultures, what proportion of the content is dedicated to the home culture (Chile), to target cultures / inner circle countries, and/or to international target cultures (outer and expanding circle countries) respectively (Cortazzi & Jin 1999)? Does the selection open up the possibility of developing a "deeper" understanding of (a) culture, or does the presented range lead to a bland, superficial treatment of cultural aspects?
6) Which cultural aspects are presented, and how are they dealt with? Do the texts in the textbooks point at a homogeneous, even stereotypical representation of the cultures or are they committed to presenting a heterogeneous picture, considering dominant (or mainstream), alternative, and oppositional (or resistant) discourses (cf. Fairclough 2001:124)[45], and thus giving students opportunities both to identify with some aspects and to develop multiple, possibly critical, perspectives on the culture(s) in question?
7) How does the coursebook aim at developing intercultural awareness? Is there room for the discussion of differences and similarities in cultural practices, and is there an emphasis on one or the other? In the way in which foreign culture(s) are presented, can students get a sense of the relative "normality" of foreign practices, or is there a tendency to highlight the exoticism of culturally different aspects? Are there textual offers for students to change their ethnocentric perspective and see a foreign culture "from within", using an emic perspective (cf. Moran 2001)?

45 Pennycook (2001: 83) prefers the terms *discourse* and *counter-discourse*.

8) Finally, how does the textbook contribute to the students' gaining "ownership" of the English language (e.g. Widdowson 1994, Norton 1997, Canagarajah 1999, Mackay 2002)? What potentials are there for identification with fictional or non-fictional characters appearing in the textbooks – not only in the written and spoken texts, but also in the pictures?

In order for the reader to gain a quick overview of some of the most important textbook features, I will use tables to present summarised information on topics, genres and perspectives, places featured (or mentioned) in the texts, names of fictional and real people mentioned, and important characteristics of the pictures illustrating the texts. The reason why I have decided to analyse the skin and hair colour of the people that appear in drawings or photographs in the textbooks is mainly related to the identification factor: the pictures obviously form part of the discourse of the textbooks, and can reinforce - or reverse - the discourse of the written texts. To the students, they are the most directly accessible part of the book they are using. In these terms, the potential for identification with English or English speakers might be influenced by the physical characteristics of the people who represent ownership of the language in the textbooks.[46]

In the main text of this chapter, I will first summarise the most important information given in the introductions to the Teacher's Books, as they outline the authors' perspectives and intentions *behind* the more "visible" student books. Then, I will summarise the most important findings from the analyses, based on the questions above. Whenever there are emblematic texts that are particularly useful to illustrate the cultural tendency of the textbook, they will be analysed in more detail.

6.2 *Going Global 1 / 2* (Years 9 and 10), 2007-2008

Going Global, for Years 9 and 10 (authors: David Mower, Michael Harris, Anna Sikorzynska), is a course that was written for the England-based publishing company Pearson Education and then adapted for use in secondary education in

46 In images used in Chilean advertising, light-skinned, blue-eyed people are largely overrepresented, making the dark-haired, dark-eyed and brown-skinned majority relatively invisible (cf., for example, "Cuestionan a U. de Concepción", 2011). On the other hand, I am aware of the fact that adding an analytical category based on racial features might constitute a racialist practice in itself. Just as with our place of birth, none of us have chosen the skin or hair colour we were born with, or the language which we were brought up to speak. We can only choose to be aware of discriminatory practices that are based on racial features, and not to contribute to these practices ourselves.

various countries, especially in Eastern Europe and South America. The introduction to the Teachers' Book (*Guía Didáctica para el Profesor*) begins with a section entitled "Key Features", followed by nine subtitles referring to the most important characteristics of the book. The first is "Topic-based modules" and describes the way in which topic contents are organised in the book:

> "The basic premise of the course is that secondary students learn English best when they are dealing with interesting and meaningful content. Thematic input provides a context for language and communication and supplies a series of cognitive 'anchors' for learning which are crucial in a monolingual learning environment." (Mugglestone 2006: 8)

The description then continues to explain the organisation of the course in eight topic-based modules, each with several sub-topics to provide both variety and thematic depth at the same time. The topics aim to cover three kinds of content: first, "topics related to the student's own world", relating to topics that are supposedly of "universal" interest to teenagers and young adults, such as *free time, sports stars, parties, shopping, going out/travel, holidays, music and dance* and *design* (for *Going Global 1*) and *extreme sports and expeditions, newspaper stories and films, clean means of transport, important issues, the price fame, life in the future, schools, job possibilities* and *voluntary work* (for *Going Global 2*); second, "cross-curricular themes", e.g. science and information technology, marine life, the arts, business – "dealing with money/awareness of consumerism and the importance of moral values/advertising", social studies – "serious social issues such as homelessness (…), disability and racism"; third, "cultural input": "Some of this is about different cultures around the world (e.g. Indonesian weddings/Indian festivals (…). However, most of the input in the book is on English-speaking cultures. (…) There is also a focus on English *[sic]* literature. There are literary texts in the modules: Edgar Allan Poe (…) and Sandra Cisneros" (ibid.). After this introduction to the thematic organisation of the course, there are other "key features" related to objectives and outcomes; the structure of modules, lessons and tasks; a process approach to skills; the development of the four language skills (40% reading, 40% listening and 20% writing and speaking, as stipulated by the then valid National Curriculum); the inductive approach to grammar; vocabulary learning in context; language recycling; learner development towards independence; and "culture and OFTs". I will quote the latter:

> "Input about English-speaking cultures appears frequently. The Culture Corner spots supplement this in different lessons. Here students reflect on the differences between the target cultures and their own. Information and activities are arranged so that students can reflect upon differences and similarities while gaining insights and awareness of their own culture in relation to others. Some spots also provide extra cultural

> input in the form of short listening tasks. (…) *Quote… unquote* spots, which appear throughout the Student's Book, provide interesting cultural insights and can be useful tools for the development of students' ethical and personal issues. (…) More cultural input is provided in the Culture Corner spots (…). These consist of fact files and magazine articles plus accompanying tasks. Each module contains suggestions for the OFTs[47], providing ample opportunities for students to: deal with ethics; develop self-esteem and critical thinking skills; gain an appreciation for their role in society as responsible and productive citizens." (11-12)

In order to examine the way in which cultural contents are presented to the students, I have analysed the first four (of eight) modules of *Going Global 1*; I think this is sufficient to be able to gain an understanding of the structure of the book. For the remaining four modules, I have summarised the most important cultural features. Finally, all *Culture Corners*, including the ones of *Going Global 2*, are given special consideration.

Cultural contents do play an important role throughout the textbook. What might be surprising, up to a certain point, is the importance that Britain is given, together with the effort to make a close connection to the local, Chilean identity. References to British characters (e.g. "Brian Blakey from Birmingham", p. 10), places, institutions (e.g. the BBC) or symbols (e.g. a red Austin Mini in an illustration) do not only appear as special features in main texts, but also in shorter exercises, in the directions given at the bottom of an advertisement or when prices of products are given in British pounds. After the UK, Chile is the second most mentioned country; however, in numbers it only receives half the attention of the UK, and only a third of special features. Other English-speaking countries (especially the USA) appear about as much as Chile; other countries hardly ever receive special attention; they may appear in lists of countries to which a Chilean sportsman has travelled (p. 28), or of the origins of many of the international restaurants in Britain (p. 33).

47 *Objetivos Fundamentales Transversales* (Cross-curricular objectives), cf. chapter 5.1.

Table 5: Places in Going Global 1, modules 1-4 (numbers refer to times these places or places within these countries or regions are mentioned in reading or listening texts and exercises; bold numbers refer to "special features")

Chile	24; of these, **3**	17%; **15%**
Latin America	6	4%
UK	48; of these, **9**	34%; **47%**
Other English-speaking / Inner Circle countries	23; of these, **4**	16%; **21%**
Other countries	39; of these, **3**	27%; **15%**

Also, especially for Britain, it seems that the approach towards national cultures is fairly static, emphasising the positive sides of a country, and omitting the internal cultural diversity of a place. Sometimes this leads to a tourist guide approach, like in the Culture Corners on Scotland and London.

> "Teresa is going to visit London. Use the brochure to answer as many of her questions as you can. / 1 What is there to do if it rains? / 2 Where can you go shopping? / 3 Where can you see a play? / 4 What royal buildings can you see?" (p. 117)

There is no reference to multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-cultural London which is probably what strikes the foreign visitor the most when first arriving in this city. However, in the Culture Corner on "Eating in Britain" (p. 33), there is a more dynamic approach, with more and different perspectives offered. It is clear that the stereotype of terrible British food is broken. Here, after presenting the way in which things have changed in the movement towards excellent, international food and increasing vegetarianism, there is also a reflection on "some bad news" about "more and more fast food" and "our ready-made dinner", which "we" (= the British?) put "into the microwave before sitting down in front of the TV". This reflection is not related to "good and bad news about food world-wide" or specifically Chile. The emphasis that British culture is given, sometimes in a patent essentialist way (cf. Said 1978/2003), raises the question about the cultural pertinence of the presented contents. This is especially true for the unit on "Seasonal festivals" (p. 44), where two of the three short texts are about ancient traditions in Cornwall. Only the third text, which talks about the origin of Halloween, can reasonably be used for lessons in Chile, because of the world-wide commercialisation of this festival. On the other hand, the opportunity to reflect upon its world-wide spread (critically or not) is missed.

The spread of English as a global language is not turned into a topic in its own right. In spite of this, the approach taken here is to present different (inner circle) English-speaking countries in various ways: the USA reappears in various exercises and shorter texts. Scotland and New Zealand feature in two different Culture Corners in *Going Global 1*, other inner circle countries are presented

in the Culture Corners in *Going Global 2*: Ireland and Wales again from a fairly static and essentialist standpoint; however, the Culture Corners on Australia (with special focus on the Aborigines) and Canada (with special focus on multiculturalism) try to show a more detailed and multi-perspective picture on just one page. Outer circle countries are not mentioned as such. There is one unit on weddings with a short text, adapted from an "expat" web site, about dos and don'ts for (English-speaking) expatriates living in Indonesia and attending "ethnic weddings", followed by a description of a traditional Chinese wedding. Whereas in most of the texts about Britain, an "insider" (emic) perspective is taken, often with a first person (singular or plural) speaker, here the "outsider" (etic) perspective is taken to the extreme of describing a foreign wedding custom as odd, as it differs from an occidental perspective: "One strange thing is that the bride's family sends [the presents] back if they don't like them." (p. 41)

On the other hand, there is a marked intention to lead students towards both intra- and intercultural awareness, especially through a comparative approach. For instance, the "Culture Corner" pages, which appear after every second module, are immediately followed by pages guiding students to collect and present information on a related topic from "My Culture" (e.g. on Chilean food after the page on Food in Britain, p. 33/34). Also, after most of the reading and listening comprehension tasks, there are thinking and discussion tasks with the title "Before you go on…" and a subtitle "How about you?", which are often related to the cross-curricular objectives and have the potential to help students to develop their critical thinking about cultural issues, or about topics related to personal health and care, for example. However, a few problems can be detected in the way certain issues are dealt with, for example by looking at Module 1 ("Lifestyles"). One of the units under this heading of "Lifestyles" is about homeless people. Is this sarcasm, or do the textbook writers really want to suggest that living "underground" in New York is just another lifestyle option? Presenting homelessness in one of the world's most glamorous cities as a feature text is definitely a step towards deconstructing stereotypes about exclusively rich and successful US-Americans; however, the reasons for which these people live in an abandoned railway tunnel and not in apartments or houses are not given in the text (p. 16).[48] There is another short text on the 2006 earthquake in Northern Chile on the opposite page; it also refers to the problem of people who are

48 The Chilean educationalist Pinto, in *El currículo crítico* (2008: 43), quotes his Brazilian colleague Da Silva, pointing out that one of the rhetorical strategies used by neoliberal currents in education is to depict misery and poverty as personal decisions. *Going Global* is certainly a good example for this; if it was an indeliberate slip, it is just another sign that this kind of neoliberal logic has become part of mainstream thinking and discourse.

homeless because they lost their houses in this natural disaster. At the bottom of the page, the "How about you?" task reads as follows: "Are there any homeless people in your city? Why are they homeless? What can you suggest to solve their problem? Discuss with your partner." Ideas, or at least words and expressions to accomplish this task in simple English (such as "expensive rents") are given neither in the texts nor in an additional box with key words.

The inclusion of topics such as "campaigners" (p. 26/27) proves that there is also an aim to contribute to world citizenship education. Here, photos and short listening extracts refer to the following people: Vaclav Havel, Mother Theresa, Mary Robinson, Emmeline Pankhurst, Martin Luther King and Jane Goodall. Including a range of different campaigners with varying origins and causes certainly makes sense. It is also a great opportunity to include some oppositional discourses, even if they have turned into alternative discourses widely accepted by the mainstream after so many years. The problem is that many Chilean 14 year-olds might find it difficult to relate to more than one or two of them; the cause of a person like Vaclav Havel has no direct impact on their lives in Chile, and it is unlikely that they will encounter his name soon again. As the textbook was written for a variety of countries, including Eastern Europe, and was subsequently adapted for use in Chile, the question arises: why has no effort been made to look for regionally and culturally more representative campaigners? It is clear that the reference to some leaders of social movements in Latin America could hurt political sensitivities; however, somebody like Guatemalan Rigoberta Menchú could well have substituted the European campaigners here. Another option could have been to simply leave them out, and only leave three or four of the more famous people.

It is also worth mentioning that whereas Chilean national identity is certainly reinforced through the inclusion of Chilean characters (e.g. the disabled tennis player Robinson Méndez, p. 28) or events (as in the earthquake text mentioned above), there is clearly no intention to expand this national identity towards a regional Latin American one through noticeable and repeated references to other Latin American countries or cultures. The only clear exceptions are a few loose references to Brazilian football, a feature text on Latin American dance (a cliché shown from a European perspective?, p. 94/95) and another one on indigenous pottery in the last module (p. 108/109), which might not be considered by teachers due to its length, complexity and location in the textbook.

How about opportunities for identification for the target audience? Probably the most important efforts to reach this consist in the fictional names in exercises, many of which are in Spanish, and some references to Chile in feature texts, pre- and post-reading questions and exercises.

Table 6: Names in Going Global 1, modules 1-4

Fictional names in English	38 (mainly in reading or listening texts)
Fictional names in Spanish	47 (mainly in exercises)
Fictional names of (possibly) other origins	4
Proper names of English-speaking people	36
Proper names of Spanish-speaking people	3
Proper names of people from other countries or origins	11

In this context, the visual illustrations gain special importance. Some pictures feature Chilean or Latino people or institutions (e.g. a Chilean police woman on p. 12). However, the great majority shows pictures of Northern or Central European (light-skinned, often blonde) people. Only a few pictures point towards the multi-ethnicity present in English-speaking countries, like the two girls collecting money for Save the Animals on p. 51. However, together with the lack of reference to English as a global language, it is implicitly suggested that English, rather statically, belongs to Britain, with some concessions to other inner circle countries. Opportunities to develop critical language awareness are thus not exploited.

In the more narrative parts of the textbook, there is often an interior perspective given through the use of the 1st person singular. However, as not all stories are always well contextualised, some opportunities for real identification are missed. For example, for the extract from the novel *The House on Mango Street* by Mexican American writer Sandra Cisneros there is only some background information in the teacher's book. This could have been an excellent opportunity to build a bridge between Latinos in the USA, stories of emigrants (of which there are many in Chilean families) and the Chilean reality here (cf., for example, Delanoy 2006 on uses of Chicana literature in the EFL classroom; also Rebolledo & Rivero 1993).

To sum up, in cultural terms *Going Global* is definitely a problematic textbook for Chile, in spite of its many efforts to foster cultural awareness, and despite the great pains that have been taken to include texts and tasks with local references. The greatest problem is its over-dimensioned focus on Britain, which to many students here is a remote place with little relevance to their own lives, especially as there is little chance that they will be able to visit it some day. Unless the teacher is excellent at relating these contents back to her or his students, this probably causes alienation, rather than motivation. Other problems are related to the static, one-dimensional and essentialist way in which some of the foreign cultures are presented. Opportunities to give English the global twist that is

referred to in the title of the book are scarce, and when they appear they are blemished with an etic perspective (as in the Indonesian weddings), with culturally even more irrelevant references (such as Vaclav Havel), or with lacking contextualisation. On the other hand, teachers with a developed sense of culture might be able to use some parts successfully, building on the motivational potential of colourful pictures and the humorous touch present in various texts.

6.3 *Global English* (Year 11), 2007

Global English, for Year 11, (author: Jolanta Polk Reyes) was published by the Chilean educational publishing house Ediciones Cal y Canto Ltda. The introduction to the Teachers' Book (*Guía Didáctica para el Profesor*) is divided into three parts: a "Message from the Author" (p.4/5), "Book Characteristics" (p. 5-9), and "The Internet and the Language Classroom" (p. 9-11). The message from the author begins with a statement of the principles behind the textbook, highlighting the importance of attractive contents for learner motivation:

> "Global English has been developed and written taking into account the patterns and activities most relevant to the effective learning processes adequate for 11th grade students. What was most taken into the author's consideration was how to keep students' interest in the contents of the book, i.e. subjects and themes of special relevance and attraction to young people of this age group. One of the reiterative criticism aimed at our youngsters is their apparent lack of interest in contingent issues – I firmly believe this is not so. There is a certain disenchantment with the frivolity of the globalised world but time and time again the younger generation has shown that they are interested in what goes on around them. That is why I have developed the units in the book around the key issues that have proven of certain interest to our students:
> **Unit 1:** The media and their power.
> **Unit 2:** How people grow up and develop not only physically but also emotionally.
> **Unit 3:** Nature, natural disasters, prevention and emergency measures.
> **Unit 4:** The professional future of the younger generation.
> **Unit 5:** Food and healthy eating habits.
> **Unit 6:** Inventions and technological innovation.
> **Unit 7:** Science and unresolved mysteries.
> **Unit 8:** Human and animal rights." (p.4)

There is no mention of culture, cultural awareness or intercultural learning in any part of the introduction. Cross-curricular objectives or *OFTs* are not mentioned as such in the introduction to the book, though each of the units has a defined attitudinal learning objective. Likewise, there is no reference to the choice of the title *Global English* of the book, apart from the critical allusion to "the

frivolity of the globalised world". Instead, the introduction focuses on giving useful advice on how to use the book, how to use additional information and practice from the Internet, and on other important methodological issues such as learner training, mixed ability teaching and classroom management.

Cultural objectives are not stated anywhere explicitly; however, it is clear that this textbook, by its choice of texts and cultural references, has managed to open a window to other cultures, while rooting learners firmly in their national (Chilean) and regional (Latin American) identity. The title *Global English* is done justice, too: a wide range of different countries are mentioned or featured in exercises and texts, including African, European and Asian countries. There also seems to be a logical development within the book: in the first unit, Chile still seems to be the hub of all textual references; it then expands increasingly towards other countries and continents. One feature that is especially interesting about this textbook is the frequent inclusion of Latin American themes, which are sometimes expanded to some kind of Pan-American view. For example, in the unit on food (Unit 5), one listening section refers to Mexican and Chilean ways to prepare beans; a longer feature (reading) text describes the history of three "American" foods: chocolate, corn, and potatoes. Some of the references include North America, but there is a clear focus on the indigenous traditions: Aztecs and Mayas, Pueblo Indians, Mochia, Chimu, and Inca cultures are mentioned, as well as the modern states Mexico, Cuba, Peru, Bolivia, and Chile.

Even though the UK is still the most frequently mentioned English-speaking country, it is outnumbered by references to Latin America, including main features. Outer circle countries, such as India, South Africa or Jamaica, are given special attention in some feature texts. Unfortunately, there are no explicit references or explanations of the status of English there. Global issues, such as human rights, natural disasters, and the use of technology to improve life conditions in developing countries, play a central role in the texts, together with references to international organisations, e.g. the UN, UNICEF, Amnesty International, or the Animal Rights League.

Table 7: Places in Global English, Modules 1, 2, 5, 8 (numbers refer to times these places or places within these countries or regions are mentioned in reading or listening texts and exercises; bold numbers refer to "special features")

Chile	55; of these, **6**	25%; **22%**
Latin America	35; of these, **5**	16%; **18 %**
UK	22; of these, **3**	10%; **11%**
USA /Canada	16; of these, **3**	16%; **11%**
Other English-speaking / Inner Circle countries	3	1%
Outer circle countries	8; of these, **5**	3%; **18 %**
Other countries	81; of these, **5**	36; **18 %**

The global status of English is not discussed specifically; the development of *critical* language awareness does not seem to be an objective of the book. However, there are texts that can help to raise consciousness of the multiplicity of languages in the world, such as the use of onomatopoeia (p. 152), with references to Hindi, Japanese, and Latin, among others.

Cultural references to different countries are always made within the perspective of a specific topic, e.g. the emotional development of adolescents (an interview with four British teenagers with Chinese, Afro-Caribbean, Egyptian and German backgrounds, p. 34); childhood memories (Bosnia, Chile, USA, p. 37); children's (Nepal, Bangladesh, USA, p. 150) and animal rights (UK, Chile, Norway, Japan, USA); unusual professions (Chile, St. Vincent Island, p. 67); technological advances; Christmas traditions (Britain, Poland, Germany, Jamaica, Mexico, p. 90/91); etc. This gives learners the opportunity to compare and contrast the different versions with each other and with their Chilean reality. As the references to countries are subordinated to the respective themes, it is understood that only one aspect of a (national) culture is presented; this helps to avoid stereotypical, or tourist-guide-like, representations. Moreover, in most cases, a dynamic and heterogeneous approach to culture has been chosen. For example, Britain is shown as a multi-ethnic country from the first unit in which it is featured (p. 34). On several occasions, the modernising changes that Chile has undergone in recent years are mentioned (e.g. p. 45). Diversity within one national culture, even within one person's life, is emphasised, e.g. in showing the same person in two photos with two different hairstyles (p. 39/40). Nelson Mandela's biography tells the learner not only the story of a remarkable man of our times, but also South Africa's evolution from apartheid to democracy (p. 140/141). Although there are many texts that aim at language learning through curiosity and entertainment, and others that follow the dominant, politically "correct" discourses, e.g. about human rights, there are some other instances where "re-

sistant" discourses are allowed into the pages of the book, for example Bob Marley's song "Stand up for your rights" (p. 139). Students are also actively asked to develop a critical stance on these topics with tasks such as "Read and discuss the first two articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Are human rights respected in Chile? Do you think your human rights are respected?" (p.143)

Intercultural learning aims are not *stated* in any part of the book. Nonetheless, they are actively promoted in a variety of ways. On the one hand, there is an implicit, natural, often personal presentation of cultural and ethnic diversity, e.g. through oral and written life accounts told in the 1st person, or through pictures of people from various origins. They are juxtaposed within the same thematic unit, so that contrasts and comparisons arise logically from the work with the texts (see above). In some cases, students are explicitly asked to work out similarities and differences between the presented cultures, for example in the unit on natural disasters (water), pp. 54-57: The reading comprehension text retells in four paragraphs the mythical explanations that four different cultures (Inca, Apache, Greek, and Hindu) have given to floods, not without previously preparing students with a cartoon of (the more familiar) Noah's ark. Subsequently, students are asked to fill in a comparative table with different elements of the legends, e.g. divine intervention, warning given, humans saved, etc. Thus, human "universals" are highlighted, whereas the texts themselves contain culture-specific references that give each of them their respective identity (e.g. tepees and buffaloes for the Apaches, llamas and high mountains for the Incas). In another unit, after a listening section spoken by British teenagers of varying ethnic backgrounds, students are given this task:

> "Write a short paragraph about the similarities and differences between Chilean and British teenagers. Include: **a.** parent-teen relationships e.g. communication, conflicts, rules. **b.** peer relationships e.g. friends, peer problems, time spent together. **c.** interests e.g. music, sports, fashion. **d.** emotions, e.g. anger control, happiness, dreams for the future." (p. 35)

These tasks are constructed in a way that emphasis is given to similarities, rather than differences, or else, that the observed differences can be understood as both intra-cultural and inter-cultural.

On the other hand, there are some tasks that aim at the development of cognitive mechanisms aiding in the development of intercultural sensitivity and the avoidance of ethnocentrism: in unit 5, one of the stated "attitude" objectives is the differentiation between fact and opinion. Here are some of the sentences that are presented to practise this skill:

> "Decide which statement is a fact and which is an opinion. (…) Chile is a country in South America. Chile is the most beautiful country in the world." (p. 92)
>
> "Which statements are facts and which are opinions? (…) This Mexican bean soup tastes awful. Mexican bean soup is usually served very hot." (p. 99)

Another instance where similarities, rather than differences are stressed is the selection of names for characters appearing in stories and exercises. Even though there are some Spanish or common Chilean names like Esteban, Carlos, Pablo, Lorena, or Paola, and some specifically English names like Anne, Joanna, Sheila, Sharon, and Carrie, the author seems to have made a special effort to use names that are acceptable or common in both languages, such as Martin, Jenny, Susan, Karen, Vicky, Gloria, David, Edith, or Benjamin. In line with the "global" approach taken in the textbook, there are also some names that are not typical for either language, or of non-European origin, e.g. Johanna, Jamila, Khim, or Fang Yin.

The author of the book seems to be very aware of the importance that *ownership* has for the learners. Apart from the opportunities that are offered for identification with Chilean, Latin American, and "universal" topics, she states, for example, in the introduction to the teachers' book, that the "Just for fun!" pages (part of every unit) should be "owned by the students", which means they should not be used for assessment, and the teachers should not exert pressure on the students to complete the presented tasks. Also, many of the pictures that are used for illustration depict people (many of them teenagers) who could very well be Chileans, either of direct European descent, or looking like the *mestizo* majority. They can be identified not only by their facial features, but also by their clothes, gestures or postures, and sometimes by the background of the pictures.

Indeed, the alienating effect through an overuse of British references, and the presentation of foreign cultures as "strange", as happens in the textbook analysed previously (*Going Global*), is successfully avoided through the approach described here. There are other problems with this textbook, however, which could still lead to learners becoming disaffected (and consequently, teachers too): first, there are few texts with a poetic or narrative angle; the abundance of informative text types can become somewhat repetitive and monotonous. Then, there is definitely a problem with the level of difficulty of most texts: both text length and complexity of vocabulary and structures require learners to have solid previous knowledge and a very high degree of motivation, in order to be able to enjoy the kind of challenge presented to them. For example, pre-reading or listening vocabulary previews often focus on low-frequency, rather than high-frequency vocabulary indispensable for text comprehension which is probably unknown to many students. The listening comprehension texts are especially

hard to access, as they are often fairly long monologues, rather than shorter dialogues with different speakers taking turns, making them thus easier to follow and suitable for imitation – key in raising motivation and the feeling of ownership. By the same token, there is not much help with language chunks or functions for the productive parts of the units; many of the necessary "stepping stones" are missing.

To conclude, *Global English* is definitely a book that is, in cultural terms, pointing in the right direction; the texts are carefully chosen and arranged in a way to provide both cultural rooting, not only in Chile, but also in the Latin American region, and a stimulating and thought-provoking view to the outside world without giving in to the possibility of unnecessarily promoting cultural imperialism or Eurocentrism. It considers the cultural and ethnic diversity of Latin America by including text references to the indigenous world, while stressing the similarities between different cultures. If this textbook were to be given the opportunity for a new edition, it would be wise to repair some of the methodological flaws, simplifying some parts or preparing them specifically for differentiated use in multi-level classrooms. For the same reason, it might also be more suitable for use in Year 12.

6.4 Go for Chile 1 / 2, 2002 - 2003

As a considerable number of teachers made positive reference to an earlier textbook, *Go for Chile*, I will consider it here in order to show the kind of textbook that – in the opinion of Chilean English teachers – has proven to be useful for student motivation and for the kind of teaching that in their esteem is effective. *Go for Chile* (authors: Steve Elseworth, Jim Rose) was published and printed in Chile by Pearson Education, and was distributed in 2002 and 2003, to be used in Years 9 and 10. In the introduction to the Teacher's Book, apart from a presentation of the components of the course, the explanation of useful teaching techniques and ideas for classroom management, there are several references to topic contents. For example, part of the first section, in which the objectives of the course are stated, reads as follows:

> "The course aims to be relevant and interesting for Chilean secondary school students, making use of motivating topics and activities and setting the learning in contexts familiar to Chilean students. It also aims to connect the learning of English with more general educational aims in order to provide students with tools that will give them access to knowledge about information technology, globalisation and scientific and technological advances. The course draws on other subjects in the school curriculum and encourages students to think for themselves and to develop imagina-

tion and self-expression. International as well as Chilean contexts are included to extend students' horizons." (p. T3)

In the section "Principles of the course", the issue of student motivation is included in various ways: on the one hand, this is done by adding "variety and interest":

> "The course features a group of lively students travelling around Chile. The story shows the characters in situations that are relevant to the students' own lives and experiences. The characters have been chosen on account of their academic ability to join an educational trip run by an organisation called **South American Scene**. They learn new skills and responsibilities on the trip and they also learn about each other as they work out how to get on together.
>
> Topics, roleplays and projects stimulate students' imagination and interest.
>
> There are also specially written songs, rhythm raps, riddles and games." (p. T3)

On the other hand, it is emphasised that students' engagement depends on "a sense of success and achievement" and "a sense of progress" (ibid.). Clarity and simplicity in the progression and development of vocabulary (aiming to use around 1000 words receptively and productively by the end of the first year / Year 9) and language skills are given special importance. In accordance with the curricular framework that was valid at that time, reading and listening skills are given a higher priority than speaking and writing. However, the book also stresses the need of language practice through specially designed activities for the development of vocabulary, structures and communicative functions.

Section 7 of the introduction is exclusively dedicated to "themes and approaches" (p. T12). The educational themes that are given emphasis here are civic studies (stressing "cooperative attitudes, moral behaviour and a sense of shared responsibilities"), environmental education ("to help global conservation"), education for health, sex education ("both sexes are represented equally and without discrimination"), road safety, education for equal opportunities ("characters are portrayed in non-stereotyped ways"), and peace studies ("to develop positive attitudes towards the English language and respect for and understanding of the societies where English is spoken", mentioning Britain and the USA, "their history and their celebrations"). Tolerance, respect and acceptance of other people are also mentioned. The book, then, is based on a cross-curricular approach, especially in the projects sections of each unit, and on a cross-cultural perspective:

> "**Go for Chile!** takes into account the need of students of a foreign language to have a clear understanding of their own culture so that they can compare their culture with the culture in which the foreign language is spoken. In this attempt to develop a cross-cultural approach **Go for Chile!** contains subject matter drawn from the students' own lives, as well as from Anglo-American and international cultures. Lan-

guage learning will only take place if students have something to say about the world around them. Learning a foreign language is seen as part of the broader educational goal of learning: to live in the modern world in a global sense." (p. T12-13)

An examination of the main part of the student's book makes it clear that culture, mainly in the sense of "area studies", indeed plays an important role throughout the book; there are several chapters that focus exclusively on the presentation of a country (the UK, p. 42/43; Australia, p. 44/45; Brazil, p. 60/61) or a city (Santiago / Chile, p. 14; Valparaíso / Chile, p. 50; Curitiba / Brazil, p. 88). Other chapters feature cultural aspects in various ways: targeting home culture as in "Chile Pop and Rock" (p. 38/39); showing a cross-cultural angle (e.g. the biographies of three Latin American writers -two of them are Chileans - , p. 56; celebrations, p. 82/83), or presenting "global culture" with often fairly unspecific references to (Anglophone) geographical origins (e.g. cinema, p. 46/47; special effects in movies, p. 48/49; TV series, p. 74). There are also some intercultural references in chapters that focus on other topics, such as the computer: the girl that uses the PC (which is "from the USA") has a British passport, has travelled to Russia, and her Chilean boyfriend, a journalist, is in France at the moment (p. 32/33); thus, the topic is given a global, even cosmopolitan perspective.

Table 8: Places in Go for Chile 1, units 1-10 (excluding Extra Practice pages at the end of the book; numbers refer to times these places or places within these countries or regions are mentioned in reading or listening texts and exercises; bold numbers refer to "special features").

Chile	58; **9**	24%; **33%**
Latin America	51; **8** (of which 4 for Latin or South America as a whole, 3 for Brazil, 1 for Mexico)	21%; **30%**
UK	38; **3**	16%; **11%**
Other English-speaking / Inner Circle countries	36; **2** (1 for Australia, 1 for USA)	15%; **7%**
Outer circle countries	3; **2** (without reference to status of English)	1%; **7%**
Other countries	53; **3**	22%; **11%**

The most conspicuous educational goals behind the chosen approach are certainly, first, the consolidation of a sense of national identity, accommodating the students in their home culture while opening a window to other countries and realities, but also, and not in a minor way, environmental education, through the choice of specific topics distributed over various units. The English language is also strongly associated with new computer technologies: the internet, e-mail,

instructions for the use of technological gadgets, etc., are repeated topics in the textbook.

Although it is true that both Chile *and* Latin America (e.g. in units on Latin American writers, p. 56, South American animals, p. 84/85) figure in *Go for Chile*, the immediate neighbouring countries Peru, Bolivia and Argentina (with, historically, most diplomatic tensions, and an increasing number of immigrants living in Chile, especially from Peru) do not appear in feature texts; they are only mentioned in exercises. In this sense, the reference to peace studies in the introduction is fairly void and with its allusion to English-speaking countries could even be interpreted as an effort to consolidate the cultural hegemony of Britain and the USA. "The" other Latin American country gaining centre stage in the textbook, featured in three longer texts, is Brazil, maybe because it is the largest non-Spanish-speaking country and therefore more plausible to use for the teaching of a foreign language. The most obvious "intercultural" link (in the Latin American sense, see chapter 5.4) is the one made to indigenous history in one feature text on the Mapuche people (p. 70, see below).

The global status of the English language is not treated anywhere, nor does critical language awareness seem to be an explicit or implicit aim of the textbook. Global issues, such as ecology (e.g. wildlife, the environmental impact of meat consumption) or human rights, are not brought into context with the functions and uses of English as a global language (such as participating in international e-mail or letter campaigns or finding out more information on the www). The webpages shown in unit 3.3 (p. 30/31) are an example of the overwhelming presence of English on the Internet, without, however, a note making this fact explicit. Also, the references to the national cultures that appear in the textbook (e.g. Chile, Brazil, UK, USA, South Africa, India, Haiti, Lesotho), whether they belong to the inner, the outer, or the expanding circles of English, never turn the status or use of the English language in the respective countries into an explicit topic. The only exception in this sense is Australia, where the first pre-reading question reads: "What do you know about Australia? – 1 What is the language?" (p. 44), and a chart summarising facts about the country at the end of the text states: "Language: English" (minority or endangered aboriginal languages are not mentioned).

In terms of the way in which cultures are presented, there are some parts which uncritically reproduce stereotypical aspects of certain countries. The unit on the UK (p. 42/43) is a striking example of this: the pictures show Stonehenge, tea, fish and chips and Prince William; to add some variety, "Nessie", kilt and bagpipes are included for Scotland, shamrock for Ireland, and the Millennium Dome for "modern Britain". Thus, cultural heterogeneity is represented through touristic and stereotypical icons from different parts of the UK, though without

explaining much or turning this diversity into a central topic. With the conspicuous absence of the British icon of multiculturalism, *Chicken Tikka Masala*, this unit has a very dusty feel to it. Reading the unit with a critical Republican eye, one would also like to ask why the only famous person pictured in the unit is Prince William, whose main merit that makes him a British cultural icon is his birth into the Royal Family. Wouldn't creative song-writers like John Lennon and Paul McCartney, a famous actress like Kate Winslet, or a writer and / or their creations – dead or alive, canonised or popular, Shakespeare or Harry Potter - be more meaningful choices, and maybe even more widely recognised by young people?

However, for the elementary level of the textbook, the text on Australia, which shows mainly geography and wildlife, might represent a more appropriate approach to combine linguistic learning objectives with the aim of broadening students' horizons and giving the "other" English-speaking countries centre-stage. There are no people in the photos; Aborigines are mentioned in the text, but there is no reference to other cultural groups or the history of Australia. The text clearly calls for the inclusion of more information, at least at a later stage; nevertheless, it does not seem to mislead students into an erroneous, stereotypical representation of the country.

As mentioned before, Brazil is another country featured in several occasions. The first longer texts appear in the unit "My country": an e-mail and a letter from a Brazilian "pen pal" (p. 60/61; for reading comprehension and a gap-fill exercise / writing frame respectively). They have some positive, but also some problematic aspects to them: Brazil is described as a country with "many different nationalities (…) – people originally from Germany, Italy, Poland and Japan and, of course Portugal". In this list, which mentions one Asian and four European countries, no mention is made of the indigenous and African heritage of many Brazilians. However, it is stated that the "official" language is Portuguese and that there are "many Indian languages"; note that here, the politically more correct term would be *indigenous* for the native peoples of South America - there is no obvious reason for not teaching it to the students. On the other hand, this is an opportunity for making a comparative link to the Chilean situation and possibly creating some critical language awareness. In the e-mail, the upper-middle class family that is chosen as an example is doubly problematic, as it is probably neither representative of the majority of Brazilians nor a point of identification for Chilean students (the sons and daughters of a doctor who travels to the USA would probably not go to a public school in Chile and therefore use a different textbook). Is the "whitening" presentation of this multi-ethnic country an attempt to make Brazil look less exotic to Chilean teenagers? Or is it a

missed opportunity to create a positive attitude towards racial and cultural diversity?

Another noticeable text is the one on the Mapuche People (p. 70). It is certainly representative of the idea to focus intercultural education on the historical bravery of the most numerous indigenous group in Chile and thus pay lip service to the strengths of an ethnic group that is largely marginalised, living in great poverty in today's Chile, and repeatedly victim of human rights violations[49]. There is also a strange mix of conveying a historical view while avoiding the past tense, which at this stage has not been introduced to the students yet: "When the Mapuche see a Spanish soldier on a horse, they think that he is a god: but soon they learn, and become excellent horse riders." The other short texts bring simple versions of Mapuche beliefs to the reader ("The creation of the world" and the "Mapuche view of the world"). The inclusion of a feature text on the Mapuche is certainly a step in the right direction towards intercultural education; also, students are given a research task at the end of the unit: "Project: The Mapuche People – Find out about the Mapuche. Go to your local library or museum, and find out what you can." (p. 71) However, the instructions, focusing on demographic, geographical, and mythological information, clearly avoid leading students into finding out politically controversial topical facts.

On the other hand, it would be wrong to state that *Go for Chile* lacks critical or thought-provoking material. Immediately after the Mapuche text, there is a unit on Human Rights (p. 72/73): it tells the stories of the hardships of a boy from Lesotho and a girl from Haiti. Unlike the personal accounts of "happy children" in Chile (p. 14) and Brazil (p. 60/61), which are told in the 1st person, these texts are written in the 3rd person – is the idea to emphasise their "otherness"? Whereas Sengoara's story from Lesotho, who doesn't go to school because he has to look "after 700 sheep and 72 cows", might be very different from the average Chilean children's experience, indeed, Fifi's life in Haiti does have things in common with that of some people here: "Her father buys and sells things, and works 60 hours a week. Her mother works 55 hours a week." Even

49 Bernardo Subercaseaux, in his essay "Chile o una loca historia" (1999), refers to the way in which the Mapuche have reiteratively been treated, since the 19th century, through public education and discourse, in a paradoxical combination of symbolic glorification and real marginalisation: "Fueron levantados y ensalzados como mito pero vituperados en la realidad, se prestigiaba simbólicamente la epopeya mapuche en desmedro del mapuche existente, al que se le usurpaban las tierras y se le despreciaba como bárbaro y antiprogreso. Desde Andrés Bello, que publicaba artículos antiaraucanos en un periódico titulado paradojalmente *El Araucano*, hasta el «Arauco Shopping Center», la estrategia –consciente o inconsciente- ha sido la misma." (58f.) Cf. also Marimán et al. (2006).

though child labour in Chile is not as common as in Haiti, in publically funded schools there will be children who could well identify at least with some parts of the life described there.[50] What is interesting to see is that in all stories, whether they are disturbing or pleasurable, factual information (e.g. the number of hours that each of the family members work and the amount of money they earn) is given more emphasis than the expression of personal opinions or feelings. Similarly, the book contains very few texts with literary (and thus, more affectively charged) characteristics. This might partly be due to the basic language level.

The text on food around the world (p. 86) gives the topic of meat consumption a critical global angle: "In many countries, only rich people eat meat, because it's expensive. In India, for example, an average person eats 1 kilogram of meat a year; in Nigeria, 6 kilos, in the UK, 60 kilos, and in the USA, 100 kilos." The text that follows it, "Food for Thought" (p. 87), continues exposing the unfair distribution of food throughout the world – "In some countries, nearly everyone is hungry (…). People in the USA and Europe often eat large quantities of food. 30% of all North Americans are overweight. 15% of all food in the USA is thrown away." It is possible that more details would make the text unacceptably long. However, there is no reference to unequal income (and food?) distribution within the USA, or mention of unequal eating habits leading to different health conditions within the same country – a topic which is often used to exemplify the social class stratification in Britain (with terms like *muesli belt* describing white middle-class urban areas). Thus, there is a danger that simplified information like this leaves negative stereotypes about a country as a whole, without sensitising students to internal differences. Although the text is definitely thought-provoking, by posing most "responsibility" on countries of the Northern hemisphere it might not be powerful enough to stir students into action or consciousness about their own, immediate realities. What is pleasant is that in exercises, similar ideas are given a humorous touch: "The average Italian eats 130 kilometres of spaghetti a year." Finally, this chapter is the penultimate one – the question is if all school classes will be able to use the book up to the very last page, or omit the final chapters at the end of the school year.

A very positive aspect of this textbook is that students will probably find it relatively easy to gain a sense of ownership of the English language; the idea of starting from the students' culture with city profiles, famous people's biog-

50 According to the 2003 survey carried out by the International Labour Organisation and the Chilean government, 5.4 % of all Chilean children and teenagers work (5-17 years old); 3% work under unacceptable conditions. (These are defined as: early age, long working hours, incompatibility with schooling, the street as working place). See: Organización Internacional de Trabajo (no year).

raphies and many other recognisable references, is certainly related to this objective. Also, a group of fixed textbook characters, and repeatable dialogues, which can be spoken and acted out by the students, certainly encourage this process, together with a basic level from the beginning, continuous progression through clearly staged exercises and plenty of support through a bilingual glossary etc.

In terms of the creation of intercultural awareness, however, it seems that there are few opportunities for gaining a more complex understanding of what culture means or is, whether the examples are taken from the home culture or of foreign cultures; in general, there is no visible consistent approach, apart from the idea to include a great deal of (national) "home culture". Mostly, cultures are presented in a static, sometimes essentialist or even stereotypical way. The book could certainly benefit from regularly juxtaposing the "own" culture with "foreign" cultures, leading to a better *inter*cultural understanding, and giving opportunities for students' horizons to be broadened (to include, for example, Mapuche *and other* Amerindian cultures, e.g. in the USA or Canada). There are some tasks that have the potential to challenge ideas of cultural homogeneity, such as the final task in the unit on the UK: "What do you know about Chile? In groups, make a list of famous places, typical food, drink and traditional clothes. Compare your list with other groups – is it the same?" (p. 43) However, if teachers are not instructed to turn the diversity of outcomes between different teams into a topic of discussion, the real application in the classroom is largely left to chance. One aspect that caught my attention (and which might be an interesting option in the – hypothetical - case that the political situation of a country does not permit the teaching of cultural diversity in a positive, non-stereotyped way) is the focus on biodiversity in wildlife (e.g. dolphins, p. 58; wildlife, p. 84; nationalities / Wild Watchers, p. 34). In *Go for Chile*, the chosen approach could definitely help students to develop a positive appraisal of biodiversity. For future research, it could be interesting to find out if in terms of the cognitive and affective development of children and teenagers, there is an automatic positive transfer from a certain attitude towards the diversity in nature to cultural phenomena, and whether this can be made use of for connecting intercultural education with environmental education.[51]

In sum, and in comparison to the textbooks analysed before, the strong, recommendable aspects of this textbook are mainly the accessibility of the lan-

51 There is some interdisciplinary research on the concept of *biophilia*, which relates to "the inherent human inclination to affiliate with nature" (Kellert 2008: 462), combining the points of view of developmental psychology and ecology. Cf. also Kahn (1997). Another research strand is related to biocultural diversity, which also includes respect for linguistic diversity (cf. Ross 2006). However, more details on this topic would clearly go beyond the scope of this research.

guage level, and the way in which the language learning process is staged and guided. Lively dialogues and short reading texts help students to gradually build up language proficiency, and offer plenty of opportunities to take ownership of the language. On the other hand, the basic language level cannot be an excuse for presenting cultural information in an unnecessarily over-simplified and stereotyped way, which is doubly problematic in the sense that opportunities for identification (e.g. stories told in the 1st person) are often linked to white upper-middle class "normality". Also, the focus on Chile in Book 1 should, in my opinion, give way to – at least - a Latin American perspective in Book 2 in order to broaden the students' horizons. However, this is not the case: *Go for Chile 2* continues to give precedence to a mix of Chile and Britain, for the most part.

6.5 Conclusion

The analysis of the textbooks has shown that there are, evidently, multiple factors that come into play to make a textbook recommendable or usable in a given context. On the one hand, there are the contents, in the form of textual and visual discourses, which either offer opportunities for identification or, on the contrary, might lead to alienation. On the other hand, the level of the language, pace of progress, and the suggested methodology (especially the emphasis on receptive or productive language use) will determine whether students can engage with the material that they are offered and can finally take ownership of their learning and the new language.

We have seen that the three presented books use varying foci on cultures when teaching English. Even though all three contain a considerable share of texts that feature or refer to both the UK and Chile, there are clear emphases on either source culture contents (as in *Go for Chile*), target culture contents (the UK, as in *Going Global*), or international target culture contents (as in *Global English*, with a marked comparative approach). Within the textbooks, there is also some variation in terms of the way in which these cultures are presented; however, both in *Going Global* and in *Go for Chile*, problematic practices, such as oversimplification, stereotyping, and essentialist or static representations of cultures are more frequent than in *Global English.*

Concerning the cultural learning objectives presented in 4.3, there are some points on which one of the three textbooks is clearly stronger than the other two; in other points none of the textbooks seems to have a clear viewpoint or approach. For example, as we have seen, the accessible language progression and the dialogic structure of many of the units presented in *Go for Chile* are likely to help students gain (productive) ownership of English, although the humorous

tone in many texts of *Going Global*, and the "Just for Fun" pages in *Global English* can also provide enjoyment in the learning process. In terms of accessing other – similar and dissimilar - human experiences, and opportunities for identification and empathy with others, I think *Global English* definitely offers the richest and most well-thought-out material. Prejudices and stereotypes are more often perpetuated than countered in both *Go for Chile* and *Going Global*. Again, *Global English* seems to have the most proactive stance towards intercultural understanding, by providing contrastive reading material with exercises that foster reflective processes. A more pragmatic approach towards intercultural communication, however, such as the analysis of critical incidents, is not promoted by any of the textbooks. I have tried to demonstrate that the intercultural "Dos and Don'ts" unit for "ethnic" weddings in *Global English* is extremely problematic, hardly pertinent to local learners, and rather emphasises the otherness of Asian cultures, instead of inviting students to compare and learn more about different foreign customs. All textbooks include cultural products (or references to them) of their own culture and foreign cultures (food, literature, movies, etc.), and focus mainly on the positive appreciation of them. A more critical "Cultural Studies" approach is rarely present; it can only occasionally be found, for example, in the text on Food in Britain (*Going Global*). Even though all three books refer to global issues in some way, and include tasks to reflect upon topics like, for example, human rights, they do not directly encourage students to participate publicly in global discourses. The role of English in globalisation, or a critical view of it, is not included in any of the textbooks. In my opinion, *Global English* comes closest to providing useful material for reaching the intercultural learning objectives outlined above.

This leaves a doubt about the commissioning processes, especially those to do with the textbooks originally designed and published in the UK, of which the local adaptations were not always radical enough to take out units or texts that are likely to be alienating for their intended audience, and to put emphasis on locally appropriate and pertinent, culturally subtly differentiated and dynamic contents. In this sense, *Going Global* – out of the three, the only textbook that was written by a local writer and published by a Chilean publishing company – also seems to have taken the Chilean teachers' call for international target culture material most seriously.[52] Up to a certain point, it is plausible to assume that

52 See McKay (2003: 143), presenting the results of a survey carried out among Chilean English teachers on the local perspectives on ELT materials and methods. Answering the question on the cultural contents of ELT materials, "[t]he majority of teachers preferred content that deals with the life and culture of various countries around the world, although there was support for the inclusion of local Chilean places and people."

a local textbook writer will know the context, and the local students' needs and interests best. On the other hand, it is clear that the effectiveness of published teaching materials will depend very much on the classroom teachers' expertise and views, their trust in these materials and the way in which they negotiate the tension between (hegemonic) prejudices related to the origin of the material (as UK-published material is often considered "better" than material written in Chile) and their own cultural identity.

In this sense, it is now time to find out more about the teachers' perception of their professional identity, their students' motivation, and the contents that they consider most relevant or useful for teaching English in Chile.

Part III: The Teachers' Views

After describing the context for English Teaching and Learning in Chile, in Part I, and analysing curricular standards and textbooks in terms of their stances towards cultural contents in Part II, Part III is dedicated to the empirical part of this research: the analysis of the interviews carried out with nineteen English teachers who currently work in various types of secondary schools in Chile. This part is divided into four chapters. Chapter 7 provides the theoretical framework of the research, by referring to the reasons why a qualitative study on the teachers' perceptions was preferred to other research approaches; by reviewing concepts and other, similar studies on teacher cognition and identity, and on learner motivation; and, finally, by explaining the most important aspects of the analytical approach applied to the teacher interviews. Chapter 8 is more technically oriented and explains in detail the procedure of the research process in itself: the way in which the teachers were chosen and contacted in order to participate in the research; the design of the interview questions and the questionnaires; and the transcription and analysis of the interview data. Chapter 9 presents and summarises the most important general findings of the interviews and questionnaires on a general basis. It is subdivided into three longer sections, following the key aspects of the interviews: teaching context and general challenges; perceived student motivation; beliefs and experiences around the teaching of culture-and-language. Finally, chapter 10 aims at presenting a deeper analysis based on only a few selected interview passages, taking up a few specific issues that arise in the teacher interviews, namely: motivational strategies, technology and motivational and empowering contents. The final conclusions and recommendations will be presented in part IV.

7. Researching Teachers' Subjective Knowledge – Teacher Cognition & Teacher Identity

7.1 Rationale: The Choice of a Research Approach

As mentioned in the introduction, this study was initially inspired by research on the interrelationship between attitudes towards a language and its speech community, different types of motivation for learning a language and language learning success. As one possible – maybe decisive - factor that influences attitudes and motivation within the classroom, I identified the contents of the reading (and possibly listening) materials, considering the ones that I was asked to teach with as problematic.[53] However, I needed to find an appropriate way of testing my hypothesis, and of finding out which of the several possible approaches to teaching language-and-culture meaningfully were most applicable from the Chilean point of view, taking into account local (or regional) pedagogical needs.

My research approach would have to take into consideration the following aspects:

1) My own status of an "outsider" in Chilean society, with a different educational background and different opportunities in life (e.g. to live and work in an English-speaking country for several years), both of which are considered desirable by many Chileans;
2) My lack of immediate experience with English teaching in secondary education in Chile, with its known pressures and challenges;
3) The lack of previous language-learning research in Chile, especially in the mentioned areas;
4) And the constraints of the research process *per se*, in terms of time and material resources.

53 The textbooks that I was working with at the time were not the ones analysed in chapter 6; they belonged to a textbook series published by the American branch of Cambridge University Press, which is widely used in adult education (*New Interchange*). Its strengths are the easy-to-teach communicative approach it uses, with a careful functional-structural progression, and also its humorous tone; however, in terms of meaningful, thought-provoking contents, it leaves a lot to be desired. On the contrary, it is an excellent example of bland, superficial contents for teaching "American English as an International Language".

Traditionally, research on motivation and attitudes in language learning generally uses quantitative methods, especially questionnaire-based surveys (e.g. Gardner & Lambert 1972, etc.; cf. also Riemer 2004, Ushioda 2011, for a contrast). However, even though such a survey, applied to a large group of English learners, might be easy to use for simply proving or refuting a hypothesis (such as: "The Chileans' lack of English language skills is due to their lack of integrative motivation."), there are several reasons for not carrying out a quantitative study at this stage: first, there is no previous local research on the matter in question, and in order to develop the questions and multiple-choice answers for a questionnaire, it is necessary to be able to use data that have been collected locally to find the most appropriate wording.[54] Consequently, a questionnaire with given answer options would impose my own paradigms, and thus aggravate the problematic cultural distance between me, the researcher, and the researched community. Finally, without a previous exploratory enquiry, a survey-based attitudinal study is very unlikely to yield any data that could be a real step forward in current investigation. On the one hand, this is because the correlation between (at least some sort of) motivation and language learning success seems to have been sufficiently proven in previous research (cf. Ushioda quoted in Dörnyei 2001: 240). On the other hand, a qualitative study at this stage might help to prepare a larger (possibly quantitative) research project on the needs that arise from the data collected here, around the issues of student motivation and appropriate materials for teaching English in Chile.

After settling on a qualitative approach for this study, it was necessary to make a decision about which perspective to take – the students', the teachers', policymakers', or a combination of these? I decided to base the present investigation on semi-structured problem-centred interviews with teachers, complemented with brief questionnaires containing both open and closed questions. This has various advantages: first, local teachers can give an account of their real experiences and their opinions; their view is relatively rarely taken into account in the public debate on English learning, in recent research and theorising on the matter in question (cf. Glas 2008); other studies are mainly based on questionnaires (Farías 2000, McKay 2003). Second, it is the teachers who make the ultimate decisions about what curricular policies are effectively carried out (or are able to be carried out), or what contents can be used in their respective teaching contexts. Special contextual factors, such as the progressive impact of the programme "English Opens Doors", can be considered in greater depth. Finally, even if the students' perspective is only indirectly reflected through the

54 Cf. Riemer (2004) on the problem of the operationalisation of specific motivation variables in standardised surveys.

teachers' eyes, the teachers are in daily contact with the learners and know the students' concerns and interests; due to their life experience, the teachers are also informed about long-term developments in Chilean education and the society as a whole, something that cannot be expected from most 16- or 17-year-old students. Thus, the teachers' perspective can lead to a deeper analysis of the various factors that influence motivation and attitudes in the given context. For example, the complexity of Chilean post-dictatorship society, expressed in the different social backgrounds, different school settings, etc. can be targeted in a more focused manner. At the same time, researching more than one participant group would go beyond the scope of this study. Last but not least, a qualitative study with semi-structured interviews also takes my special concern into account, as a Europe-born, Europe-bred researcher to listen to local people and show their points of view before theorising upon them.[55]

To conclude, the advantages of a qualitative study are

1) the positive appraisal of the personal, subjective knowledge of acting subjects, here the English teachers in Chile;
2) the opportunity to explore the research field in depth and without foregone conclusions, taking the edge out of my own background; and
3) the possibility to use the obtained data for future initial and in-service teacher training as well as subsequent research studies.

7.2 Research Review: Teacher Cognition and Identity

Although the focus of this investigation is not the teachers' subjective knowledge in itself, but rather the teachers' perspective on motivational teaching and learning contents, it can still be related to a branch of qualitative research in language teaching that investigates teachers' cognitions. Adopting a suitable terminology for this study is complicated: this area of research is marked by a vast, sometimes even confusing, diversity in the use of terminology – *teacher beliefs, personal practical knowledge*, or *subjective theories* are just a few examples. However, as Borg (2003) points out in his review article "Teacher cognition in language teaching: A review of research on what language teachers think, know, believe, and do",

55 The difficulty of re-constructing reality in social research even without being a cultural outsider is conceptualised in the idea of first- and second-degree constructions (cf. Schütz 1971: 68, quoted in Kallenbach 1996: 54).

> "[t]he superficial diversity created by the terms […] should not mask the considerable overlap which exists among them. Collectively, they highlight the personal nature of teacher cognition, the role of experience in the development of these cognitions, and the way in which instructional practice and cognition are mutually informing." (83).

One of the (earliest) studies in this area, Woods' *Teacher Cognition in Language Teaching* (1996), summarises the three concepts *beliefs, assumptions* and *knowledge* to create a new term/acronym *BAK*, as research suggests that "the terms 'knowledge', 'assumptions' and 'beliefs' do not refer to distinct concepts, but rather to points to a spectrum of meaning" (195). Woods defines "knowledge" as "things we know – conventionally accepted facts. (…) It generally means that is has been demonstrated or is demonstrable". Then, "[t]he term 'assumption' normally refers to the (temporary) acceptance of a 'fact' (…) which we cannot say we know, and which has not been demonstrated, but which we are taking as true for the time being." Finally, "[b]eliefs refer to an acceptance of a proposition for which there is no conventional knowledge, one that is not demonstrable, and for which there is accepted disagreement". Woods concludes from his own research that "it was difficult in the data to distinguish between the teachers referring to beliefs and knowledge as they discussed their decisions in the interviews. Their 'use' of knowledge in their decision-making process did not seem to be qualitatively different from their 'use' of beliefs." (ibid.)

In language teacher (and learner) research in Germany, a very commonly used concept is *subjective theories* (e.g. De Florio-Hansen 1998; Caspari 2001; on the learners' perspective Kallenbach 1996). This includes not only a more complex construct of teachers' cognitions, but also a specific research method. The term refers to subjective knowledge as similar to scientific knowledge in three aspects (cf. Kallenbach 1996: 34ff.): it refers to a certain topic with its various elements regarding content; this content is structured, i.e. it has lines of argumentation (e.g. cause-effect); finally, both subjective and scientific theories have the functions of explaining and predicting. However, the difference between subjective and scientific theories is that subjective theories are implicit and need to be made explicit, usually in an interview. They are vague and can even be incoherent or contradictory in parts. As they are based on emotions, personal experience, and specific situations, they lack evidence, but tend to be stable. For everyday life, they have the advantage of being flexible and economical. Finally, it is important to mention that the focus on the subjectivity of these theories does not exclude the social or intersubjective component in the development of these cognitive representations. Even the knowledge about scientific theories is often combined with experiential knowledge to form a subjective

theory. Groeben et al. (1988) and Groeben and Scheele (1988), in their research project on subjective theories, developed a specific method for eliciting and validating subjective theories in the interview situation. However, not all studies that use the term follow their method in all aspects (e.g. Finkbeiner 2005).

Without losing sight of the difficulty to truly separate *beliefs* from *knowledge*, Golombek's (1998) conceptualisation of teachers' *personal practical knowledge* seems very useful for the present study: she establishes four categories for the content of teachers' personal practical knowledge: knowledge of self, knowledge of subject matter, knowledge of instruction, and knowledge of context. In particular, the first and last categories seem of primordial importance for this study. "Knowledge of self can be described in terms of the identities to which the teachers referred when they reconstructed their experience, for example, language learner, teacher, and spouse", whereas "[k]nowledge of contexts includes the institutional and sociopolitical setting along with the time, place, and actors within the setting." (451) Golombek also describes how *tensions* are created between the different categories, which "obstruct teachers' abilities to develop practice that is compatible with their intentions." (452) The relation to others and the educational context acquire an important role: "[T]eachers' knowledge is bound up in how they place themselves in relation to others and how their actions affect themselves as well as others. Thus, as L2 teachers use their knowledge in response to a particular context, they are influenced by not only instructional but also personal concerns." (458)

Similarly, the German researcher Appel (2000) investigated language teachers' experiential knowledge in relation to foreign language didactics. In his chapter "Erfahrungswissen" (= experiential knowledge) he refers to three dimensions of the interviewed teachers' experience and points out how they are all directly related to an investigative approach: The teachers' *procedural, implicit competence* (or "knowing how") in the classroom stands in relation to cognitive approaches; their *personal, biographical experience* as language teachers can be researched through biographically oriented interviews; finally, their *collective experience* as a professional group, needs to be analysed from a "social" perspective.

Appel's personal and collective dimensions, and Golombek's categories "knowledge of self" and "knowledge of context" place these studies near the recent research carried out on another specific aspect of teacher cognition, which is *teacher identity* (e.g. Duff/Uchida 1997; Tsui 2007; Menard-Warwick 2008b; and the reviewed studies in Varghese et al. 2005). As with teacher cognition, there is some confusion with the use of the term and its definitions. Even though there are, again, substantial overlaps, it is also necessary to distinguish between research on teachers' professional identity *in general* and *language* teacher iden-

tity, as in the latter socio-cultural, socio-linguistic and ethnic considerations take centre stage (Varghese et al. 2005).

> "In general, the concept of identity has different meanings in the literature. What these various meanings have in common is the idea that identity is not a fixed attribute of a person, but a relational phenomenon. Identity development occurs in an intersubjective field and can be best characterized as an ongoing process, a process of interpreting oneself as a certain kind of person and being recognized as such in a given context." (Beijaard et al. 2004:108)

After reviewing 25 articles on *teacher identity* (not specifically language teachers), Beijaard et al. conclude that there are four essential features of professional identity: 1. "Professional identity is an *ongoing process* of interpretation and re-interpretation of experiences", which highlights its dynamic and experiential character. 2. "Professional identity implies both *person and context*." 3. "A teacher's professional identity consists of *sub-identities* that more or less harmonize. The notion of sub-identities relates to teachers' different contexts and relationships." Some of these sub-identities are more central than others. 4. "*Agency* is an important element of professional identity, meaning that teachers have to be active in the process of professional development." (Beijaard et al. op. cit: 122; emphases are in the original.)

Similarly, Varghese et al. (2005) reviewed three different studies on *language teacher identity*, paying special attention to the different theoretical approaches taken. They summarise the most important issues in identity research as the following three:

> "1. Identity as multiple, shifting, and in conflict;
>
> 2. Identity as crucially related to social, cultural, and political context; and
>
> 3. Identity being constructed, maintained, and negotiated primarily through discourse." (35)

One study from this area that is often quoted (e.g. in Tudor 2001) is Duff and Uchida's in-depth investigation of four English teachers in a private language academy in Japan (1997). Even though the cultural and institutional context is very different from my study, it is enlightening in that it also researches the teachers' negotiation of the curriculum in terms of its cultural content (453). What is also interesting, in terms of the use of research terminology, is that the title of the study refers to *sociocultural identities and practices*; in the study, however, they also explore *beliefs* and *cultural values* or *ideologies*. Often, the terms "*identities and beliefs"* are used in combination (452). Again, the different concepts seem to be intrinsically related – identities as part of teacher cognitions, or teacher cognitions and beliefs as part of teacher identities.

There are some other studies and closely related concepts that are logical continuations of the ideas presented here, and that have found entry into the analysis of the teacher interviews: one is a study published by Menard-Warwick which centres around teacher identity and decision-making in relation to cultural contents in Chile; it will be dealt with in detail in chapter 9.2.3. Then, the idea of teacher agency as part of their identity, which is mentioned above, is linked up to the concept of teacher autonomy and will be a central topic in chapter 10.

What is the contribution that the present study can make to the field of research? Concluding from Borg's review article (2003), in which he diagnoses some deficiencies in the field of research, the present study can contribute in the following ways:

1) It pays "attention to the social and institutional contexts" in which the English teachers work (98).
2) It is "globally speaking […] more representative of language classrooms": It primarily researches a state school setting "where languages are taught by nonnative teachers to large classes of learners who, particularly in the case of English, may not be studying the language voluntarily" (105).
3) By placing the centre of attention on cultural contents, it focuses on a specific curricular aspect of language teaching; at the same time, the intercultural element also contributes to the question to what extent "language teachers, because of their subject matter, are similar or different to teachers of other subjects" (106).

To summarise, I will make an attempt to conceptualise language teacher identity, which includes both subjective teacher cognitions and the social and cultural aspects of identity. In order to do so, I take identity theories developed in social psychology as a basis, in which identity is seen as having two components, a personal and a social one. Social identity is based on an individual's membership in social groups (Liebkind 1999: 141). Thus, language teachers' personal identity is based on their personal biography, interests, likes / dislikes and knowledge – including beliefs, subjective theories and personal practical knowledge – whereas their social identity is defined through multiple memberships: their membership in the collectivity of teachers – the teachers of their school, of their school type, and of English teachers in general; their membership in a certain social class, with restricted access to power, a certain income group and an educational level; and their membership in a cultural or national entity, for example, a language and a common history (Norton 1997: 420). All of these "in-group" memberships can be contrasted with other "out-groups" that may also be shifting or blurry: for example, a teacher might identify strongly with a disadvantaged school community which he or she might be part of and

which also includes the headteacher, the students and the parents, and see him- or herself in opposition to language teachers who work at an expensive private school; on the other hand, on a different level, the teacher might include him- or herself in the collectivity of all language teachers of a nation, as opposed to governmental policy-makers or "the students" in general.

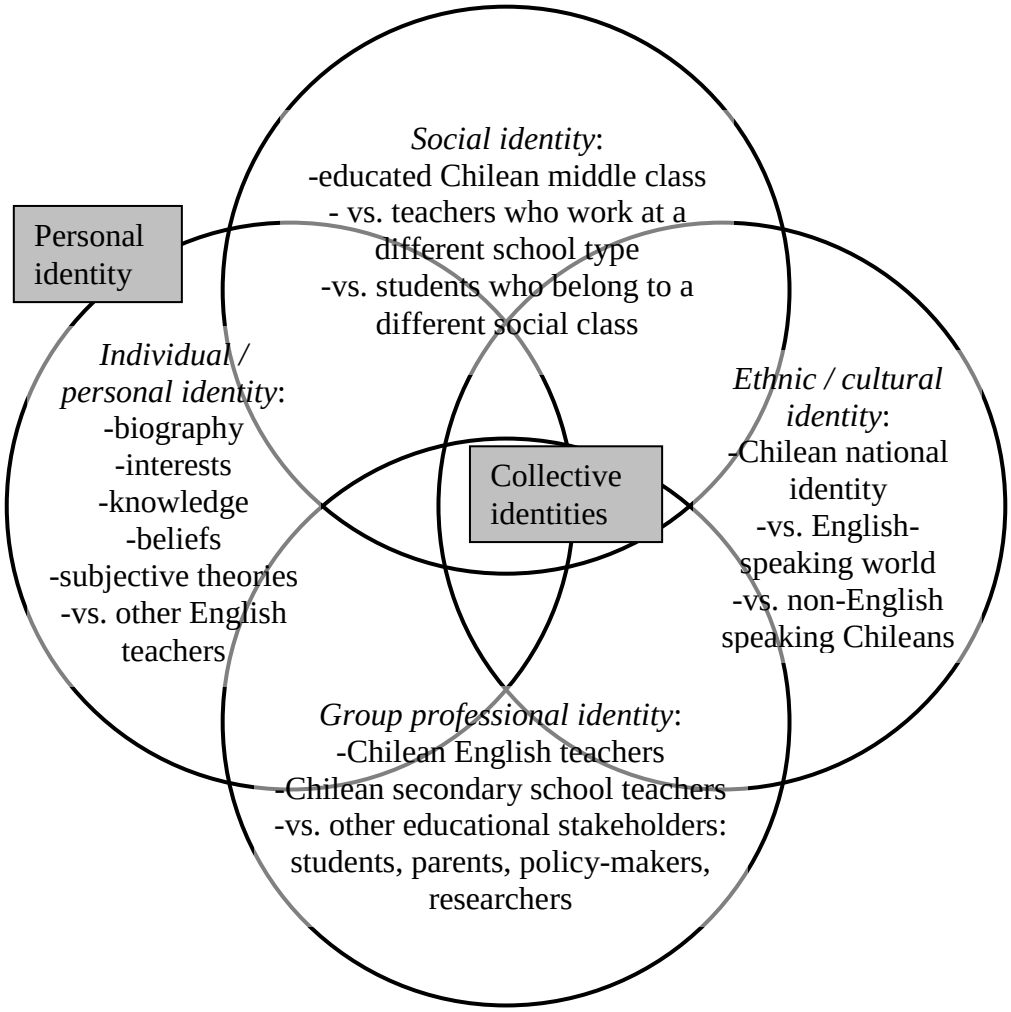

Figure 2: Chilean English teacher identity

7.3 Research Review: Motivation and Attitudes

As one of the central concerns of this study is related to learner motivation, it is necessary to refer to some of the most notable research in this field. This field is fascinating and ever-renewing in educational psychology and, more specifically, in applied linguistics and the area of second language acquisition. It would be impossible to summarise in just a few pages the vast amount of publications that have appeared in either of these two areas in recent years. In order to provide a background for the "motivation and attitudes" part of this investigation, I will try to give a brief summary of those concepts and schools of thought that have directly influenced the initial design of the project, the elaboration of the interview questions and the analysis of the interviews.

First of all, a clear definition of motivation is needed. The Nottingham-based Hungarian scholar Zoltán Dörnyei, one of the current leading researchers in the area of L2 motivation, defines it as follows:

> "Motivation is responsible for *why* people decide to do something, *how long* they are willing to sustain the activity, *how hard* they are going to pursue it." (Dörnyei 2001b: 8)

Obviously, when talking about a compulsory school subject as it is the case in this investigation, this definition would have to be re-formulated. I would like to do this by drawing on Crookes and Schmidt's theory (1991), which distinguishes between different levels on which motivation for language learning can be observed: Students may display their motivation by paying attention to the subject matter (micro level and syllabus/curriculum level), by participating in classroom activities (classroom level), and by dedicating time and effort to learning outside class (outside the classroom/long-term learning). For Crookes and Schmidt, motivation consists of four components: *interest* (related to intrinsic motivation), *relevance* (connected to instrumentality: personal needs, values, or goals), *expectancy* (in relation to perceived likelihood of success, self-confidence and self-efficacy) and *satisfaction* (related to the outcome of an activity).

As can be seen in the definitions above, the contemporary literature on motivation is mostly cognitively oriented and emphasises the importance of the individual's capacity to consciously *choose*, to *decide* to invest time and effort into a certain activity (Brown 2000; Williams/Burden 1997). There are two questions that to me are of special interest in this context.

First of all, if learning (a language) is a cognitive activity, and motivation to learn is also led by cognition – conscious decisions -, what then is the importance of the affective domain? In other words, how can the relationship be-

tween emotions and cognitive processes be described? Second, if we are talking about an *individual*'s decision to engage with and invest time and effort into learning a language, what is the role of the external context (society, family, school or the English teacher) in the decision to do so?

To begin with, the relationship between *emotion* (or *affect*) and *cognition* will be examined. The fundamental question to consider is what impact emotions have on learning motivation, and by extension, success (or failure) in the learning process. In recent years, neurobiological research has proven that emotion and cognition cannot be described as two separate processes. For example, Schumann, who researches psycholinguistics and the *neurobiology of affect in language*, states: "Second language acquisition is primarily emotionally driven and emotion underlies most, if not all, cognition" (1998: 10).[56] What influences these emotions? According to Schumann's *stimulus appraisal* model, there are five dimensions of a stimulus that are evaluated by the human brain. These are: its (1) novelty, (2) pleasantness, (3) goal/need significance, (4) coping potential and (5) its compatibility with the person's self and social image. By drawing on autobiographical data on successful language learners, Schumann demonstrates that not necessarily all five factors are appraised as positive at all times during (successful) language learning; however, he recommends:

> "Four things teachers might want to avoid in order not to diminish their students' motivation: Teachers should not do things which the students would appraise as unpleasant; they should not do things that interfere with the students' goals in language learning; they should not do things that are beyond or below the students' coping ability, and they should not do things that would diminish the students' self and social image." (1999: 38)

Even though Schumann is very vague in stating that teachers simply should "not do [certain] things", it seems reasonable to postulate that apart from choosing certain activities or methodological approaches, teachers should also incorporate contents and materials that the students' appraisal systems might categorise as positive - that is, novel, pleasant, relevant, comprehensible and with potential for identification.

Besides the relationship between cognition and affect, another factor to consider within a cognitive perspective of motivation is the influence of the external context. The social constructivist approach taken in Williams and Burden's *Psy-*

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56 In similar terms, the German neuroscientist Joachim Bauer explains: "Jede Situation wird über die fünf Sinne aufgenommen, in neuronalen Netzwerken repräsentiert und scheint damit in unserem Bewusstsein auf. Außerdem wird jede äußere Situation, während sie für uns intellektuell wahrnehmbar wird, simultan emotional bewertet, auch wenn wir dies manchmal gar nicht bemerken (für das Gehirn gibt es keine "rein sachlichen" Situationen)." (2008: 161)

chology for Language Teachers (1997) is very enlightening in this sense. Parting from the constructivist idea that each individual is motivated differently, the authors move on to explain the underlying principles of social constructivism, which specifically takes into account social and contextual influences (culture; context; social situation; significant other people; the individual's interactions with these people):

> "[M]otivation occurs as a result of a combination of different influences. Some of these are internal, that is, they come from inside the learner, such as an interest in the activity or a wish to succeed. Others are external, for example, the influence of other people. […] However, it would be a mistake to consider motivation simplistically as something which is either internal or external to the individual as these cannot be easily separated. What we need to know is what external influences are more likely to arouse people's thoughts and emotions, and how they make their own sense of these, or internalise them, in ways that lead them to decide to achieve certain goals." (120f.)[57]

Williams and Burden mention nine different *internal factors* that influence motivation: intrinsic interest in an activity; the perceived value of an activity; a sense of agency; mastery (e.g. feelings of competence); self-concept (e.g. realistic awareness of personal strengths and weaknesses in skills required, personal definitions and judgements of success and failure); attitudes (toward language learning in general, toward the target language and toward the target language community and culture); other affective states (such as confidence, anxiety and fear); developmental age and stage; and gender. In addition to these, they outline four *external factors* that interact dynamically both with the internal factors and with each other, to influence motivation: significant others (parents, teachers and peers); the nature of interaction with significant others (such as mediated learning experiences, feedback, rewards and sanctions); the learning environment (such as size of class and school, or class and school ethos); and the broader context (wider family networks, the local education system, conflicting interests, cultural norms, and societal expectations and attitudes; 138ff.). As this book was written for language teachers, the concept of *mediation* is given special importance, in that a teacher should help learners see both value and purpose beyond the here and now in a particular learning activity.

Dörnyei (2001b) distinguishes between micro and macro contextual influences and emphasises that research on L2 learning motivation started by considering mainly the macro-perspective (i.e. a focus on broad societal processes and

57 Neurobiological findings on the so-called *mirror neurons* (neurons that fire both when a person acts and when the person observes somebody else performing the same action) provide valuable insight into how these external and internal influences might interact. Cf. Bauer (2006).

contexts), whereas research interest in the micro-perspective (i.e. the immediate learning situation, the classroom and school context) is more recent. This study tries to combine both micro and macro aspects. Although by design it focuses on external influences, internal influences also gain significance in the analysis of the teachers' responses, especially in relation to students' interests and attitudes.

Concerning the macro-context, it is impossible to talk about L2 motivation without reference to the groundbreaking work done by Gardner and associates, which started more than 30 years ago in Canada and is largely based on social psychological and ethno-linguistic theories. These theories clearly have special relevance in a bilingual and bicultural country like Canada. Gardner's dichotomy of *integrative* and *instrumental* orientations in the motivation to learn a foreign language is often regarded as the one distinctive feature about language learning motivation (not just in bilingual countries; cf. Brown 2000), whereas most other motivational models (e.g. the extrinsic – intrinsic dichotomy) are also widely applied to learning in other school subjects and human activities. The underlying perspective is that the process of learning a foreign language is unlike any other school subject, as the acquisition and use of a different linguistic (cultural, behavioural) system has direct implications on the social and ethno-linguistic identity of the learners, especially upon reaching a more advanced level. In this model, an integratively oriented student shows an interest in identifying with the target language community, maybe even in becoming a member of it; an instrumentally oriented student is only interested in the pragmatic, practical reasons of mastering another language, such as getting a better job or a higher salary, without showing any interest in getting closer (socially) to the language community (cf. for example Masgoret / Gardner 2003). Given the supposed superiority of the integrative orientation over the instrumental one, another aspect of Gardner's work is the construct of the integrative motive, a "motivation to learn a second language because of positive feelings toward the community that speaks that language" (Gardner 1985; quoted in Dörnyei 2001:50). It includes *integrativeness* (including integrative orientation, interest in foreign languages, and attitudes towards the L2 community), *attitudes towards the learning situation* (in particular the language teacher and the L2 course) and *motivation* (effort, desire, and attitude towards learning).

Although the first studies carried out by Gardner and Lambert (1972) seemed to suggest that students displaying an integrative orientation towards learning a language were more successful at it, subsequent research showed that in fact there are no clear results on whether an instrumental or an integrative orientation leads to more successful language learning. Based on these contradictory (and maybe counterintuitive) results, in addition to the special status of English as a *Lingua Franca*, the dichotomy has become increasingly questioned (cf.

Brown 2000, Coetzee-van Rooy 2006, Ushioda 2006). Even though I have been able to use it for categorising some of the teachers' interview answers, I have also found its application problematic. The fact that English has become a global language, which is spoken far beyond specific cultural entities (and, moreover, both information about and attitudes towards certain countries, especially the USA and Great Britain, are widely differing, at least here in Chile), has raised the question: into *which target culture* might a learner want to integrate? In terms of upward social mobility, English might also be seen as the social and cultural capital necessary to *integrate* into the higher strata of one's own society; under this perspective, the boundaries between integrative and instrumental orientations become increasingly blurry[58].

As mentioned above, another important aspect of Gardner's work is the focus on attitudes – mostly towards the foreign language and the foreign culture, but also towards learning or the learning situation itself. Even though Williams and Burden include attitudes in their list of internal factors (see above), they can also be considered as an external influencing factor on motivation, as they form part of the sociocultural views that tend to be shared by a whole cultural community (or subgroup), implying stereotypes and generalisations. They could be considered to work at the intersection between macro-context (society, culture) and micro-context (parents and peer influence) and start playing an important role when two languages and two cultures meet, in this case, in the language classroom:

> "Attitudes, like all aspects of the development of cognition and affect in human beings, develop early in childhood and are the result of parents' and peers' attitudes, of contact with people who are 'different' in any number of ways, and of interacting affective factors in the human experience. These attitudes form a part of one's perception of self, of others, and of the culture in which one is living." (Brown 2000: 180)

In the interview design, my questions on the perception that teachers have of the students' attitudes towards English and English-speaking countries, as a possible influencing factor on student motivation, were inspired by these theories and investigations. Thus, an important question in the analysis of the interviews is whether the significance that Gardner and associates give to cultural attitudes in the motivational framework is applicable to the Chilean context. Also, Dörnyei describes the importance of considering parallel multiplicity in motivation research, which refers to the fact that factors cannot be neatly isolated in real life in the way that they are often presented in research (2001b: 14, cf. also Ushioda 2011). For example, even though there are motivation theories that are related to

58 Brown (op.cit.: 163) mentions Kachru's (1977, 1992) view on Indian English, following a similar line.

the specificity of language learning, in real school settings both teachers and students might perceive motivation and attitudes as aspects that stand in relation to all areas of learning alike, or that are more related to contextual or interpersonal factors than to the subject "English" itself.

On the micro-contextual level, as this study is based on teachers' perceptions, it seems natural to give special consideration to *the teachers' motivational influence*. In relation to this, Dörnyei (2001: 35ff.) summarises four interrelated dimensions that seem to play an important role in student motivation:

1) Personal characteristics of the teacher and, in relation to that, the affiliative motive: do students display effort in order to please the teacher?
2) Teacher immediacy: the perceived physical and/or psychological closeness between teachers and students;
3) Active motivational socialising behaviour: how do teachers present tasks, give feedback to the students, etc?
4) Classroom management: the teacher's type of authority and the setting and maintaining of group norms.

Ideally, research on these factors should include some classroom observation; however, as will be shown in the analysis of the interviews, various teachers are very much aware of these factors and refer to them when talking about their teaching experience.

Another factor that is considered as having a possible impact on learning motivation in this study are the learning contents, especially in terms of the topics that are selected for the lessons. In this sense, it is important here to refer to the concept of *interest*: how can this factor be defined, both in relation to the teachers, for selecting certain topics for teaching, and in relation to the students, for engaging with the topics that are presented to them? Interest, as a construct, is closely connected to motivation theories; as has been shown above, Crookes and Schmidt define it as one of the four components of motivation. Finkbeiner (2005: 46ff.), in her study on interests and strategies in foreign-language reading, draws on the interest theories outlined in two different pedagogical psychology schools in Germany:

According to the Munich Interest Theory (important researchers are Schiefele, Krapp, and Prenzel), interest can be defined on two different levels: on the one hand, it can be defined as *situational*: it is the "interestingness" of a specific situation. This is clearly not very stable and can be influenced, for example, through attractive visuals. Finkbeiner, in this context, warns that situational interest can only be maintained if flashy pictures are supported by contents or topics which the learners can relate to personally. Thus, on the other hand, interest can be defined as the *personal* characteristic of a learner (or a teacher), who dis-

plays a relatively stable preference for a school subject or a topic. In this context, the person's biography and values play an important role. Concepts related to personal interest are *flow* and *intrinsic motivation*: The latter refers to the fact that external "obligations" (e.g. homework tasks, the completion of a reading comprehension test, etc.) are not perceived as such, as they are congruent with personal goals. The former – *flow* – is a term coined by the positive psychologist Csikszentmihalyi (in several publications, from 1975 onwards, e.g. 1990), and widely quoted in literature on motivation, describing a state of optimal intrinsic motivation, when a person becomes completely absorbed by the enjoyment of an activity (cf. also Dörnyei 2001b, Tardy & Snyder 2004).

According to the Kiel Interest Theory, it is very important to take into account that the (teachers') *contextualisations* with which learning tasks are presented to the students need to highlight the relevance that these tasks have for the students' own lives; this will have an immediate impact on the interest that students show in accomplishing these tasks. Also, in the genesis of interest, it has been found that *actions* have a significant influence; thus, in language learning, *communicative actions* play a special role.[59]

Finally, some of the educational and L2 research on motivation has focused on the opposite topic of student demotivation, which Dörnyei defines as "specific external forces that reduce or diminish the motivational basis of a behavioural intention or an ongoing action" (143). Demotivation should be seen as different from amotivation (which is related to the perceived inability to cope with a learning task). Dörnyei quotes three studies that conclude that the teachers' relationship with the students, the teachers' attitude, and also student attitude-related problems (especially towards the language) can have an important impact on student demotivation.

In sum, this study concentrates on the following aspects of motivation to learn English: the macro-context, especially in the form of the cultural attitudes that students bring to a lesson, but also in terms of the Chilean school system and the role that English plays within it; the micro-context that is included in the teachers' descriptions of their classrooms, schools and the students; and the interaction between the students and the learning contents that they are faced with in the lessons. However, as this study is qualitative in its design, it accounts for the multiplicity of factors that are perceived *by the teachers* to influence student motivation, even if these factors were not considered in this initial outline.

59 According to Finkbeiner's 1995 empirical study, an *action oriented* (handlungsorientierte) teaching and learning methodology can have a very positive impact on students' interest and attitude towards studying a foreign language.

7.4 Analytical Framework: Critical Discourse Analysis

In order to analyse the content of the interviews, it is necessary to apply analytical tools that dedicate special attention to the social and political context to which the teachers refer in the interviews. Generally speaking, the methodology developed and presented by critical discourse analysts like Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak (2001), which has also been used for the analysis of the textbooks, offers a perspective which helps to examine the influence that factors such as power relations and the social order in a neo-liberal economy have on discourse structures, and vice versa - how discourse is used to sustain or to challenge a certain social order. It is important to take into account that the interviewed teachers do not belong to a powerful group within society, and that the interviews as a genre are not aimed at a large audience; however, the teachers in their daily jobs do have access to a constant audience that is soon going to be part of the country's workforce and the voting population. While some parts of the interviews can be regarded as resistant or alternative discourses that challenge the *status quo* of a society with blatant social, economic and cultural inequities, there are also parts where the political concept of *hegemony* can help to highlight the fact that there is some "legitimizing common sense which sustains relations of domination" (Fairclough 2001: 124), i.e. where teachers, maybe inadvertently, incorporate dominant discourse into their own ways of explaining aspects of their profession. A useful concept for this mechanism is *colonisation* of discourse: as Fairclough points out, "managerial genres, discourses and styles are rapidly colonizing government and public sector domains such as education" (128). That this is true for the public discourse on the teaching and learning of English in Chile has already been shown in my 2008 article (Glas 2008, see chapter 3.2.4).

One approach that is especially useful for exploring the ways in which various discourses and voices meet and mingle in each interview, and which has also been used successfully in studies similar to mine (Menard-Warwick 2008a) is the analytical framework that the Russian literary critic Bakhtin proposed in order to better understand the multitude of voices that make up a novel specifically, or any piece of discourse in general (Bakhtin 1981). He demonstrates how the utterances of one single character in a novel may represent the discourse of a whole social group, and how the author of a novel thus composes a polyphonic piece of art in which the voices of others form the background for his own voice (278). Going beyond the analysis of literary art, Bakhtin also examines the workings of language in a heterogeneous society in general:

> "Actual social life and historical becoming create within an abstractly unitary national language a multitude of concrete worlds, a multitude of bounded verbal-ideological and social belief systems." (288)

He highlights the way in which all discourse eventually becomes alienated from others and appropriated for one's own intentions:

> "[T]here are no neutral words and forms – words and forms that can belong to 'no one' (…) Each word tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life; all words and forms are populated by intentions. (…) The word in language is half someone else's. It becomes 'one's own' only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention." (293)

This approach seems relevant in several ways: first, when analysing the total of the interviews in a kind of synopsis, it is enlightening to "hear" the different voices of teachers as in an orchestra, where some themes might be repeated by different teachers, while in other parts they contribute with new ideas in each interview. Next, the voices of other educational and social actors are present in the teachers' utterances, in various ways: sometimes it is just a faint echo of some ministerial speech or other "dominant discourses", such as news media; sometimes the teachers act out the students' voice in "imaginary dialogues" that form part of the interviews; in other instances, teachers simply use certain expressions, words or ideas that either belong to their cultural heritage or otherwise to somebody else, but they are firmly incorporated in their own beliefs and thus form part of their own identity.

Thus, when teachers show the learners' opinions through their own dramatisations and accounts, access (though admittedly indirect) to that group of educational participants can be gained, which is one of the main concerns of the study. This acquires value when the fact is taken into account that it is the teachers' interpretations of their students' interests, likes and dislikes that finally influence the teachers' decision-making processes concerning contents or teaching approaches – not the "real" students' interests, likes and dislikes. Also, as has been shown before, the issue of identity is also a relational phenomenon that is played out through discourse(s); when the degree of appropriation of other discourses in the interviews is examined, light can be shed on the teachers' affiliations to and distancing from various social groups.

Therefore, the method of analysis applied to the interviews focuses on the following aspects: first, the use of keywords and phrases, especially if they are taken from dominant or other public discourses; second, the use of personal pronouns to discover issues of identification and agency; third, hesitations, vague expressions and omissions that might point at aspects that are peripheral or irrelevant to the teachers' identities.

8. The Research Process: Samples, Interviews, Analysis

After having presented the most important theoretical approaches to the research investigation into the teachers' perspective, I will now explain the research process of the present study. One of my main concerns was to explore the teachers' perspective on the specific challenges they faced in their particular professional settings, student motivation and (cultural) contents without imposing my own (pre-)conceptions of these issues. Therefore, as Flick (2005:323) states, the validity of qualitative research consists mainly of asking the right questions, and seeing / presenting principles or causal relationships where they really are. For example, I needed to find out if my hypothesis, i.e. that student demotivation is linked to negative student attitudes towards the English-speaking world, was intersubjectively true, and shared by the teachers interviewed. In order to do so, I needed to: 1. interview a sufficient number of teachers. 2. base at least part of the interview on open questions, in which teachers could develop their own theories. 3. use inductive instruments in the analysis of the gained data, i.e. use a bottom-up approach.

Another way of validating a qualitative study is to describe the research process in detail, with the greatest transparency possible (procedural validity, cf. op.cit. 327ff.), including possible pitfalls and specific difficulties. In the following paragraphs, I will first refer to the way contact was established with the teachers; then, present and justify the questions asked in the interviews and questionnaires. Finally, I will explain the way the data obtained were analysed.

8.1 Contact with Teachers and Sample Criteria

Most of the above mentioned studies on teacher cognition and teacher identities are in-depth investigations with very small samples of participating teachers – sometimes even only one teacher, as in Tsui 2007. They generally use an ethnographic research design, combining face-to-face interviews with classroom observations and sometimes reflective journals or other instruments to investigate the subjective component of the teachers' perspective. However, especially in the larger German studies on specific aspects of language teaching (e.g. reading interests) that also include subjective theories, a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods is applied. This means that the number of participants is larger; sometimes both questionnaires and interviews are used to collect data;

the collected data are analysed quantitatively and only a selection of them qualitatively (e.g. Finkbeiner 2005; Kallenbach 1996).

For my study, I interviewed 19 teachers – a number small enough to analyse the interview transcripts in depth, but also large enough to make some *very* tentative and cautious generalisations. As one of my concerns was to achieve a comprehensive perspective of Chilean society (or at least of the Chilean educational system) I needed to interview enough teachers to cover all school types. Therefore, I tried to have a near-representative proportion of teachers working at the different school types, as within the common patterns there is still considerable diversity among, for example, public secondary schools. Thus, of the interviewed teachers, three work at private parent-financed schools, eight teachers work at state-subsidised private schools and ten teachers work at publically funded schools (some teachers work in more than one school, therefore the total number here exceeds the number of teachers interviewed). I also covered a range of different, though not proportionally representative, geographical settings: three teachers from the capital, three teachers from a smaller town (130,000 inhabitants), and thirteen teachers from a larger urban but provincial area (about 600,000 inhabitants). I would have liked to have interviewed at least one teacher from a rural school, but unfortunately this was not possible.

About half of the contacts with the teachers were made through previous personal relationships, for example, colleagues of teacher friends or acquaintances of mine. The other contacts were made at my workplace: the university at which I work offers intensive refresher summer courses for in-service school teachers; these courses combine language practice and methodological aspects; other teachers are involved in supervising student teachers' school experiences. However, there is only one teacher in the study whom I knew personally before the interviews. The advantage of using personal contacts to find study participants is that it is less time-consuming. Also, the interviewed teachers, having confirmed through their personal contacts the academic nature of my inquiry, might have felt less threatened about being asked about their professional experiences. Of course, basing the choice of teachers upon personal contacts might have slightly restricted the possibility of achieving a really "representative" sample. Furthermore, the teachers who were contacted through the summer course at the university might even be slightly less representative, as participation in these courses is voluntary, and those participating might be more motivated than other teachers in the system. They might also be biased in terms of giving certain methodological questions more importance if those particular methods had just been mentioned in their course.

Table 9: Overview of the teachers, with a summary of some questionnaire data; Numbers refer to the order in which they were interviewed; Letters refer to school type: M = municipalizado *(publically financed school); S =* particular subvencionado *(state-subsidised private school); P =* particular pagado *(private school); A = adult school (state-subsidised private secondary education for students aged 18 and above)*

Number	Pseudonym	Location	Gender	Years of Service	Personal contact with English-speaking cultures	Travel preference for…	Contact
1M	Soledad	capital	F	25		England	personal
2M	n/n	city	F	31	Two weeks in Florida	England; USA	personal
3M	Christian	city	M	≈ 5	Childhood stay in USA	n/n	personal
4M	Viviana	city	F	10		England or Canada	personal
5M	Hortensia	city	F	32	Two months in USA	Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Australia / New Zealand	personal
6S	n/n	capital	F	4	With exchange students at her school	Australia / New Zealand	personal
7P	John	capital	M	4	Native speaker (USA)	n/n	personal
8P	Carolina	city	F	12	Ex-student of a British school; with friends	British Isles	personal
9S	Janet	city	F	10	With US-American friends	Australia / New Zealand	university
10S	Emilia	city	F	9		England	university
11S	Gabriela	city	F	8	Two months in England; with relatives in Australia	England	personal
12M	Tania	town	F	9	With English speakers living in Chile	England, Australia / New Zealand	university
13M	n/n	town	F	28	With native speakers	USA / Canada	university
14M	Pamela	city	F	2	With US-American friends	Any English-speaking country	university

15S	Cecilia	city	F	≈ 25	With relatives in USA; trip to USA planned	USA	university
16P/S	Paola	city	F	8		USA	university
17S/A	Verónica	town	F	1	10 years in Canada	England	university
18M	Carmen	city	F	18		England	university
19M	Anita	city	F	20		England	university

8.2 Interview and Questionnaire Design

For data collection, I decided to combine two instruments (cf. Flick 2005: 330ff.): first, semi-structured problem-centred interviews with a length of approximately 45 minutes; second, a two-page questionnaire to obtain some biographical data and "spontaneous associations" on cultural attitudes from the teachers.

8.2.1 Interview Design

When working on the design of the interview questions, I aimed for the teachers to come up with the topic "student motivation" spontaneously, without prompting from myself. Therefore, I started with a few very open questions, to continue with increasingly closed questions on the following topics: student motivation, textbook contents and cultural aspects of EFL teaching. Rather than a hard and fast script, the questions were meant to be a checklist. Thus, in the individual interview situations, I omitted those questions that had already been answered through previous questions, and changed the order of the questions when teachers spontaneously mentioned topics in a different order. Some of the subquestions were meant to be prompts in case teachers did not expand on the main questions by themselves. In the following paragraphs, the interview questions will be presented and justified in three thematic sections.

A: Global language, local issues

1) What does it mean to be an English teacher in Chile?
2) What special challenges do you perceive?
   a. in relation to other countries (e.g. in Europe).
   b. in relation to other school subjects.
   c. in relation to the desired learning outcomes.

12) Is there a message that would you like to leave for teachers trainers and policy makers?

These rather open questions were posited to elicit information on the teachers' self-image or identity and their teaching context. With the reference to *Chile* they were meant to open the teachers' thought to a "global context". Thus, the cultural distance between the participants and the researcher would hopefully help, rather than hinder the exchange by establishing the interviewed teachers' viewpoint and relating it to one of the concerns of this study, which is the international perspective on the teaching of English. By including these two first questions, I also hoped to obtain references to the wider socio-cultural context in which English is taught in Chile, as well as activate reflections on the teachers' self-image in relation to her or his taught subject. I hoped that the concept "challenge" would already arise spontaneously in the first answer; the comparative aspects *other countries, other school subjects, desired outcomes* (which could be compared to the real outcomes) were intended to provide further prompts in case it were necessary to stimulate the conversation. The last question, number 12, was included to close the interviews and to give teachers a chance to add any special concern to their previous statements. Even if the final question is separated chronologically from questions 1 and 2, thematically they belong together, therefore they were also analysed together.

B: Motivational aspects

3) What motivated you to become an English teacher?
   a. Do you think your own motivation is reflected in your students' motivation?
4) Generally, how motivated do you think your students are?
5) What motivates them?
   a. outside the classroom, in a wider context
   b. inside the classroom
   c. What role do parents / the social context play in your students' motivation?
   d. What role does the general cultural context in Chile play?
   e. What role does the labour market play?
6) What causes demotivation?
   a. outside the classroom, in a wider context
   b. inside the classroom
   c. What role do parents / the social context play in your students' motivation?

d. What role does the general cultural context in Chile play?
e. What role does the labour market play?

7) How do you perceive the general students' attitude towards …
   a. the English language.
   b. English-speaking cultures.

8) Since the beginning of the programme "English Opens Doors", has anything changed in your students' motivation or attitudes?
   a. What impact have the textbooks had?

Question 3 was designed to elicit biographical information from the teachers. Asking about their personal (initial) motivation to teach English could point to a deeper connection between the teachers' personal experience and the perceived motivation on the part of the students (cf. Dörnyei 2001: 175 ff. on the relationship between teacher motivation and student motivation), and therefore result in data with a higher emotional charge.

Through questions 4, 5 and 6, I intended to collect data on the teachers' perceptions of student motivation and attitudes. The questioning included some of the aspects of motivation that are generally mentioned in motivation research, without referring explicitly to them, so that the teachers were able to elaborate their own theories. More *external* than *internal factors*[60] are considered here, as the former are more relevant when describing a whole group of students, rather than individuals. These external factors include "significant others", "the learning environment", and "the broader context" (cf. Dörnyei 2001: 20). Again, the idea was to ask the sub-questions only if the teachers did not spontaneously refer to those aspects. Attitudinal aspects (question 7) can be associated with both external and internal factors. The question tried to separate linguistic from cultural aspects, as this could lead to a reflection upon the value of English as a *lingua franca*, which is not tied to any specific community of native speakers.

Finally, question 8 should put motivation in the context of the government's programme to promote English teaching and learning in Chile, and lead on to the questions on contents.

C: Contents

9) How much do you use the textbook?
   a. In your perception, which parts of the textbook can the students relate to best? Why?

60 The distinction between external and internal factors here follows the framework offered by Williams and Burden (1997); see also Dörnyei (2001: 19f.).

b. Generally speaking, what is your experience with texts and reading activities in class?
c. What are your criteria for the selection of certain texts from the book?
d. How much do you use the "culture pages" in the text book?

10) What is your experience with these culture pages or other cultural material in class?
a. in relation to the students' reaction.
b. in relation to your own interest in teaching them.
c. What other texts or cultural information do you use in class?
d. How do you make your decisions on which texts to use?
e. In your experience, is there one country or one aspect of culture that your students are particularly interested in?
f. How do you meet that interest?

11) Do you consider "teaching culture" or "intercultural elements" relevant to your role as an English teacher? If so,
a. what aspects of culture?
b. which countries?

These questions are of a narrower nature and were designed to elicit data on the specific topic of contents, without relating them explicitly to the motivational aspect. It was only indirectly that teachers would ideally relate back to motivation and attitudes, first through the order of the interview questions, second, through the references to students' reactions and interests (including the teachers' interests). In asking specifically about the textbook, I hoped the answers to these questions would yield complementary data to the analysis of the textbooks. The last question leads back to the very first one, mentioning again the role of the English teacher and leaving the wide concept of *culture* to the teachers' own interpretation.

8.2.2 Questionnaire design

The questionnaire (see appendix) consisted of two parts: the first part was to obtain biographical information from the teachers: their gender; the university in which they were trained to become English teachers and the year in which they finished their studies; current and previous workplaces, including information on experience in different school types and levels (primary - secondary or adult education); the textbooks that they used in the four different year groups of secondary education, and justification in case they were not using the government textbooks. The second part contained questions about cultural experiences and attitudes: stays abroad or other opportunities to practice English; preferences for

different English-speaking countries; spontaneous associations with the English language, with the United States and Great Britain. To finish, the last question referred to the conditions under which the teachers would choose the same profession again. The questionnaire was mainly meant to complement the data from the interviews, in case some biographical data would not be mentioned in the interviews, and to gain a more complete picture of teacher attitudes on cultural issues. The questionnaires were given to the teachers *after* the interview, so they would not be biased on the "culture" question in their answers.

8.3 Data Analysis

For the analysis of the collected data, I decided to use a twofold approach: first, a horizontal structuring and summarising analysis of all the interviews, including the data obtained through the questionnaires. The results of this part of the analysis will be presented in chapter 9. Second, this first breakdown was complemented with an in-depth content analysis of some selected interviews, in order to explore some issues that arose more or less spontaneously during the interviews, and also to be able to map out some especially valuable examples of motivating content selection (presented in chapter 10.4). The triangulation of data and analytical methods is thus a way of both validating the study and enriching the perspectives, resulting in a broader and deeper view of the findings (cf. Flick 2005: 330ff.).

8.3.1 Recording and transcription

All the interviews were digitally recorded and subsequently transcribed. After the interviews, I quickly wrote up a brief description of the interview situation – the place, time of the day, my general impression of the teachers' personalities, and other topics that the teachers and I discussed in the "small talk" before and after the interview. In some instances, recording this would have been a valuable complement to the interviews, as some teachers went on to elaborate some of the ideas they had mentioned before. In order to improve my questioning technique, especially after the first interviews, I also wrote a few lines about mistakes that I thought I had made, e.g. not insisting enough on an interesting point or letting teachers go off the point for too long. I usually started with the transcription as soon as possible in order to fill in inaudible or interrupted passages (e.g. through traffic or construction noise, students in school corridors etc.) from memory; however, as I needed to make the most of the possibility to interview many

teachers during the summer course, I did not always have time to transcribe the interviews immediately. For some of these, I also asked for help from friends, who kindly did a first "quick" transcript for me. I then listened to all the interviews at least three times to correct and re-correct the transcripts. However, there were some parts of a few interviews where the sound quality was so poor, or the teachers talked so quietly that I needed to mark those parts in the transcripts to indicate that my transcription might be flawed.

Transcription key:[61]

..	short pause (short breath intake)
…	0.5-second pause
….	1-second pause etc.
:	lengthened sound (extra colons indicate greater lengthening)
xxx	inaudible
[laughs]	comments added in brackets

In order to validate the interviews, the transcripts were sent back to the teachers for their approval. Some of them added comments to reinforce some of the points made in the interviews. None of them questioned the content or the transcript.

8.3.2 Horizontal analysis

After all the interviews had been transcribed, the data were analysed for recurrent themes (cf. Mayring 2003). Due to the semi-structured nature of the interviews, the establishment of categories turned out to be a mixture between my initial questions and concerns and the teachers' own focus on certain aspects of their professional realities. For the first, I basically used a top-down approach, guided by the topics that I had proposed by the questions, with a focus on student motivation and learning contents, especially cultural contents. For those parts where the teachers could answer more freely, especially those that belong to theme A, inductive categories were established. However, as will be seen later, for some of the more structured parts of the interviews, it was also necessary to add further inductive categories, based on the themes proposed in the teachers' answers. These inductive categories were marked as "added categories" to highlight the fact that they arose more or less spontaneously in the course of the interviews, and are therefore less guided by my own questions. Issues that were

61 Cf. Kramsch 1993: 110f.

repeatedly raised by the teachers, such as the increased importance of technology in Chilean life today and its connection to learning, particularly learning English, now receive special attention in the analysis (10.3), even though they had not initially been considered in my conception of this research investigation.

The next step in the analysis was to structure and summarise the data: the transcribed answers (most of them in Spanish) to each of the twelve questions that guided the interviews were drawn together in tables and summarised in a different column. This approach made it possible to analyse the data comparatively, from which cautious quantitative conclusions can be drawn (with all the restrictions that are implied by such a small sample), while leaving enough context to be able to analyse the content qualitatively, too.

More indications about the way in which this information was organised in order to present it in this report can be found at the beginning of the respective chapters.

8.3.3 Translation and Presentation of Quotations

Most of the interviews were carried out in Spanish. One teacher, a native speaker, naturally spoke to me in English. There was one other teacher who also opted for this language. For the presentation of the interviews in chapters 9 and 10, I decided to leave the quotes in the main text in the original, including translations to English in the footnotes. For the presentation of the original quotes, for reasons of space and greater readability, I eliminated most of my interjections and active listening markers, and sometimes a false start, if it would interrupt the flow too much. However, in general terms, for the sake of authenticity, I attempted to leave the quotes as natural as possible. In the translations, I decided to shorten the quotes to more readable texts, eliminating most false starts and rephrasings of the original oral register, but, when in doubt, opted for more literal (and maybe less idiomatic) translations in order to keep the original ideas as truthful as possible.

All teacher quotations (TQs) are numbered so that finding them in the report is made easy. References to the quotes contain the number of the interview, including the code for the school type (see above, in the key for table 9), and the page number of the interview transcript.

9. Summarising Analysis of the Teachers' Responses

In this chapter, I will analyse the teachers' responses globally, in order to gain an overview of the teachers' perspective on their profession in Chile, their opinions on student motivation and on cultural contents. The sub-chapters roughly follow the same logic as the subdivisions of the interviews: the main concern of 9.1 will be the Chilean English teachers' identity in the local teaching context. Sub-chapter 9.2 is based on the teachers' responses to the questions on student motivation and attitudes. Finally, in 9.3, I will explore the teachers' attitudes and interests, their personal and ethnic identity, in relation to their views on the teaching of cultural content.

By applying both quantitative and qualitative analytical tools, I aim to present the results of this study in both maximum breadth and depth. Therefore, these sub-chapters are organised in the following way: first, a brief account will be given of the way in which thematic categories were formed on the basis of the interview data, whether these categories were anticipated by the initial interview questions or whether they arose spontaneously or unexpectedly from the obtained data. The second sub-sections consist in a summary of all of the teachers' answers from the respective thematic section of the interviews. In the third section of each sub-chapter, the data presented will be analysed, by referring back to the framework on teacher identity and relating the obtained data to other research and theories in the respective areas of interest. All sub-chapters will culminate in a conclusion, in which the interview data will be contrasted and compared with my hypothesis, which I presented at the beginning of the study (chapter 1).

9.1 Global Language, Local Challenges: The Teachers' Interpretation of their Professional Situation

9.1.1 Pre-analysis

This chapter is based on the following interview questions:

1) What does it mean to be an English teacher in Chile?
2) What are specific challenges that the teachers perceive in their professional reality?
8) What do teachers have to say about the government programme "English opens doors"?
12) What additional comments would teachers like to make for policy makers and teacher trainers?

To complement this last question, the teachers' responses to the last item on the questionnaire: "I would choose my profession again if…" have also been considered.

With the exception of question 8, all of these questions were deliberately asked as open questions, so that teachers were encouraged to develop their points of view on their self-image and their teaching context as freely as possible. Question 8 was initially meant to be a transition from the topic of motivation to talking about textbooks, as the distribution of textbooks was part of the government programme. However, in the interviews many teachers turned out to have fairly complex opinions about the government initiative as a whole. Thematically, these answers belong to this set of questions, as they give detailed information on the teaching context, and the way in which it has developed in the past few years. Therefore, for presentational purposes, I have re-formulated the question here as an open question.

As my hypothesis already anticipated the idea of *challenge*, and as a special challenge *student motivation*, during the interviews I tried to guide the teachers' answers to those issues, but would then pick up on their own comments and ask them to further develop them if their answers allowed me to do so. In the analysis, all those teacher comments that referred to these questions in some way were considered and categorised, even if they did not follow my question immediately and arose at some other point in the interview.

From question 1, I divided answers up into two sub-categories, according to different interpretations of *being an English teacher* and of *teaching English*, respectively.

In question 2, I had pre-established three points of reference for the teachers to guide their interpretation of challenges: a) in comparison to other countries, b) in comparison to other school subjects, and c) in comparison to expected outcomes. During the interviews, I did not always raise all of them, or insist on them if teachers did not make reference to them – generally I only did so if I considered it was necessary in order to prompt the teachers' answers. Instead, I preferred for the teachers to develop their own views on their professional challenges, and this is why I had to add further categories in my analysis, or modify these points of reference: first of all, most teachers found it very difficult to compare their context to that of other countries; however, many of them established comparisons between the different school types in Chile (cf. chapter 3.1), situating the schools where they work on a scale from private, state-subsidised private to publically funded schools. Thus, the point of reference "other countries" was complemented by "other school types in Chile". Then, three categories were established that subsume the main challenges that teachers mentioned and added to the other points of reference / categories: d) lack of resources, e) lack of motivation and f) lack of study habits.

As mentioned before, question 8 was initially conceived as a follow-up to the questions on student motivation and attitudes – therefore, the main question/category (a) here was: Did the government programme have any impact on student motivation? During the analysis, two more categories took form: b) the interrelation between the government initiative and a general change in society; c) the possible impact of the government initiative on the attention that English receives as a school subject.

Question 12 was conceived to close the interviews and to leave a completely open space for the teachers to give their views on their worries and concerns, without any prompts of mine. This turned out to be very useful, as they complemented the more structured questions of the interviews on professional challenges. This is why this final question is analysed in this sub-chapter, too.

9.1.2 Summary of the Teachers' Answers

Question 1: What does it mean to be an English teacher in Chile?

The opening question was meant to elicit the teachers' subjective interpretations of their professional reality. Even if the question was not asked again during the

interviews, other, additional questions, for example questions on the teachers' initial motivation to become English teachers, brought up supplementary ideas that equally fitted as answers to this question, and the quest to interpret their professional context indeed permeated the whole interview. Therefore, these ideas are considered in this summary, even if they turned up in other stages of the interview.

In the analysis, it was possible to establish different categories based on the teachers' answers. Some teachers answered the question on *being an English teacher* fairly generally, referring to the social context, the requirements, limitations and opportunities that they perceive in their profession. Other teachers interpreted this question as "what does it mean *to teach English* in Chile?" Those answers had a slightly different focus to them, as they refer more specifically to the classroom activities that English teachers consider essential in their daily tasks.

So, I will first examine the more general question: What does it mean *to be* an English teacher in Chile?

Many teachers refer to their profession *in fairly negative terms*: The idea that being an English teacher in Chile is a *challenge* ("un desafío") , *complicated* ("complicado") or *difficult* ("difícil") appears in at least ten interviews (cf. interviews 1M, 3M, 4M, 5M, 6S, 10S, 11S, 14M, 15S, 18M, 19M). Although it is the case that most of these teachers work at publically funded schools, and none of them at private schools, it is interesting that this description applies even to some teachers whose professional situations seem comparatively favourable. However, a more detailed description of the challenges and difficulties will be given below, when question 2 is analysed.

Conversely, four teachers refer to their profession *in extremely positive terms*: "I enjoy it quite a bit" (7P, 2); "aquí en Chile es como:: un lujo .. para mí::.. es e:: un lujito: … que me di yo misma"[62] (12M, 1). The main reason that is given for this optimistic view is the changed status of English in Chile, in the times of globalisation, as the following quote illustrates:

> TQ1: "ser profesora de inglés en Chile hoy:: en el dos mil nueve es realmente un privilegio.. la verdad es que nosotros tenemos ahora digamos.. el gran poder la gran influencia::: de poder a los alum a los alumnos abrirles el mundo … de que no solamente estamos acá en Chile que somos el último lugar del mundo sino que podemos interactuar… que en el fondo pueden conocer otras culturas pueden abrir sus posibilidades laborales y académicas también y no sólo eso sino que también.. todo lo que les gusta la música:: la computación que ahora está tan de moda los chicos ahora se

62 "Here in Chile it is like luxury .. for me.. it is a little treat that I gave to myself".

manejan más que yo en en los programas.. entonces para mí es un honor un privilegio." (16P/S, 1)[63]

The teachers perceive increased opportunities not only for their students but also for themselves:

TQ2: "a ver.. de un tiempo a esta parte ser profesora de inglés:: cierto:: e::: ha tenido un::: un énfasis.. creciente e:: yo creo que... hace unos diez años atrás... mucho énfasis con esto de la globalización::n cierto.. el énfasis en manejar un segundo idioma como instrumento e:: de.. en este caso de movilización social… e::: es.. una buena oportunidad .. ser profesora de inglés .. está dentro de la pedagogía yo creo que es la que te abre más puertas... y la que tiene más posibilidades laborales .. es ser profesora de inglés." (18M, 1)[64]

Within this context, the *changed status of English in Chilean society* in the past years appears in at least six interviews. This is for many teachers both an opportunity and a challenge. The answers to question 2 will shed more light on this issue.

TQ3: "working as an English teacher for me means dealing with one of the most important challenges for us (…) because (…) the Chilean government wants (…) the country to becom:::e … bilingual" (3M, 2).

Opportunities for teachers are mentioned in various interviews – apart from the possibilities for teaching English, some teachers consider it an advantage to have the option to do other things with the language, beyond teaching it. In this aspect of English teacher identity, the linguistic factor takes on special importance:

TQ4: "te podí ir a otro país… hay como hartas cosas para hacer en inglés." (12M, 1)[65]

At the same time, the fact that English has multiple applications can also be interpreted more negatively – being an English teacher is dissatisfying, owing to

63 "Being an English teacher in Chile today in 2009 is really a privilege. In fact, we now have, let's say, the great power, the great influence of being able to open the world to the students, being able to not just be here in Chile where we are the last place in the world, but we are able to interact… that ultimately they can get to know other cultures, they can also widen their professional and academic possibilities and not just that, but also.. everything they like, music, computers which is so fashionable nowadays, the kids now know how to handle the programmes better than I do… so for me it is an honour, a privilege."

64 "For some time now being an English teacher has had an increasing emphasis put on it… I think for about ten years, with this globalisation… the emphasis on knowing a second language as a tool of social mobility in this case… It is a great opportunity to be an English teacher. Among all teaching jobs it is the one that opens the most doors to you, and which has the most professional possibilities."

65 "You can go to another country… there are like a lot of things to do in English."

the profession's restricted opportunities to actually use the language, and limited earning potential, compared to other jobs in Chile involving the English language:

> TQ5: "yo... hablo un poquito de inglés.. como no voy a poder entrar en otra cosa que sea más.. satisfacto..no.. no tanto en plata sino en:: usar el idioma que yo aprendí" (4M, 4)[66]

Many teachers also describe what they consider to be the *requirements for being a good English teacher*, especially one who motivates students (some of those views appear in the context of student motivation). In their statements, the teachers generally mix various factors together: some have to do with language skills, some with up-to-date cultural or methodological knowledge (e.g. 9S, 16P/S, 18M), and some with personality factors that also could apply to all teachers, not just English teachers – creativity (11S), being a sociable, caring person (e.g. 11S, 8P). In order to gain a more qualitatively valid understanding of teachers' beliefs on this matter, I think it is useful to have a look at these quotes to examine the order in which the teachers mention the different factors and how they describe them (my emphases are added in the translation of the quotes):

> TQ6: "es muy importante la parte inglés .. muy importante los conocimientos lingüísticos ... el saber un poco quién fue Shakespeare .. quién fue este otro caballero.. pero también el formar un profesional un poco más global .. (…) ... entonces yo creo que:: la universidad en ese sentido (…) es entregar una formación más completa... las tics .. también .." (16 P/S, 7)[67]

> TQ7: "hay cariño .. hay no sé po ellos me resp... me respetan y me quieren entonces es eso y que estén participando ... que uno llegue y estén de buen ánimo de buen talante... qué escuchen... y por supuesto que que que consideran que yo sé.." (8P, 4)[68]

Being up-to-date culturally does not necessarily mean that teachers have travelled to or lived in an English-speaking country – something that for many of them is simply beyond their reach financially. This quote is an interesting illustration of this belief:

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66 "I speak a bit of English… surely I will be able to get into something different that offers more satisfaction … not just in terms of money but in using the language that I learnt."

67 "The English part, the linguistic knowledge is very important; to know a bit about who was Shakespeare and this or that other man; but also to train professionals to be a bit more global; so I think the university should offer more complete training … ICT … too."

68 "There is affection.. they respect and like me and so they participate… it is important that one arrives in a good mood … so they listen… *and of course* that they consider that I know [English]".

> TQ8: "yo nunca he salido de Chile... (...) hay poetas cubanos que nunca salieron de Cuba... y hablaban de todo el mundo" (8P, 9)[69]

Some teachers identify strongly with the *pedagogical aspect of being a teacher* in general (rather than an English teacher specifically). Sometimes they refer to this when asked about their initial motivation to become English teachers (cf. chapter 9.3), others describe the process vice-versa, as these quotes illustrate:

> TQ9: "me gusta el inglés pero después estando adentro me fasciné más con el.. proceso.. de lo que es ser profesora.." (9S, 2)[70]

> TQ10: "when I started teaching I was like really focused that I teach English.. that's what I do and I had that tunnel vision… and I realise now that I do a lot more than that now…. I teach about life, too" (7P, 2)

This "teaching about life" takes different forms of expression in the different interviews: for example, one teacher says it is teaching students to respect themselves and others (8P), another one says it is teaching values (13M). Even though these aspects could apply to any of the other school subjects, two teachers spontaneously bring the pedagogical aspect of being a teacher in context with teaching English language and culture (the second quote will appear further down, when analysing learning objectives, see TQ20):

> TQ11: "ser profesora (...) es .. la la oportunidad de estar e:: siempre en contacto con gente joven de poder (…) ayudarles a crecer a desarrollarse con un modelo que.... de persona.. que se equivoca que::: que tiene que pedir perdón... y que: trato de primero prepararlos a poder enfrentar la vida (...) y dentro de:::: eso es tal vez el medio que tengo es el inglés... es mi herramienta.... entonces siento que estoy enseñando a través de de:: l.. la lengua inglesa … una cultura…" (8P, 1)[71]

Similarly, the relationship with students is a recurrent theme in the interviews. It is surprising, however, that English as a subject can be seen both as an obstacle and as a help in establishing a positive rapport with the students. Probably the use of the target language in class, and topic choices play a role here. Note the contrast between these two quotes:

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69 "I have never traveled outside of Chile… there are Cuban poets who never left Cuba… and talked about the whole world".

70 "I like English but then, being in it, I became fascinated with the process of what it is to be a teacher."

71 "Being a teacher is the opportunity to be always in contact with young people, to be able to help them to develop with the model of a person who gets things wrong, who has to apologise… I first try to prepare them to be able to face life, and within this, English is maybe the means that I have … it is my tool… so I feel that what I am teaching through the English language is a culture."

TQ12: "con los años muchas veces pensé que me habría .. encantado ser profesora... de otra cosa.. por ejemplo de historia... para tener más proximidad con los alumnos" (5M, 2)[72].

TQ13: "el inglés o la enseñanza del inglés te da a ti tantas posibilidades.. en términos metodológicos te da un montón de posibilidades.. si no es por un lado es por el otro o por el otro… entonces al final siempre uno va a tener como alguna llegada con los alumnos" (19M, 9)[73]

So, whether it helps or hinders to get on well with the students, what is it that is understood by *teaching* this subject English, more specifically? This question leads on to the analysis of the answers that referred more closely to the *tasks of the English teacher*:

Eight teachers referred to *linguistic learning objectives* in relation to the four skills and the level that students should acquire. In accordance with the government guidelines, the receptive skills are given special priority. Reading and listening comprehension as main goals are recurrent themes (3M, 11S, 17S/A, 19M; no private school teachers mentioned this focus on specific skills). As one teacher puts it, there is no time for developing the speaking skill (6S). In terms of the level that students should reach, there is some variation, which is certainly influenced by the specific challenges that teachers face in their respective context: one teacher who works in a school with many social and disciplinary issues, contents herself with "bringing students closer to the language"; she uses the metaphor of a "varnish" to highlight the superficiality of the knowledge she can pass on to her students (1M); other teachers also describe the level as "basic" (e.g. 17S/A). In other schools, especially those that are known to prepare students more specifically to go on to study at Higher Education institutions, teachers describe more ambitious aims, such as certain learner autonomy:

TQ14: "que ellos entiendan lo que leen... que ellos entiendan lo que escuchan ... (…) y de ahí .... ellos pueden aprender a ser más independientes en ese sentido" (11S, 2)[74]

Six teachers also related their answers to *specific linguistic or methodological aspects*. A very recurrent theme in this context is grammar teaching, which in the past few years has been slightly discredited in teacher training programmes

72 "As the years passed I often thought that I would have loved to be a teacher of something different… for example history… so as to have a closer relationship with the students"

73 "English or English teaching gives you so many possibilities.. in methodological terms it gives you a lot of possibilities … if it is not this way it is that way or that way… so in the end one is always somehow going to get on well with the students".

74 "[I want them] to understand what they read … to understand what they hear … and then they can learn to be more independent in this sense".

in Chile and mostly replaced by a task-based approach. This has led to some confusion, especially for the more mature teachers who have to use textbooks with a methodological approach in which they have not received any training (cf. chapter 9.3, 5M, 7/8). Some teachers refer to grammar teaching in a very personal way whereas some others express their opinions by using impersonal structures to vocalise government guidelines or the "public discourse" on it: For example, one teacher explains that she talks about the topics of the texts, often in Spanish, "ahora como no se puede pasar así gramática" (1M, 6)[75] There was no common pattern that would point to a direct relationship between a certain attitude towards grammar teaching and the teachers' age – one of the younger teachers had embraced the task-based methodology that is commonly advocated in Chile and talked about grammar in fairly negative terms, but still rather impersonally:

> TQ15: "ahora es abrir el libro y empezar a hacer las actividades y relacionarlo. Además que como ahora la gramática ha desaparecido ya no es tan:::: a:: la huevada latera el verbo *to be* .. los verbos regulares y los irregulares.. sino que... es leer un texto y relacionarlo o escuchar un texto y relacionarlo con actividades relacionadas.." (6S, 6)[76]

The youngest of the interviewed teachers – also the one with the least teaching experience – says she resorts to grammar teaching as a way to overcome the students' frustration due to their lack of comprehension[77]:

> TQ16: "se sienten como:: decepcionados cuando no entienden y cuando uno les habla en inglés (…) entonces la única forma es cómo seguir con lo tradicional.. explicándoles el verbo *to be is are am* y todo" (14M,6)[78]

Two teachers who appear to have found their own, individual approach to teaching English (and also claim success in terms of student motivation and achievement) describe their relationship to grammar teaching fairly positively, stressing the importance that they personally give it:

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75 "As now *one cannot* teach grammar like that".

76 "Now it is *opening the book* and *starting to do* the activities and relate them. Moreover, as now grammar has disappeared it is not the boring stuff the verb to be.. regular and irregular verbs .. but rather *reading* a text and relating it or listening to a text and relating it to related activities."

77 In teacher training research, this has been found to be a common pattern: even if teachers have been trained to use a different methodological approach, they resort to the approach they learned with when facing difficulties (Borg 2003).

78 "They feel like disappointed when they don't understand and when *one talks to them* in English… so *the only way is to continue* with the traditional [approach]… explaining the verb *to be is are am* and all that."

TQ17: "aprendí con el el el la metodología de gramática po.... pero lo he dejado.. fíjate.... (KG: ¿y y tú podrías describir cuál es como la cosa que te rige .... así para motivar a los alumnos?) generalmente la temática.... (…) la temática y ahí voy mezclando... me me me..... igual enseño gramática .. no la dejo de lado porque para mí... es como bien importante y me ha costado dejarla de lado.. pero.. creo que ahora e: .. priorizo más la comunicación...." (11S, 8)[79]

TQ18: "me gusta... aunque te digan que no tienes que enseñar gramática.. como que me apasiono y de repente como que me pillo en eso.. porque veo como algo rico así como de que asirse.. e:: eso me gusta del.. del idioma.. ahora.. el hecho de que ahora tienes muchos más medios… toda la cosa del internet y todo.. y de poder acceder cierto.. e:: culturalmente.. eso me.. me llama la atención también…. y de poder entregar a los chiquillos algunas herramientas mínimas para.. que ellos puedan.. eso me gusta digamos del.. del… del enseñar ingles" (18M, 3)[80]

To move on to a different point, as the topics culture teaching and motivation will be dealt with exhaustively in the following chapters, I will only quote those interviews where these topics were mentioned in direct response to my first question. Basically, the answers in these contexts all have in common that the teachers give an idea of *what the students should learn English for*, or what their *perceived main learning objective* is. Only three teachers referred to culture or to intercultural learning objectives directly at the beginning – it is to be noted that the first one of them has never travelled to an English-speaking country, whereas the second one lived in Canada for ten years:

TQ19: "entonces siento que estoy enseñando a través de de:: l.. la lengua inglesa … una cultura…(...) y a través de eso el respeto por la diversidad.. por los valores de una cultura distinta a la nuestra... e:::m tratar de que ellos puedan tomar las cosas buenas"(8P,1)[81]

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79 "*I* learned with the grammar method, but I have left it, mind you… (KG: and could you describe what guides you to motivate students?) generally the topic and I mix… *I* teach grammar anyway … *I don't leave it aside because for me it is fairly important* and I have found it difficult to leave it aside… but I think *now I prioritise communication more*…"

80 "I like it… even if they tell you that you don't have to teach grammar, it's like *I get passionate about it* and sometimes *I catch myself out in it*… because *I find it something beautiful*, something to rely on… I like that about the language … now… the fact that now you have many more resources… the whole Internet thing and everything… being able to culturally access… that also calls my attention… to be able to give the students some minimum tools so they can … that's what I like about teaching English."

81 "So I feel that I am teaching through the English language a culture and through that the respect for diversity, through values of a culture that is different from ours… to try to help them take the good things".

TQ20: “me da la oportunidad de::.... a: enseñar el idioma..... de compartirlo ..de compartir la cultura que tienen ..los países que hablan en inglés.... a: de crecer... de que los niños crezcan un poco y que abran un poco más su mentalidad .. conocer otras cosas que aquí en Chile no tenemos:: (…) que tengan lo la capacidad de poder leer algo que les amplíe un poco más.. la la:: percepción que tienen de lo los diferentes países”(17S/A,1)[82]

In contrast, five teachers referred to instrumental motives for learning English, highlighting its importance and usefulness in the socio-economic context, especially the world of work – only one of them talks about culture first, mentioning the “useful” side of English as an “extra”:

TQ21: “poder a los alum a los alumnos abrirles el mundo… (…) podemos interactuar… que en el fondo pueden conocer otras culturas pueden abrir sus posibilidades laborales y académicas también” (16P/S,1)[83]

Two teachers use the very common metaphor of the “tool”:

TQ22a: “entregar una herramien:ta:::: lingüística.. que le sirva a::: nuestros estudiantes para: .. mejor manejarse en el mundo actual” (2M,1)[84] / TQ22b: “eso para mí.. eso es enseñar inglés ... darles e::: un:: una herramienta más para que ellos se desenvuelvan en el futuro” (6S,2)[85]

Finally, two teachers view their *task to motivate the students* as essential:

TQ23: “hacerles ver que es importante” (14M,2)[86]

TQ24: “ser profesora de inglés para mí es como.. como:: e::: ser una ayudante de los alumnos (…) que les guste el inglés... (…) que se proyecten mediante....no es cierto este::: .. este:::: idioma...porque es un idioma realmente útil e::: y..universal” (13M,1)[87]

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82 “It gives me the opportunity to teach the language… to share it… to share the culture that the English-speaking countries have… to grow… that the kids grow up a bit and open their mentalities a bit more… to get to know things that here in Chile we don’t have… so they have the capacity to be able to read something that widens for them a bit more… the perception they have of the different countries.”

83 “To be able to open the world to the students … we can interact … that in the end they can get to know other cultures, they can open their possibilities in work and study, too.”

84 “To pass on a linguistic tool that serves our students to get on better in today’s world.”

85 “That is teaching English for me… to give them another tool so they can cope in the future”.

86 “Make them see that it is important.”

87 “Being an English teacher for me is like being the students’ helper so that they like English… that they project themselves through this language because it is a language that is really useful and universal.”

As mentioned above, many teachers described their professional context as challenging. Thus, I am now going to show in detail what aspects of their jobs they consider to be difficult.

Question 2: What are specific challenges that the teachers perceive in their professional situation?

The first prompt that I gave to teachers to develop their answers was to *compare their particular situation to that of other countries*. A few teachers picked up on this prompt, two of them referring to the fact that all neighbouring countries speak Spanish. The following quote echoes the voices of the students, claiming a Hispanic identity (which is contradicted by some parts of other interviews, where Chilean racism against Peruvians is emphasised; cf. chapter 9.3):

> TQ25: "porque algunas se quejan 'ay, por qué estudiamos inglés si total estamos en Chile, qué sé yo:::, si aquí nosotros, así como::: nuestros vecinos.. todos somos hispanos... y todos nos podemos entender' ..." (2M,4)[88]

Other perceptions are that in comparison to Europe, students do not really have travel opportunities, and that there are fewer people who speak a foreign language and who could act as a role model (4M, 2). However, as one teacher puts it:

> TQ26: "yo.. no conozco otras realidades... nunca he salido del país... por lo tanto... lo que te pueda decir.. tiene que ver con lo::: la enseñanza en Chile.." (6S, 2)[89]

Therefore, after analysing the interviews, I decided to include in this category all those answers that compared the teachers' own school reality to that of *other socio-economic levels* and thus, other school types (in particular private schools) in Chile. I had not foreseen this as an answer, but it was indeed a very common theme that arose spontaneously in at least fourteen interviews. Without describing their situation as challenging, even the teachers who work at private schools mentioned these differences, placing themselves at the "favourable" end of the spectrum, though (7P, 8P). To include an internal comparison proved very effective, as it gave an impressive picture of social differences within the country and showed how they find expression at various levels. The main issues that were mentioned here as differentiating factors were: student characteristics, especially in terms of their future perspectives and parental support (1M, 5M, 6S, 8P, 9S,

88 "Because some [students] complain "oh, why do we study English if we are in Chile anyway, whatever… if here, like our neighbours, we are all Hispanics and we can all understand each other."

89 "I don't know any other realities… I have never left the country... so what I can tell you has to do with education in Chile."

12M, 16P/S, 17A/S; in contrast to 7P); the general teaching conditions, resources and equipment (1M, 5M, 10S, 13M, 17A/S, 18M; in contrast to 7P, 8P); early versus late start of English as a school subject (e.g. preschool in the private sector versus 5th grade in public schools – 1M, 2M, 18M); and some more specific issues of English teaching, such as specific language skills, the level of English, or the use of the target language for classroom management (1M, 9S, 14M, 18M). To illustrate the difficulties and differences that teachers describe, I will quote one teacher who works in a publically funded school, one who works both in a state-subsidised private and a private school, and one who works in a private school.

Here, a teacher of a publically funded school describes differences in terms of the students' social and cultural levels, their future expectations and motivation to learn English:

> TQ27: "en un colegio de ahí arriba que es pagado.. y que los niños vienen con un inglés desde primero básico y es que ellos como que tienen expectativas al futuro en que sí saben que el inglés les va a servir.. lo van a ocupar y un montón de cosas…. en cambio los chiquillos ni siquiera se imaginan para qué les pueda servir.. que ojalá con suerte que salgan de cuarto medio.. que hay algunos que quedan en el camino…. entonces por eso que para ellos es difícil motivarse y el hogar de ellos.. el medio socioeconómico en el que yo estoy también es muy bajo…. padres ausentes que trabajan todo el día.. en las casas no hay libros no hay revistas no hay un lugar adecuado para trabajar entonces todo eso les desmotiva a ellos… si no están en el colegio están en la calle." (1M, 4)[90]

The following quotes describe how the social level has an impact on the teachers' perspective of topic contents, taking an empathetic perspective of the more complicated social backgrounds:

> TQ28: "como tienen la posibilidad también saben que pueden viajar saben que pueden conocer ... entonces los sistemas el sistema de trabajo les llama la atención que en Europa por ejemplo se pueden tomar años sabáticos o en Estados Unidos que pueden viajar y::: y y conocer el mundo y después vuelven a sus propios trabajos que hay una rotación laboral que y que eso es normal ... em... bueno... eso les atrae porque es cercano a lo mejor si yo les muestro eso a niños en la Pintana (…) o les

90 "In a school up there where parents pay fees, and the kids learn English from Year 1 primary school onwards and they have future expectations in which they do know that English is going to be useful for them, they will use it and a lot of things… whereas the kids [in my school] can't even imagine what this is going to be good for. Hopefully and with any luck they will finish secondary education because there are some who drop out before. So for these reasons it is difficult to get motivated and their homes… the socioeconomic background where I am is very low too… absent parents who work all day… in their homes there are no books there are no magazines there is no adequate space to work so all that demotivates them… if they aren't at school they are in the streets."

hago una envidia tremenda una frustración xxxx porque no va a poder jamás en la vida o a lo mejor le despierto el interés de superarse ....pero::: (…) mientras que acá sí porque es factible"(8P, 8/9)[91]

TQ29: "entonces es complicado y a mí es: eso a pesar de todo me gusta del liceo que es como que te da distintas realidades en un particular como que:: igual hay problemas ... pero los de acá son como más humanos es como un cable a tierra.. y que chu::ta... verdad ... tengo que considerar este tema de repente tocar un tema por ejemplo no sé po ... el de una familia sú:per. feli:z ... y que el papá hace esto y de repente tienes alumnas que tienen una tremenda tragedia en su casa ... entonce::s dosificar eso también e:::s es difícil ... y más encima tratar de enseñarles inglés ..." (16P/S, 12)[92]

Other comparative challenges according to school type, such as working conditions, will be described in the respective paragraphs below.

The next prompt that I gave to the teachers to describe the specific challenges that they face as English teachers was the *comparison to other school subjects*. Out of the eighteen teachers who made a clear statement on this point, ten thought that teaching English was more difficult than other school subjects: the main reasons that they mentioned in this context were, on the one hand, that students did not give English sufficient attention as it was not tested in the university entrance exam (8M, 11S, 15S, 16 P/S, 18M) and, on the other hand, comprehension problems due to the use of the target language, which caused subsequent difficulties, for example, that students cannot study autonomously (14M) or that their parents cannot help them (4M). Conversely, five teachers thought that teaching English was not more difficult than teaching other subjects, as all of them had their specific challenges (3M, 5M, 11S, 15S); one teacher even

91 "Since it is within their reach they also know that they can travel, they know they can get to know… so the systems, the work system calls their attention, that for example in Europe they can take gap years or in the United States they can travel and get to know the world, and then they come back to their own jobs and there is a work rotation and that is normal… well.. that attracts them because it's close [to their reality]. Maybe if I show this to kids in La Pintana [a very poor community in Santiago] either I cause them to feel tremendously envious, frustrated because they will never in their lives [have such possibilities] or maybe I wake in them the interest to overcome but… (…) whereas here yes, because it's possible."

92 "So it is complicated and well, in spite of everything I like the [state-subsidised private] school because it gives you different realities (…)… anyway, there are problems, but the ones here are like more human, it is like an earth wire and, [it's] true, I have to consider this because sometimes there is a topic for example (…) of a super happy family and dad does this and suddenly you have students who have a tremendous tragedy in their homes… so proportioning this is difficult, too… and apart from that trying to teach them English…"

thought that teaching English was easier than teaching other subjects, as expectations were usually lower, which gave room for quite a great deal of flexibility (1M); on the other hand, outcomes were not satisfying, either. Finally, three teachers explained in length how English in schools had evolved in the past years from a low-profile subject to one with increasing importance, expectations, student motivation and outcomes (6S, 9S, 16P/S):

> TQ30: "dentro de lo que era el sistema educacional… donde a todos las asi.. los subsectores.. las asignaturas les llegaban libros.. a nosotros no nos llegaban libros… entonces éramos como el pariente pobre:: yo me sentía así…(…) .. además que.. no había mucha repercusión de lo que uno hacía en la casa:: iba todo a depender del… del ambiente donde se moviera el niño (…) pero esto ha ido cambiando con el tiempo" (9S, 1)[93]

Another prompt that I gave teachers were *challenges related to expected learning outcomes*. Not all of them responded in great length to the prompt, but there was general agreement that the standards proposed by the government (cf. chapter 3.2.2) were by and large too demanding, but flexible enough so that teachers could handle the challenges according to the realities presented in their own classrooms (1M, 3M, 6S, 18M):

> TQ31: "we have to deal with (…) poor English .. (…) in my case, I am teaching at this elementary or high school…… with basic levels of English .. so if I have that great expectation about teaching English … inside this .. Chilean… programme "English Opens Doors" and….. you have to take care of … achieving this .. levels of English .. these skills .. coming from their students .. but.. (…) on the other hand you have to.. think about that maybe you are asking too much …you expect too much from your students because most of them ..are not so fluent in English.. they don't speak English .. they just speak a <u>few</u> words" (3M, 2).

In those terms, learning outcomes become the individual teachers' challenge:

> TQ32: "para mí es un desafío personal ... (…) sí... porque.. e::: se puede esperar que no sé.. que los chiquillos salgan desde cuarto medio hablando en inglés... pero en el fondo uno conoce la realidad... uno conoce el colegio donde está..... la realidad del lugar.." (6S, 2/3)[94]

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93 "Within what used to be the educational system… where all school subjects received books… we did not receive any books… so we were like the poor relative… I felt like that (…) apart from the fact that there was not much impact of what one did [as a teacher] at [the kids'] home[s].. everything was going to depend on the kid's background (…) but that has changed with time."

94 "For me it's a personal challenge (…) because you might expect that the kids leave secondary school speaking English, but in the end one knows the reality. One knows the school where one is, the reality of the place".

Even though most teachers seem to be grateful for being in command of the level of their teaching, there is a general apprehension that with the increased government interest in and attention to English as a school subject, expected standards will be continuously rising, with a greater control over the teachers' work:

> TQ33: "por lo menos ya.. aparece en los discursos presidenciales [laughs] claro.. por la asignatura de inglés.. entonces uno dice.. ah ya no somos los parientes pobres.. se siente.. claro que a su vez eso nos hace a nosotros… *wow*.. esta cosa se viene en serio y de repente nos vienen a evaluar.. como:: se evalúa el SIMCE.. y ahí viene otro cuento… ahí viene.. uno a replantearse qué estamos haciendo.. cómo lo estamos haciendo.. el qué.. el cómo es lo que ahora hay que replantearse como profesor… hasta el momento habíamos estado bien como… se dice.. 'piolita' haciendo nuestras cla:ses.. nadie nos puede cuestionar na:da.. pero ahora no.. ahora no:: ahora se esperan mayores resultados.." (9S, 8)[95]

Whereas most teachers responded to the question about expected learning outcomes as individuals, there were also two teachers who apparently identify strongly with the raising standards and talked about this issue as a collective effort of which their own personal work formed part:

> TQ34: "hoy en día el el inglés está como..... se le está dando como mucha importancia... (...) por lo tanto para mí hoy en día es un desafío enseñar inglés (…) es como un granito de arena para ir mejorando cada vez más la enseñanza:: del inglés en en Chile... ahora yo sé que es imposible que todo el mundo espera que Chile sea bilingüe ...aa:: eso:: ee:: a años luz.... pero sí::: e:: yo siento que cada vez.. en estos cuatro años que llevo haciendo clases en la enseñanza media.. se ha ido mejorando la::: e:: la perspectiva que se tiene del inglés..."(6S,2)[96]

> TQ35: "es más o menos complicado porque la enseñanza en inglés acá… cierto.. de repente pasa por una crisis.. los resultados no son muy buenos… por lo tanto yo creo que:: es una responsabilidad enorme.. buscar siempre:: herramientas nuevas.. capacitarse para ver digamos cómo:: cómo mejorar de repente así como un mapa.. es complicado... así que.. te podría decir que:: tiene dos caras.. (...) buenos términos labora-

95 "At least it now appears in the presidential addresses [laughs] of course … for the subject English… so one says .. oh yes we aren't the poor relatives any more… you can feel it… of course in turn it makes us … *wow* … this thing is seriously coming and now they are coming to evaluate us … like they evaluate in the *SIMCE*… and there's another story coming… here it comes… so we have to reassess what we are doing … how we are doing it…the what and the how is what we have to reassess as teachers now… up to now we had been like … as we say… doing our lessons with nobody paying attention to us … nobody can question anything… but not now… now they expect better results."

96 "It's like a drop in the bucket to gradually improve the teaching of English in Chile… now I know that it's impossible that everybody expects Chile to become bilingual… that's light years away… but I feel that in those four years that I have been teaching in secondary education the vision that people hold of English has gradually improved".

les .. pero de harta responsabilidad así para mejorar los estándares sobre todo… en la educación pública que.. es el problema que tenemos…. cierto.. en términos de niveles de idioma.. hay muchas diferencias….. eso en términos .. generales..” (18M, 1)[97]

All in all, achieving certain standards is not a challenge in itself – the challenge is to achieve better results within a system that presents many obstacles. This seems to be true both for state-subsidised private schools where “officially” a lot of emphasis is put on English, and for publically funded schools. The following quotes also anticipate a few of the recurrent challenges that will be presented below.

TQ36: “bueno.. de parte del colegio sí.. hay apoyo…. pero.. no el apoyo que se exige.. el mínimo que se exige.. que es lo que nosotros le hemos estado pidiendo a las Hermanas.. e::: porque son religiosas.. y e:: tienen muchas expectativas puestas en el inglés.. porque lo están impartiendo desde kínder.. partiendo desde kínder a cuarto medio.. o sea ellas poco menos que piensan de que las chicas en cuarto van a salir hablando… entonces nosotros decimos que no es siempre así.. porque pasa por.. tenemos dos horas a la semana.. y dos horas pedagógicas.. o sea estamos hablando de cuarenta y cinco minutos cada hora.. o sea que hacemos en cuarenta y cinco minutos.. entonces es muy poco la hora de clase.. o sea en ese sentido yo creo que falta .. falta darse cuenta” (9S, 5)[98]

TQ37: “para que un poco se nivele la diferencia que hay entre los colegios.. pagados.. cierto.. los colegios subvencionados.. entonces esa es es es la gran problemática que tenemos los profesores de inglés... y además.. hay otra dificultad.. en los colegios públicos.. tú tienes un número de horas inferior a los colegios privados.. o sea en un colegio privado tú puedes tener seis horas a la semana de inglés.. en un colegio público que se rige por la norma del Ministerio tú tienes de primero y segundo medio cuatro horas.. tercero y cuarto medio tres horas a la semana.. con tres horas a la semana .. en períodos de cuarenta y cinco minutos.. o sea .. es muy poco lo que puedes hacer.. para desarrollar las cuatro habilidades que nos piden ahora.. (KG: claro..) entonces.. las competencias van a ser muy diferentes entre un niño que egresa

97 “It’s fairly complicated because English teaching here is … maybe going through a crisis… the results aren’t very good… so I think it is a huge responsibility to always look for new tools … to get trained to see how we can improve the landscape… it’s complicated … so I could say it has two sides: good work conditions but a lot of responsibility to improve the standards especially in public education because that is the problem that we have: in terms of the language levels there are many differences… in general terms”.

98 “Well… from the school yes, there is support, but not the support that is asked for, the minimum that we have asked the Sisters for, because they are nuns. They have put many expectations on English because they are teaching it from nursery school onwards, from nursery to the last year of secondary school. That is, they practically think that the girls will leave secondary school speaking English. So we say that it is not always like that because we have two 45-minute periods a week, so the teaching time is very short, so I think in that sense they still have to become aware.”

de un colegio.. te fijas.. se mantienen las dificultades.. pero en términos de exigencia.. a nosotros como profesores se nos exige lo mismo.. pero a los profes de e:: de los colegios públicos somos los que son evaluados en términos ministeriales.. y somos evaluados con cánones.. con estándares internacionales.. pero que no responden a lo que nosotros.. al nivel de alumnos que tenemos.. la cantidad de alumnos que tenemos… por.. te fijas.. o sea hay como una incon-gruencia.. (…) .. se nos pide mucho.. pero digamos tenemos muchas cosas en contra ... (…).. entonces si tú e:: es poco lo que tú.. los programas son muy exigentes.. el número de horas muy pocas.. cierto.. y.. digamos los aprendizajes heterogéneos de los chiquillos.. son muy heterogéneos.. cuesta..” (18M, 2)[99]

After using these three parameters of comparison (other countries or school types, other school subjects, expected outcomes) I classified the teachers’ answers according to the particular challenges that they mentioned: the teaching conditions, specifically the lack of resources or time; the students’ lack of previous knowledge of English; the students’ lack of motivation; and the students’ lack of study habits, discipline or (cultural) background knowledge.

As shown in the quotes above, the *teaching conditions* often play against the achievement of expected learning outcomes. One difficulty that many teachers mentioned is the lack of teaching time (1M, 3M, 5M, 8P, 9S, 10S, 11S, 13M, 18M). This seems to be a special problem in vocational schools, with only two 45-minute periods per week in the last two years of secondary school. Even a private school teacher referred to the little respect that school administrations seem to have for English when scheduling it:

TQ38: “e::: no sé por ejemplo cuesta mucho:: que:::: las horas ... queden distribuidas ... bien .. que los cursos por ejemplo ... que no queden todas las horas de inglés en el último bloque en la mañana donde hay mucho desorden donde vienen tan cansados ... entonces .. tiran.. cursos .. ‘ya las últimas horas son todas de inglés .. o los niños más chicos no necesitan concentración’ ... entonces.... no ponen atención en esas co-

[99] “So that the difference between the paid [private], state-subsidised private [and public] schools is levelled out a bit, that is the difficulty in the publically funded schools: you have fewer teaching hours than the private schools; in a private school you can have 6 periods of English per week; in a publically funded school that is ruled by ministerial standards you have four periods in Years 9 and 10, in Years 11 and 12 three periods, 45-minute periods. There is not much you can do to develop the four skills that they are asking for now. So the competences of a kid that leaves a [private] school will be very different. You see, the difficulties remain the same, but the demands – they ask the same from us teachers. But the teachers in the publically funded schools, those who are assessed in ministerial terms: we are assessed by international standards, but they don’t correspond to our students’ levels, the number of students that we have, so there is an incongruity. They ask a lot from us, but we have a lot of things working against us: the programmes are demanding, there is little teaching time and the students’ achievements are very heterogeneous. It’s difficult.”

sas donde sí las ponen en matemáticas... las matemáticas suelen ser las primeras horas en las mañanas ... o que tenga una sólo no más en la tarde... o historia lo mismo... e::: si hay que quitar horas 'quitemos horas al inglés y le ponemos horas....' entonces... (…) en ese sentido:::..... no se respeta tanto ..." (8P,6)[100]

Another difficulty that several teachers mentioned are large classes with high student numbers – forty to forty-five students is not unusual in many schools (1M, 3M, 12M, 18M). This is seen as a special problem when it comes to developing speaking skills:

TQ39: "speaking.. it's hard because we have an average of forty students and sometimes we have forty-five students inside the classroom, so there is no time to .. supervise them individually" (3M, 3).

Then, many teachers refer to a lack of adequate resources or equipment, a problem that does not only affect English. Sometimes they lament the non-existence of infrastructure as elaborate as language laboratories (1M) or other technological equipment (14M, 15S); others talk about more basic things, for example money for photocopies and textbooks apart from those sent by central government (16P/S) or the inadequacy of the teaching rooms (12M). The lack of resources also affects the development of extracurricular or cross-curricular projects, as teachers are not paid for them (5M, 19M). Clearly, the contrast between publically funded and private schools again points to the social inequalities in the system; here, this issue is seen from the point of view of a private school teacher:

TQ40: "las ediciones de los exámenes FCE o de PET o de KET ... (…) es un lujo que otros colegios no los tienen" (8P,8)[101]

Another issue that is already starting to be solved through modifications in the system is the heterogeneity in the students' levels of English or the *lack of previous knowledge* in the transition from primary to secondary school (1M, 2M, 5M, 10S, 14M, 18M). This is especially problematic in the publically funded school system, where primary and secondary schools are usually separate estab-

100 "I don't know for example it is difficult to have well distributed teaching periods, so that not all the English hours are in the last block of the morning when there is a lot of unruliness, when they [the students] are so tired… so 'okay, the last hours are all for English' or 'the younger children don't need to concentrate', so they don't pay attention to those things, but they do in maths – maths is usually in the first morning periods, or they only have one in the afternoon. Or history is the same. If they need to cut hours 'let's cut English hours and we'll give hours to…' So in this sense they don't respect us that much."

101 "The editions [of past papers] of the FCE or PET or KET exams are a luxury that other schools don't have".

lishments, whereas the students of private schools usually remain in the same institution from pre-school until they finish secondary education:

> TQ41: "es difícil porque se está haciendo inglés en básica (…) pero no necesariamente tienen un profesor de inglés o de alguien que sepa inglés entonces nosotros recibimos a los alumnos en primero medio acá y tenemos alumnos que tuvieron ponte tú un profesor de básica con mención en biología y que tuvo que enseñarles inglés a la fuerza y le enseña tres cuatro palabras locas durante el año y no sabe nada... otros llegan mucho más avanzados ... entonces se aburren en las clases iniciales porque:: nosotros partimos en primero medio como de cero para poder unificarlos de alguna manera y poder.. lograr algún avance" (5M,3)[102]

Lacking student motivation is an issue which all but two teachers described as a challenge. As there will be a complete chapter dedicated to student motivation, I will keep the analysis very brief at this point and only refer to a few very general and more or less quantitative aspects. No less than ten teachers referred to student motivation spontaneously, either as an answer to the very first question, or when asked to talk about specific challenges (1M, 2M, 3M, 4M, 5M, 10S, 12M, 14M, 17A/S, 19M – note the high proportion of publically funded schools here). One teacher who generally described her students as fairly motivated also came to speak about (generalised) student demotivation spontaneously when she gave an answer to the last question and made a comment on the type of students who are now leaving secondary school and moving on into higher education (8P). In six interviews, I had to directly ask teachers on their estimation of student motivation; they described varying levels of demotivation, but all of them agreed that nowadays motivation was an issue that needed to be addressed (6S, 7P, 9S, 13M, 15S, 18M). Two teachers gave an overall picture of very motivated students – one of these interviews will play a special role in chapter 10 (11S). As will be seen later on, student motivation is generally not considered to be an English-specific problem, although there might be specific reasons for students not to be motivated to learn English. Neither is there consensus on whether students are more or less motivated to learn English than any other school subjects, even if overall motivation is low.

In close connection to the lack of motivation, the analysis of the interviews revealed another set of challenges that could be summed up as three distinct but

102 "It's difficult because they teach English in primary school but they don't necessarily have an English teacher or someone who speaks English so we receive the students here in Year 9 and we have students who had for example a primary teacher with special training in biology and who was forced to teach English and who taught them maybe three or four words in a year and doesn't know anything… others arrive a lot more advanced… so they are bored in the first lessons because we have to start from scratch in the first year in order to unify them in some way and achieve something".

related problems: the *students' lack of study habits, discipline or (cultural) background knowledge***.** None of these issues had been part of my question catalogue: all of them appeared spontaneously in the interviews, so this category was established inductively. As will be demonstrated below, both the number of teachers who mentioned these specific challenges and the way in which they were described was important. Therefore, I will dedicate special attention to this issue in chapter 10.3, in the context of the use of technology, and for the moment summarise some more general and quantitative aspects.

The lack of study habits was mentioned by thirteen teachers (1M, 2M, 3M, 4M, 5M, 6S, 8P, 9S, 12M, 13M, 15S, 16P/S, 19M) – this exceeds the number of interviews in which student demotivation appeared spontaneously as a challenge. In some cases, teachers equated study habits with reading habits; insufficient native language skills are another related problem (1M, 5M). Although these challenges were described by teachers of all school types, there seems to be a qualitative difference between the problems faced by teachers in those private schools where selection is part of the admission process and teachers who work at non-selective publically funded schools. A comparison of the following quotes illustrates this – first a teacher who works at a publically funded school, then a private school teacher:

> TQ42: "y y y y es que el desafío más grande es ese que a los chiquillos les cuesta el castellano .. (…) les es difícil de repente para ellos de ... de redactar en castellano, los verbos en castellano" (1M, 3)[103]

> TQ43: "de repente he pedido trabajos.. mini ensayos mini argumentos y tú te das cuenta de que los sacan que está perfecto pero está sacado de Internet... y es por eso por que todavía los chiquillos igual:: .... el tiempo también es poco.. los chicos salen a las cuatro y media cinco de la tarde ... llegan a las seis a sus casas ... entre tomar once ... de repente conversar hacer las tareas otras cosas ... el tiempo es poquito la verdad es que eso juega un poquito en contra (KG: claro) pero a pesar de eso tampoco los chicos aprovechan mucho el tiempo en clase" (16P/S, 4)[104]

Here, a teacher who works at a state-subsidised private school describes similar problems. This quote also shows how the lacking study habits are general, not just English-specific, and related to demotivation:

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103 "And the biggest challenge is that the kids find Spanish difficult.. for example, for them it is difficult to write in Spanish, the verbs in Spanish"

104 "On some occasions I have asked them to do mini-essays or mini-statements and you realise that it's perfect but that they got it from the Internet… and that's because… well, time is short, they leave school at 4:30 or 5pm, get home, have tea, chat, do homework, do other things, there is little time, that really plays against them, but in spite of that the kids don't make much use of the time in class".

TQ44: “hoy día estuvimos en un consejo de evaluación y era el tema era .. la desmotivación por la lectura... o sea.... los libros de lenguaje... bajan los resúmenes de Internet... no leen los libros... para las matemáticas igual... o sea, si tienen que hacer ejercicios no los hacen ... o sea no están ni ahí con sacarse un uno... sobre todo a fin de año... o sea... como... chao... entonces es en general.. no sólo porque no les guste el inglés...” (6S, 4)[105]

Seven teachers talked about discipline problems (1M, 3M, 5M, 7P, 9S, 15S, 17A/S) – some of them at length, and with considerable concern about the youth of today in general. What is interesting is that those teachers with teaching experience both in the private and the publically funded sector describe very similar problems; that not all schools are affected by this is shown in the second of the following quotes:

TQ45: “that’s why for example that’s why I have got a chance to make a.. a.. a.. good comparison between the other school I’m teaching at … and this one. (KG: Where (…) is the other school...?) I’m teaching at a private school. (…).. the students belong to the middle class.. but.. they’re much more exposed maybe because some of their relatives have already traveled abroad. and their ..parents have much more money to buy I don’t know maybe books or they’ve got much.. they go to the cinema sometimes.. so they’re much more exposed to the language. Some of them have more knowledge about the foreign culture. (KG: And do you think that their attitude towards English is like better and more positive than..) in a way….. but because if I make a … a cut like it was a bread …a loaf of bread I have the same ingredients.. nowadays there’s a lack of respect towards the teacher. They don’t have.. they don’t follow rules. (KG: and that’s here and there.) yes.. besides.. besides the background… some of them are reluctant and some of them they are much more.. they got a pos.. a positive attitude towards the language… but the problem is that they don’t .. they are not….. they don’t follow the rules, they don’t want to work” (3M,10)

TQ46: “en el cuento del respeto hacia el otro .... esa cosa que los lolos de repente.. así.. cero respeto… problemas disciplinarios terribles.. ahí en la [name of a private school] lo pasé.. pé:simo.. pésimo.. pésimo.. es una experiencia que no se la doy a nadie.. o sea ... una es profesora.. no es nana de los chicos…entonces .. yo de repente no tengo nada en contra de las nanas pero yo no soy la nana.. entonces.. ahí no.. no fui::: .. duré un año porque la verdad que no me agradó… y.. por otro lado están los otros colegios como de [name of a poor urban neighbourhood] donde los niños la mayoría de los papás estaban presos.. entonces eran chiquillos igual de agresivos.. pero era otra realidad.. (…) o sea tenía los dos polos opuestos en la mañana en la

105 “Today we had a meeting on assessment and the topic was demotivation with regard to reading. (…) They download the summaries from the internet, they don’t read the books, the same for maths. I mean, when they have to do exercises they don’t, they aren’t even bothered when they get the lowest grade, especially at the end of the school year. So it’s in general, not just because they don’t like English”.

[name of private school] y en la tarde en [name of poor neighbourhood].. entonces era como... me desconcertaban de repente las mismas situaciones ... pero desde dos realidades completamente diferentes.. (…) súper loco.. al final.. conclusión.. aquí hay un problema de carencia afectiva.. problemas de familia ... unos por tener mucho y otros por no tener nada.. o sea ahí están los polos.. polarizados.. de la problemática juvenil.. y por otro lado yo estoy trabajando ... en otro colegio que es el ideal te digo yo porque todavía hay apoderados comprometidos.. es un colegio religioso .. [name of a state-subsidised private school].. son cuarenta y dos alumnas… cuarenta.. en promedio .. cuarenta y do::s alumnas por curso pero fíjate que tú puedes hacer tranquilamente la clase.. sin necesidad de enojarte.. molestarte" (9S,4)[106]

Whereas discipline problems certainly occur across all subject areas, one issue that might have a greater impact on the teaching of English is the lack of cultural background knowledge that one teacher refers to. She gives an anecdote about a lesson in which she used a reading comprehension passage about Nelson Mandela from the textbook – his picture was meant to prompt a pre-reading activity:

TQ47: "y en un solo curso de los siete dijeron Nelson Mandela .. ya empezó a .. 'a:::' me dijo 'este caballero fue un presidente africano'.. eso fue lo más que logré.. estamos hablando en cientos de alumnos... xxxx porque como no tienen cultura general... no ven.. telediario... ni siquiera ven... televisión... si lo único que les interesa es chatear, chatear, chatear... entonces.. puedes imaginarte que si no hay cultura general…" (5M, 9)[107]

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106 "Regarding respect for other people, what teens sometimes … (…) zero respect, terrible discipline problems. There at [name of a private school] I had a horrible horrible horrible time. I wouldn't wish an experience like that on anyone. I mean, one is a teacher, one is not the kids' nanny. So, I don't have anything against nannies but I am not the nanny. So… there (…) I lasted a year because I really didn't like it… and on the other hand there are other schools like at [name of a poor urban neighbourhood] where most of the kids' parents were in jail… so they were kids who were just as aggressive… but it was another reality… I mean I had the two polar opposites in the morning in [name of private school] and in the afternoon [name of poor neighbourhood]… so (…) the same situations were disconcerting for me, but from two completely different realities. So in the end, to conclude, there is a problem of emotional deprivation … family problems… some because they have a lot and others because they have nothing… I mean there are the poles (…) of the youth problem. And on the other hand I am working in another school [now] which is ideal because there are still committed parents… it's a religious school .. [name of a state-subsidised private school] .. there are forty-two students on average per class but I tell you, you can teach your lessons in peace… without the need to get angry or annoyed."

107 "And in only one of seven [parallel] courses they said Nelson Mandela (…) 'ah', he said, 'this gentleman was an African president' that was the most that I got… we are talking about hundreds of students … because as they don't have general knowledge… they don't watch the news… they don't even watch TV… the only thing that interests

In chapter 10.3, some of these challenges will be examined again in greater detail.

Question 8: What do teachers have to say about the government programme *English opens doors*?

Not all teachers gave a clear answer to my initial question: "Has the government programme *English opens doors* had any impact on student motivation?" However, there seemed to be agreement that the programme, if any, did not have a *direct* effect probably because students were not sufficiently aware of it – on the other hand, the general changes in Chilean society which have increasingly given English more importance cannot be completely separated from this educational policy; it could rather be seen as one factor among various that have helped English to gain a certain status, not just as a school subject, but first and foremost as a powerful cultural capital (using Bourdieu's term, cf. Bourdieu 2005). This quote follows a lengthy account of the teachers' experience with the programme:

> TQ48: "(KG: pero ¿tú crees que (…) también se ha visto como un impacto so.. sobre los alumnos (…) quizás en su actitud o o su motivación para aprender más?) e::: sí .. bueno .. en general los los chiquillo::s e: sienten que lo necesitan cada día más ... siento que:: porque:: si tú te pones a ver la por ejemplo la la lo lo… e: los currículum de las carreras en general tanto en institutos como en la universidades .... en todo le piden inglés en todo o sea eso le decimos a los chiquillos .. sobre todo en cuarto medio ... 'chiquillos ... mira ... aprovechen de de estudiar de.. de qué sé yo poner atención en clases porque e: la carrera que estudien en instituto o donde sea ... van a tener inglés' entonces es bueno que lleven una buena base ..." (15S,8)[108]

Still, in general terms, *English Opens Doors* seems to have had a positive effect on the English teaching profession and on the status of English as a school subject, especially in publically funded and state-subsidised private schools. Many of the interviewed teachers assessed the programme well, with certain reservations, though.

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them is to chat, chat, chat… so… you can imagine that if there is no general knowledge…"

108 "(KG: but do you think that there also has been an impact on the students' attitude or motivation to learn more?) yes, in general the kids feel that they need it more every day … I feel that because if you start looking at the study programmes of undergraduate courses, both in professional institutes and in universities, everywhere English is a requirement, everywhere, I mean, we tell the kids, especially in [year 12] 'look guys, make the most of studying, paying attention in class because whatever you study in an institute or wherever, you will have English' so it is good for them to have a good base" - emphasis in the translation is mine.

One teacher, who refers to the programme spontaneously at the beginning of the interview, describes how the changes in educational policies have gradually changed the *image of her profession* and expresses pride in being an English teacher – the emphases in the translation are mine:

> TQ49: "realmente.. y eso es ahora bueno gracias a que:: igual:: yo diría que unos diez años atrás hubo un ministro.. que el abrió todo lo que fue la parte inglés que le dio más importancia porque antes ser profe de inglé::s .. yo cuando estudié.. yo entré el año noventa y tres.. a la universidad.. entonces qué pasaba.. 'ah vas a estudiar inglés pobreci::ta vas a tener que estar por lo menos en cinco colegios para tener un sueldo decente'.. entonces qué pasaba no había tanta no se había dado la importancia que hay ahora.. y que en realidad es una el inglés es más que un gusto es una herramienta y es una necesidad… junto con la computación.. por eso yo me siento y yo digo 'profe de inglés y en el corazón.. bien arriba'" (16P/S, 1)[109]

Later in the interview, similar to one of the other teachers' comments (cf. TQ33), she refers to the *initial concerns* that teachers had when the programme was first launched:

> TQ50: "mira cuando esto partió como te comentaba yo estaba::: la reforma .. estaba saliendo de la universidad ... entonces el primer año yo me acuerdo que trabajé yo empecé a trabajar en cuarto año ... en el año mil novecientos noventa y siete y de a poquitito empezó la verdad es que hubo bastante temor entre los profesores de inglés porque qué venía ... o sea ... ¿significa que tengo que estudiar otra vez? ...¿tengo que volver a la universidad? tengo que... porque se hablaba de evaluación de ciertos estándares ... entonces el temor ... es como o:: ¿qué viene ahora? o sea tengo que trabaja::r.. ver mi casa y más encima estudiar... no puedo ..." (16P/S,6)[110]

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109 "Really and this is now thanks to… about ten years ago there was a minister who opened all the English part and gave it more importance because before being an English teacher - when I was studying – I started studying at the university in 93 – what happened was 'oh you're going to study English, poor you, you will have to work in at least five schools to earn a decent salary' so what happened was that it had not been given the importance that it has now; and actually English, more than just a pleasure, is a tool, a necessity – together with ICT – that's why I feel and I say 'English teacher and in my heart with my head held high!'"

110 "Look, when this reform started as I told you before I was just leaving university; so the first year that I was working- I started working when I was in fourth year [of my studies] in 1997 and it started little by little – there was a lot of anxiety among the English teachers because what was coming? I mean – Does this mean that I have to study again? Do I have to go back to university? Do I have to…? Because they were talking about evaluating certain standards. So the anxiety: What's coming now? I mean, will I have to work, look after my home and on top of that study? I can't!"

Subsequently, she gives a concise summary of the various components of the programme and compares it with the "typical" English teaching that had taken place in earlier times:

> TQ51: "este ministro (…) se habían trabajado cositas antes ... pero yo creo que él fue como:: para mí.. cuando empieza el rostro visible de las becas… de los cur…sos de perfeccionamiento ... el subir las horas de inglés y valorar un poco más al profe de inglés que es lo mismo que te decía... que no es solamente *this is the door.. this is the window ..good bye .. see you next week* .... o sea hasta ahí llegaba…" (16P/S, 7)[111]

One aspect of the programme that is received very well by the teachers is the *in-service teacher training courses*, which aim to refresh and improve the teachers' language skills, but also contain a methodological component. Of course it must be said here that nine of the 19 participating teachers were contacted for the interviews through the university, where they were attending or had attended these courses, which might slightly distort the real proportion of teachers who are aware of the opportunities that this programme holds for them. On the other hand, one of the teachers who I got to know elsewhere had also completed the course, and another teacher – a native speaker of English – had been involved in the organisation of those courses, which I only found out during the interview (see TQ 53). What I find particularly remarkable in this context is that these courses apparently contribute to the formation or reinforcement of a collective English teacher identity:

> TQ52: "el curso este que estamos haciendo el ALTE.. es una excelente oportunidad que tenemos los profesores de .. de poder e: compartir con colegas de (…) otras realida:des dentro (…) de la misma ciudad pero que e::: compartimos muchas cosas que::: realmente son digamos e::: las mismas o sea:: realidades .. que son simila:::res y que... e::: bueno .. de hecho .. ha sido pero:: excelente desde el punto de vista como:: para poder actualizar nuestros.. nuestros conocimientos .. (…) compartir experie:::ncias... y::: claro ahí uno se da cuenta que que en realidad hay mejor y peor lo que está viviendo uno... entonces .... a veces uno dice 'uy qué terrible:: el director del colegio' y a veces hay directores peores o sea… o::: ambientes de trabajo treme:::ndos ... o sea.. mira.. realmente.. e: creo que:: e:: en general digamos e::: el inglés abre puertas ha sido muy muy beneficioso para.. para los profesores en gene-ral .." (15S, 8)[112]

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111 "This minister.. (…) some little things had been done before… but I think it was him like… for me… when the visible face of the scholarships started… the in-service training courses… raising the teaching number of hours of English teaching and valuing the English teacher a bit more which is what I told you before… that it isn't only *this is the door.. this is the window ..good bye .. see you next week* ... that's as far as it went".

112 "This course that we are doing, the ALTE, is an excellent opportunity that we teachers have to spend time with colleagues from other realities in the same city. We have a lot

TQ53: "when I was at English Summer Town[113] I actually met two people … two English teachers who couldn't speak English.. and those are the people that *English opens doors* has found.. is helping .. it's letting them know that they're part of the community that they're not alone.. there's resources available to them.. to help them…. and uh.. if you ask them they'll say it's making a two hundred three hundred a million per cent impact on them … and I think the value of of two teachers like that being in an environment where there is teachers.. colleagues around them… all talking about teaching English and how they like it and what their classes are like making new friendships and like beginning to look for new ways to connect with each other.. it's very valuable…. to them…" (7P,6)

The components of the programme that directly involve the students, especially the *debate tournaments*, are also discussed by some teachers. The response is generally positive:

TQ54: "los alumnos que realmente están motivados y que les gusta el inglés están fascinados porque hay un programa... (…) los debates en inglés .. interescolares..." (2M, 5)[114]

However, as only selected students are participating, it seems that the impact of these debates is fairly limited, at least in terms of the student numbers; of course this criticism might have been produced by my way of asking about student motivation in general:

TQ55: "ahora estamos por participar en unos debates que las niñitas de acá por ejemplo .. que son como.. tienen más habilidad más interés .. etcétera.. participan en eso y les va regio estupendo ... pero no no es que se muestra lo mejor siempre se muestra lo mejor de cada colegio.. pero no es como todas ... no es que es el universo es así.. son ellas que a ellas les gusta el inglés po, ¿me entiendes?"(4M, 3)[115]

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of things in common which are really the same, I mean realities that are similar. It has been excellent from the point of view of updating our knowledge, sharing experiences … and of course there you realise that there are better or worse [conditions] than what one is living… so… sometimes you 'oh how terrible is the headteacher of the school' and sometimes there are headteachers who are worse I mean… or appalling working atmospheres… I mean, look, really I think that in general let's say that *English opens doors* has been very very beneficial for the teachers in general".

113 *English Summer Town*, part of the programme *English opens doors* is a yearly one-week immersion encounter aimed at the professional development of English teachers. It is organised by the Ministry of Education and offers activities such as debate tournaments and cultural presentations.

114 "The students who are really motivated and who like English are fascinated because there is a programme … inter-school debates in English".

115 "We are now about to participate in debates that the girls from here for example… those who are more able, more interested, etc. participate in and they do really well … but … they always show the best of each school.. but it's not like all of them… the universe is not like that… it's those of them who like English you see"

TQ56: "tiran muchas cosas muchos programas mucha actividad.. mucha cuestión de esa.. pero.... resultado..(…) ... no se notan mucho.. porque las mismas personas que les interesaba están a ellas les interesa ahora.." (4M, 8)[116]

Apart from that, teachers' responses contain a series of *criticisms*. To start with, some teachers feel that there is gap between central policies and local implementation. The following quotes are, first, from a teacher who works at an urban public school in a province; the second one from a teacher who works at a state-subsidised private school:

TQ57: "hicieron un programa el inglés abre puertas.. han hecho miles de cosas pero a.. a la escuela no llegan los recursos.. ¿dónde están?.. (…) entonces no sé si en el camino se perdieron ... o.. o están en Santiago no tengo idea....." (14M, 8)[117]

TQ58: "y actualmente que la presidenta digamos ha hecho ... hartos esfuerzos para que los (…) niños puedan… motivarse o:: aprender más inglés .... e::: sí ... se ve como también como que hay un una una tendencia a que el asunto mejore… (…)… yo lo veo (…) positivamente o sea como que va a mejorar o sea .... pienso que ... (…) tendrán que tomar conciencia los directores de.. de los colegios que que:: realmente los.. los niños necesitan el inglés y… y… bueno e::: tendrán que darnos los .. los medios e:: para poder actualizarnos más…" (15S, 8)[118]

The following quote is very interesting: it shows how one of the opportunities that have been created by *English Opens Doors*, i.e. the local networks for English teachers, can turn into a space where the programme is criticised for its (according to the teacher) exaggerated standardisation. The teacher's perception of the national - international context is also significant:

TQ59: "yo pertenezco a un.. a un.. una agrupación .. una red de profesores de inglés de acá en todos lados hay en todos los ramos también .. y nosotros concordamos en hartas cosas.. yo siento que.. que.. el .. el gobierno con sus diferentes programas del ministerio y específicamente.. trata de hacer un montón de cosas en el.. en el.. cuento del idioma inglés.. por muchas razones.. por.. porque también es importante según lo que sepan las personas.. y si si Chile va a estar catalogado como .. tú sabes.. que van subiendo categorías que según .. según la educación de la gente y todo eso.. y a

116 "They launch a lot of things, many programmes, many activities, many things like that but results… you don't notice them much because the same people [students] who were interested before are interested now."

117 "They made a programme, *English Opens Doors*, they have done thousands of things, but the resources don't arrive at the schools. Where are they? So I don't know if they got lost on the way or if they are in Santiago, I have no idea."

118 "And now the President has made great efforts so that the kids can get motivated or learn more English… uh yes, one can see that there is a tendency for the matter to improve, I see it positively, (…)… of course… the headteachers of the schools will have to become aware that the kids really need English and, well, they will have to give us the means so we can get more updated."

parte que me imagino que es importante porque es un idioma universal y todo ese cuento es importante....e::::::m ...yo siento que es un gran esfuerzo .. pero: los p:arámetros que tiene.. o sea.. no los parámetros sino ...como se empieza como a universalizar la cosa.. cuando hacen libros entregan cosas xxx para los diferentes... la realidad no es la misma para todos entonces es como super difícil.. estandarizar-los.. o sea, yo.. yo tengo un inglés muy diferente.. o mis niños .. hablan.. o no hablan en realidad mucho pero... lo que saben es muy diferente a lo que saben [name of an expensive private school]..a lo que sabe un:.. no sé un colegio de de rural que a lo mejor nunca han tenido inglés .. o ha tenido un año.. entonces estandarizarlos tanto yo creo que ... que esa parte no se ha logrado..." (4M, 3)[119]

Another teacher feels that there is not enough continuity:

TQ60: "falta mucho por hacer .. (…) por ejemplo el ministerio... empieza un curso se da un año dos años y después ... ahí queda ... y vienen otros cambios ... y vienen otros cambios entonces tampoco: tenemos como un norte: qué es lo que queremos" (16P/S,7)[120]

Especially as far as the earlier start of English in school is concerned (year 5, primary school), several teachers agree that the government initiative is still insufficient, as also the number of weekly teaching hours is limited:

TQ61: "falta darse cuenta… yo creo que el ministerio también.. porque e::: te exigen inglés desde quinto.. a partir desde quinto.. lo que es muy tarde… y son dos horas a la semana o hasta octavo.. y de ahí parten con tres horas en la media.. cuando el fuerte debería ser la básica.. porque ahí esa es la edad donde los niños adquieren los conceptos.. las estructuras.." (9S, 5)[121]

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119 "I belong to an English teachers' network, they are everywhere, in all subjects, too. And we agree on many things. I feel that the government with its different ministerial programmes, and specifically, tries to do a lot of things for the English language, for many reasons. Because it is also important that according to what people know, Chile is going to be categorised as – you know they rise in categories according to people's education and all that… and apart from that I imagine that it is important because it's a universal language (…) I feel it's a great effort but (…) the way in which it starts to be universalised.. when they make the books and hand out things for the different… the reality is not the same for all so it is like super difficult to standardise them… I mean, my English is very different – or my kids – speak, or in fact they don't speak much… but what the [name of an expensive private school] know compared to what, I don't know, a rural school knows who maybe has never had English lessons… or has had a year… so I think standardising them so much I believe that this part has not been successful."

120 "There is still a lot to do… for example, the state department… starts one course, they teach it for a year or two and then… that was it… and there are other changes, so we don't have a direction either – what do we want?"

121 "They still haven't realised… I think in the Ministry too.. because they legislated for English from Year 5 onwards, which is very late. And it's two hours per week until Year 8 and then three hours from [Year 9]…whereas the main focus should be in pri-

This problem contributes to another of the teachers' worries: that the gap between state-subsidised and private education is still unbridgeable. This view is shared by teachers of publically funded, state-subsidised private and of private schools alike, as the following quotes (TQ62, TQ63) illustrate:

> TQ62: "ahora.. hay una preocupación .. cierto.. yo te diría el año pasado.. en capacitar a profesores de básica… e:: en términos metodológicos.. con el ALTE.. cierto.. para que haya una sola línea y.. se vea digamos e:: una continuidad en términos de la enseñanza para que nos pongamos de acuerdo.. y para que un poco se nivele la diferencia que hay entre los colegios.. pagados.. cierto.. los colegios subvencionados.." (18M, 2)[122]

Here, a teacher who works at a private school describes inequity from his point of view when talking about a study trip to Ireland that is organised every year for the students at his school, referring also to the summer camps that *English Opens Doors* offers to students of the state-subsidised education sector. He, too, makes use of Bourdieu's term *cultural capital* (Bourdieu 2005) to point out the difficulty of trying to make opportunities for the young people in the country more equal:

> TQ63: "[At the language institute that students attend in Ireland] they have students coming from all over the world …it's really international…. and uh…in addition to their excursions they're visiting other countries too they're actually going to England.. they go to Paris.. they go to France… they go to Germany… so it's… (KG: All in one….) It's…. cultural capital… I I think that if they ever decide to make English a prerequisite for PSU [the university entrance test] … the test that they have to do… they will see the effect of it they will see the public school students with the grades like this … this summer I think was the first year that they did an English summer camp for public school students … for students who were in *primero medio* to *cuarto medio* [Year 9 to Year 12]… they had an average of 5.5 [a "good" grade] in English they could be accepted for summer camp and I thought to myself… yeah…that's a step in the right direction (…) but still all the differences you're in summer camp playing Island or Lost or maybe having classes in the morning while these other kids are doing history and culture and all of this…. and it will show up in any test …that's for sure…… equity…. or inequity…"(7P, 11).

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mary school… because that's the age when the children acquire the concepts and the structures."

122 "Now there has been a concern - I would say since last year – to train primary school teachers in methodological terms with the ALTE course, so that there is one single line and there is continuity in terms of the teaching, so we all come to an agreement … and so that the difference between the [fee-charging private] schools and the subsidised schools is levelled out.") The teacher continues to explain the differences between the hours allocated to English in a state-subsidised and a private school (cf. TQ37).

Another aspect of the governmental initiative that was criticised by many teachers is the textbooks. However, this issue will be explored in depth in chapter 9.3.

To conclude the section on question 8, it appears that the heightened status of English (including the positive development of student motivation) is influenced by many factors, not just the government programme *English Opens Doors*. This includes, for example, a reformed methodology (19M), especially the use of technology (cf. 12M), and the presence of English in society in general (e.g. 9S, 18M), particularly in higher education programmes (15S).

Before ending this part with the responses to question 12, I will summarise the teachers' responses to the last item on the questionnaire *"I would choose my profession again if..."*: The question is mostly answered with reference to better working conditions including better salaries (7 teachers), more resources and better equipment for language teaching in schools (3 teachers), more support in questions concerning student motivation and/or discipline (3 teachers), more time for lesson planning and administrative tasks or a better initial teacher training that prepares for the real needs in the educative system. One teacher asks for the publically (council)-funded education to go back to centralised state control (cf. Colegio de Profesores 2011). Two teachers say that would be teachers again anyway, because they like their profession.

Question 12: Concluding words in the interviews and additional comments for policy makers and teacher trainers

This question was interpreted slightly differently by different teachers. Some of the answers were more addressed to policymakers, some more to teacher trainers, and some more to researchers in the field of education and language learning. One group of teachers, rather than asking for things to be done by other educational actors, gave recommendations that were drawn from their own experience as teachers, as if addressing young teachers and giving them advice.

Also, some teachers made suggestions for improvement of certain issues at other points in the interviews, so these observations will be considered here, too. They can be included in the comments directed at policymakers. All the issues that were mentioned in this context referred to various aspects of the general, "external" teaching conditions that could be remedied through legislation or particular governmental measures. Some of them apply to changes in the educational system in general; some are more subject-specific. For example, four teachers suggested that English teaching at schools should be introduced to younger year groups, similar to the way it is done in some private schools (1M, 2M, 9S, 11S). One teacher stressed that this must also mean better teachers for primary children (2M), and another one asked for increased teaching time for

English in general (11S). Other petitions included better textbooks and resources or equipment in general and fewer students per class (1M), the introduction of English in the university entrance test (PSU – 11S) and re-introduction of selective measures in publically funded secondary schools (1M). Finally, one teacher thought it was urgent to do something about behavioural issues (5M), and several others stressed the importance of having some kind of support to increase student motivation in general (1M, 2M, 6S).

Those who directed their remarks to teacher trainers gave special consideration to methodological issues – some of them more generally (6S, 13M, 15S), some of them with more specific concerns, such as the correct use of the target language in the classroom and memorisation techniques (9S) or the use of ICT and methodology for primary age groups (16P/S). This also included the request to offer continuous in-service training, both in terms of language and methodology. Again, some ideas were relevant to pedagogy in general. For example, one recurrent issue was the preparation of teachers for the administrative area of their jobs, including knowledge of their rights and responsibilities (15S, 16P/S, 17S/A). One teacher asked for voice training for teachers (15S), and another one for better preparation in terms of behaviour management (14M). Finally, one teacher, who also supervises student teachers, thought it was necessary to establish a closer link between the actual educational context and the teacher training carried out at universities (18M).

Three teachers vaguely directed their message to researchers in general and asked for the gap between theory and practice, or policymakers and teachers, to be closed. They felt that often there was little empathy with teachers, or that there were even false expectations when teachers were working in difficult conditions (4M, 12M, 18M):

> TQ64: "hay cosas que hacen los profesores de la universidad y de instituciones que son súper buenas.. pero como que resultan ahí y uno trata de llevarlas a la práctica pero ya no resultan tanto .. entonces yo creo que falta que conozcan un poco más el sistema pero::: que estén insertos a lo mejor que trabajen .. es bueno que:. que nunca dejen de trabajar en un colegio a lo mejor.. (…) para que sepan también como va como es la realidad que nosotros enfrentamos todos los días.. (…) controlar la disciplina ya.. te lleva harto tiempo y después empezar hacer la clase es otro cuento.. (…) yo creo que eso.. más que nada es como la en realidad es un poco la típica porque.. de arriba como dices tú.. dicen 'ay los profesores son aquí.. los profesores son flojos.. los profesores no trabajan.. los profesores son todos malos'" (12M, 12)[123]

123 "There are things that the teachers at universities and institutions do that are really good but they work there and one tries to put them into practice but they don't work that much… so I think it is necessary for them to know the system better but that they are inserted, maybe that they work, they never stop working in a school maybe, so they

Finally, one last group of teachers summed their interviews up by stressing the importance of being an empathic and motivational teacher who is close to the students (3M, 10S, 11S, 19M). Although the ideas were all along the same lines, giving recommendations to other teachers rather than policymakers or teacher trainers, I will pick out the following quote here because I think that the teachers' perception of being a *mediator* between his subject and the students' reality links back to the first question - what it means to be an English teacher in the context of today's Chile:

> TQ65: "I would like to share a an experience that let me …understood [sic] my students' problems that are coming from their homes…. if you don't know your students it's gonna be… very hard for you to… to feel them closer to you, to your world…. that's why you have to be a mediator between your subject.. the subject you have to teach.. and your students' underworld…. it's so hard because em::: if you don't know them well.. they're not gonna have a good attitude towards you and towards the subject…. that's why I would like to say that the key is to.. trying to make a … a recipe.. for example ..being sometimes strict with them …while sometimes closer…. you can not choose one… one profile … as a teacher… . try to combine them. try to be sometimes.. nice with them.. don't forget you are the teacher, but try to… ask what do they think.. what do they like.. but don't forget you have to achieve some academic goals" (3M, 10)

9.1.3 Analysis

Before going on, in chapters 9.2 and 9.3, to focus on the two central issues of this investigation, student motivation and cultural contents, it is important to evaluate the teachers' views on their work in context, in two respects.

First, as the public attention on English in Chile is relatively recent, there is a tendency to "technologise" the effort to improve the teaching that is going on in the classrooms. To clarify the use of this term, I would like to quote Tudor (2001), who uses the term "technology of language teaching" to refer to "the theoretical perspectives and practical options which are available to language educators for designing and implementing learning programmes", or "a varied and well-developed set of resources to choose from in terms of investigative and course design procedures, teaching materials, and learning aids"; "an impressive array of methodological ideas as a source of inspiration" (7). Thus, for example,

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know what this reality is like that we face every day. Controlling behaviour already takes a lot of time and then starting a lesson is another issue. I think that more than anything because it's really a bit typical because from the top as you are saying they say 'oh, the teachers are this, the teachers are lazy, the teachers don't work, the teachers are all bad.'"

the methodology courses for teachers that are offered as part of the government initiative *English Opens Doors* tend to over-emphasise the idea that there are hard-and-fast rules about how to teach (and how *not* to teach) English; the approaches that are taught there come, in their majority, from the communicative language teaching tradition developed in Anglo-Saxon countries for the teaching of EFL and ESL (cf. also Vera 2009). This includes, for example, the taboo of using translation (or in general, the native language) as a learning technique. However, in recent years, the idea that there is a fixed set of methods that "solves all problems" of English language teaching has been increasingly questioned – in part, by the academic tradition that has challenged the sociocultural and political implications of English as a global language, especially the exportation business of the communicative language teaching approach (e.g. Phillipson 1992, Pennycook 1994, Canagarajah 2003); and in part, by a classroom-based research strand that emphasises local practices as opposed to "centralised" methodological recommendations (cf. Varghese et al. 2005). Among the concepts that have emerged from the latter investigative approach is "an ecological perspective on language teaching":

> "The technology of language teaching as seen in approach, methodology, materials, and learning aids provides language educators with options from which they can choose in setting-up a course or planning a class. The ecological perspective, on the other hand, focuses attention on the human and pragmatic factors which influence the use and likely effectiveness of this technology. (…) Practising teachers (…) are in (and part of) one small ecosystem which is the classroom, and it is much more difficult for them to ignore the 'rules' or inner logic of this system and simply to 'apply the technology' according to the instruction manual. The teacher's reality is an ecological one which is shaped by the attitudes and expectations of students, of parents, of school administrators, of materials writers, and of many others including, of course, each teacher as an individual in his or her own right." (Tudor 2001: 10).

Accordingly, it is vitally important to understand the context in which the teachers view themselves before analysing their perspectives on student attitudes and motivation and cultural contents, and more so, before giving recommendations on how to motivate students or what cultural contents to use. The interview passages that I have examined in this first part of the analysis help to do just that: to conceptualise the teachers' work in an ecosystem in which many other educational and social actors and factors participate and have influence, a complex system in which there are no easy solutions that are going to produce predictable results.

Second, the way in which the teachers describe their professional tasks in the social context in which they are inserted helps to shed light on the characteristics of English teacher identity in a socially, economically and culturally divid-

ed society. For this, I find it useful to refer to the framework on identity and capital that Vogt (2000) proposes, based mainly on Bourdieu's conceptualisation of capital (e.g. in Bourdieu 2005). There, (social) identity is defined as a product of the interaction and communication of an individual with her or his environment, which answers such questions as: Who am I? How am I different from others, and what do I have in common with them? What do others expect from me, and what do I expect from them? What is my position in social space, who is above me and who is below me? What group do I belong to, who are the "others" outside that group? All of these questions are in some way referred to in the teachers' answers. In her article, Vogt stresses that the process of identity formation occurs within a structural frame: institutional contexts and social structures impose or restrict possibilities of interaction and the formation of identities. These social structures are inserted in a capitalist society; however, according to Bourdieu, it is not just economic capital that plays a role here, but also cultural, social and symbolic capital (op.cit.: 53ff.).

To come back to the conceptualisation of Chilean English teacher identity proposed in chapter 7.2 and in figure 2, in this analysis I will focus on two of the four domains of identity - collective professional identity and social identity.

First of all, in terms of a collective professional identity of Chilean English teachers, it has been shown that in the past few years, the English teaching profession has gained importance and prestige. This has had an impact on the symbolic, social, cultural and economic capital that teachers have at their disposal. All of these are mutually interrelated: symbolic capital can also be described as the social recognition and prestige that English teachers enjoy here; teachers refer to the increasing attention that English as a school subject has received in the past years. Consequently, their economic capital, especially in the form of teaching time and teaching resources (textbooks), has increased; teachers can focus their teaching time on just one or two schools, which grants them greater professional stability. Unemployment is very rare for English teachers. Another aspect is social capital, in the form of networks that are established: the number of opportunities for English teachers to meet up and exchange experiences, especially in in-service teacher courses, has risen in the past few years, too, giving teachers more opportunities to connect and thus potentially to gain more power and influence upon government decisions that concern their profession, although these possibilities of political power do not seem to be perceived much yet. Last but not least, the same training courses have of course helped the teachers to gain more cultural capital, in terms of the knowledge of English and methodology that they have acquired there.

The idea of a collectivity of English teachers whose "capital" has increased in recent years seems particularly valid when comparing them to teachers of

other subjects: as one teacher put it, the "poor relative" among the teachers is not that poor any more – only teachers of subjects that are tested in the university-entrance test still seem to be ahead of them, albeit with more responsibilities, too. On the other hand, collectively speaking, teachers (of all school subjects), within the educational "ecosystem", consider their position to be relatively powerless, as other stakeholders take decisions that affect them, without consulting them or regarding their opinions (cf. Prieto 2001, for the curricular area Pinto 2008). In my investigation, this became clear in the comments that teachers made about the increased power that students have to defend themselves and to prevent expulsion from their schools for misbehaviour or low grades, for example (cf. 3M, 4M, 5M, and 7P in an anecdote that another teacher told him). The teachers' statements on the way in which the Ministry of Education selects, distributes and discontinues textbooks without taking into account the teachers' opinions is another example of their weak influence (cf. 4M, 9S, 16P/S, see also 9.3.2). Also, the decisions that headteachers take regarding the timetabling English lessons or equipping schools with certain technological elements are beyond the teachers' area of influence. On the other hand, at least some teachers seem to enjoy a fair amount of autonomy inside the classroom, with few instances of direct control over their work, so that they can, up to a certain point, choose to ignore the contents of the government textbooks, for example.

Before going on to analyse the teachers' social identity, i.e. the teachers' perceptions of their position in society as a whole, I would like to stress that the different areas of teacher identity cannot be completely separated, as there are substantial overlaps between, for example, collective teacher identity and the social identity of the individual teachers. Some of the teachers, for instance, talk about the image that they think that society holds of them. For instance, in interview 12M, the teacher says that the reality of the teachers' work is often misjudged, leading to the teachers having to take the blame for students' low results, and people tend to say that "the teachers are all lazy and the teachers are all bad", simply because the critics cannot really evaluate the difficult context in which they are working (12M, 12). Similarly, the survey that the pedagogical research centre CIDE carried out in 2010, shows that, in teachers' perception, their economic capital has risen in the past years through slightly improved salaries[124], whereas their relative cultural capital seems to have decreased, as nowa-

124 This view is relative, too: in 2009, there was a fair amount of upheaval going on in the public education sector, as teachers went on strike for several weeks, first, to demand the payment of a bonus that had not been paid by many local authorities throughout the country, and then, to demand the payment of a "historical debt" that the government owes them, as teachers never received compensation when school education was municipalised between 1980 and 1989. In those years, the teachers were dismissed from their

days there is a higher percentage of professionals in the country, and more people have access to knowledge than before, so that teachers have lost a great deal of their status as educated, informed people (CIDE 2010: 64ff.). In my 2008 article, I also observed that the public image of English teachers seems to be fairly poor, and that it is mainly the teachers' lacking linguistic and methodological knowledge that is held responsible for the Chileans' low results in standardised English tests (Glas 2008), while other structural and contextual factors, such as large classes, a low number of English lessons per week or lacking student motivation are ignored.

Social identity has to do with the way in which the English teachers view themselves in the context of society as a whole. I believe that in this domain of identity, more than in collective teacher identity, the English language plays a key role as a cultural capital (cf., for example, Pennycook 2001, Niño-Murcia 2003). For example, the teachers refer to their social identity when comparing themselves, in retrospection, to their peers at university, especially when those came from private schools and the interviewed teachers saw themselves in disadvantage in terms of their language skills and travel opportunities (cf. 19M, TQ148).[125]

Beyond personal background, however, social identity plays a special role when teachers talk about the social distance that separates them from their students: very disadvantaged, marginalised students in some of the publically funded schools (especially 1M, 3M, 12M, 14M, 17S/A); students from very wealthy and influential families in some of the private schools (e.g. 7P). The social background of their students certainly has an impact on the teachers' practices and the way they decide, for example, on teaching materials; it also marks how teachers perceive themselves and their tasks and roles as English teachers.

Thus, in the view of teachers who work at the most deprived schools, the economic, cultural and social disadvantages of their students devalue the symbolic cultural capital of English: students come hungry to school (17S/A), they cannot do their homework as their parents send them to work (12M), there are issues of drug abuse and violence at home (3M, 12M, 14M); students even have literacy issues in their mother tongue, Spanish (1M, 5M); they lack the general cultural knowledge that is expected by textbook writers (5M); in their future prospects, white-collar jobs are totally out of their reach (14M). Within this pan-

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services as state teachers and re-employed by the local authorities, which meant the loss of their civil servant status and the respective benefits that they had enjoyed as such (cf. Serván Núñez 2007).

125 Conversely, other teachers refer to the fact that their knowing English might make them "stand out" in their social context – their family and friends; however, they do not want to "show off" their language skills (e.g. 13M, 11S).

orama, where many material and cultural needs are not satisfied, and learning English seems irrelevant to the students, the teachers re-define their roles as English teachers in various ways. This ranges from various degrees of frustration and resignation - the wish to be able to do something more fulfilling with the English language (keeping in mind the cultural capital of English – 3M, 4M/TQ5), regret about not having studied to teach a different school subject that would make greater closeness to the students possible (5M/TQ12), acceptance of only being able to pass on to give students a very superficial level of knowledge of the language (1M) – to more creative ways of dealing with the task of being a teacher in difficult circumstances – for example, English teachers who take their students to local museums so they get to know their own cultural heritage before being faced with foreign cultures and traditions (11S/TQ168; see also 10.4).

At the other extreme, there are those teachers who work at (more or less) exclusive private schools (7P, 8P, 16P/S). All of them come to speak about social inequities – either within the teacher's own school (8P/TQ103), comparing the two schools in which the teacher works (16P/S) or comparing the teacher's working reality to other perceived realities within the country (7P). At those schools, the teachers do not seem to have great problems with their students' study habits, as the future expectations of their students form part of the cultural capital on which they can build as teachers. What also becomes apparent here is the existence of institutionalised cultural capital, such as the application of international standardised tests of English (e.g. the Cambridge Exams), which seems to play an important role in the teaching at the private schools. All of these factors come together to build the prestige of these schools, which eventually opens doors to important jobs and influential positions for the alumni within the country. For the teachers, on the other hand, it is their English language skills that make up their own central cultural capital, granting them the respect of their students (8P). Where they need to be creative is in convincing their students that other aspects, such as the experience of having travelled abroad, is not necessary for the teachers to be credible (cf. the "Cuban poets" quote, 8P/TQ8). Both 7P and 8P relate that some of their students have travelled far more than they have, even to remote places such as Kenya and New Zealand. 7P also refers to the students' social connections: when once invited to a students' home, he saw a photograph of his student's father, shaking hands with a former US president.

Without trying to over-generalise, it is in those schools that are attended by middle-class students where the cultural capital of English seems to be a coveted novelty that promises upward social mobility (cf. Niño-Murcia 2003, Rajagopalan 2009). There, teachers have observed a rise in student motivation, specifically for learning English, in the few past years (6S, 9S, 16P/S, 18M,

19M). The teachers seem to enjoy their jobs and feel that they are making a real contribution to their students' futures through teaching them the language.

Unsurprisingly, most teachers seem to have a strong awareness of the existing inequalities in the country, so that many of them define their roles through the contexts in which they work. However, what is interesting is that regardless of their students' capital in its various expressions, many teachers also see the affective part of their jobs as crucial, sensing that there is some kind of emotional need that is common to all social classes (e.g. 8P, 9S, 14M).

In conclusion, the Chilean English teachers' work functions in a complex ecosystem (cf. Tudor 2001) where their experiences, beliefs and decisions are influenced by many factors: developments on the whole-society level in the form of globalisation and technology, and generally a greater presence of English in the media and everyday life; other educational stakeholders, such as policymakers and headteachers; the social and cultural background of their students; and, last but not least, their own biographies.

The interviews themselves are made up of the voices of many different participants of this ecosystem: through the teachers' accounts, we can hear the students, politicians and journalists, parents and other teachers who were not interviewed (cf. Bakhtin 1981). Analysing them has been helpful in filtering the teachers' own voices and their message. Thus, in the coming chapters, I will be able to refer back to this interpretation of the context in which English is taught in Chile.

9.1.4 Conclusion and Outlook

In this first sub-chapter, in which the open, contextual interview questions were analysed horizontally, I showed that there were some recurrent themes that many of the teachers mentioned independently and spontaneously. Some of these themes were expected, and confirmed part of my hypothesis, such as the description of their job as a challenge, and the problem of generalised student demotivation. In 9.2, I will outline the *reasons* that the teachers believe are behind student demotivation and how this stands in relation to my initial hypotheses.

The topic "culture" played only a very small role in the open questions. Even though some of the teachers see the teaching of culture as an essential part of their teacher identity, these teachers seem to be exceptions: for example, Verónica (17S/A) lived in an English-speaking country for many years; Carolina (8P) works in an exclusive private school. In the last question, where I asked the teachers to give a "last open message" for teacher trainers and policymakers, nobody referred to a perceived lack in intercultural training or similar issues. As

these points were starting to be given a great deal of emphasis during my own teacher training, maybe I expected at least a few teachers to show interest in these areas.

There was another set of topics that arose fairly unexpectedly. As they deserve special attention, I decided to analyse them in depth below, in the third part of chapter 10, where more qualitative aspects will be taken up. However, as they complement the contextual perspective of the teachers' profession, it is necessary to make a cross-reference here and mention these topics: one of them is the presence of technology in society and its uses as a motivational methodological tool in classrooms. This topic is closely related to the next, which is the presence of English in the media. Finally, many teachers made a connection between these topics and the perceived lack of study habits in students. These themes also establish a link between the different parts of the interviews, combining contextual matters, questions about student motivation and choice of content. This is why it seems pertinent to analyse them in a separate chapter, after presenting a complete summary of all the main interview questions.

With the description of the teachers' challenging work context in mind – high student numbers per class, a small amount of English teaching time, rising expectations in terms of standards - I will now proceed to analyse the next set of interview questions: all those issues that have to do with student motivation and attitudes.

9.2 Student Motivation and Attitudes: the Teachers' View

After establishing, in the previous chapter, the context in which the teachers find themselves, I will now turn to one of the specific challenges that many English teachers in Chile face: student demotivation. Clearly, in this chapter a few of the issues that were already laid out in 9.1 will appear again: socio-economic differences between the various school types, influencing on the teaching conditions, the students' attitude towards study in general, standards, etc. However, having this background in mind, the focus of this chapter will now move to the specific topics of student motivation and attitudes.

9.2.1 Pre-analysis

This chapter is based on the following interview questions:

- Generally, how motivated do Chilean secondary school teachers think their students are to learn English? (question 4)
- What motivates students? (question 5)
- What causes demotivation? (question 6)
- How do teachers perceive the general students' attitude towards the English language and English-speaking cultures? (question 7)

These questions were asked specifically to obtain data about the teachers' perceptions of student motivation and attitudes. During the interviews, it was sometimes necessary to follow up these more general questions with more detailed sub-questions, even though the idea was still to let the teachers elaborate their own hypotheses on the reasons of student motivation and demotivation, without guiding them too much. The additional prompts were based on literature on motivation research (Dörnyei 2001, Williams / Burden 1997), focusing on factors that are external to the students' mind, while distinguishing between motivating activities, contents or dynamics in the classroom (micro-contextual factors) and social or cultural influences (families, social background, general cultural context, labour market) outside the immediate school environment (the macro context). My usual way of asking about this was: "How do you explain student motivation / demotivation if we assume that it starts outside the classroom?" On the other hand, a typical question to obtain data about motivating classroom activities was "Can you remember a lesson or a lesson sequence that worked really well in terms of student motivation?", eliciting anecdotal or narrative experiential knowledge from the teachers; partly, this question was also asked to find out if teachers would spontaneously refer to motivating *contents* (rather than teaching *techniques* or *methods*); those answers that did relate to contents will be explored in more detail in 9.3 and 10.4, however. Sometimes the teachers would also extensively describe the cultural and social context that contributes to student motivation or demotivation at the beginning of the interview, before I started asking about these topics more specifically. In those cases I would only briefly refer back to these questions if I needed some more details.

After analysing the teachers' answers I established categories that were by and large based on the sub-questions that I had already prepared for the interviews. However, as before, there were some unexpected but recurrent themes, so that I had to add some further categories.

For the presentation of this analysis, rather than separating motivation from demotivation, I find it useful to use the categories as a skeleton and exploit both alternatives - motivation and demotivation - within them. It is important to note here, too, that in the area of student motivation the teachers' answers were often more complex, more elaborate and theory-like than the answers about challeng-

es dealt with in chapter 9.1. This certainly has to do with the fact that teachers are presented with educational motivation theories in their training; however, it is important to see how the teachers back these theories up with examples from their own experience.

Thus, the analysis of the teachers' answers to these questions will be structured in the following way:

First, a general account of the teachers' perception of student motivation and demotivation will be given. Then, the different possible influences on these factors will be analysed: a) *the general cultural context*; this will also include the answers on student attitudes towards the English language and English-speaking countries (question 7); b) *the students' family background*; c) *future job perspectives*; d) *classroom activities, contents and dynamics*. I had only planned for eliciting information about these external influences on motivation; many teachers, however, referred to internal motivational factors that are more directly linked to the students' individual psychological states (cf. Burden / Williams 1997). Thus, category e) *individual psychological factors*, was added after the analysis.

9.2.2 Summary of the Teachers' Answers

Question 4: Student motivation and demotivation in general

As has already been shown in chapter 9.1, lacking student motivation is perceived to be one of the greatest challenges facing an English teacher in Chile nowadays. Sixteen of the nineteen teachers interviewed referred to problems in this area, either spontaneously or when asked directly about it. Only four teachers found that their students were by and large motivated to learn English (11S, 16P/S, 18M, 19M). Two teachers (4M and 9S) had the impression that students were either extremely motivated or extremely demotivated to learn English, that there was nothing in between. Five teachers (2M, 5M, 6S, 10S, 15S) referred to mere minorities of students being motivated.

What is very important to recognise - and maybe that was one of the findings that up to a certain point surprised me when I started carrying out the interviews - is that the problem of demotivated students is not usually English-specific. There were several teachers (1M, 3M, 6S, 13M, 14M, 15S) who insisted that students generally lacked the will to work (which is common to all school subjects), while no teachers claimed that this was a challenge that is exclusive to the teaching of English. Thus, my hypothesis that the difficulty of teaching and learning of English in Chile was related to a negative attitude to-

wards the language or the culture was not confirmed, though with a small number of exceptions. Among the few teachers who thought that English had a greater motivation problem than other school subjects, there was only one who put this directly down to negative attitudes towards English-speaking cultures (17S/A). The others mentioned other extrinsic and intrinsic disincentives, such as the fact that English was not tested in the university-entrance exam (e.g. 18M) or that students found English difficult to understand or to pronounce (e.g. 10S).

Before continuing with a more detailed description of the factors that teachers found to have an influence on student motivation and attitudes, I will briefly refer to the way in which the teachers described the motivated students, or how they detected student motivation, even if that only applied to a handful of students in each class or school: First of all, several teachers referred to the students' knowledge, especially of vocabulary, and the autonomy with which they acquired the language, largely outside the classroom by watching movies and listening to music (2M, 5M, 6S, 9S, 18M). In some cases, maybe paradoxically, this learner autonomy was perceived as pernicious to student motivation to participate in the classroom activities (9S, 18M). In other cases, students had expressed their interest in becoming English teachers themselves (10S, 13M, 18M, 19M). Other teachers simply referred to the fact that the students seemed to enjoy their English lessons, were engaged in the activities offered to them (11S) or were not "bothered" by the fact that the school day started with an English lesson (16P/S).

Questions 5, 6 and 7: The general cultural context - students' attitudes to the English language and English-speaking cultures

As attitudes towards foreign cultures and their languages form part of the cultural heritage of every ethnic community, usually in the form of (over)simplified generalisations and stereotypes (Brown 2000:179), I include the answers to the question on attitudes here in the section on the general cultural context and the way in which this is perceived to influence student motivation and demotivation. This makes sense as the formation or acquisition of attitudes usually is primarily an unconscious learning process and is influenced, for example, by the media and parents' attitudes. In a pluralistic and heterogeneous society marked by a deep divide between rich and poor, it is no surprise that there are differing attitudes in various societal sub-groups, especially concerning the attitudes towards English, the global language. Along these lines, the "general cultural context" stated in the title should really read "cultural contexts", depending on the social classes that are present in the individual schools where the teachers work.

Contrary to my expectations, the teachers' perception of the role of the general cultural context and general attitudes towards the English language was slightly more positive than negative. Very few teachers would spontaneously use attitudes (at the level of society) as an explanation for student demotivation. In opposition to this, there were several teachers who saw a correlation between positive developments in the way the language is nowadays generally evaluated and student motivation.

In 9.1, it was already mentioned that globalisation and the improved status of English as its direct consequence have contributed, in the past few years, to a more positive image of English as a school subject, too. Therefore, many teachers stated – against the background of low student motivation *in general*, and a negative attitude towards study *in general* – that this mostly positive public attitude towards English was helpful in the task of motivating students, even if only marginally (cf. 6S, 10S, 15S, 18M, 19M). Again, the main reasons that are stated here are related to the area of entertainment media and technology (cf. chapter 10.3):

> TQ66: "uno cada vez se encuentra:: .. incluso en aquellos colegios donde se piensa que no vas a encontrar ningún niño como muy motivado con el inglés... siempre hay alguien que está ahí motivado porque.. hoy hay más acceso a la información… o sea ya el hecho que:: tengamos televisión satelital.… que los chiquillos de repente puedan ver.. ya no ir al cine a escuchar el inglés… sino que en la casa en la televisión ya lo pueden claro directamente… lo mismo:: con el internet.. todo eso.. hace que los chiquillos tengan más acceso.. a lo que::: incluso en mi generación no lo tuvimos… ver televisión en internet era imposible… eran cuatro canales que teníamos en Chile y se acabó… (…) .. en cambio hoy te diría que tiene una diversidad.. incluso hay… un sistema de cable donde los chicos.. pueden cambiar el idioma incluso.… entonces en ese sentido yo creo que:: e:: la tecnología:: los avances nos han ayudado para que los chicos .. se den cuenta de la importancia de hablar inglés.." (9S, 1/2)[126]

In similar terms, another teacher also reports on the *immediate relevance* that English has gained for many students:

126 "One can find more and more – even in those schools where people think that you are not going to find any kid that is like very motivated to learn English – there is always somebody who is motivated because today there is more access to information… I mean just the fact that we have satellite TV … that the kids can see for example… they don't need to go to the cinema any more to listen to English… but they can directly at home on TV… same for the Internet, all that means that the kids have more access to what even in my generation we didn't use to have. Watching TV on the Internet was impossible; there were four TV channels that we had in Chile; that was it. (…) Whereas now I would say that there is diversity. There is even a cable TV system where the kids can change the language. So in that sense I think that technology, progress have helped us so the kids can become conscious of the importance of speaking English."

> TQ67: "el saber que el inglés no es solamente una asignatura más que hay que aprender aprobar y:: pucha .. ojalá pasarle luego al colegio sino que es algo que.. en el momento les ayuda (KG: ya) para sus intereses .. para las cosas que ellos necesita::n .. de repente me dicen 'mire miss .. y esta caja:: y lo leí en inglés y supe al tiro como funcionaba mi mp3:: o mi Play station' y todo eso es súper rico incluso ellos ocupan las palabras.." (16P/S, 3)[127]

It is important to stress the immediacy and the integrativeness of the students' motives here: even those teachers who reported very low motivation levels from their students referred to music, movies and entertainment technology as the "only" things that their students were interested in, in relation to English (e.g. 1M, 2M, 4M, 5M, 6S, 14M, 17S/A): these areas, which are just one aspect of the "global language English" (cf. Crystal 2003), are the ones that are most closely connected to the teenagers' world and realities.

However, this positive development in the society's attitude towards English seems to be rather recent, and seems not to have reached the most disadvantaged sections of society. Thus, there was one sub-set of answers in which several teachers referred to geographical reasons for students to display little motivation to learn English: *in spite of* the increasing contact that Chilean people have with foreign cultures in the course of globalising tendencies (not just in the form of information technology or the media, but also through international commerce and tourism), there is still some kind of "island mentality" present in many minds, according to which the learning of a foreign language is discarded as something unnecessary. The question "¿para qué aprendemos inglés si total estamos en Chile?"[128] was repeated nearly word-for-word in six interviews and labelled as a "typical" student quote (cf. 2M, 5M, 12M, 13M, 14M, 17S/A). The way in which different, but notably only publically-funded-school[129] teachers came up with these (nearly) identical quotes points to the fact that this idea is still present in many (lower class?) Chilean minds and is stored mentally as part of the regional cultural heritage.[130]

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127 "To know that English is not just another school subject that you have to study, pass and hopefully get over and done with soon at school, but that it is something that *in the moment* helps them for their interests… for the things that they need… sometimes they tell me, 'look, Miss, this box – and I read it in English and I knew at once how my mp3 player worked, or my Play station' and all that is wonderful, they even use the words…" (My emphasis).

128 "What should we learn English for if in the end we are here in Chile?"

129 17S/A works at a state-subsidised private school, but which is aimed at young adults who have dropped out of regular education during secondary school years, i.e. again a disadvantaged school community.

130 On the other hand, interestingly, another teacher who also works at a publically funded school uses the same quote to show that this mentality has changed over the past years,

The still widespread perceived pointlessness of learning a foreign language can be seen in connection to other parts of the interviews, in which some teachers reported an unspecified dislike of English (be it as a language or as a school subject). However, again, according to a number of teachers, this might be more closely related to a poor attitude towards school or study in general than towards the language in itself (cf. 2M, 3M, 4M, 13M)[131]. Another factor that accounts towards a negative attitude towards the English language is that in several cases, students apparently find English difficult and / or boring to learn (cf. also 4M, 5M):

> TQ68: "entonces hay una gran mayoría diría yo que no percibe lo importante que es aprender el inglés. ... entonces 'no::: a:::que es una lata qué se yo::… que es muy difícil'" (2M, 2).[132]

In one interview, the teacher mentions some students' "nationalism", which they use as an argument against studying English; however, she sees it as an excuse to divert away from the fact that they simply find it difficult to learn the language:

> TQ69: "tenía un alumno hace tiempo:: que me decía que no quería aprender inglés porque él era nacionalista (…) pero era un caso aparte (…) y hay otros que lo comentan como mo::da:: decir ah.. yo no aprendo inglés porque soy chileno y estoy orgulloso de:: pero yo creo que es como para: para no.. porque les cue::sta no sé" (12M, 6).[133]

When it comes to *attitudes towards English-speaking cultures*, the "positive development" is not as clear as in the attitude towards the language; in many cases,

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and that at her school students do not display this attitude any more: "eso lo ven ellos inmediatamente… ah.. claro.. es parte de nuestro mundo por lo tanto no le ven .. e::: una cosa determinada.. no.. que 'por qué si nosotros estamos en Chile.. no tenemos que aprender inglés..' por ejemplo.. o sea no lo ven así.. definitivamente lo ven ya como algo como parte de:: de la cultura en general…" (19M, 8: "They see that immediately: oh, of course, it is part of our world so they do not perceive it as (…) 'why, if we are in Chile we don't have to learn English' for example… I mean, they do not perceive it like that… they definitely see it *already* as part of (…) general culture." – The emphasis in the translation is mine.)

131 Cf. also chapter 10.3 on the perceived negative impact of technological media on study attitudes.

132 "So there is a great majority - I would say - that does not perceive how important it is to learn English. So 'no, oh this is boring, (…) this is too difficult'".

133 "I had a student some time ago who told me that he didn't want to learn English because he was a nationalist (…) but he was an exception (…) and there are others who say it in the way of a fashion, say 'I don't learn English because I am Chilean and I am proud of…' but I think that is so as to not… because they find it difficult, I don't know."

the teachers largely report little interest, indifference and / or ignorance as determining factors (cf. 1M, 3M, 4M, 6S, 9S, 11S, 13M):

> TQ70: "(KG: (…) se nota en la sala de clase la actitud que tienen las niñas frente a las culturas... digamos que son ... originariamente de habla inglesa?. Estados Unidos.....? Inglaterra?) no… no… la verdad es que (…) nunca he escuchado algún comentario... especial.. (…)... ni ni positivo ni negativo de.... (…) o sea si por ejemplo alguien interesante para ellas... o un personaje importante por ejemplo ... da lo mismo que sea chino gringo o boliviano o sea.. eso no es lo importante... lo importante es lo conocido o o lo poco conocido que sea.. eso.... (…) la verdad es que no es un... un tema para ellas" (4M, 5)[134].

Several teachers referred to negative attitudes towards the United States, in varying degrees of severity (3M, 8P, 9S, 11S, 16P/S, 17S/A, 18M). However, the teachers usually insisted that these were isolated, if notable cases; the most extreme examples could be found in schools whose students belong to the most disadvantaged sectors of society:

> TQ72: "we're very careful about choosing everything about United States because there are many people that are not.. so fond of.. they are no fans of.. North American culture.. (KG: in.. in this school?) Yes. (KG: how do you notice that?) because I realized when I was.. but not this year.. I'm talking about the last two years.. that when I used to carry some.. flags from Anglo-Saxon countries.. and I always placed a North-American flag on my desk.. and some students complained about that, 'please, I don't want to see'.. 'why don't they burn it?' (…) Yes.. there were .. there were other .. other flags.. Canadian and…..British.. but they pay much more attention to the.. North American one" (3M, 7)

Another teacher brings the idea of personal identity into play, moving from a social-contextual explanation on to a more personal-psychological one. What is worrying about the following quote is that Anti-Americanism is brought in context with extreme right-wing political groups (cf. "20 grupos neonazis…", 2005; "Neonazis en Chile. Preocupa…", no year):[135]

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134 "(KG: Do you notice, in the classroom, the attitude that the girls have towards the cultures, let's say, that are originally English-speaking? The USA? England?) No. No. In fact, I have never heard any special comment, neither positive nor negative about… I mean, if for example somebody is interesting for them, or an important person for example, there is no difference if he or she is Chinese, 'Gringo', Bolivian, I mean, that's not important… what is important is how well-known or how little known somebody is… in fact, it is not a topic for them."

135 The racism that is mentioned here is not exclusive to these neo-Nazi groups; nor is the USA the main target. Rather, there seems to be a fairly widespread racism against the immediate neighbouring countries, which is perceived to be a serious issue by several teachers: "(KG: ¿tienen también alguna::: no sé algún::.. alguna actitud muy clara frente a lo que son las personas de otros países... que te haya llamado la atención?) sí pero

TQ73: "muchos problemas sociales ... entonces:: (…) digamos que la educación que tienen ellos es muy poca.. es muy pobre .. porque no quieren .. porque ..... son rebeldes en fin:: entonces (…) se forman grupos:: ... por ejemplo como los neo nazi .... o:: o gente que simplemente es más racista que otra:: (…) que por ejemplo e:: a .. en el caso de los americanos que son los 'yanquis'.. por lo tanto ellos no aprenden o no quieren aprender muchas cosas:: a.. esos son desafíos grandes porque tú tienes que a ellos ens... e:: abrirles la mente y y y explicarles ciertas cosas que.. dentro de la familia:: .. ellos desarrollaron de forma negativa:: .. en contra del idioma .. (…) de repente estos alumnos agarran muchas cosas que son muy negativas y las hacen suyas ... porque pierden la identidad de persona .. entonces necesitan agarrarse de algo... y algunos lo hacen mal y otros simplemente tienen esa en contra de::: .. de lo que significa el inglés.." (17S/A, 2)[136]

On the other hand, the increased perceived necessity or usefulness of English has dissipated some former negative attitudes towards English-speaking countries, which according to some teachers (16P/S, 10S) belong to the past or older generations. The following quote could sustain such an argument:

TQ74: "(KG: ¿tú crees que en general aquí en (…) Chile ha cambiado la.. la actitud de repente de la gente (…)?)[137] de la gente joven sí .... de los jóvenes yo diría hasta

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no::: de habla inglesa... (KG: ya) sino que por ejemplo típico que hay:: el niño que tiene o que viene de Perú:: o de Bolivia.. e::: son súper pesados con ellos.. los tratan ma::l .. 'oye boliviano' así como en forma despectiva (KG: ya) les ponen no:mbres.. eso me he dado cuenta que son súper e::: agresivos con la gente como de Bolivia Perú" (14M, 11: "(KG: Do they have any clear attitude towards people from other countries… that you might have noticed?) Yes, but not from English-speaking [countries] but for example the typical example is that there is a kid who (…) comes from Peru or from Bolivia – they are super unpleasant to them. They treat them badly. 'Hey, Bolivian' like with contempt; they call them names, so I have noticed that they are super aggressive towards people like from Bolivia, Peru." - Cf. also 17S/A, 18M; Huatay & Jiménez 2011; Larraín 2001: 232).

136 "[…] many social problems… so (…) let's say that their education is very limited, very poor… because they don't want to, because they are simply rebellious, and then they form groups, for example the neo Nazis, or people who are simply more racist than others. For example in the case of the Americans [sic] who are the 'Yankees' so they don't learn or they don't want to learn many things… so these are the great challenges because you have to t[each] them… open their minds and explain certain things to them that in their families they developed in a negative way, against the language… sometimes these students pick up many things that are very negative and make them theirs, because they lose their personal identity, so they need to hold on to something. And some do it badly and others simply have [something] against whatever the English language means."

137 My question picks up on the topic "changes" that the teacher had been talking about in great detail before (mainly in terms of educational policies), introducing the topic "people's attitudes" at this stage.

unos treinta treinta y dos años... ha cambiado bastante ... qué pasa que lamentablemente::: .. por c::osas políticas ... por cosas que han pasado sobre todo con los americanos 'a: no inglés no'... Bush es como.. inglés igual Bush.. no... y eso pasa incluso de repente por eso dicen que prefieren a los británicos por que supuestamente los británicos como están más blanqueados en cuanto a::: cosas que han ocurrido en la sociedad (…) entonces yo creo que habido ese cambio.. la gente mayor la verdad es que todavía lo ven como algo lo asocian mucho::: a lo que es trabajo::: a la tecnología y la verdad es que ... la opinión de ellos... es como se aprende más no más ... pero no es algo determinante ... en cambio hay gente que los jóvenes hasta uno treinta y dos.. treinta y cinco años creo que tiene bastante claro ... que es una necesidad ...." (16P/S, 5)[138]

It also seems that the fact that many students view English as "the global language", rather than a language that is intrinsically linked to certain countries, contributes to student motivation and keeps criticism, especially against the USA, at bay:

TQ75: "yo creo que hoy día lo ven como algo global ... porque e::: [laughs] e::: uno pudiese pensar no es cierto .. que de repente el inglés en algunos alumnos podría… producir algunos anticuerpos.. no es cierto .. (KG: ¿sí?) por lo que yo te decía.. ponte tú.. el [name of a public school] es un liceo así... e::: en ese sentido muy crítico… o sea no todos.. pero hay alumnos muy críticos… entonces ellos podrían decir.. ya.. 'pucha el inglés está relacionado con Estados Unidos'.. por poner algún ejemplo… ya.. por lo tanto no.. 'no nosotros nada que ver con Estados Unidos'… pero no.. yo creo que… no va en ese sentido… sino que lo ven como algo súper e:: global…" (19M, 7)[139].

138 "(KG: Do you think that in general here in Chile the people's attitude has changed (…)?) In young people, yes… I would say in young people up to the age of about thirty, thirty-two years... it has changed quite a lot… what happens is that unfortunately because of political things, because of things that have happened mainly with the Americans [sic] 'oh no, English, no'… Bush is like – English equals Bush… no. And that happens even sometimes – that's why they say they prefer the British because supposedly the British are like more whitewashed as to things that have happened in society (…) so I think that given this change – older people in fact still see it as.. they associate it a lot with work, technology and in fact their opinion is like they simply learn more… but it is not something determining… whereas young people up to about thirty-two, thirty-five years are quite clear that it is a necessity".

139 "I think that nowadays they see it as something global… because [laughs] one could think that maybe English could produce some antibodies in some students, right? (KG: really?) because of what I told you… I mean… the [name of a public school] is a school like that… in that sense very critical… I mean not all of them, but there are very critical students… so they could say… 'English is related to the United States', just to give you an example, right… so 'no, we don't want to have anything to do with the United States' but no, I think that it doesn't go in that direction… but they see it something super global."

Other teachers even paint quite a different picture: rather than presenting Chile as a xenophobic or racist nation, here it is portrayed as a country that "deifies" other cultures (cf. Larraín 2001: 252) – still, with certain reservations. The idea that music acts as a "cultural messenger" is also repeated in several interviews (cf. 9S, 12M, 16P/S, 17S/A):

> TQ76: "yo creo que la música es un gancho fenomenal para el inglés.. porque la primera motivación para los jóvenes es acceder o conocer.. aprender inglés para entender cierto.. muchas cosas de la cultura que ellos admiran porque Chile es un país que admira las culturas.. no sé si te has dado cuenta [laughs] que de repente endiosamos a las culturas anglosajonas y todo... entonces ellos.. su primera motivación es aprender para acceder.. pero tiene un porcentaje de jóvenes también que .. están en contra de ese tipo de cultura .. y que ven el idioma como parte de esa cultura.. por lo tanto la rechazan.. (KG: ¿de veras?..) sí.. yo te diría que hay un porcentaje mínimo.. 'no que no.. que los yanquis'.. toda esa cosa…" (18M, 4)[140]

Thus, the attitude in Chilean society towards English-speaking countries is in no way clear-cut. The idea that I could extract from the teacher interviews is that there is a small, but significant minority that displays some Anti-Americanism for various political reasons (basically, either an extreme right-wing nationalism or a more or less historically informed left-wing nonconformity); however, the large majority holds a rather positive opinion of English-speaking countries, which in the eyes of the (more critical?) teachers may sometimes even seem exaggerated. This goes along with the fact that usually students have far greater (and maybe slightly more realistic) knowledge about the US than about other English-speaking countries. Also, the "American Dream" seems to be present in many Chilean minds (cf. 4M, 10S, 13M, 16P/S). I will close this section with two somewhat longer quotes from Paola's interview (16P/S), in which she talked about this topic in a lot of detail. Clearly, even though some other teachers referred to similar ideas (e.g. 18M, 19M), her nuanced opinion is not necessarily representative of the whole society; however, it serves for contrast with the other quotes that emphasise Anti-American attitudes in their students:

> TQ77: "entonces yo creo que en eso hemos cambiado bastante... (…).. incluso yo te diría que es hasta::: .... tragicómico... porque qué pasa.. de que todo lo que sea cul-

140 "I think that music is a phenomenal bait for English… because the first motivation for the youngsters is to access or to get to know, to learn English to understand, right. Many things of the culture that they admire – because Chile is a country that admires cultures – I don't know if you have realized [laughs] that we sometimes deify Anglo-Saxon cultures and all that… so they – their first motivation is to learn to access… But there is a percentage of youngsters too who are against this type of culture, and who see the language as part of that culture. So they reject it. (KG: Really?) Yes. So I would say there is a minimal percentage 'no… no… the Yankees' all of that."

tura inglesa por ejemplo australianos.. ingleses .. americanos .. neozelandeses o los europeos de habla hispana o: los portugueses .. el italiano ... pero no pasa así con nuestros hermanos latinoamericanos o sea si hablamos de los peruanos .. los bolivianos .. los ecuatorianos en este caso el rechazo es de piel:: .. se podría decir ... cuando debiera ser porque estamos al lado ... pero tal vez porque somos copiones también los chilenos o sea nosotros copiamos mucho el estilo:: de lo que es americano en los sistemas de comida.. de trabajo las palabras que ocupamos la.. moda entonces .. eso también nos influyó bastante porque todavía como que no hemos definido nuestro perfil .... (…) pero lo que es la parte de cultura inglesa para mí que está bien .. es como lo top" (16P/S, 5)[141]

TQ78: "[los estudiantes] te piden más que nada como te decía Estados Unidos.. los gringos.. incluso muchos piensan.. p..por el famoso *American Drea:::m* ... 'miss e.. es eso y es verdad que por ejemplo si yo voy allá hay trabajo y a los dos meses tengo un auto y::' .. etcétera y les gusta mucho eso porque en el fondo: ... e: ... lo comparan (…) .. como que es el gran.. el gran sueño llega::r porque piensan 'que yo llego a Estados Unidos.. trabajo dos meses.. tengo plata.. y vuelvo a Chile'.. es como un Farkas... por así decirlo.. (KG: [laughs]) (…) allá por ejemplo como que es sú::per fá::cil.. tener pape::les ... como que es súper fácil.. trabaja::r.. y que 'si yo trabajo sin desmerecer:: e.. limpiando las casas gano ene.. plata.. y mantengo a mi familia.. (…) es como que tienen esa parte de que es todo muy fácil y muy inmediato... (KG: ya) y por eso les interesa... a parte que .. acá en Chile generalmente ... casi todas las personas que: .. digamos han tenido éxito y que han estudiado fuera .. ha sido en Estados Unidos ... entonces se asocia mucho éxito .. igual mucho dinero... (KG: ya) es como asegurar inmediatamente el futuro profesional.. (…) .. ellos lo asocian mucho a esa parte:: porque siempre:: .. los avances tecnológicos la ..la información siempre llega primero a Estados Unidos... como te decía.. los otros países anglos incluso .. bueno .. lo que es Europa ... está también pero como los chiquillos están tan concientizados con mirar.. hacia América... no lo ven mucho más allá porque asocian .. es como que como Europa yo hablo de ello y es como cultura.. renacimie::nto.. no sé primera segunda guerra mundia::l e:.. qué sé yo:: Napoleó:n.. etcétera.. lo ven como algo .. más histórico (…) … ellos dicen no .. el continente viejo no no no .. Estados

141 "So I think that in that we have changed quite a lot (…) I would even say that it's even tragicomical… because what happens is that all that is English culture, for example, Australian, English, American, New Zealand, or the Europeans who speak Spanish or the Portuguese, Italian… but it doesn't happen with our Latin American brothers [and sisters] I mean if we talk about the Peruvians, the Bolivians, the Ecuadorians, in that case it's rejection at first sight… (…) when it should be [different] because we're right next to them… But maybe because we Chileans are also copycats I mean, we often copy the style of what is American in the food system, work, the words we use, fashion, so… that also influenced us quite a lot because we still haven't like defined our profile… but what is English culture for me it's okay… it's like the best."

Unidos .. allá está el carrete .. está el éxito .. y es increíble como la.. juventud ahora chilena esta súper exitista o sea..” (16P/S, 11)[142]

To conclude, the interviews show that in Chilean society, there are some clearly felt attitudes towards the English language and English-speaking countries. As cultures are dynamic entities, and probably *especially dynamic* in times of radical socio-economic change, it is not surprising that these attitudes can, at this stage, differ and even contradict each other, not just at a societal level, but also in individuals.[143] Most importantly, there is the paradox between economic admiration and political contempt for the USA. In relation to the language itself, instrumental motives and technological relevance are opposed to a perceived difficulty to learn the language and the fact that in many cases, there is still no immediate need for the language skills. Music and movies seem to be the only “untouched” areas that indisputably help youngsters to find access to the English language.[144]

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142 “They [=the students] mainly ask [for information] about the United States, the ‘Gringos’. Even many think about the famous American Dream ‘Miss, is it true that for example if I go there there’s work and two months later I have a car and…’ etcetera and they like that a lot because in the end they compare it (…) like it’s the great dream to get there because they think ‘I get to the United States, I work for two months, I have money, and I come back to Chile’ … it’s like a Farkas [Leonardo Farkas is a popular Chilean multi-millionaire and businessman, who is well-known for his philanthropic attitude and huge donations to charities] … (…) for example, there it is like super easy to get documents, like it is super easy to work, that ‘if I work – with respect – cleaning houses I earn a lot of money and can feed my family’ (…) like they have this [opinion] that it is all very easy and immediate and that’s why it interests them. Apart from the fact that in Chile generally, almost all the people who, let’s say, have been successful and have studied abroad were in the United States, so it is associated a lot with success, which equals a lot of money. It’s like you immediately assure your professional future. They associate a lot that bit because the technological progress, information always arrives first in the United States, as I said. Even the other English-speaking countries, well, Europe, it’s also there, but the kids are just so aware of looking towards America. They don’t look much further than that because they associate – like as if Europe, when I talk about it, it’s like culture, Renaissance, I don’t know, World War I and II, Napoleon, and so on, they see it as something more historical. They say ‘no, the old continent, no no no, the United States, that’s where the music plays, that’s where success is.’ It’s incredible how success-oriented the Chilean youth is nowadays.”

143 Outside the context of this study, one of my students at the university, who is studying to become an English teacher, told me about her feelings about the English-speaking world: “I feel this great contradiction inside me.”

144 In the recent past, the importance of film and music in ELT has been recognised by many methodologists and materials writers around the world (e.g. Leitzke-Ungerer 2009, Voigts-Virchow 2006, Stempleski & Tomalin 2001).

Other external factors

Another external, but probably more immediate factor to which the teachers interviewed attributed an important role in affecting learner motivation is the students' *family background*. The analysis of the interviews shows that in quantitative terms, twelve teachers declared the parents' lack of support or lack of English skills as an important cause for student demotivation (1M, 2M, 3M, 4M, 5M, 6S, 9S, 10S, 12M, 13M, 16P/S, 17S/A), without any direct prompting from me. Six of these teachers talked about the way in which they have seen either positive or negative influence from parents affect children's motivation to learn. Only two teachers made exclusively positive observations about the way in which parents' attitudes had a positive impact on student motivation for learning English; notably, both of them are private school teachers (7P, 8P). Again, it is clearly necessary to carefully distinguish between the motivation to learn *in general*, i.e. to succeed at school regardless of the subject in question, and motivation to learn the English language.

As mentioned above, problematic home backgrounds are among the challenges that many teachers face, making the task of educating the students increasingly difficult. However, the negative impact on student motivation cannot only be felt in the very disadvantaged sectors of society; absent parents, regardless of their socio-economic level, are considered to be partly responsible for the students' apathy and lacking motivation to study, as the following quote indicates:

> TQ79: "son alumnos de clase media clase media alta pero de mucho esfuerzo de los papás... o sea.. e:::: hay muy pocos papás profesionales... o sea, los que han estudiado en la universidad son muy pocos... o sea.. son más los papás esforzados.. que a través del tiempo han .. han.. logrado recursos... y que les están dando todo a los chiquillos por .. por lo que ellos no tuvieron... pero claro.. o sea.. hay algunos que no ven a los papás durante el día.. entonces lo único que hacen es estar en la cama po acostados.. con el computador.. porque no hay un control de los papás... entonces claro que tiene que ver con.. con los papás también... o sea ... son papás muy permisivos.. que les permiten muchas cosas... que los dejan solos... porque tienen que trabajar... casi todas las mamás trabajan... por lo tanto los chiquillos quedan solos... y... y no hay una motivación por parte de los papás... o sea, además de retarlos tienes que estudiar tienes que estudiar tienes que estudiar.. pero nada más po o sea se quedan ahí." (6S, 5)[145]

145 "They are middle-class students, upper middle-class students, but with a lot of effort on the parents' part. I mean, very few of the parents are professionals. There are very few who have studied at the university. The parents are hard-working and over the years they have achieved some wealth. And they are giving everything to the kids because

For the specific motivation or demotivation to learn *English*, however, the families' social class might play a more important role. Here, for example, a teacher expresses concern about parents prioritising the support for other subjects:

> TQ80: "si la familia apoya yo creo que tienes el ochenta por ciento entre comillas ganado ... porque qué pasa que la familia por ejemplo en el liceo en el que yo trabajo ... hay niñas de clase media alta clase media baja y la verdad es que las niñas que son de un contexto económico digamos más.. precario la verdad es que la familia poco interés tiene de que aprenda inglés .. o sea con que esté el cuatro punto cero bien.. lo que interesa aquí es lenguaje matemática historia porque es la que da la posibilidad de la beca pa la psu un buen puntaje ... 'pero inglés inglés miss' me dicen... 'mi hija no se va a estudiar inglés... no se va ir a trabajar a LAN Chile no va a viajar.. sino que es aquí donde tiene que trabajar'... y qué pasa muchas de estas niñas también no pueden optar a la educación superior sino que salen de cuarto medio ... e inmediatamente al mundo laboral ... entonces ellos no ven la importancia o tal vez el plus que pudiera darles el inglés.." (16P/S, 4)[146]

As the section on attitudes has shown, the "importance" of mastering English does not seem to be appreciated so much by the lower socio-economic classes. Conversely to the previous quote, this private school teacher mentions the same ideas – travel, study opportunities – to demonstrate how his students are encouraged to learn English by their parents:

> TQ81: "I think I understand that you're saying that some students come to that English class with the desire to learn … they really want to learn it.. maybe.. they're taking up their desire at home from parents who are telling them that English is im-

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they didn't have it. But of course, there are some who never see their parents during the day. So the only thing they do is lie in bed, with the computer, because there is no parent control. Of course this has to do with the parents, too. They are very permissive, they allow them to do many things, they leave them alone because they have to work, nearly all the mums work. So the kids stay alone and there is no motivation on the parents' part. I mean, apart from telling them off 'you have to study, you have to study, you have to study', but nothing else, that's it."

146 "If the family supports [the educational process] I think you could say that you have won an eighty per cent of the battle. Because for example in the school where I work there are upper middle class and lower middle class girls and in fact, the girls who are from a more precarious economic background, their families have little interest in them learning English. I mean, with [the lowest pass grade] it's okay. What is important here is Spanish, Maths, History because those [subjects] gain them the possibility of a scholarship, a good result in the university-entrance test. 'But English, Miss', they tell me. 'My daughter is not going to study English, she is not going to work for LAN Chile [the principal Chilean airline]. She is not going to travel; it's here where she has to work'. And many of these girls cannot opt for Higher Education either, they finish secondary school, and immediately [go on] to the world of work. So they [the parents] don't see the importance or maybe the plus that English could give them."

portant because.. you can study…because you can travel because you have greater …. opportunities available to you ..if you are …uh… able to use another language uh properly….and maybe because your parents … your mother are telling them this …(…) and I would say that there are others who believe in themselves…. that they can learn… (…) but the ones who are coming wanting to learn it's at home more than anything I don't think you're gonna hear of anything else… I think it's in the home where the motivation begins with the students who want to learn… I don't think I would probably … my guess…. would be very rare to find a student who's motivated to learn English where the motivation was picked up somewhere else… so… that's my guess…" (7P, 4/5)

However, not only the social class influences on these attitudes; also the parents' occupations are central. The following quote is from a teacher who works at a school with a high proportion of children whose parents are part of the Chilean Navy:

TQ82: "por otro lado está el .. el cuento de que en la casa algunos tienen apoyo porque los papás están motivados también.. porque hay muchos papás que están estudiando inglés… (KG: ah ¿de veras?) porque su trabajo se lo exige… tenemos muchos hijos de marinos.. entonces muchos viajan.. los mandan… entonces después ellos vienen con todo ese *background* que traen de afuera… eso motiva a las niñas.." (9S, 5)[147]

In sum, the students' home backgrounds play a pivotal role in the teachers' beliefs about the origin of student motivation or demotivation to learn the English language (or to take education seriously as a whole). This is also important for teacher identity concerning their own sense of agency, or control, over their work (see below, chapter 10).

As can be seen, in some teachers' perception, there is a close connection between the families' capacity to generate expectations for the future in their children and the students' interest in learning English. However, I found it necessary to analyse the teachers' answers that were directly related to these "*future perspectives*" separately. I had anticipated this point and also prepared a prompt that referred to the perceived need for English in the labour market and its possible effect on student motivation, having Gardner's instrumental orientation in mind (e.g. Masgoret & Gardner 2003). However, in many interviews the teachers came up with this factor spontaneously and did not need this prompt, whether they referred to a perceived *lack* of future perspectives in their students (13

147 "On the other hand there is the story that at home some of them have support because their parents are motivated too, because there are many parents who are studying English (…) because their jobs demand it. We have many children of navy marines. So many of them travel, they are sent [to places]. So then they come with that background they bring from abroad. That motivates the girls."

teachers) or to the future usefulness that students assigned to school success and/or to English language skills (14 teachers)[148]. As before, not all teachers saw this instrumental motivation as something exclusive to English, but rather as a "proyecto de vida" (2M, 3) – a "life project" that encourages students to give their best at school and that might be more based on the idea of getting good grades and achieving in general, rather than specifically wanting to learn the English language.

The fact that English does not figure in the university-entrance test seems to diminish the importance of acquiring the English language due to more immediate priorities in the students' lives (8P, 11S, 15S, 16 P/S, 18M). Thus, in this context, long-term versus short-term goals play against the motivation to learn English, while the other motives might be just as instrumental or extrinsic.

Another issue that several teachers (4M, 7P, 8P, 15S, 16P/S) considered important in this context is the students' immaturity, something that gradually changes over the four years of secondary education, but contributes to low instrumental student motivation in the first two years [Years 9 and 10], as for them the "future" is still more remote than for those who are about to leave school.

But what exactly gives English "future value", according to the teachers' perceptions? In the interviews, six teachers referred to the job market (4M, 5M, 7P, 13M, 18M, 19M). There were eight teachers who mentioned the importance of English in the academic world, at Higher and Further Education institutions (5M, 6S, 7P, 8P, 9S, 10S, 15S, 19M). At least at those schools that see it as a priority to prepare their students for further studies, the students seem to be more aware of the use of English in those areas, probably because that is the more immediate next step in their future careers. Other considerations, such as the possibilities to travel or study abroad were mentioned, too (4M, 5M, 9S, 10S, 12M).

As the following quote illustrates, the students' motives to be interested in learning English are unlikely to be related to one area exclusively; rather, instrumental and integrative motives might very well co-exist in the students' consciousness, and are here interpreted by the teachers' own perception of priorities:

> TQ83: "los alumnos que son buenos alu:::mnos que están más preocupados..que tienen interés.. entonces yo de repente en los recreos.. se acercan y te conversan o .. dicen 'mire..tengo este libro profesora .. cree usted que me sirve para aprender inglés' o .. 'mi mamá me quiere matricular.. qué instituto me recomienda'.. no sé y por ahí

148 Some of the teachers described the 'exceptional' students in their schools at length, highlighting their interest in future professional success as their distinctive feature; that is why overlaps between positive and negative evaluations are included in this count.

surge que se acercan otros y uno termina teniendo una interacción.. y va más allá de la pregunta.. de la mera pregunta que te hicieron..porque veo interés en ellos... entonces... yo ahí me.. 'claro pregúntame todo lo que quieras' entonces de repente me dicen.. '¿usted ha viajado?'... o: 'y ¿dónde?.. y me encantaría' y todo y yo les cuento y les digo..es bueno.. con esos alumnos... con otros podría aparecer que yo estoy .... ostentando .. pero con ellos sí porque siento que es una motivación.. que ellos dicen.. 'sí.. yo quiero trabajar.. quiero ganar más plata.. quiero viajar... quiero aprender' ... entonces eso es.... me gusta eso que tienen.. ganas de aprender más....de abrir sus horizontes... me encanta.....porque eso es lo que yo siento que les va a abrir las puertas en el futuro..... nuestro colegio es comercial .. ellos van a ir a empresas....." (5M, 11).[149]

On the whole, however, "future perspectives" as a motivator does not seem to work with the majority of the students, especially with the younger ones. One of the reasons for this might be the competing discourses between the teachers' opinion (which goes along with the developments on the job market, the government initiative etc.) - that English could be a plus in the students' futures - and some, especially working-class parents, who consider English (or studies in general) as something unimportant in their children's lives. On the other hand, as educationalists have observed on numerous occasions (e.g. Dewey 1938/1998, Gudjons 1997), the learning experience at school cannot rely exclusively on the anticipation of "future reward" or "future usefulness". Certainly, those teachers who know how to exploit the immediate relevance of English in the students' lives fare better than those who try to motivate students only by referring to its applicability yet to come (cf. chapter 10.2 on motivational strategies).

149 "Those students who are good students who care more, who show interest (…) sometimes at break-time they come up to me and talk to me and say 'Look, I have this book, Miss. Do you think it will help me to learn English?' Or: 'My mum wants to enrol me [in a private language institute]. What institute do you recommend?' (…) And then other students join in and one ends up having an interaction that goes beyond the first question that they asked because I see they are interested. So I say 'Ask whatever you like' and sometimes they ask 'Have you travelled? And where? I would love to.' And all that, and I tell them. It's good with those students. With others it might seem that I am boasting. But with them it's possible because I feel that it is a motivation [for them]. Because they say 'yes, I want to work. I want to earn more money. I want to travel. I want to learn.' So I like it that they want to learn more, open their horizons, I love it. Because that is what I feel is going to open the doors to them in the future. Our school is a vocational business school. They are going to go to companies."

Classroom activities, contents and dynamics

After analysing the influences on the students' motivation that are external to the classroom and therefore outside the teachers' control, I will now turn to those issues that in the teachers' experience have an impact on the students' motivation *inside* the classroom. My main concern here was to elicit spontaneous comments about motivating *contents* (cf. chapter 9.3). Thus, I always started with an open question about anything the teachers had noted *worked* for student motivation in the classroom, so as to be able to see what priority contents took in the teachers' belief system, in contrast to other possible elements, e.g. types of activities or teaching techniques.

In the data analysis I then distinguished, first of all, between those elements that were mentioned spontaneously as an immediate answer to this question and those that were mentioned in other parts of the interview. In the most immediate answers, eight teachers (4M, 11S, 12M, 14M, 15S, 17S/A, 18M, 19M) mentioned motivating contents or topics; seven teachers (1M, 6S, 10S, 13M, 15S, 17S/A, 18M) referred to songs or music; six teachers (1M, 5M, 8P, 9S, 16P/S, 19M) talked about teaching techniques or types of activities; one teacher referred to his own "fun" personality (7P).

In the overall count of specific motivating elements that were mentioned in any part of the interviews, the two most commonly named motivators are music and the study of song lyrics, interactive tasks and oral work. Another motivating factor that was referred to by many teachers is the teacher her- or himself. Of course, this is more difficult to pinpoint, partly because one interview question was directly asking about the impact of teacher enthusiasm on the students' motivation, so this factor did not arise spontaneously in all interviews. Also, some teachers referred to specific aspects of their personality as potentially motivating, such as being approachable (6S), or sharing the students' experiences (4M), but this might not necessarily reflect directly in the students' motivation to achieve success in English. On the other hand, two teachers (18M, 19M) told me about the high percentage of their students going on to train as English teachers at the university, but were too modest to take the credits for this success. Some of these ideas will be considered in more detail in chapter 10, when the teachers' sense of agency is to be discussed.

Before moving on to the comments about motivating contents, I will briefly summarise the teachers' answers about motivating teaching techniques or types of activities. As my research design had not anticipated answers in this area, all the comments that teachers – ten altogether - made in that respect arose spontaneously during the interviews. They included games, fun and humour (6S, 5M, 8P, 13M, 16P/S), the use of technology or the internet (10S, 11S, 14M, 16P/S),

short, snappy activities or starters (5M, 6S), student-centred lessons or pairwork (9S, 16P/S), stimulating visuals (12M, 14M), task-based learning (6S), no grammar (6S) or contextualised grammar (9S), easy traditional copying tasks (12M), drama and creative tasks (12M), and excursions in the city (11S). It is possible that methodological issues have been over-emphasised by the "dominant discourse" (government, teacher training institutions and English teacher associations) in recent years, maybe at the expense of a deep-reaching discussion about contents (cf. Vera 2009:11). However, it must be said that in the interviews there was a certain balance between methods and contents as influencing factors on student motivation.

Finally, I asked the teachers more specifically about motivating contents, as this was one of the central concerns of this study. While I will come back to contents in detail in chapter 9.3, here the teachers' comments will be summarised in a few words. All the teachers agreed to some extent that the topics that were presented in the English lessons needed to be related to the teenagers' world in order to motivate the students. The most common ones were famous people – singers, actors or actresses or sportspeople (2M, 4M, 5M, 9S, 10S, 13M, 19M), movies (2M, 5M, 6S, 10S, 16P/S, 18M), and fashion, diet and / or food (5M, 9S, 10S,11S, 15S). Then, sports (2M, 6S, 7P, 9S), and topics related to the vocational area that some students were studying (*English for Specific Purposes*), the world of work or Higher Education (12M, 13M, 18M) were other repeated thematic areas with three teachers each mentioning them. The following topics were brought up by only two teachers each: culture and the teachers' experience abroad (11S, 17S/A), swearwords and informal language (13M, 18M), recognising famous things (people, quotes, buildings, etc.) (12M, 14M), technology (as a topic - 6S, 18M) and narrative ("easy readers" – 8P, 10S). Finally, there were some themes that were only mentioned by one teacher each: the Simpsons (14M), love stories (8P), "English is all around us" (16P/S) and themes that could be classified as "current issues", such as the Olympic Games (11S). Of course it is important to remember that these topics were not elicited nor were teachers given a list of them; whatever they said at this stage of the interview arose spontaneously following my question about motivating contents.

In opposition to those factors that can make English lessons more motivating, there were also some teachers who put the students' *lack of motivation* down to what was happening in their own classrooms, rather than looking for external reasons. The following quote is very illuminating in the way the teacher mixes self-criticism (while using an inclusive first person *plural*) with blame for the government textbooks for using boring, demotivating topics:

> TQ84: "yo trabajo en una realidad… relativamente ideal.. ya… es un colegio particular subvencionado… de puras niñas… e:::: con un nivel académico bastante bue-

no.. yo diría.. en la asignatura.. me pasa algo bien curioso.. de repente nosotros mismos.. [laughs].. nuestras metodologías muchas veces hacen que los chicos… se desmotiven. (…) de verdad.. porque e:: yo me fui dando cuenta de repente que.. nos llegan unos textos de estudio medios fomeques.. la verdad.. con temas… tópicos que a los chiquillos de catorce.. quince años.. les falta mucho mundo por recorrer para entender ese tema.. ya.. o sea ... por mucho que uno ya.. estamos hablando del… del "*global warming*".. del.. de la cosa contaminación.. y que el.. el oxígeno y todo.. pero a esa edad las chiquillas hay que agarrar tal vez ese mismo tema pero de otra manera.. enfocado de otra manera… entonces.. yo me daba cuenta de que de repente mis alumnas en clases.. sí… participaban.. se manejaban bien con el inglés y después me daba cuenta de que en la sala de computación ellas estaban chateando en inglés.. sacan canciones en inglés.. o sea ... entonces hay mucha motivación... (…) pero que nosotros por la metodología.. (…) no nos alcanzamos a dar cuenta…ya.. ahora estamos hablando de cuarenta y dos alumnas dentro de la sala también.. o sea.. e::: es como difícil percatarte… [surprised tone] 'uh… tú hablas.. o sea.. a ti te gusta el inglés tanto así que.. que sacas canciones.. ves películas en inglés' y todo pero en la clase.. frente a la metodología que uno empleaba.. no prestaba mucha atención la alumna.. me entiendes.. entonces… yo.. yo de lo que alcanzo a ver yo diría que lo que yo misma… en realidad yo diría.. si tú lo pones en una escala podría decirte que en un… yo veo de motivación dentro de la sala en un… cuarenta por ciento…… ahora en la realidad.. en la práctica yo creo que es más.. pero por eso te hago el alcance.. es porque.. no es el inglés.. muchas veces es nuestra metodología… ya.. la que.. espanta a nuestras alumnas de… digamos del entusiasmo hacia la asignatura.. ellas se entusiasman sí pero frente.. a la música… a todo eso.. pero no:: (…) no sé si me entiendes la idea.. ya ahora en inglés en inglés hay más motivación que a nosotros muchas veces no nos alcanzamos a dar cuenta.. porque.. no estamos metidos en el mundo de la música de ellos muchas veces.. y por ahí la música.. las películas.. el Internet .. chatear con gente extranjeras .. a ellos les motiva como herramienta ... el inglés…. pero no la clase.." (9S, 3)[150]

150 "The reality in which I work is relatively ideal. It's a state-subsidised private school, only girls, the academic level is quite good, I would say. In my subject there is something really curious happening. Sometimes we, ourselves [laughs], our methodologies make the kids lose motivation. (…) Because I started noticing that – we get textbooks that are quite boring, that's the truth, with topics that for the kids who are fourteen, fifteen years old – they need a lot more life experience to understand that topic. I mean, we are talking about *global warming*, about pollution, oxygen and all that. But at that age the girls need that maybe the same topic is focused in a different way. So I noticed that sometimes my students in class, okay, they did participate, they were comfortable with English and then I realised that in the computer room they were chatting in English, look[ing] for songs in English, I mean – so there is a lot of motivation (…) But we because of the methodology (…) we don't even realise. So now we are talking about 42 students in the room, too. I mean, it's like difficult to find out – [surprised tone] 'oh, you speak, I mean, you like English so much that you look for songs, watch movies in English' and all that, but in class, facing the methods that one was using, the student did

There were several teachers who said that generally it was difficult to motivate students to practise reading comprehension (4M, 5M, 13M, 15S); grammar exercises were another motivation "killer" (10S, 13M). The topics in the textbooks were recurrently qualified as offering little to motivate students (1M, 9S, 13M, 14M, 15S, 18M); however, this will be discussed in more detail in chapter 9.3.

Individual psychological factors

My research design was deliberately devised to focus on the external, contextual factors working against student motivation, such as the cultural or family background, or classroom-related issues, especially the topics presented in the textbooks. However, in nine – nearly half of all - interviews, the teachers started elaborating their theories about student motivation and demotivation, based very much on an individual, psychological view of the students' determination and perseverance in learning English. It is difficult to say whether the teachers were influenced by the motivation theories that they might have learned about when studying educational psychology at the university, in their teacher training courses, or whether they are "exclusively" based on their own experience and observations. In any case, these comments were numerous and detailed enough to dedicate a complete inductive category and sub-section to them.

The main problem that teachers saw in psychological terms is that students find English difficult, if not impossible to *understand*, and therefore "*shut down*" against English (cf. 1M, 2M, 5M, 6S, 7P, 13M, 14M, 18M):

> TQ85: "el comentario más recurrente es... 'no cacho inglés...no sé nada'.. así.. 'no entiendo..' pero así como comentarios que 'me cargue el inglés' no.... un cinco por ciento.. por llevar los porcentajes.. pero en realidad... e:: son muy pocos los alumnos los que dicen 'me carga el inglés'... que generalmente dicen 'no entiendo... no entiendo nada.. nada... es como que me hable en chino'... no entienden.. y por eso se bloquean... y les va mal... y::: el rechazo... pero que no les guste... son muy pocos los alumnos... por lo menos que yo he sabido..."(6S, 5)[151].

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not pay much attention, you see. So from what I can see I would say that (…) on a scale in the classroom there is a forty per cent motivation; but in reality, in practice, I think it is more. That's why I'm pointing this out to you. It's because – it's not English. Many times it's our methodology that scares our students off; let's say the enthusiasm towards the subject. Yes, they are enthusiastic, but about the music, all that, but not – I don't know if you understand my idea… Now in English there is more motivation than we often even get to realise because we often aren't inserted in the world of music of theirs … and music, movies, internet, chat with foreign people… English motivates them as a tool, but not the lesson."

151 "The most recurrent comment is 'I don't get English, I don't know anything', (…) 'I don't understand'. But comments like 'I hate English', no – five per cent, to calculate

Underlying reasons for these comprehension problems are to be found in previous learning experiences (e.g. with former teachers), low grades, or (also) in the symptomatic heterogeneity of students' levels in many secondary schools (cf. chapter 9.1.2):

> TQ86: "hay un porcentaje.. diría que grande de niños que.. se sienten matados con el inglés.. o sea que ellos se auto convencieron que no tienen la habilidad y las competencias.. que son malos.. que nunca aprendieron y eso es.. cuesta manejar también.. que tiene que ser un gran porcentaje de cada curso.. ahora sería en términos ideales decirte que todos los cursos están motivados.. serían los cursos ideales.. pero un gran porcentaje de los chiquillos les cuesta… porque piensan que son malos.. porque tienen mala base… esa es la complicación mayor que tienen….. ahora todos ven en términos .. de utilidad que les va a servir.. pero esta cosa comunicacional que te he dicho de un tiempo a esta parte se le ha dado énfasis.. ya.. que eso.. eso es un plus para nosotros.. pero::: lo que no es un plus.. yo te diría que es en contra .. es que como tienen diferentes niveles de inglés algunos ya se auto convencieron.. que son malos y que no van a aprender y que pasan con el mínimo de los requerimientos.." (18M, 4)[152].

Another problem that many teachers perceive is *the students' age*, especially when it comes to carrying out *speaking activities*, as students find these activities embarrassing – even if they ask for them (cf. also 1M, 4M, 6S, 9S, 10S):

> TQ87: "dicen 'pero que queremos hablar inglés'.. pero cuando tú les das las instancias aquí.. 'hablen' a pesar de que son frases cortitas.. les da vergüenza porque están en pleno período de adolescencia...les da vergüenza que no se rían los de al lado en-

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percentages, but really, there are very few students who say 'I hate English'. Generally they say, 'I don't understand, I don't understand anything, nothing. It's as if you were talking to me in Chinese.' They don't understand, and that's why they shut down, and they do badly, and – the rejection. But that they don't like it, there are very few students, at least that I know of."

152 "There is a percentage, I would say, a large percentage, of children who feel overwhelmed by English. I mean, they have convinced themselves that they don't have the ability and the competences, that they are bad at it, that they have never learned it and that's it. It is difficult to handle, because it must be a large percentage in every class. Now ideally I could tell you that all the classes are motivated. They would be the ideal classes. But a great percentage of the kids find it difficult because they think they are bad at it, because they have a bad basis, that's the greatest complication that they have. Now they all see that in terms of usefulness it is going to help them. But this communicational thing that I have told you, that has been given emphasis some time ago, that's a plus for us. But what is not a plus, I would say, what works against us, is that as they have different levels in English they have already convinced themselves that they are bad at it and that they won't learn it and they will pass with the minimum requirements."

> tonces pasa un minuto y están 'e:: e::' miran.. y se dan vuelta.. con el cuaderno y..esquivan responder" (5M, 3).[153]

There were various other psychological problems that teachers found to play against student motivation; one is the fact that there is only one English lesson a week, which makes retention more difficult, stopping students from developing a feeling of progress:

> TQ88: "tú puedes entender que así nadie se motiva porque de una semana a otra..ya ni se acuerda de lo que vimos.. es muy poco el contacto que tenemos con los alumnos..todo eso influye en contra..es negativo.." (5M, 4).[154]

Another teacher referred to the detrimental effect of extrinsic motivation:

> TQ89: "the main motivation that I see sometimes is the marks.. the grades …. a lot of people only care about what's on the test" (7P, 3).[155]

To conclude, for many teachers it is a mixture of obstacles and failure in the learning process itself that causes students to lose motivation. Thus, the teachers' subjective theories could be situated close to those motivation theories that are subsumed as expectancy-value theories: in these frameworks, special consideration is given to the learners' past experiences, their judgement of their own abilities and competences, and the expectancy of success in the learning process (cf. Dörnyei 2001: 20ff.).

9.2.3 Analysis

After presenting the teachers' views on their students' motivation to learn English, and before moving on, in the coming chapter, to examine the teachers' perspectives on motivating (cultural) contents for English teaching in Chile, I would like to discuss my findings by comparing them to a similar study carried out by Julia Menard-Warwick in the North of Chile (Menard-Warwick 2008). In her article "The Dad in the Che Guevara T-Shirt: Narratives of Chilean English Teachers", without directly referring to the concept of student *motivation*, she

153 "They say 'but we want to speak English' but when you give them the opportunity (…) even if it's short sentences, they feel embarrassed because they are in the middle of adolescence. They feel embarrassed, they don't want those next to them to laugh, so a minute goes by and they say 'eh, eh', they look around, and turn around, with their exercise books and avoid answering."

154 "You can understand that like this nobody is motivated because from one week to the next nobody remembers what we did. There is very little contact with the students. All that influences against it, it's negative."

155 Other teachers state that "not even grades, not even extrinsic motivation" work with their students (cf. 1M, 14M).

focuses on instances of political student resistance against English learning, narrated and commented on in two teacher interviews that form part of the data collected for a larger research project on teacher identities (including interviews with 18 Chilean teachers). This study, which was published while I was in the process of carrying out my teacher interviews, obviously did not influence my initial research project. However, the proximity of the research questions makes a comparison between the two studies necessary and very enlightening.

Menard-Warwick's larger research project studied the relationship between teacher identities and approaches to cultural themes in English classrooms, comparing teachers working in California and in Chile; my research design focuses on the relationship between learner motivation and cultural contents in the perspective of Chilean English teachers, with teacher beliefs and identity as "mediators" between these factors. In this sense, there are many overlaps in the questions guiding both studies. Also, the research methodology used and the sample size of teacher interviews are very similar.

Even though I never went as far as postulating the existence of political student resistance against learning English, the idea (and to a certain degree, my experience) that possibly English teachers in Chile had to face resistance against linguistic and cultural imperialism as part of their teaching mission (cf. Canagarajah 1999, Phillipson 1992), had a direct impact on my initial hypothesis of low integrative motivation to learn English, which must be tackled by offering motivating – maybe also more critical - cultural course contents to the students. However, in my research approach I tried to be as open and unbiased as possible, in order to obtain a more real picture of the challenges that the teachers face.

Thus, while in Menard-Warwick's study "[p]olitical resistance emerged as a key issue during thematic coding of data" (258), the data that I collected cannot confirm this "key issue" or some of Menard-Warwick's strong generalising conclusions. One point in which I differ from her is that her study links political resistance exclusively to "leftist" movements, or to sympathisers of the communist party. In my study, the teachers who referred to political resistance against English learning mentioned a greater variety of political affiliations. There seem to be "nationalist" or even "neo-nazi" alignments in individual students (12M, 17S/A). Communism was not mentioned explicitly in any of the interviews. However, some of the teachers' comments on their students' critical attitude against the USA allow to conclude that there is a left-wing stance behind it: several teachers refer to the equation Anti-Americanism with Anti-Bushism (8P, 11S, 16P/S); another teacher mentions anarchism (18M, cf. also 19M).

Next, another issue which I think is not dealt with in enough detail in Menard-Warwick's study is the relationship between political resistance against (US) imperialism (in its economic, political, cultural or linguistic expressions),

and (lacking) student motivation, especially for learning English. It is clear that Menard-Warwick did not consider student motivation in her research design. However, the critical incidents that the teachers describe in her interviews refer to the teacher actions (selection of teaching and learning material, for example) to motivate students to participate in the lessons and to learn more English (cf. the narrative about the *Rage against the Machine* song lyrics, 255 ff.). Also, the monograph that influenced both her and my research, Canagarajah's *Resisting Linguistic Imperialism in English Teaching* (1999), gives an accurate description of the complex and even paradoxical relationship between a "remarkably high motivation towards ESL" and student opposition against cultural and linguistic imperialism in the study that he carried out in Sri Lanka (94f.)[156]. In my opinion, for a clearer understanding of this issue, it is necessary to look at student motivation and political resistance separately. This view is clearly supported by the interview data that I collected (cf. above, 9.2.2).

In this sense, how can the following statements by Menard-Warwick be answered? "Coping with political resistance is a perennial challenge for English teachers" (244); "[r]esistance to English is a significant issue for Chilean English teachers in public high schools, and in many cases this resistance is not vaguely oppositional (…) but explicitly ideological" (258). The data that I collected suggest that the "perennial challenge" that *nearly all* teachers (of all subject areas) have to cope with in Chile is student demotivation. In some *exceptional* cases, this demotivation is English-specific and/or related to a negative attitude against US imperialism[157]. However, in the perspective of those teachers that I interviewed, political arguments against learning English are usually no more than an excuse for a negative attitude towards study in general (cf. 11S, 12M, 17S/A); in addition, those students whose political-ideological profile

156 It is important to acknowledge that Sri Lanka's socio-linguistic situation is vastly different from Chile's, Sri Lanka belonging to the Outer Circle ("ESL") and Chile to the Expanding Circle ("EFL") Countries (in Kachru's model of the spread of English around the world, cf. chapter 2 and Crystal 2003). According to Canagarajah, the students who participated in his study were motivated in ways that cannot be grasped by the instrumental-integrative dichotomy: "The functions they envision are different from those addressed by the periphery and center institutions. However, while their language needs are more pragmatically rooted in their immediate rural contexts, they acknowledge the value of English to empower them personally and socially, which is why they do not share the extreme forms of linguistic nationalism sometimes present in local community politics. (…) This unwaning interest in learning English suggests that their opposition is not generated by the language *per se* but by the encounter with the curriculum, teaching materials, and the discourses embodied in them." (op. cit.: 95).

157 Menard-Warwick also quotes one of the teachers saying that these are "extreme cases" (254). However, this does not stop her from making the quoted generalisations anyway.

would suggest a negative attitude against learning English are, paradoxically, fairly motivated to learn English (cf. 18M, 19M).

The data collected for this study make it impossible to claim that the motivation challenge for English teachers in Chile has socio-linguistic or political-ideological origins: the teachers describe a society in which there are no widespread negative attitudes towards English, or towards English-speaking countries; on the contrary, the public image of English has vastly improved in the past few years. Some teachers report that students are even more motivated in English than in other school subjects and that many students are able to see the "usefulness" of knowing how to speak English. This is explained, on the one hand, by the prevalence and popularity of music and movies in English, and, on the other, by the fact that English is often regarded to be a "global language" rather than a language associated with a particular country. As a consequence, my interpretation of the teacher interviews strongly suggests that the motivation challenge must be tackled in pedagogical terms. Rather than political resistance against English learning, there is a perceived pointlessness in education in general, especially in the lower socio-economic sectors. The teachers that I interviewed and who work in publically funded secondary schools report that the lack of motivation is general to all subject areas, just like the lack of positive attitudes towards study and the lack of future perspectives.

In terms of the paradigm of teacher identity, it is necessary to highlight, first, that due to the fact that Menard-Warwick's study is binational (US/California and Chile), it emphasises the teachers' group professional identity as *global TESOL professionals* (cf. 249), rather than Chilean secondary school teachers. This seems to have been done deductively, by highlighting the researcher's own positioning in the global promotion of English. In my study, by asking the teachers about their own initial motivation to become English teachers, I could easily (and inductively) extract the idea that many of them cast themselves as *teachers* in the first place, and only then, as *English* teachers. The global component of their professional identity seems to be fairly minor compared to the national and local challenges that they share with their colleagues from other subject areas. In relation to the issue of student motivation / resistance, Menard-Warwick's perspective on teacher identities is more similar to mine: in her comparison of two individual teacher identities, she focuses not only on the ideological or political component of teacher identity ("apolitical, pragmatic"), but also on the "agentive" and "creative" (in one teacher) versus the "overwhelmed" (in another teacher) side of it (259). These aspects will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 10.

What might the reasons be for the different findings in these two studies? I have already discarded one first suspicion – that in the place of her data collec-

tion, i.e. the North of Chile, the political left has a greater presence than in the Centre, where I interviewed the teachers: the figures in the past elections are too similar to point to a real "political connection". However, there might be two other reasons:

First, one might be related to the time of data collection: Menard-Warwick interviewed her teachers between 2004 and 2006, which was shortly after the official declaration of the War against Iraq and probably just in those times when Anti-Bushism was at its very peak[158]. My own data collection was carried out between 2007 and 2009; the last interviews were taken after Obama had already been elected. Thus, while a more or less pronounced Anti-Americanism might be a constant in the political extreme left and right in Chile[159], specific global and national events and media coverage probably have an influence on the way in which this attitude takes more or less centre-stage in the less politically oriented minds of the majority. Second, it is possible that Menard-Warwick was taken by surprise about the teachers' references to student (and parent) resistance against English study in Chile, which led her to over-emphasise and over-generalise those interview passages in which these issues were mentioned. My own previous teaching experience in Chile had already made me aware of the existence of these; in a way, one of my unpronounced questions in the interviews was if this resistance was real or imagined, or to what extent it was an actual challenge for English teachers here. In this sense, even if my own study is still qualitative, not quantitative in its design, I hope to have been able to present a more objective picture of the genuine reasons of student demotivation, without over-emphasising any one aspect of it.

9.2.4 Conclusion

Even though, as observed in 9.1.4, I was probably right to assume that there were serious motivation problems in many Chilean classrooms, one part of my initial hypothesis is clearly disconfirmed. The motivation challenge that English teachers face in Chilean schools is more easily associated with general pedagogical causes than with a socio-linguistic attitude issue: students are often demotivated when it comes to learning in general, regardless of the subject involved; they are sometimes even more motivated in English than for other school subjects, according to the teachers' perceptions. The teachers' beliefs and theories also point towards assumptions other than putting demotivation down to a hos-

158 2004 was also the year in which George W. Bush visited Chile.

159 Anti-Americanism arose as an (exceptional) issue in my earlier and later interviews alike.

tile attitude towards English-speaking countries: they label it as an "excuse" to conceal the students' lack of effort or work-will.

On the other hand, the importance that I attributed to meaningful content in motivating students to participate and learn in English lessons was confirmed by the teachers' answers. This will be my main focus in the coming chapter. There, I will also come back to the teachers' identity, especially with regards to the ethnic and personal parts of it.

9.3 Learning Contents

In the previous chapter it was shown that an important motivator for in-class participation is the selection of appropriate learning contents for the students. Thus, in this chapter, I am going to examine the Chilean teachers' perspective on the contents in English teaching and learning. As these teacher experiences and opinions need to be related to their biographical data, to their conceptions of language and their own interests for cultural issues, this chapter is split into two: Part 1 (9.3.1) will provide all the teachers' attitudinal and experiential background information; Part 2 (9.3.2) will concentrate more directly on the teachers' decision-making processes as to cultural contents in the classroom.

9.3.1 Background: The Teachers' Perspectives on Culture

9.3.1.1 Pre-analysis

This chapter is based on the following interview questions and questionnaire items:

- What were the teachers' initial motivations to become English teachers (question 3)?
- What are the teachers' spontaneous associations with the English language (questionnaire, part 2)?
- What are the teachers' experiences abroad and travel interests (questionnaire, part 2)?
- What are the teachers' spontaneous associations with the United States and with Great Britain (questionnaire, part 2)?
- How much do the teachers consider *teaching culture* or *intercultural elements* relevant to their role as an English teacher (question 11)?

In this first part I will summarise all those data that provide a background for the teachers' perspectives on (cultural) learning contents. This includes the teachers' initial motivation to become English teachers (question 3). Even though this question is also related to chapter 9.2 on student motivation, and was initially meant to be a bridge between the teachers' self-image as teachers (as presented in 9.1) and student motivation, in the final analysis of the responses obtained it seemed to be more convenient to combine these data with the teachers' content preferences, and therefore to include them in this chapter. To back up the teachers' responses to this question, I will integrate here all those data that are to do with the teachers' conception of the English language: on the one hand, the questionnaire responses about the teachers' spontaneous associations with the English language, on the other hand, the responses from an inductive category established from the interview transcripts, which refers to any comments that the teachers made about their conception of the English language ("what is English?"). Then, I will give a summary of those data that are related to the teachers' perspectives on English-speaking cultures: from the questionnaires, I include the responses about stays abroad and travel interests, as well as the spontaneous associations with the US and Great Britain. Finally, I will give a synopsis of the manifold responses to question 11; even though I asked question 11 after questions 9 and 10 in the interviews, I think that in presenting the teachers' points of view earlier, in part 9.3.2 (where questions 9 and 10 will be discussed) it will be easier to understand some of the issues that teachers report to have had with cultural material, and the students' reactions to them in class. Here, too, I established various inductive categories: a) the teachers' interpretations or definitions of the concept *culture*; this category will be complemented with an additional related and equally inductively established category: b) the teachers' perceptions of their own – the Chilean – culture; c) the teachers' views on intercultural education. In the analysis of the interviews, it was not always easy to separate the answers given to questions 10 and 11, as they often mingled in a fluent conversation. Therefore, all those responses that relate to more specific aspects of culture or to cultural features of specific countries will be summarised in chapter 9.3.2.

9.3.1.2 Summary of the teachers' answers

In *The Dynamics of the Language Classroom*, Ian Tudor (2001) highlights the fact that the choices that teachers make and the priorities that they establish in their teaching are highly dependent on the vision of language that they bring to

the classroom (49).[160] Likewise, for exploring the teachers' relation to cultural topics, their vision of culture and of the English-speaking cultures is crucial. Since in the following sub-chapter, the decision-making processes to which the teachers refer in the interviews will be dealt with, in relation to the course contents and materials, it will be useful to set the context by first examining the biographical and value-related data that can be found in the interviews.

Teachers' initial motivations to become English teachers

I must admit that I am not entirely convinced about the quality of most responses that I received to the question about the teachers' initial motivations; this is partly due to the fact that I often wanted to move on fast to the following interview questions, and therefore did not take the time to ask more directed follow-up questions. Thus, a large number of teachers (14 altogether) basically answered by saying "me gustaba el inglés" ("I liked English" – six teachers: 1M, 2M, 11S, 12M, 13M, 16P/S) or "me gustaban los idiomas" ("I liked languages" – eight teachers: 4M, 5M, 9S, 10S, 15S, 17S/A, 18M, 19M) and did not always specify what exactly they liked about English or about languages. Nine teachers (1M, 3M, 4M, 5M, 6S, 8P, 10S, 13M, 19M) mentioned their own perceived ability for learning the language / languages in general, three of them (3M, 4M, 8P) emphasised the fact that they had had good English teachers at school themselves. Six teachers (3M, 10S, 11S, 12M, 13M, 15S) mentioned role models in their families; this included other English speakers (some of them family members who had emigrated) or other English teachers. An important number of teachers - ten altogether (3M, 4M, 5M, 6S, 7P, 8P, 9S, 12M, 15S, 19M) – referred to the positive job perspectives that being an English teacher provided. However, less than half of the teachers (2M, 3M, 4M, 5M, 8P, 12M, 17S/A, 18M) talked explicitly about cultural factors (meeting people from other cultures, understanding movies, music or literature) and only four (3M, 12M, 13M, 14M) referred to the advantages of speaking English for travelling. On the other hand, a large number (14) highlighted the importance of the pedagogical side of their jobs and often even considered this more important than the linguistic side of it (1M, 2M, 4M, 5M, 6S, 7P, 8P, 9S, 11S, 13M, 14M, 15S, 16P/S, 18M). Some of them started their studies with education in mind from the beginning, English being a "minor" decision; others took up English studies for linguistic reasons and only later developed a taste for education, usually during school practices.

160 Tudor differentiates between language as a linguistic system, language from a functional perspective, language as self-expression and language as culture and ideology. (50)

In order to remedy the fact that I had not followed up the "I liked English/ languages" responses with a question like "What exactly about English / languages did you like?", I searched the complete interviews for hints as to *what the English language was* in the teachers' view, and added this as a further category to my analysis. Here, the most common comment was that English (to them, to their students or to society in general) was a key to success at work or social success in general (seven teachers: 2M, 3M, 5M, 6S, 7P, 17S/A, 18M). On a similar line, three teachers directly or indirectly referred to English as a prestige symbol (11S, 13M, 19M), one as a marketing strategy (16P/S) and one as a fashion (19M). Five teachers see English as a key to personal pleasure (5M, 7P, 12M, 16P/S, 18M) and three as a tool for communication (11S, 12M, 16P/S). In addition, seven teachers emphasised the idea that English was the universal language and/ or the language of globalisation (2M, 4M, 5M, 12M, 13M, 18M, 19M).

Teachers' spontaneous associations with the English language

These interview passages can be complemented by the questionnaires, where in one item teachers were asked to write down their *spontaneous associations with the English language* (*English is…*). Here, eight teachers wrote the words *herramienta* or *instrumento* (tool or instrument) to refer to English, some of them expanding into other contexts, like communication, job, entertainment, teaching, personal and professional development. Three teachers used the word *puerta* (door), and explained that English opens doors to the rest of the world, or to meet people from other cultures. Four teachers wrote the word *cultura* (culture), specifying, either, that English is an expression of a culture, or a means to get to know other cultures. Two teachers said that English was a *medio de comunicación* (means of communication), in order to get to know people from other countries or as part of the teacher's professional and personal experience. Two teachers simply labeled English as 'the most important and interesting thing', or as a fascinating language.

To conclude, it seems that most of the teachers interviewed see English from an instrumental perspective: English is mainly considered to be a skill that serves a career, or economic and social success (cf. Masgoret & Gardner 1993). Clearly, those who perceive English in a strong relation with certain cultures or who consider teaching English as culture teaching are a minority.[161]

161 I would like to add that in terms of the teaching that prevails in many classrooms, it is also often simply seen as a linguistic system, with a strong emphasis on the teaching of grammatical structures. This observation is based on some of the teachers' comments in

Teachers' experiences abroad and travel interests

This vision of the English language is probably related to the restricted opportunities that Chilean English teachers have had to travel abroad. The questionnaires tell us that thirteen of the seventeen teachers who filled in the questionnaires (all of them Chilean nationals) had never been to an English-speaking country at the time of responding (cf. also table 9 in chapter 8). Of the remaining four teachers, two have been to the U.S. (one for two months, the other one for two weeks), another teacher has been to England for two months. One teacher lived in the English-speaking part of Canada for ten years.[162] What is more, only five of those teachers who have not been to English-speaking countries state having had other opportunities for practicing their English: three have had private contacts with native speakers, two mention the in-service training at the university as an opportunity to practice speaking. One was about to travel to the U.S. for a month at the time of the interview.

However, the result of the next questionnaire item says that *if the teachers had the opportunity to travel this year*, ten of the teachers would travel to England. One of them would additionally like to get to know Australia or New Zealand, one Canada and one Scotland, Ireland or Wales. As the reason for their choice, six of the teachers mention history and/or culture. Four of them give various reasons, connected with personal and/or professional interests. Only three of the teachers would travel to the U.S., one of them to Canada in addition. One of them mentions the closeness to Chilean culture as a reason, another one the personal goal of wanting to get to know the educational reality in the U.S., and the last one would simply like to practice oral English with native speakers. Three other teachers would travel to Australia or New Zealand, one of them additionally to Scotland, Ireland or Wales. Only one of them gave a reason, which is related to culture and language practice. One of the teachers ticked all of the given travel destinations without giving a reason. None of the teachers ticked the box for "no English-speaking country". However, this might be due to the context of the interviews and the way the questionnaire is constructed, as this item was the last one, and was the only one that was phrased negatively (cf. Albert & Koster 2002: 37ff.).[163]

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the interviews (see chapter 9.1.2) and on my direct contact with schools in the supervision of student teachers (cf. Tudor 2001: 49ff.).

162 There are two teachers who never filled in the questionnaires; one of them is a native speaker from the U.S. The other teacher traveled to the U.S. for a month as a child.

163 Due to the small scale of this qualitative study, the questionnaires were not piloted before. If I was to carry out a similar study, for example with students, I would mix Eng-

Teachers' spontaneous associations with the US and Great Britain

The reasons for this preference for England might be inferred from the other questionnaire items, which asked for spontaneous associations with the US and Great Britain: when asked to complete the sentence beginning "The United States is…", only three teachers expressed clearly favourable opinions about the U.S.: two of them stated that they would like or love to get to know the country. One of them stated that the U.S. is a country which offers opportunities to those who wish to opt for new life experiences and achievements. Seven teachers made very vague or general comments about the U.S., like "an interesting country in some respects", "an important country", "a good way to learn English but not essential", "a country in North America", "very big and it would take me a long time to get to know it", "several states", "a big country which I don't find particularly interesting". Six teachers made critical comments about the U.S., some more openly or specifically than others, like "the symbol of capitalism", "those who lay down the agenda for Latin America", "a country with cultural diversity, which has learned to live in harmony with its errors", "an insecure, racist, aggressive and dominant country which believes itself to be owner of the truth", "culturally not attractive at all", "a country which to me has already lost its magic". One teacher left the space blank.

However, the teachers' spontaneous associations with Great Britain were mostly positive or neutral. There are only two teachers who referred to more or less negative ideas or stereotypes about Great Britain, one of them "very cold. And everything correct" (where the second part may be classified as positive, too), the other one "apparently a place with very reserved people, but" (continuing with a positive comment). Some of the more neutral comments were "a part of Europe", "another important country and the basis of English", and twice "the cradle of English". Five teachers referred to Great Britain as a place that one should visit and / or that they would love to get to know. One of them wants to work there. Others mentioned visits to important places (without specifying which they are). One of them stated that it is more difficult to get there (probably than to the U.S.). Six teachers mentioned "culture" in their comment on Great Britain, some of them in combination with history, art or traditions. One of them said that that is what she talks about in class, another one wrote that "we know very little of it". Among these comments there are some very positive remarks, such as "a great nation", "very rich in cultural terms" or "attractive" (twice). Finally, one teacher just describes Great Britain as a "very organised country". With this background in mind, I will examine the following question.

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lish-speaking countries with other explicitly stated possible travel destinations and vary the order in different questionnaires so as to avoid a sequence-based bias.

Question 11: How much do the teachers consider teaching culture or intercultural elements relevant to their role as an English teacher?

First of all, it is necessary to consider *the teachers' interpretations or definitions of the concept culture*; these definitions could be found scattered over the interviews: not all of them were given as a direct response to my "culture" question. Also, not all teachers made any kind of specification of their use of the word beyond explaining the aspects of culture that they would select for their teaching (see chapter 9.3.2). Nonetheless, the definitions that some of them gave are very enlightening as they show the way in which the Spanish word "cultura" can be used in common, everyday language, and how the teachers relate this concept to their reality and their roles as Chilean secondary school teachers. Thus, the word "cultura" was used, for example, to refer to general knowledge about the world (3M, 5M), to study-aiding cognitive structures, or generally a certain attitude towards study (5M, 13M). These ideas were often associated with a deficit that the teachers had detected in their students (or in society in general):

> TQ90: "there is a lack of good.. e.. of culture.. in general terms.. some of them.. know in advance something about the culture they're reading.. for example the capital the capital of the country.. but.. just a few of them…" (3M, 7/8)

> TQ91: "sí.. insisto mucho en la parte cultural.. a modo de::: educación o sea de:: formación del alumno... que les abra la mente... incluso se ríen conmigo en el departamento porque cuando estamos buscando.. algunos tipos de ejercitación... o preparando.. (…) ... y yo digo.. este ejercicio por qué porque les aclara la mente...y se ríen... por ejemplo... había xxxx unas oraciones... (…) que los alumnos tienen que:: diferenciar.. de qué tipo de oración es.. (…) .. e:::: si la oración está entregando *information.. description.. suggestion.. opinion* ..y lo hice... y te digo que para ellos era todo lo mismo... o sea lo mismo dar una opinión ..que una advertencia.. que una sugerencia ...y me costó muchísimo explicarles la diferencia" (5M, 9)[164]

Culture is also sometimes defined as correct behaviour or good manners (5M,19M):

> TQ92: "yo quiero mucho a [a Chilean city] pero uno siente que es una ciudad que.. que le hace falta algo.. y que pasa un poco por un tema de… mm.. cultural.. (…) o

164 "Yes, I do insist a lot on the cultural part, so that education, I mean, the student's schooling, opens their minds… They even have a laugh about me in our department because when we are looking for some types of exercises, or preparing [our lessons], I tell them: 'This exercise: why? - Because it puts their minds in order, and they laugh. For examples, there were some sentences where the students have to differentiate what kind of sentence it is: if the sentence is giving information, description, suggestion, or opinion. And I did it. And I tell you that for them, it was all the same. I mean, it was the same to give an opinion, as a warning, as a suggestion. And I found it very difficult to explain the difference to them."

sea.. son cuestiones tan básicas.. de que te ponen basureros por ejemplo.. y te duran un día.. (…) y eso es un tema.. o sea de .. de cultu:ra.. de educación.. y son nuestros jóvenes.. o sea.. es lo mismo que yo estoy educando.. (…) es esa gente la que .. en definitiva destruye y todo lo demás ..y es la gente que yo estoy educando..” (19M, 2)[165]

Other interpretations, equally in relation to perceived lacks or a negative view of culture, were culture as experience of the world (3M, 13M), and culture as life-style (3M, 19M):

TQ93: “They .. they … just live in a small world.. that’s a big problem… Or some of them don’t know … they haven’t gone to Santiago for example. or a few times… or some other part of the country (…) ....they have a small culture.” (3M, 9)

In some of the interviews, this view that “culture” is deficient in many students is linked to the *teachers’ visions of their own – Chilean – culture*, in contrast to the English-speaking cultures that they are teaching (or maybe in contrast to their view of European culture, me being the interlocutor in these interviews). There were six teachers altogether who made some kind of comment on Chilean culture; all of these remarks arose spontaneously during the interviews. In some of these cases, Chile (or Spanish-speaking countries in general) are presented in fairly negative terms, in comparison with the more “orderly, structured, hard-working, polite and well-behaved” cultures that are apparently associated with the English language:

TQ94: “por lo tanto yo les digo ‘ustedes no sacan nada si saben hablar inglés hasta con los codos ... si no tienen idea .. como es esa cultura... (…) por qué se usan más algunas palabras que otras .. en el inglés es fundamental.. dos palabras que no tenemos en castellano ... *please and thank you’* ... con frecuencia... a cada rato.. *please.. thank you.. please* ... nosotros aquí damos todo por hecho.. nos tienen que hacer las cosas... con suerte encontramos a alguien que de repente diga.. gracias.. o que un alumno te pegue un empujón que te zampe lejos y te diga.. disculpe... se ve repoco... que digan.. *excuse me.. I´m sorry* .. y ‘si quieren aprender inglés.. apréndanse bien esas dos palabritas y después hablamos.’” (5M, 10)[166]

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165 “I like [a Chilean city] a lot, but one can feel that it’s a city that … lacks something, and it has a bit to do with a… cultural issue. I mean, these are so basic things, for example, they [the authorities] put litter bins [in the streets] and they last for a day. And that’s an issue that is - cultural, educational. And those are our kids, I mean, they are the same ones as the ones that I am educating, it’s those people who definitely destroy and all that… and it’s the people that I am educating.”

166 “That’s why I tell them ‘it’s no use if you can talk English really fast if you have no idea what this culture is like. Why some words are used more than others. In English this is fundamental. There are two words that we don’t have in Spanish: *please and thank you’*, often, all the time: *please, thank you, please.* Here we take everything for granted. They have to do things for us. If we are lucky we find someone who says ‘gra-

Whereas in the quote above, the direct derogatory, possibly harmful, generalising comparison could have a more estranging than motivating effect on students learning English, other teachers use a reflective, self-critical and constructive tone. Sometimes only very specific aspects are criticised, such as the attitude towards errors in the school context in the following quote. However, the use of the adjective "primitive" still produces an awkward resonance of early colonial cultural relationships:

> TQ95: "el contenido [of a movie, after watching it in class] se discute pero fíjate que e:: ahí la discusión a veces es en español… en español porque:: muchas veces me daba cuenta de que:: las niñas.. algunas se atrevían.. pero.. por la:: barrera idiomática ahí quedaban… con ganas de decir algo pero no se atrevían porque…. ese es el otro problema que tenemos.. el 'no me atrevo::: el que me da vergüenza.. que el error.. que el equivocarme'…y yo creo.. y yo creo que pasa porque nosotros tenemos una cultura muy.. primitiva::: de repente frente al error.. (…) …e::: nos.. nos ha costado… darnos cuenta que:: por el error se aprende… no.. tenemos que no equivocarnos… tú no te puedes equivocar.. entonces esa cosa como primiti:va frente al error… y eso de alguna manera se lo transmitimos a las generaciones y era pésimo para el aprendizaje porque… por el miedo al error muchas veces se::: se evitan.. las niñas prefieren no habla:r por el miedo al ridí::culo y todo el cuento…"(9S, 10)[167]

Other issues that are criticised about Chilean society, probably with more founded arguments, are racism and discrimination (8P, 13M, 14M, 16P/S). Verónica, the teacher who lived in Canada, also makes a critical comment about Chile, with its class-consciousness that is often based on the judgement of appearances, comparing her experience in Canada with her life in Chile:

> TQ96: "aquí este país es muy clasista.. e:: en Toronto por ejemplo yo... y les digo a mis alumnos o sea el hecho de que tú andes informal ... con un calcetín amarillo y uno verde .. ya.. una polera azul ... con un *I don't know* con una cosa negra por

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cias' now and then. Or a student who bumps into you and hurls you far and says 'disculpe', that's very rare, that they say '*Excuse me. I'm sorry'*. 'And if you want to learn English, learn these two little words well and then we can talk on.'"

167 "We discuss the content [of a movie, after watching it in class] but, look, there the discussion is sometimes in Spanish, because – often I noticed that the girls, some dared, but due to the linguistic barrier they got stuck there, wanting to say something but they did not dare because the other problem that we have, the 'I don't dare, how embarrassing, a mistake, I might get it wrong', and I think that happens because we have a very primitive culture towards errors. So we have found it difficult to realise that by making mistakes you learn. 'No! We mustn't make a mistake. You mustn't make mistake!' So this like, primitive thing in the face of mistakes, that's something we have been passing on over the generations and it was extremely bad for learning because of the fear of the error; often they avoid… the girls prefer not to speak as they are afraid they are going to make a fool of themselves and all that."

aquí::: la cartera que fue roja... a nadie le importa ... y eso a mí me encantó.... porque aquí ... lamentablemente... y lo digo bien de corazón .. se fijan en. como andas tú vestida como te peinaste hoy día... si te maquillaste o no ... yo todo el tiempo que vivía en Chile o sea en Canadá jamás me puse .... *eye liner* por ejemplo..... y algo para los labios porque... ¿a quién le importaba mi cara::? ¿me entiendes tú? o sea... todos éramos tratado ... de alguna manera si yo iba al banco me trataban igual ... en cambio acá no .. te miran y.. y.. hacen una diferencia ... entonces eso yo les digo .. a mis alumnos que todos deberíamos tratarnos igual .. no importa como uno ande vestido.. no importa que.... de que país yo vengo.. *who cares*?" (17S/A,11)[168]

Not all of the teachers are only critical or negative about Chilean society, however. To introduce *the teachers' views on intercultural education*, I would again like to quote a few passages from the interview with Paola (16P/S). I think it is worth having a closer look at her interview because she describes herself as "más chilena.. que los porotos" (11)[169] but is also a great fan of the USA; thus, her motto is to try to motivate students to value "lo de afuera pero sin olvidar lo nuestro" (6: "what comes from abroad but without forgetting our own [heritage / identity]"). In the following quote, she criticises the Chileans for their tendency to copy lifestyles and fashions from other countries, and even sees a danger in it for Chilean identity:

TQ97: "siempre como que estamos copiando y eso hay que decirlo yo le digo lo mismo a los alumnos ... de que sale un cantante qué sé yo Vanilla Ice con el gorrito de tal color ... al otro día to:dos los jóvenes también... y no imitan el modelo chileno o sea no digo que sea bueno o malo imitar ... pero creo que también la la parte nuestra en ese sentido se ha perdido mucho ... el festival de Viña... lo mismo sale folclor.. y es la pifia pero general ... y todo porque supuestamente todo lo de afuera es mejor y eso también en desmedro de nuestra cultura también es .. es otra cosita que hay que arreglar ..." (16P/S, 5)[170]

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168 "This country here is very class-conscious. In Toronto, for example – and I tell my students - the fact that you wear casual clothes, with one yellow and one green sock, and a blue T-shirt and I don't know, a black thing here and a red handbag: nobody cares. And I loved that. Because here, unfortunately, and this is my heart-felt opinion, people treat you differently according to your clothes or to your hair-style, your make-up. All the time that I lived in Canada I never wore eye liner for example, or lipstick because who cared about my face, you see? I mean, we were all treated in some way, when I went to the bank I was treated in the same way. But here, no, they look at you and make a difference. So that's what I tell my students that we should all treat us equally, no matter how someone is dressed, no matter what country I am from… *who cares*?"

169 "More Chilean than the beans": a typical phrase that is used to refer to a strongly felt identity with the country.

170 "We are always copying and I tell my students the same thing. For example, the singer of Vanilla Ice uses a cap in a certain colour and the next day all the teenagers also [wear the same cap]. And they don't copy the Chilean model – I mean, I'm not saying that it's

Later, she repeats what she "always says" (to the students), providing constructive and optimistic ways in which to deal with cultural comparisons, without superficial avoidance strategies. To her, the cultural North-South hegemony that is manifested in those interviews quoted above does not appear to be valid; the possibility to learn through the contact with other cultures seems to be fairly equal and mutual. On the other hand, it is important to recognise that the reason for which, according to her, Chileans are well thought of abroad is due to their being "orderly", which in itself is another "Northern" value, and is sometimes used to "positively distinguish" Chileans from other Latin American peoples:

> TQ98: "yo les enseño algo pero también nosotros podemos enseñarles mucho o sea aquí vienen gringos a estudiar también ... eso da hay luces de que algo está pasando .. (…) nos respetan bastante yo siempre hablo de la mujer chilena la mujer chilena está su:::per bien catalogada los chicos también entonces porque somos ordenados qué sé yo tenemos ciertas características .... pero así también hay cosas que tenemos que mejorar .... yo siempre digo yo amo mi país a mi Chile lindo pero hay cosas que.. que me molestan así como hay cosas que me gustan mucho de los anglosajones y otras que también me molestan ... entonces yo digo es cosa de comparar ... de tener una mente abierta pero a la vez también de saber juzgar ... qué es lo bueno.. qué es para mí y para los demás también" (16P/S,6)[171]

However, like the other teachers she also thinks that Chileans can learn from other cultures:

> TQ99: "por ejemplo .. la puntualidad .. que acá en Chile tú sabes que no somo:::s [laughs] muy a las nueve significa a las diez y media corrido pa las doce y cuando tú eres puntual ... eres ata::cada eres neuró::tica ... 'ay no pero como ta:nto' porque son cositas que imagínate siempre acá en Chile supuestamente .. somos los que más trabajamos pero qué pasa con las horas que tú estás sentada en tu escritorio.. haciendo tu pega... que tú produces ... yo siempre digo a los chiquillos 'es que miss estudié

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good or bad to imitate, but I also think in that sense that our own part has got lost to a great deal… When at the Viña festival [a yearly international song festival, held in the coastal city of Viña del Mar] there are folk groups on stage, they are just booed at… and all that because supposedly whatever comes from abroad is better, and that's disparaging our culture… that's something else that we have to get fixed."

171 "I teach them [i.e. the students] something but we can also teach them [i.e. foreigners] a lot, I mean, there are gringos who come to study here too, and that means that something is happening; they respect us quite a lot, I always talk about the Chilean woman, she is very well classified, the guys too so because we are orderly, we have certain characteristics. But there are still things that need improving. I always say I love my country, my beautiful Chile, but there are things that get on my nerves, just as there are things that I like a lot about the Anglo-Saxons and others that also get on my nerves. So I say what we need to do is to compare, to have an open mind but at the same time be able to make a judgement: what is good, for me and for other people, too."

> como cuatro horas pa la prueba y me saqué un cuatro' pero 'una cosa estuviste cuatro horas con el cuaderno en frente tuyo concentra:::da... haciendo los ejerci:::cios ..consultando fuentes o estuviste mirando que el telé…fono que allá' 'a:: es verdad' ... entonces esa parte como que nos falta un poquito ... de realmente aprovechar el tiempo... y no estar 'ay como... ya'" (16P/S, 6)[172]

Paola's views on intercultural education are among the most elaborate in the interview sample. To continue with this topic, not all teachers consider it important to talk about identity issues or to make cultural comparisons in their lessons; during some of the interviews, I had the impression that I needed to specify what I understood by intercultural education. This might be better understood when taking into consideration, on the one hand, the association of interculturality with the indigenous peoples, common in South America (see chapters 4.2.2 and 5.4), and on the other hand, the most common methodological approaches: either the teaching of isolated grammatical structures and vocabulary (an approach that is considered out of fashion nowadays, but still in practice in some schools), or a task-based approach based on the receptive skills (mainly reading, but also listening). Also, few students are expected to be travelling abroad, just as few teachers have spent time in an English-speaking or another non-Spanish-speaking country. Thus, some of the teachers interpreted my question about how to prepare students for intercultural encounters as mere functional practice in using English orally, such as giving directions (12M), ordering food (6S, 12M) or asking for information at an airport (6S), without an explicit *intercultural* element. Four teachers (1M, 2M, 4M, 5M) state that they hardly ever talk about culture in their lessons. The reasons they give for this are that it is difficult (mainly because of the students' lack of discipline, interest or attention), that there is not enough time for it, or because they are not particularly interested in teaching about it:

> TQ100: "que la verdad.. nunca me había puesto a pensar en este punto.. así que.. ahora que me lo mencionas.. (…) a::m si hay cosas interes.. pero no:: especialmente interesada en esa parte.. la verdad es que no.. o:: o sea te mentiría si te dijera voy a eso así como a buscar ¡no!.. no me interesa enseñar algo especialmente de Australia

172 "For example, punctuality: Here in Chile you know we aren't [laughs] very… at nine means at half past ten, twelve nearly and when you are a punctual person it means you are obsessed and neurotic. 'Oh come on, is that necessary?' (…) Here in Chile supposedly we are those who work the most but look: those hours that you sit down at the desk, doing your job, what you produce…I always tell the kids 'Miss, I studied like four hours for the test and I got a bad grade' but 'one thing is that you sat down for four hours with the book in front of you, concentrating, doing the exercises, consulting sources or were you looking at your phone?' 'oh, true', so that part is what we lack a bit, really making the most of the time."

Estados Unidos o no sé.. Inglaterra... si aparece algo interesante lo enseño pero porque sea una cultura de habla inglesa la verdad es que no.. (…) o:: a lo mejor estoy loca en realidad .....porque debería de ser... como más más interesada en esas cosas... [giggles]" (4M, 9).[173]

Two teachers (3M, 13M) focus their response on the idea that it is important to foster universal values through language teaching, emphasising commonalities among different cultures:

TQ101: "it's a good idea to make them to [sic] understand that in a way we're not so different.. from each other.. countries.. we have some things in common… in order that they can realise what are the common things and the different things" (3M, 7).

Two teachers (9S, 19M) emphasise the perspective that language and culture have to be taught in conjunction, so they usually establish intercultural comparisons when talking about language use in class. Janet (9S), for example, had been preparing their students for the visit of a US American high school class:

TQ102: "lo pasaban re bien los chiquillos y ahí viendo otra cultura.. entonces para mí era vital de que ellas se manejaran con ciertas cosas.. por ejemplo yo les explicaba a ellas que el *nickname*… o sea si tú le dices a un gringo '*my nickname is Chica'*.. no va a entender porque el *nickname* viene del nombre.. viene de… enton-ces eso es parte de la cultura nuestra de:: de buscar la parte física.. el *nickname*.. si es gordo es el guatón.. si es chica es la chica.. ¿me entiendes?.. entonces para una persona que vive afuera es re difícil entender el *nickname*.. '¿cómo te llamas?'.. '[Janet]' '¿y tu *nickname*?'.. 'chica'… me entiendes o sea a las chiquillas por ese lado yo les estoy tratando de meter la cultura.. o sea ... para que vayan entendiendo y no es que el gringo sea fome ... es que es otra cultura y ven el humor de otra manera.. ya no como nosotros… nosotros ... para mí.. eso es..... importante.

KG: o sea tú en el fondo también los preparaste para esos encuentros..

J: sí.. sí.. los preparé.. los preparé bastante..

KG: y había algunos otros aspectos que quizás podrían venir a cuenta acá.. como aparte de los *nicknames*… (…)

J: a.. es que a ellas les llamó mucho la atención.. pero esa es una cuestión gramatical.. más específica en la lengua.. el .. el uso del *you*.. nosotros tenemos el *tú* y el *usted*.. entonces cuando ellos hablan español .. tienden a usar el *tú* no más .. o el usted pero no el tú o usted.. a no ser que se manejen muy bien ellos.. me entiendes.. (…) .. porque ellos no tienen la diferencia.. el respeto de ellos no pasa por el *you*.. pasa por otra cosa.. el respeto hacia la persona.. no es por… no porque te traten de tú

173 "In fact, I have never thought about that point, now that you mention it. If there are interesting things… but [I am] not specially interested in that part, to be honest. I mean I would by lying to you if I said that I look specially for those things, no, I am not interested in teaching specially something about Australia, United States or I don't know, England. If there is something interesting I teach it but just because it is an English-speaking culture, to be honest, no… or maybe I'm crazy because I should be more interested in those things [giggles]."

te van a respetar menos o te van a respetar más.. en eso también cuento que la.. que de una u otra manera el idioma ... te está diciendo cómo funciona estructuralmente también..” (9S,12)[174]

Six teachers give a lot of importance to the general idea of educating their students for tolerance and respect (3M, 8P, 14M, 16P/S, 17S/A, 18M), which some of them see as their task as a teacher in general, not necessarily as their task as an English teacher. Here, Carolina (8P), who works at a school that was founded especially for the children of Navy marines, emphasises the idea that these values might even be more important for intra-cultural (or rather, intra-national?) education than for intercultural encounters with other ethnicities; even though the context of her school might be exceptional in some terms, some of the problems that she mentions are symptomatic of a class-conscious and politically divided society as a whole:

TQ103: “KG: ¿y tú ves algún rol especial en educar a los alumnos frente a esos... quizás estereotipos o prejuicios?

C: claro claro o sea....

KG: ¿cómo ves tú tu ... o qué haces tú como para enfrentar eso? (…)

C: bueno .... mostrándoles ejemplos o sea.... ellos di...que.... no sé ..... todas las culturas tienen cosas rescatables y otras que no lo son tanto ..... e::::: la ética protestante de los norteamericanos creo que uno debiera rescatar o sea ..... e:::: trabajar ... ser responsable qué sé yo (…) o sea Dios te está premiando pero tú estabas trabajando haciendo tus cosas bien.. estabas haciendo lo que te corresponde.... y eso es lo que nosotros debiéramos hacer también .... porque esperamos que se nos

174 “They had a great time, the kids, seeing another culture there. So for me it was vital that they knew how to handle certain things. For example, I explained to them that the *nickname* – I mean, if you tell a gringo ‘my nickname is Shortie’, they won’t understand because a *nickname* comes from the name. So it is part of our culture to look for the physical part for a *nickname*: if someone is big he is the Fattie, if someone is short she’s Shortie, you see. So for someone who lives abroad it is really difficult to understand the *nickname.* ‘What’s your name?’ – ‘Janet.’ ‘And your nickname?’ ‘Shortie.’ So you see, I mean I am trying to teach the girls about culture in this way, so they can understand that it isn’t because the gringos are boring, it’s another culture and they see humour from a different angle. Not like we do. So for me this is important. (KG: So in the end you prepared them for those meetings.) Yes, yes, I prepared them, quite a lot. (KG: And were there any other aspects that could be relevant here, apart from the nicknames?) What caught their attention a lot, but that’s more a specific grammar thing, is the use of *you,* we have *tú* and *usted*, so when they [native speakers of English] speak Spanish they tend to use only *tú*, or [only] *usted*, but not *tú* or *usted*, unless they are very good at Spanish, you see, because they don’t have that difference. For them, respect is not marked by the use of *you*, it is marked by other things, the respect for another person. It’s not that they say *tú* and will respect you less or respect you more. With this I also tell them that in one way or other the language tells you how it works structurally too.”

entreguen cosas y se nos den cosas así porque sí ..... (…) tratar de sacar los prejuicios pero yo.. más importante que sacar los prejuicios hacia fuera me parece que es sacar los prejuicios acá mismo... (…) hacia la persona que:::: que que no es igual a uno.... que no vive en el mismo barrio ..... que no tiene la misma educación..... que no tiene un apellido .. extranjero..... em:::::::::::::: que finalmente eso no importa ... entonces a mí me preocupa mucho porque ellos.. nacen... en una especie de sociedad total.... en el mundo naval... nacen en un hospital naval... viven en poblaciones navales..... van a jardines navales .. van a colegios navales estudian en la univ .. o sea.. están en una burbuja... (…) difícilmente andan en micro porque todo queda en la base ..... entonces..... ¡el mundo no es eso! ..... y porque alguien porque alguien no sé po... en su minuto .. es.. fue de la Concertación o estuvo en contra de Pinochet no es ma::lo ... no es ni mejor ni peor que tú ... es distinto no más y eso..... .. cuesta mucho... porque vienen mucho a veces con los prejuicios de los papás... además la armada es una institución de mucha apariencia ..... (…) entonces es pura apariencia ..... pura pura entonces .... me parece que en ese sentido yo les pongo un poco más de .... em::::::: de énfasis a esos .... a esos prejuicios ..... porque ellos van a poder viajar ..... reciben también gente de afuera ..... tienen contactos.... vienen alumnos de intercambio.... vienen agregados navales ..... tienen la posibilidad de botar o de derribar ellos solos sus prejuicios... no nos necesitan a nosotros ..... pero los internos ..... ahí sí .....” (8P, 11/12)[175]

175 “(KG: And do you see a special role in educating the students in the light of these stereotypes or prejudices?) Of course, I mean… (KG: How do you see that or what do you do to face this? (…)) Well, showing them examples, I mean, (…) all cultures have things that are worth picking up and others that aren’t so much. The North Americans’ Protestant ethic is something that one should give credit to, I mean, to work, to be responsible. (…) God is giving you a reward but you were working, doing your things well. You were doing what you had to do. And that is what we should be doing too. Because we expect that we are given things just like that (…) Trying to get rid of prejudices – but I think that more important than getting rid of prejudices towards other countries, it is to get rid of the prejudices here, where we are, against people who are not the same as one, who don’t live in the same neighbourhood, who don’t have the same education, who don’t have a foreign surname [i.e. descendants of British, French, German, (formerly) Yugoslavian or other non-Spanish immigrants], that eventually those things aren’t important. So this worries me a lot because they are born in a kind of total society, in the navy world, they are born in a navy hospital, they live in navy neighbourhoods, they go to navy nursery schools, they go to navy schools, they study at univ… I mean, they are in a bubble. They hardly ever take a bus because everything is on the navy base. So… the world is not that! And because someone belonged to the Centre-Left Coalition or was against Pinochet they aren’t bad, they aren’t better or worse than you, they are different, that’s all. It’s tough, because they often come with their parents’ prejudices. What’s more, the Army is an institution where appearances are everything. Everything, everything. I think that in that sense I give those prejudices a greater emphasis, because they will be able to travel, they also receive guests from abroad, they have contacts, there are students who come on exchange, navy attachés, they have

Her point of view is confirmed by another teacher who works at a publically funded school; this teacher thinks that Foreign Language teachers in particular play an important role in the task to educate for tolerance, not just in terms of class divisions, but also in relation to an increasingly multi-racial and multicultural society:

> TQ104: "… lo cultural yo creo que hay que hacer… hay que desarrollar en los chiquillos la tolerancia.. cierto.. a esto de lo multirracial y lo multicultural…. más que al casarte con una determinada cultura… pero que eso hay que.. sobre todo Chile .. hasta hace.. muy poco.. era un país.. como estamos tan aislados.. e::: muy puro en términos de… de.. raza… o de nacionalidad… pero de un tiempo a esta parte.. e:: están llegando ya.. más gente.. por lo tanto... e:: nosotros somos un país muy clasista… y tenemos que ir desarrollando la tolerancia en términos de.. de clase social.. que están muy marcadas.. tú te habrás dado cuenta acá… yo creo que.. vamos para.. cierto.. preparar a los chiquillos para… la tolerancia .. en términos ya.. de otros países… entonces yo creo que por ahí va… nuestra labor como profesor y sobre todo en.. el idioma extranjero.. de prepararlos también para que ellos puedan… convivir con otras culturas…" (18M, 8/9)[176]

Four teachers (3M, 9S, 10S, 16P/S) give an account of how they have created opportunities for classroom intercultural encounters; these do serve the purpose of providing linguistic exposure and practice occasions, however, in the interviews it seems that creating intercultural contact is the teachers' first and foremost concern – maybe due to the way in which I asked for this kind of information. One of them establishes contact on the internet:

> TQ105: "(KG: tú también dijiste para los alumnos hoy en día ya es mucho más como factible digamos .. más posible que en algún momento via::jen o que tengan contacto con una cultura extranjera y ¿tú.. e::.. tienes alguna manera de.. como prepararlos a un encuentro así con personas extranjeras ... aquí o allá?) sí... mira sabes lo que nosotros estábamos haciendo:: bueno con esto del Facebook.. ya:: habíamos contactado personas bueno en estas redes que hay de:: no sé po personas:: que hablan inglés:: personas que:: de estos grupos y::: y de hecho tenemos una página en

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the possibility to get rid of their prejudices themselves, they don't need us for that, but for the internal ones, they do."

176 "The cultural [education] that I think we have to do is to develop tolerance in the kids, right, because of this multi-racial and multicultural issue rather than making a strong link to a specific culture; until recently Chile used to be a country in which we were so isolated and very pure in terms of race or nationality but for some time now there are people arriving so – we are a very class-conscious country, and we have to develop tolerance in terms of social class; social classes are very clearly marked here, you must have noticed, so I think that we need to move towards preparing the kids for tolerance in terms of other countries. So I think that our task as teachers, above all in the foreign language, prepare them too so they can live together with other cultures."

donde hay personas que::: obviamente intercambian su cultura .. y tenemos como cuatro personas de Polonia:: y cuentan por ejemplo:: la vez pasada contaba:: de la comida que le gustaba::: y ellos también van escribiendo oye qué pasa en Chile contaban por ejemplo ... como se celebraba aquí el año nuevo… y ellos también contaban allá… claro eso.. (…) .. de diferentes lugares.. incluso habían algunos de Turquía:: de lugares súper que uno .. de Arabia:: que no:: y nos contaban por ejemplo del:: de Hollywood que ellos tenían .. de cómo se hacían las películas allá después vimos en youtube como eran las pelicu videos de Michael Jackson:: .. que era ese *Thriller* .... como lo hacían ellos allá y nosotros como o:: y pensar que para ellos eso es como súper::: sorprendente po y nosotros 'pero cómo' y ahí vemos las las diferencias ... sí (KG: ¿con qué nivel hicieron eso?) con:: tercero medio (…) es como lo único así que te puedo decir como relevante que podría decir de cultura:: e:::: que:: ... como que nos salimos un poco y nos preparamos pa::ra hablar con alguien que no es de acá y que ... y qué a qué le pude responder como tú:: e:::.. si te pregunta ya po cuéntame de Chile.." (10S, 9/10)[177]

In this netpal exchange, English is used as a *lingua franca* among various Expanding Circle countries. Two other teachers established face-to-face contact with native speakers of English by inviting US Americans to their classes – one in a one-off occasion, which gave students the opportunity to ask their foreign peers about their impressions on Chile (16P/S), the other one through a repeated, "monolateral exchange" that she had established with a personal teacher friend, who used to bring his students to Chile once a year (see above, 9S/TQ102). All of these teachers refer to these contacts as valuable, enjoyable experiences both for themselves and for their students. On the other hand, Christian (3M) was sent native speaker volunteers who came to Chile on invitation by the Chilean

177 "(KG: you also said that for the students nowadays it's much more feasible and possible to travel some day or that they have contact with a foreign culture; do you have some way of preparing them for an encounter like that with foreign people – here or there?) Yes, look, you know, what we were doing, with Facebook, we had contacted people in those networks with people who speak English, from those groups; in fact we have a page where there are people who obviously exchange their culture. And we have like four people from Poland, and they tell us for example, last time they told us about the food they like and they also write, hey, listen, what about Chile. They told them for example how the New Year is celebrated here, and they also told us about there. Of course, from different places, there were even some from Turkey, from places like Arabia, and they told us for example about the Hollywood that they have there, how they made movies there, and then we watched on youtube the videos, on Michael Jackson, how they made Thriller over there, and we, think how that is really astonishing for them; and there we see the differences … (KG: With what year group did you do that?) With Year 11. (…) It's like the only thing that I could say is relevant about culture, like we digress a bit and prepare ourselves for talking to someone who is not from here and what we could answer if they ask come on, tell me about Chile."

government, which proved a failure; he puts this down to the "small world" in which his students live:

> TQ106: "I had the experience of… inviting students students from the United States under this kind of interchange programme ….they were native speakers.. em:: the government sent us.. these staff.. these people.. to make the students to understand that my accent is quite different from their accent.. but they got .. they got…the culture themselves … because they can show everything inside the class.. but you know that I was.. in front of the class with these students.. next to me.. and they didn't ask anything.. just a few of them asked them some questions .. 'where do you live..' 'what's your personal..' or 'why don't you ask them for example how do you celebrate I don't know Christmas?'" (3M, 9)

In general terms, culture teaching seems to live a rather marginal life in Chilean English classrooms; very few of the interviewed teachers identify intercultural learning as one of the objectives they have to, or want to, pursue. On the other hand, when asked more specifically about certain textbook contents, the teachers were far more prepared to give detailed answers.

9.3.2 The Teachers' Decision-Making Processes: Material and Contents

9.3.2.1 Pre-analysis: categories and added categories, organisation of content

In this second part I will refer to those responses related to the teachers' decision-making processes in the use of the government textbooks and cultural material in general. This chapter is based on the following interview questions and questionnaire items:

- The teachers' use of the government textbooks (questionnaire, part 1).
- How much and according to what criteria do the teachers use the textbooks that the Chilean government distributes to the schools (question 9)?
- What is the teachers' experience with cultural material in class (question 10)?

In order to elicit more specific responses about the government textbooks, I prepared a few additional questions for the interviews, to ask them whenever I considered it necessary:

- In the teachers' perception, which parts of the textbook can the students relate to best? Why?
- Generally speaking, what is the teachers' experience with written texts and reading activities in class?

- How much do the teachers use the "culture pages" in the textbook (as a transition question from 9 to 10)?

For question 10, I split up the initial question into two, in order to obtain answers in relation to the students' reaction to cultural material on the one hand, and in relation to the teachers' own interest in teaching them on the other hand. Here, too, I prepared some supplementary questions:

- What other texts or cultural information do the teachers use in class? How do teachers make their decisions on which texts to use?
- In the teachers' experience, is there one country or one aspect of culture(s) that their students are particularly interested in? How do they meet that interest?

Both my sub-questions and the teachers' responses guided the elaboration of categories. In question 9, I could establish the following inductive categories: a) reasons not to use the government textbooks, b) reasons to use the textbooks, c) conditions under which to use the textbooks, d) appealing textbook contents, and e) demotivating textbook contents. In question 10, I decided to categorise answers according to a) the countries to which the cultural contents refer, and b) specific cultural aspects.

For the synopsis given in the following section, to grant optimal readability, I will first summarise the more general answers on the textbooks; then, I will review the teachers' answers about the various possibilities to refer to (target) cultures (without necessarily distinguishing between textbook and alternative material); finally, I will sum up the most important aspects of culture(s) that teachers refer to (equally, without making this distinction). In all cases, the condition "student motivation" will serve as a determining point of reference.

9.3.2.2 Summary of the Teachers' Answers

The textbooks

This chapter will start by looking at the teachers' experiences with the textbooks distributed for free to all state-subsidised (publically funded and state-subsidised private) schools (cf. chapter 6 for their titles and analysis). As was shown in chapters 6 and 9.1, the distribution of the textbooks was one of the steps taken by the government to give English a higher status at schools. Most teachers appreciate the *fact* that the government provides materials for their lessons; however, in general terms, the textbooks themselves have not proven particularly useful in the actual educational contexts for which they have been designed. In these terms, several teachers express harsh criticism about the way in which the

textbooks are designed and selected, accusing the government of working with non-educational criteria, and not taking into account the teachers' opinions:

> TQ107: "los libros pecan algunos de esas cosas… los libros son muy buenos.. yo reconozco el esfuerzo que se ha hecho.. son buenos en cuanto a la presentación.. (…).. pero son poco reales para aplicar en (…).. nuestro contexto..los temas.. muy poco reales… (…)... entonces yo no sé... [laughs] la gente en qué (…) colegios trabajarán.. [laughs] porque no creo que trabajen en municipalizados o subvencionados.." (9S,4)[178]

> TQ108: "a ver.. tengo mis serios reparos en términos de los.. (…) y se los hemos hecho saber.. porque.. a ver.. aquí hay.. desgraciadamente en términos políticos [laughs] tú sabes que hay mucho aprovechamie::nto.... tráfico de influen::cias.. cosas que.. escapan a:: a los objetivos educativos.. entonces aquí hay grandes negocios dentro de toda esta cosa entonces.. para qué hablar.. entonces los.. los libros que se escogen.. no son a lo mejor los mejores para la realidad de alumnos que tenemos nosotros.. e:: y se hace mucho.. gasto.. en términos de .. cierto.. de despliegue.. de plata.. e:: por una cosa que no obedece a:: en.. en beneficio a los propios alumnos… yo creo que.. sería mucho mejor .. que se nos dieran los recursos.. directamente a los establecimientos para nosotros.. con el conocimiento que tenemos.. de la realidad de los alumnos.. nosotros poder determinar cuáles son los mejores instrumentos educativos que nosotros usaríamos con ellos." (18M,6)[179]

> TQ109: "yo trabajo el libro ... porque tengo que justificar el hecho que nos entreguen el libro.. esa es la verdad ... pero no es un gusto para mí ... no es como.. que aquí tengo un apoyo.. igual .. el texto no lo es todo... pero más que eso de repente .. hasta te diría .. es una carga... por lo mismo .. aparte que:: nosotros tampoco participamos en::.. en la elección... yo me acuerdo que unos tres años atrás::: colocaban opciones en el ministerio... sin el nombre del texto... entonces tenías en las páginas web .. podías ver algún tipo de ejercicio .. y tú votabas por ejemplo el libro A ... y si preguntabas a los demás .. mucha gente .. 'sabes que el A es mejor' y encontrábamos en marzo que llegaba el B ... entonces la verdad es que tú dices oh.. sirve:: apor-

178 "The books sin in some of those things. The books are very good. I recognise the effort that has been made. They are good in terms of their presentation. But they are not realistic enough to be applied in our context. The topics are very barely realistic. So I don't know [laughs] in what schools these people work [laughs] because I don't think they work in publically funded or subsidised schools."

179 "Let's see. I have serious doubts in terms of the… - and we have let them know – because, let's see: Here, unfortunately, in political terms [laughs] you know that there is a lot of opportunism, influence traffic, things that are beyond any educational aims. So there's clearly huge business in it. So the books that are selected are maybe not the best ones for the reality of the students that we have. And a lot of money is spent for something that is not to the benefit of the students themselves. I think it would be much better if they gave those funds directly to the schools so that we, with the knowledge of our students' reality, can determine which the best educational instruments are that we would use with them."

to en algo .. pierdo el tiempo.. con la famosa .. elegibilidad de los textos...(…) lo otro que pasa ..no sé si influirá... pero de pronto tienes en primero medio una editorial .. en segundo medio tienes otra y en tercero otra y en cuarto otra ... entonces tampoco hay un plan.. de continuidad .. y de progresión.. a mí la impresión que me da.. y a muchos colegas también es que parece que el ministerio llama a concesión .. y el que le sale más barato.. ahí está... de verdad ..” (16P/S,8) [180]

The textbooks are changed for different ones regularly, sometimes every year or every two years. In 2009, the distribution of books to (secondary) schools was suspended until further notice - maybe as a result of the teachers’ complaints?

In the questionnaires, I asked the teachers to give information about their use of the textbooks. Ten of the seventeen teachers who answered the questionnaires use at least some of the government textbooks, or mix them with other materials. Half of them express some reservations about the texts in the questionnaires, especially for *In Contact 4º Medio*, which they find too difficult for the students’ level. Most teachers use *Going Global 1º Medio*, not the *New Action* that I had erroneously included on the questionnaires. Three of the teachers do not use the government textbooks because their students’ level is far lower than what the textbooks expect. Two teachers, who work at state-subsidised private schools, do not answer the question. Concluding from the information they give in the interviews, one of them uses the government textbooks partially, the other one does not. The teachers who work at private schools, plus one who works at a state-subsidised private school, use other (British) textbooks, which the students have to buy themselves.

So, what are the problems that the teachers have experienced when using the textbooks in class? Seven teachers simply say that the level of English is too high for their students (1M, 2M, 5M,14M, 15S, 16P/S, 17S/A). Some refer to more specific difficulties, for example, that the reading texts are too long or too

180 “I work with the book because I have to justify the fact that they send us the books, that’s the truth. But it’s no pleasure for me, it’s not like: here I have support. Anyway, the textbook isn’t everything, but more than that, I would even say it’s a burden. Apart from the fact that we don’t participate in the selection. I remember that about three years ago they gave us options in the Ministry, without the name of the book. So on the websites you could see some type of exercise and you voted, for example, book A. And if you asked other people, many people [would say]: ‘you know what, book A is the best’. And in March we would find out that book B had been sent. So really you say ‘Can I be of help? Or am I just wasting my time?’ with the famous textbook selection. (…) Another thing is – I don’t know if that will have an impact – but sometimes we have one publisher in Year 9, another one in Year 10, another one in Year 11 and another one in Year 12. So there is no plan of continuity, of progression. The impression that I’ve got, and many colleagues too, is that the Ministry chooses the cheapest one, really.”

dense (3M, 5M, 12M, 13M, 16P/S, 19M), or that the listening exercises are difficult to access, as they are often long, monologic pieces of audio recordings without enough visual support (2M, 5M, 8P, 12M, 18M, 19M). Apart from the length of the (oral or written) texts, some teachers complain about the topics presented, in which they find little appeal for teenagers, sometimes even for themselves (1M, 8P, 12M, 15S, 19M), or which are not contextualised, nor adapted to the realities in which they are working (4M, 9S, 11S, 18M, 19M). The topics with which they have the most problems are labelled as "complicated" or "serious" topics, such as environmental, political, economic, or historical issues. Some teachers have serious problems with the task-based approach that is based on developing only the receptive skills; some of them wish there was a clearer grammatical progression with exercises for the students, or at least more activities that could be used for oral work (3M, 5M, 14M, 15S, 16P/S, 18M). One teacher says that for her school it would be ideal if the textbooks had differentiated tasks to help her with the heterogeneous levels of her students (1M).

Of course there are some positive voices about the textbooks, too. Some teachers highlight the fact that all the students have new, updated material at hand; audio material is provided; generally speaking, the topics are appealing for teenagers (2M, 4M, 5M, 6S). As most teachers declared that they use *parts* of the textbook, I asked them about the criteria that they used for selecting these parts. The most frequently mentioned factor was content: eight teachers said that they looked for the topics that seemed to be the most appealing for the students (1M, 2M, 4M, 6S, 11S, 12M, 15S, 18M).[181] They also consider the difficulty and length of the texts, both of written and audio material (2M, 4M, 13M, 18M, 19M). Another factor is grammar: here, teachers select those aspects which they believe need to be covered (2M, 6S, 13M, 18M, 19M). Even though several teachers state that they use the textbooks because they are forced to use them by the authorities in their schools, it is highlighted that they have certain liberties in adapting and complementing the textbooks with other material:

> TQ110: "(KG: ¿como... defines tú cuáles son los temas que te interesan?) e:::: defino por material... por el interés del alumno básicamente o sea.... más que me interesen a mí.... que les interesen a ellos..... y que les pueda sacar partido (…) por ejemplo de *lifestyles* ... o.. yo lo adapto.... (…) qué materiales en Internet puedo encontrar..... e::: como hacer la evaluación... si puedo hacer algo entreteni::do..... (…) como esa esa de las recetas que terminaron cocinando.... algo super divertido y entretenido.... (…) (KG: o sea.. tú usas el libro....) sí (KG: pero lo complementas con otras cosas) lo complemento sí ..exactamen.... . el libro no es mi biblia.... (…) y yo dentro a lo mejor dentro de la unidad que yo misma elegí me salto cosas (…) dependiendo de las

181 Cf. Chapter 9.2.2, part c) for a summary of motivational contents; most, but not all of them are based on textbook contents.

características del curso .... porque hay cursos que dependiendo de la eda:::d ... son más lúdicos ... y podemos hacer la actividad así al pie de la letra.. amén.. y hay otros cursos que les carga una actividad o les carga esto .. y sé que no me va a resultar la actividad.... así que:::: depende xxx es flexible...” (11S, 6)[182]

In terms of student motivation and the cultural contents presented in the textbooks, three teachers (1M, 4M, 6S) reported their experience about students not showing any special interest, or at least, their not making any distinction between these contents or other types of reading comprehension tasks:

TQ111: “los chiquillos lo leen como un texto más no más ... no hay como mucha cultura de conocer más del país.... sino... que lo leen como:: como::: un texto más no más ... como tipo de comprensión de lectura. (…) no hay como una mayor preocupación de saber realmente y decir, ah, Escocia, en el libro de inglés decía que Escocia no sé...” (6S, 7)[183]

Five teachers (2M, 5M, 11S, 15S, 18M) say that the students’ interest, and consequently the teachers’ decision to use the “culture pages” in the books, depend very much on the specific texts; one important factor is how contextualised these contents are:

TQ112: “si está incluido en el contexto sí pero a veces los libros tienen.. esas unidades culturales las tienen aparte.. fuera de todo el contexto que hacías en la unidad.. entonces generalmente .... cuando es así no las uso po porque me descontextualiza todo..... (…) están hablando de deportes ... xx y después hablan de:: no sé po.... Glasgow.. y:: no están hablando del .... del equipo de fútbol sino que de la ciudad.. donde queda.... no tiene nada que ver po.... (…) ¿me entiendes?.. pero si está contextualizado dentro de la unidad temática... sí lo uso obviamente....” (11S, 6)[184]

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182 “(KG: How do you define the topics that interest you?) I define by material, basically by the student’s interest; more my interest, that they are interesting for them, and that I can make the most of them, for example *lifestyles*, or I adapt it; what materials I can find on the internet; how to evaluate them; if I can do something fun, like the one with the recipes, when they ended up cooking, something real fun and entertaining. (KG: So, you use the book but you complement it with other things) I complement it, right, exactly. The textbook is not my bible. And within each unit that I chose myself I leave out things depending on the class’s characteristics. Because there are classes that depending on their age are more playful and we can do the activity word-by-word, amen, and there are other classes that hate an activity and I know the activity won’t work. So it depends, it’s flexible.”

183 “The kids read it just like another text, no more. There is not much culture [=interest] of getting to know more of the country, but they read it like another text, no more. Like a reading comprehension. There is not a great concern about knowing really and saying, oh, Scotland, in the English book it said Scotland, I don’t know…”

184 “If it’s included in the context, yes, but sometimes the books have these cultural units apart, out of all the context that you were doing in the unit, so generally when that is the

Four teachers (9S, 12M, 15S, 16P/S) report positive experiences with the cultural contents presented in the textbooks; the teachers say, for example, that the students are fairly motivated by these topics, and that they react with surprise to this kind of information. In some cases, the positive student reactions could even make up for the otherwise not too favourable teachers' opinions about the textbooks:

> TQ113: "esos temas son buenos.. esos temas son más entretenidos para las chiquillas.." (9S, 10)[185]

When the teachers are given some liberties to complement the textbooks with alternative material, or to replace them altogether, they choose, for example, dialogue work (probably because there is so little of it present in the textbooks), taken from other textbooks such as the *Interchange* series (e.g. Richards et al. 2007) or software programmes (2M, 5M, 13M, 14M). Other teachers mention vocabulary and grammar exercises. For more culturally charged material, five teachers (3M, 6S, 9S, 11S, 12M) talk about their use of movies and videos; some of them have watched complete movies with their students, others show short clips and music videos from *youtube*, mainly in order to engage students, or to complement a topic in a more entertaining way. While music is referred to as a motivator by many teachers, only three (3M, 11S, 17S/A) of them talk more explicitly about their use of song lyrics for teaching English. Several teachers refer to alternative textbooks for interesting cultural material. *Go for Chile* is a favourite here (5M, 7P, 16P/S, cf. chapter 6.4 and below). Another recommended textbook series is *English in Mind* by Herbert Puchta and Jeff Stranks (2010 in its most recent edition), described as a highly motivating textbook (7P). Finally, six teachers (6S, 7P, 8P, 10S, 11S, 12M) refer to narrative and literary reading material.[186] This includes *Easy Readers* that were written specifically for teaching English to teenagers, or complete and abridged versions of classics.

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case I don't use them because it de-contextualises everything. They are talking about sports and then they talk about – I don't know – Glasgow; and they aren't talking about the football team but about the city, where it is, it has nothing to do [with it], you see? But if it is contextualised within the topic unit, then obviously I use it."

185 "Those topics are good; those topics are more fun for the girls."

186 Note that with the exception of one, all of these teachers work at private or state-subsidised private schools, where the level of English can be expected to be far higher than in public schools, making it possible for the students to access more extensive reading passages.

Cultural Contents: Countries

Now, the teachers' experience with cultural contents used in class will be examined. To begin with, which countries do the materials that they use refer to? As already mentioned above (cf. 9.3.1), it seems that in general terms, the Chilean teachers view English as an international language, rather than one tied to a specific target culture.[187] In this sense, the implications for culture teaching and learning within the English as a *Lingua Franca* paradigm have to be considered. Yet, in spite of the fact that in the interviews, many teachers highlight the global character of the English language, when it comes to making references about teaching materials on specific countries, they still give numerical preference to the two "main" Anglophone countries: the USA (12 teachers) and England (10 teachers), closely followed by the Chilean home culture (9 teachers). It must however be noted, as shown in 9.2, that some of the interviews deal with the *conflicts* that these materials can cause with the students, especially concerning the USA. Also, some of the textbooks are still very much rooted in their British culture of origin, as corroborated by the analysis in chapter 6, in spite of their title's claim to be, for example, "*Going Global*".

The reasons why teachers – in spite of their beliefs - tend to emphasise the "typical" target language countries (USA and Great Britain) are manifold; one of them can be the intrinsic, "logical" relationship that to them English still has with those countries; here, expected lack of student motivation for other cultural contents is also considered:

> TQ114: "sí porque de repente si yo les digo::: 'el matrimonio:: en China'.. ¿qué les va a importar? (…) pero como es inglés... les enseño cosas de cultura de Estados Unidos y de Gran Bretaña ... de los países de habla inglesa (…) de hecho les tengo un ma:pa incluso... les cuento donde está .. y todo" (14M, 8)[188]

The knowledge about the origins of English, together with geographical terminology for the different nations and territories, is also considered important by the teachers to ensure that their students can understand why they are presented

187 This view is also shared by McKay's findings, who collected questionnaire data on the question "Which type of cultural content would you prefer to use in your class?", among others. A wide majority of teachers (about 60%) opted for the answer "Content that deals with the life and culture of various countries around the world". The other two options – Chilean places and people, and aspects of US or British life and culture – obtained an estimated 20% of answers each, with fairly equal distribution (2003:143).

188 "Yes, because if for example I tell them 'weddings in China', what interest will they have? But as it's English, I teach them things about the culture of the United States and Great Britain, about the English-speaking countries. I even have a map for them, I tell them where it is and all that".

with certain concepts in the textbooks. Therefore, the teachers see the need to spend class time on clarifying these concepts:

> TQ115: "sí.. esa vez me acuerdo que era un texto que estaba relacionado con Australia (…) y había otro texto que estaba relacionado con el Reino Unido… entonces para las alumnas 'Inglaterra Gran Bretaña Reino Unido es como chino' entonces los británicos los ingleses entonces por qué los británicos los ingleses Reino Unido... entonces ..¡ya!... entonces lo más práctico .. un mapa '¿a qué se le llama Reino Unido, a qué se le llama Gran Bretaña'.. eso qué se yo... entonces por lo menos ... se les aclara el panorama y logran entender .. porque de repente no entienden... claro.. los británicos... ¿qué tienen que ver los británicos con inglés?"[189] (2M,8)

Paola, who in my sample was somehow an exception due to her positive attitude towards the USA, alludes to the notion of Pan-Americanism, but also her perception of student interests, when she talks about her own cultural preferences:

> TQ116: "Estados Unidos:: [laughs] (…) me gusta mucho sí .. me gusta.. uno porque está más cercano... de partida es mucho más fácil saber información de Estados Unidos.. y aparte yo digo 'somos america:nos chicos..' o sea estamos en el mismo continente y por el hecho de que la juventud chilena está muy influenciado por el modelo gringo..."[190] (16P/S, 10/11)

On the other hand, some teachers give evidence of their "mission" to show students that English cannot be equalled any longer with the USA and Britain exclusively (e.g. 6S). Thus, four teachers talk about materials or teaching units on Australia (6S, 8P, 16P/S, 15S), three each about New Zealand (8P, 9S, 15S) and Canada (9S, 15S, 17S/A), two each about Ireland (7P, 10S) and Scotland (10S, 15S), and one about Jamaica (6S). What is more, the increasing emphasis on "other" English-speaking countries of the Inner and Outer Circles in the textbooks seems to contribute positively to the students' interest:

> TQ117: "sí .. en general sí .. yo he descubierto por ejemplo Katharina últimamente que.. ha habido digamos porque antes era.. si era un texto británico todo era más de la cultura británica .. si era un texto americano era relacionado con cultura america-

189 "Yes, that time I remember there was a text related to Australia, and there was another one related to the United Kingdom. So for the students 'England, Great Britain, United Kingdom, that's like Chinese' [i.e. incomprehensible], so the British, the English, so why the British, the English, United Kingdom? So the most practical thing [was to bring] a map: 'What is called United Kingdom, what is called Great Britain?' So like that at least the panorama becomes clearer to them, and they manage to understand, because sometimes they don't understand what the British have to do with English."

190 "United States – I like it, because it's nearer, it's much easier to find information about the United States, and apart from that, I say, 'We are Americans, guys', I mean, we are on the same continent, and also, the Chilean youth is very much influenced by the 'gringo' model…"

na .. sin embargo ahora yo he visto que ha habido más trascendencia o sea ... ahora por ejemplo tú a los chiquillos les cuentan cosas más de Canadá:: de Nueva Zelandia de Austra::lia... te fijas no solamente de Estados Unidos e Inglaterra sino que más .. el espectro digamos cultural .. se ha ampliado lo cual es súper interesante pa' lo chiquillos.... me ha tocado por ahí *readings* ponte tú en segundo medio e: sobre la vida en Nueva Zelandia ..en Canadá.. te fijas en países de.. digamos del Reino Uni::do no solamente en Inglaterra sino por ejemplo en Escocia ..en Gales.. a entonces ... nombrándoles por ejemplo a artistas actores actrices que vienen de esos paí::ses.. entonces eso les eso les engancha .... se enganchan inmediatamente con… con esos aspectos culturales en que digamos la vida… pero es más variado ahora el rango… sí… sí (KG: ¿y tú lo ves como que los alumnos... reaccionan positivamente a eso?) sí .. sí porque digamos ellos ven digamos cultura .... (…) saber las capitales por ejemplo.. a e:: saber e::: algunas cosas productos que:: las principales ciudades a eso yo creo que sí.. sí.. eso como que engancha porque ellos lo ven como... como algo cultural que les va a servir en algún momento en su vida .... sí sí eso sí enganchan." (15S, 11)[191]

Teaching units and projects that include a closer look at the students' and teachers' home culture are also an interesting option for several teachers (11S, 12M, 16P/S, 19M; cf. also McKay 2002, 2003). This includes, for example, the possibility of studying local history in English in the context of tourism (19M), or an internet campaign to include Easter Island on the list of the Wonders of the World (11S). In this context, several teachers also make reference to *Go for Chile*, among others Paola, with her concern about strengthening local identity (see 9.3.1):

TQ118: "hubo (…) un texto que salió (…) hace como siete años atrás que era el *Go for Chile* ... recibió críticas y todo pero ¿qué es lo bueno? ... que salían fotos del Chino Ríos ... el Marcelo Salas .. no sé.. salían fotos de las Torres del Pa:ine el desierto de Ataca:ma entonces los chiquillos se sentían súper identificados porque al menos podían '¿Cómo digo desierto en ingles?' a:::… *desert*... '¿Cómo se dice to-

191 "Yes, in general, yes. I have discovered for example in the past time that – before, if a text was British it was all about British culture, if it was American it was related to American culture. However, now, I have seen that there has been more transcendence, I mean, for example, now they tell the kids more things about Canada, New Zealand, Australia, not just the United States and England, but the cultural spectrum has widened, which is super interesting for the kids. I've come across readings for example in Year 10 about life in New Zealand, in Canada, you see, countries of the United Kingdom, not just in England but for example in Scotland, in Wales, so mentioning for example, artists, actors, actresses to them who come from those countries, that engages them. They are immediately engaged with those cultural aspects… but now the range is more varied. (KG: And so you see that the students react positively to that?) Yes, because they see culture, knowing the capitals for example, knowing some things, products, the main cities, I think that engages them because they see it as something that is going to be of use to them at some moment in their lives. Yes, they do engage with it."

rre?' (…)tower .. (…) los otros libros de la media muestran realidades también de afuera ... pero como que olvidan la parte nuestra"[192] (16P/S, 8)

She is not the only one in showing enthusiasm about materials that refer specifically to Chilean contents:

TQ119: "A mí me invitaron la otra vez a una muestra de unos libros que eran de primero básico hasta cuarto creo (…) era basado en el *Condorito* (…) yo lo encontré bastante bueno porque lo puede enseñar una persona que (…) casi ni sepa inglés eso los chiquillos ... el Condorito les encanta, porque es super nacional, y con eso ellos pueden aprender lo básico del inglés y llegar a quinto ya en mejores condiciones"[193] (1M, 5)

Then, there are a few teachers who refer to topics that could be labelled as "global issues", stating that they are generally not considered very motivating by the students, such as environmental topics (1M), famine (18M), economy, or history (15S):

TQ120: "un chiquillo no va a querer aprender de la hambruna en Etiopía.. ponte tú.. o sea porque.. si son temas que a lo mejor a nosotros como adultos nos resultan interesantes.. pero no están en el ámbito de interés del cabro.."[194] (18M, 6)

TQ121: "un tema histórico... no los pescan o sea en inglés por ejemplo no les gusta que uno digamos... o temas de economía esos temas un poco densos ... que no.. no.. no moti:van y... (…) no sé po la inflación y esos temas que son medios... medios complicaditos... y pa los chiquillos en general no... no... no... no... no los motiva pa ná po todo lo contrario.."[195] (15S,6)

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192 There was a textbook that came out about seven years ago, *Go for Chile.* It received criticism and everything, but what was good about it? That it had photos of the Chino Ríos, Marcelo Salas, I don't know, there were photos of the Torres del Paine, of the Atacama Desert, so the kids felt super identified because at least they could [ask] 'How do you say desierto in English?' Oh, desert. 'How do you say torre?' Tower. The other books for secondary level also show realities from outside, but like they forget *our* part."

193 "I was invited the other day to a book show, for books from Year 1 to Year 4. It was based on the *Condorito* [a Chilean cartoon character, icon of national popular culture]. I found it quite good because it can be taught by someone who hardly knows any English, and the kids, they love the Condorito, because it is super national, and with this they can learn the basics of English and are better prepared in Year 5."

194 "A kid won't want to learn about famine in Ethiopia, for example, I mean, those might be topics that we as adults find interesting, but they aren't in the area of interest of the kid…"

195 "A historical topic – they don't react to it, I mean, in English for example, they don't like it, or economic topics, those topics that are a bit dense, no, they don't motivate, and (…) I don't know, like inflation and those topics that are a bit complicated, for the kids they aren't motivating, not at all, on the contrary.."

However, it must be emphasised that not all teachers share this experience or point of view. There are others who believe that those topics that have to do with "general interest", or "general culture" are well accepted by the students (cf. 9.2).

Finally, there are also some teachers whose stated preferences point at a "teaching English without a culture" approach. For example, 18M explains that she uses a more linguistically oriented approach: although she treats socio-linguistic topics like *slang* in class, based on an analysis of her students' interests, she prefers to avoid an explicit link to specific cultural entities. Another teacher, who has an additional qualification in teaching *orientación* (which is comparable to the school subject PSHE - Personal, Social and Health Education - taught in British comprehensive schools), proposes the use of contents that centre around the psychological needs of the individual student, which places her choices close to humanistic approaches to teaching languages. She found samples of personality tests on the internet, with positive results for her students' motivation:

> TQ122: "en algún momento dije ... sería re bueno... poner digamos la parte de orientación:: llevarla al inglés... o sea... digamos... es otra carrera que estudié que nunca he ejercido porque siempre me he dedicado:: .. a ser profesora de inglés .. pero por ejemplo cuando uno le hace a los chiquillos test de personalidad (…) como para que se conozcan a sí mi:smos .. para que puedan descubrir digamos su... sus potencia:les y (…) descubrir para donde ellos quieren... quieren (…) llegar en la vida ... e::: de repente cuando uno les hace tests de personalidad los chiquillos se motivan bastante.." (15S, 5)[196]

Conspicuously absent are explicit references to postcolonial contents. One teacher (5M) talks very briefly about Nelson Mandela's biography (in *Global English*), another one refers to her students having researched Mahatma Gandhi's life (12M). However, there is no indication that teachers have drawn conscious parallels between Chile's situation and other postcolonial experiences throughout the world. Likewise, Latin American contents appear only in one interview (11S); the brevity of the reference does not allow detecting whether there is more to it than a touristic view of some important monuments (such as the Machu Picchu in Peru). However, this is also the only interview in which a

196 "At some moment I said: It would be really good if we took *orientación* to English, I mean, it's something else that I studied for and I never worked in it because I've always worked as an English teacher. But for example when one does personality tests with the kids so that they get to know themselves, so they can discover their potentials and discover what they want to achieve in life, when one applies these personality tests the kids get fairly motivated."

teacher talks about having researched Mapuche culture with her students (cf. below, 10.4).

Cultural Contents: Aspects of culture(s)

Thus, with the given sources - former and present government textbooks, alternative textbooks, movies, songs, and narratives – what *aspects* of culture or cultures do the teachers cover in their lessons? For classifying the various references that teachers make in the interviews, I will use the five dimensions of culture here that Moran (2001: 24f.) proposes in his introduction to teaching culture: *products*, *practices*, *perspectives*, *communities* and *persons* – considering the necessary overlaps of these categories.

Starting with the largest category, *cultural products* (including art forms, institutions, places, and artefacts, ibid.: 49f.), there are thirteen teachers who make more or less detailed references to their experiences of using them. They range from symbols for national states (such as flags, coins, or traditional clothes: 1M, 4M, 10S) and architectural monuments (7P, 10S, 11S, 16P/S), to songs (6S, 9S, 11S, 16P/S, 17S/A), the media / TV (14M, 15S, 17S/A), movies (3M, 6S, 9S, 11S, 12M) and literature – folk tales, history re-told, narrative and poetry (3M, 6S, 7P, 8P, 10S, 11S, 12M). Whenever more details were given in the interviews, most of the products mentioned in this category are originally from the USA or from Britain, although there are a few exceptions.

There are important differences in the students' acceptance of these aspects. For example, dealing with the more factual, symbolic information about nation states in class is often not well received. One teacher talks about a complete failure of trying to include this kind of cultural information in her lessons:

> TQ123: "yo me acuerdo que en un tiempo que estuve haciendo séptimo y octavo.. y en séptimo hacía una carpeta así de Inglaterra y Estados Unidos… así que me pusieran lo más básico.. la bandera.. la moneda.. la capital.. los estados en Estados Unidos.. con e:: los mapas.. o sea cosas bien elementales.. y... no tenían gran interés.. no tenían mayor entusiasmo po: .. entonces de repente que era una lata para ellos y las notas no eran buenas ... y hacía eso como dices tú como para que conocieran algo más y empezar a sacarse malas notas porque uno.. no lo hacían" (1M, 5)[197]

197 "I remember that for some time I was teaching in Year 7 and 8, and in Year 7 I made a folder about England and the United States. So they had to put the most basic things, the flag, the currency, the capital, the states of the United States, with maps, that is, very elementary things. And they did not have great interest. They did not have great enthusiasm. So in the end it was a nuisance for them and the grades were not good. And I did that as you're saying so they got to know something else and they began getting poor grades because they did not do it."

Similarly negative experiences are reported in interview 4M. Along the same lines, there are other teachers who state that talking about the symbolic monuments of a country is not really teaching culture – rather, it could be described as touristic sight-seeing:

> TQ124: "the tourist comes and sees the churches or sees the building and he takes the picture and he didn't get to know the culture…. and if I can talk about maybe New York … there's the Statue of Liberty and in Washington there's the White House… I don't think that is culture… I think culture is what do the people do … on a day-to-day basis" (7P, 12).

On the other hand, those cultural products that imply a more holistic learning experience – especially listening to songs and watching movies – are among the most frequently mentioned motivators. Most teachers put this down to the presence of these genres in students' everyday life. Whereas songs seem to be mostly used for the purpose of engaging or entertaining students, with the teachers giving few detailed accounts of the exploitation of the song lyrics (except 17S/A, see 10.4), movies are seen as a pedagogical tool to integrate language learning with other, cross-curricular objectives:

> TQ125: "tratamos que sea::: algo que les deje algún mensaje obviamente… no cualquier película (…) por ejemplo una que vi este año justamente fue de::: *The Ultimate Gift* (…) es una película preciosa.. si tienes la oportunidad de verla.. ve:la.. trata de los valores.. de la vida.. preciosa… (…) el valor a la familia.. el valor al dinero.. el valor al trabajo.. el valor… o sea.. es una película para que la vea cualquier adolescente…" [198] (9S, 9/10)

Few teachers give great importance to literature in English teaching. The main reason for this is most likely to be the students' level of English: it seems that there are only a handful of teachers whose students can read well enough to be able to face a more extensive piece of reading. Other teachers mention their own lack of interest in reading literary works in English (6S, 13M). Those teachers who do find literature an important topic all talk about the great need to make it relevant and attractive for their students, especially those who are still working on a very basic level. For example, Gabriela (11S) and Tania (12M) centre on the "universals" of literary production and move from there to literature written in the English language (cf. below, 10.4). One of them links up with the Spanish teacher to develop joint units on literary topics (12M). The same teachers also

198 "We try [to find] something that leaves them with some message, obviously, not just any movie. For example, there is one that I saw just this last year, it was *The Ultimate Gift*, it is a beautiful movie, if you have an opportunity to see it, go and watch it, it is about the values of life, beautiful (…): the value of family, of money, of work … I mean, it is a movie that every young person should see."

turn to movies and songs as a more accessible way of presenting literary texts and topics to their students (for example, through *Shakespeare in Love* or Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility*). In another case, a private school teacher, who places great emphasis on literature, reports about more advanced uses of literature. Her students read, for example, complete or abridged versions of classics like Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* (8P). Here, the literary work is used as a basis for further exploration, e.g. of the historical background, or for cultural comparisons with current issues in contemporary Chile.

Finally, the Media (especially TV) are one type of cultural products about whose negative impact some teachers (14M, 15S, 17S/A) see the need to educate their students – especially concerning the amount of violence and other stupefying contents.

Cultural Practices (acts, operations, scenarios, and lives – cf. Moran op.cit.: 58) are another important aspect of cultures. Nine teachers talk about them in more or less detail, how they discuss and explain cultural practices to their students - mainly in reference to English-speaking countries, but also sometimes with a world-wide scope (7P, 8P, 9S, 11S, 14M, 15S, 16P/S, 17S/A, 18M). On some occasions, this is done using a comparative approach. They mention topics like food (e.g. comparing Chilean and English / US-American breakfasts, 16P/S; also 17S/A), celebrations (7P, 9S, and especially Halloween, 11S, 16P/S, 17S/A), greetings (14M, 18M), punctuality and efficiency (16P/S). Especially those teachers who have had experiences abroad, or who have had personal contact with foreigners (7P, 9S, 11S, 14M, 17S/A), enjoy telling their students about these aspects from a personal, experiential point of view. Another topic that might fall under this heading is sports; it is referred to by several teachers as an especially motivating topic, but more in terms of a global matter of interest, not necessarily as an issue with cultural or intercultural references (7P, 9S, 11S, 15S).

Still, it must be noted that one of the objectives of teaching about cultural practices – interculturally appropriate linguistic and extra-linguistic behaviour – is not seen as a priority by most Chilean English teachers. This is mainly due to the fact that travelling abroad, especially to English-speaking countries, is economically speaking out of reach, and therefore also out of imaginative scope, for most students. Real face-to-face interactions with foreigners are rare, even for the teachers themselves (cf. also 9.3.1 on intercultural education).

Thirteen teachers (2M, 4M, 5M, 7P, 9S, 10S, 11S, 12M, 14M, 15S, 16P/S, 17S/A, 18M) talk about what could be roughly referred to as *Cultural Perspectives* (perceptions, beliefs, values, and attitudes, cf. Moran op.cit.: 74ff.). In terms of categorisation, this might be a bit problematic, as Moran takes a synchronic viewpoint, whereas several of the teachers refer to historical issues; I

include them here, as it is historical events and processes that have shaped the perspectives of cultural communities; not all the teachers establish this link explicitly, however. Also, overlaps with cultural practices, communities and persons are inevitable. The category includes teachers' comments about materials and class discussions on multiculturalism (7P, 14M, 17S/A), geography, history and politics (2M, 9S, 10S, 11S, 12M, 15S, 16P/S), environmental issues (1M, 5M, 9S, 17S/A), gender issues (4M), and linguistic features expressing certain cultural perspectives (such as identity, or formality / informality: 14M, 15S, 18M). These cultural aspects are especially important when it comes to countering an overly negative view of the United States, as the following quote shows:

> TQ126: "ya me recuerdo muy bien de esa.. unidad.. que aparecía en el libro y que::: que Estados Unidos era uno de los pocos países que no había firmado el tratado [*of Kyoto about global warming*]…. entonces dijeron.. 'pero por qué profe'.. entonces… ahí uno de una manera u otra tiene que tener.. la conversación… (…) así como que.. 'no teníamos idea de que Estados Unidos tenía esa parada'.. me entiendes…. tampoco la idea es generar un anticuerpo hacia los gringos.. (…) no es la idea pero (…)… es lo que aparecía en el libro (…) …. entonces aparecían como "uy.. los malos de la película".. entonces.. claro.. hay que explicarles a ellas las chiquillas que no es Estados Unidos como cultura.. como país.. no es así… ya.. yo les enseño por ejemplo los xxx los *pilgrims*…que esa me parece fantástica… todo lo que son los derechos e::: civiles que tienen los gringos muy buenos… que no nos encasillemos con uno.. dos o tres personajes mala onda que tienen ellos.. o sea eso no es Estados Unidos… me entiendes.. entonces de esa manera.. pero::: también.. mostrarles otras culturas.. de todas maneras a través del inglés.. o sea no solamente la… (KG: y tú ¿(…) generalmente frente a esos temas como tú mencionaste los *pilgrims* y esas cosas.. e:: enganchan con eso o:: o cuesta?) sí… enganchan fíjate.. porque a las chiquillas les gusta lo que es cultura general.. ellas se dan cuenta que como.. "ah.. esto es cultura general y shh.. quédense calladas así como que la profe va a contar una historia"[199] (9S, 11)

199 "I remember well that unit that appeared in the book and that the United States were one of the few countries that had not signed the treaty [*of Kyoto about global warming*] … so they said 'but why, teacher?' so there, one way or other, one needs to have a conversation, like 'we didn't know that the United States had that stance' you see. And it can't be the idea to create anti-bodies against the gringos either. It's not the idea but … that's what appeared in the book (…) so they said like 'ooh, the villains of the movie' so, of course, we have to explain to the girls that it's not the United State as a culture, as a country, it's not like that, right. I teach them for example about the *pilgrims [fathers*] … that it fantastic for me, everything that has to do with Civil Rights that the gringos have, all that is very good. So we shouldn't get stuck with one, two or three 'bad guys' that they have, I mean, that is not the United States, you see. So like that, but also show them other cultures, anyway, through English, I mean, not just… (KG: and facing these topics like the ones you mentioned, the pilgrims and those things, can they engage with

Cultural communities are another one of Moran's classification of cultural aspects (op. cit.: 90ff.). This refers mainly to communities below the national culture level. The comments that teachers make on this aspect include references to multiculturalism (7P, 14M, 17S/A) and to the teenage world (5M, 9S, 10S, 14M, 18M). Those who are able to talk in a fairly differentiated way about multiculturalism are two teachers who have lived for many years in English-speaking countries. For example, here is an account of a native speaker teacher who refers to the differences between cultural practices in diverse American communities; he is also making a statement of how much personal experience influences the way in which a teacher can talk about culture in general:

> TQ127: "I can talk about you know… the fourth of July does xxxx …. this is how we do it….but we're just…. an I'm African American and this is how …. we did it in my family …. and culture is really specific to …. to the heritage of the family cause I can imagine uh a fourth of July party at a Latino home or a German home would be maybe be a different type of celebration although we're all celebrating the fourth of July… maybe everyone's not eating hot dogs and apple pie… there's differences… no I think that's the issue… for me culture is personalised." (7P, 12)

On the other hand, teenagers as a cultural community are often treated as a global subculture. Teachers highlight the commonalities between teenagers growing up in different countries, especially their common interests, like music, movies, fashion, diets, or drugs.

Finally, there are *cultural persons*; Moran describes them mainly in terms of personal identities and life histories (op.cit.: 98ff.). For foreign language-and-culture teaching, a favourite approach is to study the biographies of the "heroes" of a target culture, as they help to bring the other culture closer, and can be used as ways "to reveal the culture in the individual, and vice versa" (ibid.: 103). Several teachers highlight the motivating potential that biographies of famous actors and singers have for the students (9S, 15S, 16P/S). However, not necessarily do these famous people have to be in immediate closeness to the teenage world: one teacher (12M) names a whole list of "heroes" whose biographies she has used for teaching English – and implicitly illustrates her approach of teaching *global English*: they belong to an English-speaking ethnic minority, to Chile, and (post)colonial India, and in their "heroism" transcend national boundaries - Martin Luther King, Rosa Parks, Nicanor Parra, Sor Teresa de los Andes, Mother Teresa, and Gandhi.

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it, or do they find it difficult?) yes, they do, in fact, because the girls like general culture; they realise that 'oh, this is general culture, shh, be quiet because the teacher is going to tell a story."

Apart from this more general overview of the teachers' choices in content selection, I will analyse the most innovative and creative approaches towards culture teaching in 10.4.

9.3.3 Analysis

In the following section, I would like to explore some of the relationships between the teachers' personal identities, their cultural-ethnic identities, and their choices in terms of cultural contents and approaches to English language teaching. I will attempt to balance, in these reflections, the focus on the individual stories of some of the teachers with a wider, overall picture that considers recent developments in Chilean society and, more specifically, within the professional group of (becoming) English teachers.

The teachers' personal stories of experience with (cultural) "otherness" are important in that their reflections and beliefs based on their experience will have a certain impact on how they deal with related topics in class. This is not without significance as in many cases, students' most significant "guided" encounter with cultural otherness at school occurs in their English lessons. Visualising English teaching as a potentially transformative practice (cf. Pennycook 2001, Norton & Toohey 2004), it is worth digging deeper into the teachers' cognitions, which guide their content selection and their approaches towards the teaching of culture, values and other cross-curricular objectives through English. Also, as stated already in 9.1.3, recommendations for the choice of cultural contents can only be given after considering the "ecological" context of English teaching here, of which the teachers' personal stories, experiences and belief systems form part.

First of all, the teacher interviews give an account of a society that has undergone significant changes over the past few years. Apart from the increasing contact with foreigners through trade and tourism, it is especially immigration from neighbouring countries which poses new demands on educators in order to challenge racist attitudes, and instead, foster tolerance (e.g. 14M, 18M). On the other hand, the concern about a class-conscious society prevails, and in terms of the treatment of otherness, several teachers see it as their foremost task to break down mental class barriers (e.g. 8P, 18M). In any case, whether interculturality is seen to occur between different nationalities, ethnicities or social classes, this perspective is sign of a pluralistic stance that has its deserved place in a democratic, post-dictatorship society.

On the other hand, it is important to remember that the more mature of the interviewed teachers were socialised into, and trained within, a politically re-

pressive climate (cf. Gysling 2003: 214ff.). One result of this is that (still now) a substantial number of English teachers view the foreign language primarily as a linguistic system (as opposed to, for example, the vision of language as culture and / or ideology, cf. Tudor 2001) and interpret their job as the fairly technical transmission of English language knowledge, with its importance as a communicational instrument of the future in mind. Culture- and content-related considerations play a minor role in many teachers' belief systems (see also above, 9.1.2). At the same time, in the political system of past years, school education played a major role in constructing the image of a homogenous Chilean cultural identity. As Rubio (2009) points out, school curricula in Chile have played their part in negating (or minimising the importance of) the presence of a variety of ethnic groups, and in making social class and political differences invisible. What he criticises especially is that this supposedly "uniform" Chilean culture is constructed on the basis of European standards (276). Some of the results of this education and ways of interpreting Chilean reality can be found in the teacher interviews: the presence of a greater diversity of ethnicities in Chile is considered a novelty of recent years (e.g. 18M); references to indigenous cultures are nearly nonexistent; what is more, a few teachers seem to display a fairly negative vision of their own (and their students') culture, putting it into stark contrast with supposedly more desirable cultural traits associated with English-speaking cultures, such as politeness, punctuality and time-efficiency (e.g. 5M, to some degree also 8P and 16P/S). According to Rubio, whose article appeared as recently as 2009, these culturally homogenising and alienating tendencies in Chilean school curricula, teaching practices and teacher training still need to be challenged, especially if education is to contribute to opening spaces for the discussion of alternative visions of the country's identity, history and future (cf. also Núñez 2003).

However, it is not to be questioned that hegemonic forces are at play that need to be examined, especially in terms of the relationship between Chilean cultural identity and modernity (as "embodied" by English-speaking countries, especially the USA). As described in chapter 2.1.3, modernity can be analysed as consisting of two parts: control over nature and things, on one hand, and individual and / or collective autonomy, on the other (Larraín 2005). Considering that the teachers are in charge of teaching the students *English*, nowadays an unquestioned element of modernising processes around the world, in some of the interviews the various degrees can be seen to which their mission of the transmission of linguistic knowledge is also related to "modernising the students' minds", especially through the use of cultural references. In fact, the references to supposed "virtues" such as punctuality and efficiency refer to personal self-control, i.e. control over one's own "nature", which might prefer to take

time for people or for certain "non-productive" activities in a different way. Apart from Paola, who humorously explains how some Chileans react with accusations of "hysteria" or "pedanticness" to people who according to them are "obsessed" with punctuality, there are no other teachers who make an attempt to critically discuss this point in their interviews. Autonomy, as mentioned in chapter 2, is the other aspect of modernity, the one that seems to be rather neglected by today's neo-liberal societies. However, there are also some examples of the didactic use of potentially (collective!) autonomy-fostering references to US history, for example when Janet (9S) says that she likes to talk about the Civil Rights movement in class (see TQ126). Herself being fairly critical of the USA, but at the same time aiming to present a balanced picture of the country to her students, she insists on the importance of including this topic into her teaching, as an aspect of US culture that she finds "very good".

In these ways, it can be seen that "modernising" tendencies in English teaching can point, on one hand, to the uncritical hegemonic transmission of some cultural traits of Northern countries in attempts to refine "uncivilised" (e.g. unpunctual) students' manners. On the other hand, some teachers see it as their (unstated) mission to select those cultural references that could help students to draw parallels between their situation of restricted autonomy (e.g. discrimination or a lack of possibilities to effectively participate and shape the destiny of a democratic society) and other cultural groups who have started to overcome this situation. How these different options might impact on student motivation will be examined below, in chapter 10.4.

Apart from the socio-historical influences on teacher cognitions, there is another crucial aspect that is more closely related to the personal biographies of the teachers: Whereas in most European language teacher training, the "live abroad" experience has come to be seen as a "*conditio sine qua non*" (Butzkamm 2007: 8) – a necessary, indispensable part of becoming a language professional -, here in Chile it is clearly the exception. Most of the teachers who participated in this research study have no extensive experience of language-and-culture immersion in English-speaking countries. Although in recent years, ELT students (both undergraduate and graduate) have enjoyed greater participation in university exchange programmes and scholarships for study abroad schemes, these continue to be a minority. However, the different degrees of cultural awareness and reflectivity on meaningful and motivating cultural contents that the teachers display in their interviews are not necessarily in direct relation with the length of their stays abroad. It is true that for Verónica (17S/A), who lived in Canada for ten years, her experience of migration and past immersion into a multi-cultural society forms the centrepiece of her identity as an English teacher. There are few parts of the interview with no direct relation to this expe-

rience. Likewise, John's (7P) ability to explain US-American culture clearly reflects his own background as a native speaker belonging to an ethnic minority. These two special cases notwithstanding, there are significant differences in the remaining teachers' cultural reflectivity and awareness, where some might be closer to their colleagues who did live abroad than to some others who, like themselves, did not have this opportunity.

The degree to which the teachers come up with creative and motivational ways to integrate cultural content into their lessons is certainly not only conditioned by the period in which they were trained or by their own cultural awareness and interest. Other factors, such as the availability of audiovisual resources for their lessons, or the way in which general motivation and discipline issues are handled at whole school level will certainly have their impact, too. In the following, I will give a few examples of (reportedly) more or less successful approaches to culture teaching in terms of student motivation, and then draw some conclusions.

Soledad (1M), for example, describes her teaching situation as fairly frustrating. She is one of the more mature teachers who realises that the approach to culture teaching that she used to use in earlier years, focusing on national symbols (flags, coins, etc.) and geography does no longer have the motivating effect that she experienced at the beginning of her teaching career. On the other hand, she believes that using cultural symbols belonging to the students' own culture, such as the comic character *Condorito*, could help to engage students due to its closeness to their own experience. The only other motivator that she mentions is music.

Hortensia (5M) also belongs to the group of teachers who report having a very hard time motivating their students. She, too, can look back on a long teaching career and is now at her wit's end as discipline issues have become overwhelming. To her, the English-speaking cultures serve as a cultural model that she uses in order to try and educate her students in politeness and respect (see TQ94 in 9.3.2 and comments on modernity above). Beyond this, she relies mainly on textbook contents, which, however, she finds, are difficult for her students to relate to, as they lack the necessary background knowledge to quickly access cultural references. This might further exacerbate the motivation problem.

Carmen and Anita (18M, 19M) are also two more experienced teachers. They both work at the same publically funded school (with a more academic profile than the previous ones, however). Their approach is mainly language-and-topic oriented, where English acts as an international language, detached from specific English-speaking cultures. In this vein, they suggest, for example, project work on local tourism, where students get to explain their own culture in

English ("source culture contents", Cortazzi & Jin 1999: 204ff.), to be mixed with issues concerning music, slang and the world of work. They also mention culturally different customs, without, however, going into detail about the origin of these cultural practices, if they belong to English-speaking countries or cultures around the world. The development of tolerance in an increasingly heterogeneous society is another priority for them. In their own judgement, their approach works well for the school in which they work, partly because it helps them to avoid ideological clashes between their critical students and unnecessary references to US culture, partly because they find it compatible with their own linguistic interests and priorities.

Pamela (14M) is on the other end of the experience scale, as she has only recently graduated from university. Since the circumstances at her school seem to be fairly similar to those of Soledad's and Hortensia's, a generational contrast becomes visible. It is clear that, with the given behaviour and motivation problems, she has enormous difficulties implementing a viable English teaching methodology into her classroom. However, concerning the cultural contents of her lessons (which are apparently dealt with in Spanish), her approach clearly points at her desire to reach an interesting, while complex and balanced presentation of foreign cultures. Without having first-hand cultural experience with English-speaking cultures, she uses personal contacts and the media as information sources. For example, Pamela reports using *"The Simpsons"* in order to motivate her students to use the language: thus, she combines the presentation of a cultural icon of the USA (fraught with comically self-critical cultural references) with the need to bring English closer to the students. She also refers to the way in which she tries to widen her students' horizons by telling them about various cultural topics, such as culturally different ways of greeting or problems on the border between Mexico and the USA. In addition, the presence of a minority of Peruvian students in her school challenges the teachers to actively deal with intolerance and racism issues.

Access to foreign cultures through the media also plays an important role for other teachers, like Tania (12M), Janet (9S), and Gabriela (11S). They all talk about their motivating use of movies in the lessons. Janet is most explicit about the fact that the ensuing class discussion is done in Spanish; the other teachers do not refer to this point. What they do highlight is that the movies serve as a motivating starting point for developing certain linguistic and pedagogical objectives with their students: Tania has the students describe the characters' physical and psychological characteristics, and emphasises the need to get her students to think; Janet uses the movies as listening comprehension tasks and looks for movies that offer the students a (moral) message; for Gabriela's students,

they serve as a basis for cultural comparisons, especially between closer and more distant cultures (see also 10.4).

Another "mediated" way of bringing the students in contact with foreign cultures is the e-pal exchange that Emilia (10S) has arranged for her students. Rather than issues of intercultural misunderstandings, her main concern in this context is internet safety: her need to avoid unplanned internet encounters between her students and malevolent strangers. Her account is one of surprised reactions (both her own and her students') to cultural differences that arose spontaneously in these e-pal exchanges, for example with Arabic countries, which points at successful affective engagement on the students' part.

Janet (9S), finally, brings groups of foreign students into the classroom in order to get her students into contact with cultures. She seems to display great reflectivity about the need to prepare her students for this (maybe because of the impacting eye-to-eye contact) with empathy and intercultural understanding, as reflected in her references to a different sense of humour in the use of nicknames in Chile and the USA. Although Janet at her school has not experienced the huge motivation problems that other teachers report, her students seem to especially enjoy the opportunity of having this personal contact with students from the USA.

I could give examples of a few other teachers, who, depending on their school context, talk about their inclusion of cultural topics into the classroom. Some of their approaches will be discussed in 10.4. Here, for the sake of time and space, I would like to concentrate on summarising a few problems and opportunities that can be detected in this analysis and the previous summary, in order to be able to give pertinent recommendations in part IV (the final conclusion).

Detected Problems

1) Integration of Language-and-Culture teaching: with the exception of private schools, where English is introduced earlier into the school curriculum, and where, therefore, complex vocabulary and structures are at hand for productive discussions by the time students enter secondary school, the way in which teachers describe their inclusion of cultural contents into English lessons seems to suggest that there are difficulties in dealing with these contents effectively in the target language. Some teachers, especially the younger ones, appear very eager to use the English lessons to help the students broaden their horizons and to reflect on foreign cultures. However, they might need support in finding effective strategies to combine culture and language teaching, rather than dealing with the two as separate entities, and discussing more complex cultural topics only in Spanish.

2) “Scaffolding” cultural content: as some of the teachers rely a lot on the cultural contents presented in the textbook, they sometimes report struggling with the need to affectively and cognitively engage students with the given reading and listening texts. This seems especially pressing when the teachers feel that the people or topics portrayed in the books should already be known to the students (as part of their “universal cultural education”), but turn out to be new due to students’ lacking previous knowledge. In those instances, teachers might benefit from having scaffolding techniques at their disposition that will allow them to build both linguistic and cultural knowledge with the students that, in turn, will help them to enjoy the comprehension of new, possibly culturally distant contents.
3) World Culture contents: With the increasing – and generally welcome - tendency to include cultural contents from around the world, following the logic of *English as a Lingua Franca*, or *World Englishes* approaches, for teachers it is becoming more and more difficult to be prepared to help students to appropriately understand the wealth of differing cultural practices and perspectives. I especially see a danger in overly exoticising ways of dealing with these issues, rather than consciously aiming at fostering intercultural understanding.
4) Hegemonic ways of presenting cultures: in the analysis of some of the interviews, it could be seen that if teachers tend to (one-dimensionally) present English-speaking cultures as models to be followed so that their students can “learn from these” to “overcome” some supposed cultural “deficiency”, this will just lead to alienation and is not beneficial for raising motivation levels in their students. Along the same lines, overly simplified, static and stereotypical cultural presentations (whether they are of English-speaking or other cultures) do not seem to have much of a motivating effect on students. In addition to the motivation concern, there are obvious pedagogical issues attached to these approaches, such as teacher-student relationship problems, cognitively and affectively impoverished teaching contents (cf. Gysling 2003: 214), and cultural estrangement from the students’ own heritage.
5) Cultural distance dilemma: in several interviews, the teachers expressed concern about the need, on one hand, to engage their students through the use of references to known content to which the students can easily relate, and on the other hand, the requirement, for example by textbooks, to eventually present “foreign” or “alien” contents to the students. Some teachers see the solution in teaching English through source culture contents (cf. McKay 2002, Cortazzi & Jin 1999). This approach is, in principle, acceptable, in order to reach the linguistic objectives of the school subject, and would also be supported by the National Curricular Framework, which is more explicit about

the need to strengthen national identity than about intercultural learning objectives (cf. MINEDUC 2009: 23). However, the data collected for this research investigation are sufficient to support the idea that on the whole, the more motivating approach for Chilean teenagers is the inclusion of foreign culture content, at least in addition to source culture contents. The solution, therefore, must be in viable ways of dealing with foreign cultures, not in their omission.

Possible solutions and opportunities

1) Closeness of "foreign" cultural experiences through the media: most teachers who report relatively high motivation levels emphasise their use of audiovisual resources (videos and movies) in order to engage their students and present cultural material. The strength of this approach seems to lie in the fact that most youngsters can relate to these media and can therefore overcome the cultural distance more easily. Furthermore, they are already accustomed to accessing foreign (especially English-speaking) cultures in this way: TV series, movies and music videos are among the central pathways of English-speaking culture importation. In any case, younger teachers seem to be more at ease with this than the more mature ones. For more on this point, see chapter 10.3 on technology in EFL.
2) Source culture content: although I mentioned the recurrence to source culture content as a problem above, it is clear that there is also a great motivational opportunity in it: students seem to find it easier to develop a communicative "need" to express themselves about their own reality. The importance is in relating it to useful other-culture material. This is especially the case if it leads to a deeper reflection of what cultural identity means in certain contexts, and if the way in which cultural comparisons and contrasts are dealt with helps students develop empathy. In addition, a possible strength of this approach is that it has the potential to challenge culturally hegemonic views and that it might empower students by encouraging them to value their own viewpoint, as proposed by Paola (see above TQs 77, 78, 98 and 99, in the section on intercultural education). The danger is the thinness of the line between empowerment and cultural chauvinism, or hostility against other cultures.
3) It is also worth mentioning here again the approach proposed by Cecilia (15S), who has noticed the motivational impact of contents that help students in their personal development, such as personality tests (see above, 9.3.2.2, in the section on countries). However, this approach has its limits in that it might lead to culture-less English teaching. It would be interesting, however,

to explore how the use of this "humanistic" material can be combined with stimulating cultural and intercultural education.

In chapter 10, several of these issues, like the use of audiovisual media, the impact of teacher action on student motivation, and empowering contents, will be explored in greater depth.

9.3.4 Conclusion

In relation to my initial hypotheses, what I can confirm is that in very general terms, contents specifically used to develop cultural awareness play a comparatively minor role in Chilean English classrooms, although among the teachers there is a wide spread of different perspectives and practices. Also, my personal experience that "the right kind" of cultural contents worked as student motivators was corroborated by the fact that those teachers who reported higher levels of student motivation also seem to give greater importance to cultural issues.

Clearly, there are some cultural topics that are better received than others. In part, the country of origin bears some significance. What called my attention is that teachers tend to be more interested in Britain and more critical of the USA, whereas the students seem to be more motivated by North American topics, and also by Australia and New Zealand. Britain does not seem to be especially interesting to youngsters here. Postcolonial topics do not appear (or, at most, through the presence of famous people like Mahatma Gandhi), probably because the teachers have not been in contact with didactic proposals that include them.[200]

In terms of aspects of foreign cultures, more than the topic itself, it seems to be mainly the medium – audiovisual forms of presentation – that turns a topic more motivating and accessible to the students. On the other hand, most teachers seem also to be fairly clear about some topics that do not have power to motivate students, such as national symbols: flags, coins, architectonic monuments; whereas "human interest" stories, love tales, anecdotes about famous people,

200 In contrast, there is a substantial number of German ELT materials that deal with postcolonial nations and issues in great depth; for example, on India: Nadolny & Mukherjee 2007, Banerjee & Stadler 2010, Strohn & Rauschelbach 2010. It might be a symptom of the postcolonial world that European teenagers are educated in quite a lot of detail about Third-world countries (cf. Said 1978/2003), whereas teenagers growing up in the Southern hemisphere are prompted to either look North or at their own "homogeneous" national identity. Education for empowerment, on the contrary, would strive to make young people see connections between the different postcolonial experiences (cf. Young 2001: 427f.).

and (depending on the teachers) historical themes do call students' attention and motivate them to participate in class.

One final question remains unanswered: where exactly is the problem, or the impediment, that prevents teachers from giving more importance to cultural issues, especially if these could effectively help them to motivate their students? Is it lack of time and resources? Is it insufficient, or inadequately focused teacher training? Is it the students' low level of English that stops teachers from choosing topics that might seem too complex? One could continue by turning round the last question, as in the classic chicken-and-egg dilemma: is the students' level of English low because the learning contents are not appealing to them, and therefore they do not engage with their learning?

In the next chapter, I will examine a few possible answers to these questions and present some of the more successful approaches in greater detail.

10. The Teachers' Sense of Agency as Part of their Professional Identity

After presenting the most salient general responses to my interview questions using a more quantitative approach for the analysis, this chapter will now focus on a few issues that arose more or less spontaneously during several interviews; on certain topics that I had not anticipated would arise in the way that they did, either during the interviews themselves, or in the subsequent analysis. The interview passages in question, and the teachers "behind them", will now receive a more profound treatment, focusing on qualitative approaches to analysis. Quantitative data will only be used to set the contexts.

In the first sub-chapter, I will first briefly discuss the concept that I have found most useful for the analysis of these significant aspects: the teachers' sense of agency, in connection with other related concepts, such as teacher autonomy, curricular decision-making, etc. Then, in 10.2, I will concentrate on the teachers' use of motivational strategies, especially what I call "teacher talk". Sub-chapter 10.3 deals with access to and use of ICT resources for English teaching. The following sub-chapter, 10.4, is maybe the most "anticipated" part, as it goes back to the teachers' selection of meaningful cultural content, focusing on a few specific aspects this time. Finally, 10.5 sums up the most important findings of these analyses.

10.1 The Teachers' Sense of Agency

An important psychological concept that plays a role both in motivation research (Williams & Burden 1997) and in identity theory is a person's *sense of agency* (Beijaard et al. 2004, Tsui 2007, Coldron & Smith 1999). This term refers to the subjective awareness that a person is in control of his or her own actions, as opposed to the idea that it is other factors or people (e.g. traditions, "structure", or the "socially given" in Coldron and Smith's terminology) who restrict one's options to act according to one's own best judgement. The sense of agency might be the subjective side of teacher autonomy, a concept that has only recently started to become the centre of attention in language education research (e.g. Lamb & Reinders 2008). Accordingly, all those factors that might either facilitate or boost, or, on the other hand, put constraints onto teacher autonomy, will have an impact on the teachers' sense of agency. These factors can vary to a great extent between different teachers. An interesting model to visualise this phenomenon has been proposed by La Ganza (2008), according to whom teach-

er autonomy is located in a "Dynamic Interrelational Space" (DIS) and could be seen as interacting with four important instances: first, teachers might have "autonomy in relation to the *teacher's own internal dialectics* with teachers, mentors, or significant others who (…) might support (…) his or her freedom to be creative as a teacher (…)". Second, they might (or might not) have "autonomy in relation to *learners*, who might support the teacher's freedom to be creative as a teacher (…)". Third, the teachers might be autonomous "in relation to those, in the *institution* in which he or she is teaching, who could potentially make decisions influencing the teacher's freedom to be creative as a teacher, to develop and practise ideas, and to pursue his or her ideals and [finally, have] autonomy in relation to those, in the institutions and *bureaucracies of society* at large, external to the institution where the teacher is employed, who could potentially make decisions influencing the teacher's freedom to be creative as a teacher (…)" (71f.; the emphases are mine).

In Chile, especially the last two "spaces" of teacher autonomy have been analysed by critical curriculum analysts, such as Pinto (2008). He points out how curricular decisions have increasingly been taken over by centralised bodies (especially the Ministry of Education) and "technically trained" staff at schools (*Jefes de Unidad Técnico-Pedagógica*), leaving the classroom teachers themselves with only restricted opportunities to select material and/or decide on teaching content, even though they ultimately have the best knowledge of their students' needs, interests, and motivations. For Pinto, this is related to a "neo-conservative restructuration of the curriculum at the level of educational policies: technologisation of school, loss of autonomy in the teacher's work, standardisation of texts and methodologies, and automatisation of learning needs" (77), and in urgent need to be challenged by critical, reflexive teachers.

In the following sections, I will analyse a few interviews in relation to the way in which the teachers' sense of agency, especially concerning student motivation, mediates their curricular and methodological decision-making processes. In this context, concepts previously discussed such as instrumental and integrative orientations in motivation, and meaningful, critical-empowering contents will again come into play; in addition, I will consider the importance that technological resources have gained in the past few years.

10.2 Teacher Talk and Other Motivational Strategies in the Classroom

I would like to start here with an examination of how some of the teachers report tackling the issue of student motivation: do they feel that what they do in class has any impact? How do they view their own actions concerning motivation within the given social structures – the students, their parents, other teachers, governmental guidelines etc.? What strategies do they apply in order to raise levels of student motivation?

In this context, in the global analysis of the interviews there was one recurrent element in particular that I had not anticipated, but which caught my attention due to its discourse style, and which I categorised as *motivational talks*. This category encompasses those interview passages in which teachers quoted themselves in their "typical" classroom talk, repeating what they would usually tell the students in order to try to motivate them to learn English. According to Dörnyei (2001a), these talks could form part of a series of motivational strategies that are applied in a language classroom; more precisely, they could be classified as teacher efforts to "generate initial motivation" by (mainly) "enhancing the learners' language-related values and attitudes" through persuasive communication (50ff.). While some teachers simply described their actions and speeches in class, many of them used direct speech to illustrate the way in which they talk to the students. I hope to be able to show how the interview data suggest that there are certain types of "motivational" talks that do not seem to have the desired effect and maybe, on the contrary, "switch" more students "off". On the other hand, some of the teachers interviewed described other ways of motivating students that do appear to fulfil their purpose. Their interviews will serve as a contrast. However, it is necessary to emphasise that neither the sample size nor the method applied here can provide any conclusive result or correlation between these different elements. Further statistically supported quantitative studies including classroom observations and student questionnaires would have to be applied to reach this. The following is a reflection that might serve as a starting point for such a study.

For a more substantial analysis of some of these motivational talks, I find it useful to make a link back to Gardner's concepts of *integrative* versus *instrumental orientations* (Lambert & Gardner 1972; Masgoret & Gardner 2003; cf. chapter 7.3), and examine how the teachers use these orientations as part of their efforts to create initial motivation. Of course, it is important to remember that these two concepts refer to motivation only in an indirect way: an "instrumental" orientation would mean that the importance of learning English is mainly asso-

ciated with professional or economic success, whereas an integrative orientation has to do with the idea of interacting with foreigners for personal, cultural or social reasons. In either of the cases, this might lead to motivation to learn the language or not. In his book on motivational strategies in the language classroom, Dörnyei (op.cit.) also suggests exploiting these two orientations, but adds a third category, *the intrinsic value*, to refer to the rewards of the actual process of learning the target language (51). To give a brief quantitative summary, in thirteen of the nineteen interviews, I could find passages relating to motivational teacher talk. Among these, eight teachers used *instrumental* arguments; four of these teachers combined them with *integrative* arguments; however, no teacher referred to integrative arguments only. One teacher used *emigration* as a motive, while two teachers talked about *travelling* in general. Some other teachers use motivational speech that is not related to the possible future use of English but to the learning-process itself, such as "English is easy to learn" (five teachers), or "you can do it" (two teachers). According to Dörnyei (op.cit.), this latter strategy is aimed at increasing the learners' expectancy of success (57ff.).

10.2.1 Viviana (4M): "What can I do?"

To start with, I would like to present Viviana's interview (4M), where, in my view, the teacher seems the most strongly affected in her sense of agency by external pressures and constraints, but also, and especially, by the teacher's own beliefs. Viviana works in an inner-city public all-girls school. She starts by stating that to her, teaching English is a "challenge". She believes that one of the difficulties lies in the fact that students either have the talent required to learn languages, or don't, or are either motivated or not, but there is no "in between". According to her, the causes for this predisposition to either learn the language or not are rooted in the students' family backgrounds and the support that the students can or cannot obtain for independent learning at home:

> TQ128: ".. ellas no tienen muchas personas que pueden preguntarles afuera ... porque sus papás tienen tercero básico porque ... no acabaron la la básica o la media .. o bien .. e::m e:: tienen que trabajar las personas todo el día y están solas todo el día.. y: no tienen a nadie a quien preguntarle.. tampoco tienen libros en su casas de inglés.... y aunque estuvieran sus papás ... como tienen tan poca enseñanza formal.. educación formal en realidad e:::: que no tienen no tienen un refuerzo e: permanente.. entonces por eso les cuesta." (4M, 2)[201]

201 "They don't have many people that they can ask out there because their parents went to school for three years, because they didn't finish primary or secondary education, or they have to work all day and they [the kids] are alone at home, and they have nobody

Another problem that she perceives is rooted in the excessive governmental standardisation that has been promoted for English teaching in the past few years; in her view, it does not account enough for the differences between the various schools and the backgrounds of the students who attend those schools (cf. Gysling 2007, Pinto 2008).

When asked about her own motivation to become an English teacher, she says that she started out with great idealism, hoping that she would be able to make a real contribution in a school where she was needed; she did not want to work in a private school because of that. However, she admits that now after several years she has started feeling a bit tired and sometimes wishes to do something that provides more satisfaction, in a place where she can really use her language skills. For example, the questionnaire ends in the observation that she would choose her profession again if she had students that were really interested in learning the language. In the interview, she also talks about her relationship with the students, referring to a division between those students who identify with her, who like English and would like to "speak like her", and those students who are not interested in her or in the language:

> TQ129: "pero hay otras que no p.. no: no están ni ahí ni conmigo ni con inglés .. entonces les da lo mismo lo que yo les vaya a decir" (4M, 4)[202]

This static view of students' cognitive abilities and motivation is slightly countered by another observation, which refers to her experience that sometimes the students start with certain degrees of motivation – albeit mainly instrumentally oriented – but lose it as soon as they are faced with the first assessment procedures; the teacher's interjection of direct speech, reproducing her talk to motivate students refers to everybody's ability to learn English, which is clearly in opposition to her opinion stated in other parts of the interview:

> TQ130: "[ellas] saben que es importante.. saben que es <u>muy</u> importante y también.. ellas siempre dicen 'oye, si no debería de ser tan difícil si siempre dicen que el inglés es más fácil que el castellano.. ¿señorita cierto?'.. me dicen.. entonces yo les digo 'sí '¿cierto?... ¿si yo aprendí el castellano puedo hablar inglés?'.... entonces yo les digo 'claro que puedes..¡todos pueden! .. si todos pueden hacerlo'... pero:::::... ellas como idioma sí::: ellas ellas saben que es importante..yo creo que les dan importancia si ellas están claras... lo tienen claro.. pero como te digo..ahora cuando

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to ask. They don't have English books in their homes either and even if their parents were there, as they had so little formal teaching, formal education in fact they don't have permanent support. That's why they find it difficult."

202 "But there are others who aren't… they aren't interested in me or in English… so it doesn't make a difference what I could be telling them".

empieza a ser la asignatura.. cuando ya empieza la evaluación que para ellas empieza como la lata..” (4M, 7)[203]

Viviana also feels that eventually it is useless to talk to certain students or to do anything about their motivation, as there is no way to change their attitude:

TQ131: “‘tú no quieres aprender.. ¿qué puedo hacer yo? o sea.. me paro de cabe:za.. hacemos todo eso... no tengo problema ... pero si tú no quieres.. yo no puedo obligarte’... ese es el problema” (4M, 8)[204]

In this sense, she sees her role not so much as motivating those students who have no initial motivation to learn English, but as merely bolstering already existing motivation:

TQ132:“yo creo que sinceramente parte de ellas más que de mí.. yo::: ellas vienen con el interés y yo les refuerzo.. (…) (KG: ya.. y como.. o sea .. como.. se puede explicar de alguna manera que hay algunas niñas que.. que.. son así como que tienen la chispa y otras no?) la verdad es que no sé (…) ... yo creo que se puede explicar (…).. quizás del punto de vista.. entorno... e:: quizás han escuchado hablar en inglés e: alguien de su familia a un amigo una amiga de su mamá su papá (…) y tienen a quien preguntarle (…) y ellos ahí se van interesando.. a:: ‘quiero aprender más quiero aprender más’ quizás eso.. mis alumnos no lo han tenido.... quizás eso.. no sé (…) a: y:: (…) las niñas que están más interesadas.. mamá profesional.. papá profesional.. o por lo menos uno de los dos.. y eso está como bien ligado a la parte educacional de los papás..” (4M, 4/5)[205]

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203 “They know it’s important; they know it’s very important and also, they always say, ‘hey, this shouldn’t be that difficult if they always say that English is easier than Spanish, right Miss?’ they say… So I tell them ‘Yes’. ‘If I learned Spanish can I speak English?’ So I tell them ‘of course you can, everybody can, everybody can do it’. But… they know that as a language it’s important, I think they are clear about the importance it has, but as I tell you when it comes to the school subject, when evaluation starts, for them they start finding it boring, a nuisance.”

204 “‘You don’t want to learn… what can I do? I mean, I can stand on my head, we do all of that, I have no problem, but if you don’t want to I can’t force you’… that’s the problem.”

205 “I think that honestly it comes more from them than from me. They come with the interest and I reinforce it. (KG: And how can you explain that in some way there are some girls that have the spark and others don’t?) I really don’t know… I think that you can explain it maybe from the environment point of view. Maybe they have heard somebody talking in English, somebody in their family, a friend of their parents’ and they have somebody to ask and they take an interest: ‘Ah, I want to learn more, I want to learn more’, maybe that’s what my students haven’t had. Maybe, I don’t know. Oh, and the girls who are more interested: professional mum, professional dad, or at least one of them. And that is closely linked to the parents’ education.”

This deterministic view of the students' social background and the teacher's resignation in terms of the impossibility of her influencing their levels of motivation is worrying: in her view, motivation does not start from her, it starts from them. This can also be seen in the way she constructs her sentences: the subjects in the sentences are often the students, "ellas" (they, female) is much more present than "yo" (I). There is a static view of motivation, which seem to have a paralysing effect on the teacher, and which is contrary to many of the newer dynamic or "process models" of language learning motivation (cf. Dörnyei 2001b: 82ff.).

Even though the brevity of the interview data here does not allow for an extensive analysis, it could be said that Viviana's sense of agency is restricted, on one hand, by her perception of the role that she has as a teacher: motivating the de-motivated does not seem to be part of it; in conjunction with this, the "dynamic interrelational space" (La Ganza, op.cit.), i.e., the relationship between her and her learners does not seem to call her to develop greater creativity. As she does not complain about behaviour problems, for example, she might feel, on the whole, that apart from "not being able" to do anything about motivation, there might also be no real need to change anything. In terms of institutional requirements, Viviana mentions "the first evaluations" as an important source of student de-motivation. However, she refers to them as unshakeable facts, rather than an institutional problem that interferes negatively with her students' motivation. The teaching resources provided by the government might also stand in her way, preventing her from looking for other material that might be more suitable for her learners. Looking at the way in which Viviana describes her own gradual loss of motivation as a teacher (which might also include other factors that she did not mention, such as a low salary, little time to prepare lessons, etc.), it could be concluded that her sense of agency as a teacher is strongly affected by the students' lack of interest, stemming, according to her, from the low socio-economic background of her students. I would add that it is also affected by an environment that does not support her in finding creative ways to counter this problem, for example, through "significant others" who could help her to challenge her own paralysing beliefs about the impossibility of motivating the learners in her classroom, and assist her in finding appropriate motivational strategies for the setting in which she is working.

10.2.2 Christian (3M): "My daily talk"

Christian is a male teacher who is probably in his early thirties. He works at an urban mixed public school, where he seems to have some serious problems with students' discipline, and also, motivation. He also displays a fairly frustrated tone; however, to him, combating his students' lack of interest is clearly part of his perceived teacher role: one central theme in his interview is the "motivational speeches" that he gives to his students. His interview is quite different from Viviana's in that it is full of references to foreign culture(s)[206]. This is partly due to the fact that he has himself had a longer stay in the USA as a child and continues to have friends there; however, this even causes some problems with several of his students, who are among the few who reportedly exhibit strong anti-American feelings.

With this background in mind, it is possible to focus part of the analysis on the arguments that Christian uses in order to try and engage his students: how much does he refer to instrumental and integrative orientations? The context in which he works also seems to play an important role: in his school, which is vocationally orientated, school-leavers finish with a certification that qualifies them for work in gastronomy and tourism.

Christian refers to his motivational talks several times and emphasises the regularity with which he tries to use this motivational strategy by using expressions like "that is my daily talk", "I always have this same speech", "I always try to say the same". At the same time, in the quotes selected for this chapter, he also expresses his frustration - even resignation - about the lack of motivation twice (with several more examples of this in other parts of the interview).

In the first quote, in which he uses mostly direct speech to refer to his talks, his students' future work in tourism is the main theme, using predicting structures with *will* and *going to / gonna*. The instrumental orientation of his arguments is sustained by examples of relationships with other people that his students might have in the future: a boss (restaurant manager) on the one hand, customers on the other.

> TQ133: "because that is my daily talk… 'please (…) pay attention.. you are gonna have a good chance to start working after being graduated from high school'.. it doesn't happen to the rest of the students.. but they don't take care about that.. because (…) I told them (…) 'please .. go to a restaurant.. go to a .. walk around [a tourist quarter of a Chilean city] okay? (…) and you will realise that there are many .. many restaurants and they are full of tourists .. all the time.. so what's the common language they speak?' and they told me.. they tell me.. 'English!' 'So.. that means

206 Viviana is, in fact, one of those teachers who do not identify themselves as "culture teachers" at all (cf. Chapter 9.3, TQ100).

> that you're gonna work there as a waiter or.. I don't know… as a chef (…) m::ost of the times or.. the restaurant manager is going to ask you .. 'I need help in English' (…) or you will have to deal with a .. clients.. customers .. and some of them are going to speak English.." (3M, 4)

Christian does not only use instrumental orientations in his arguments: in the coming quote, he refers to the importance of English in informal situations:

> TQ134: "(KG: do you think that like all this experience about having travelled, about having friends there about.. you know.. liking the teachers at school and the books… etcetera.. do you think that in some way .. you .. you can take that to your classroom?) …yes:: .. I think that .. enthusiasm helps me in a way to …make my students to be aware about the importance of.. English. but ..not English precisely I'm talking about.. this.. language that is spoken worldwide because it's it's it's a fact that we we have to deal with this language. even if you're not working with it.. you are ..just dealing with this in a.. an.. informal situation.. like.. travelling abroad.. or talking with a friend.. on the messenger.. if he's from.. a..an Anglo-Saxon culture.. and that's why I always … have this same speech" (3M, 5)

Christian does not seem to be entirely convinced about his power to influence his students. The hedging expression "that enthusiasm helps me *in a way*"... reflects his doubts about this. Also, he uses expressions that potentially lower the profile of integrative orientations: "*even if* you're *not working* with it.. you are.. *just dealing with this in an informal situation*". Then, he refers to English as a worldwide language, but exemplifies the people that the students could interact with as being from an Anglo-Saxon culture. Could this be confusing for the students, and therefore not have the desired effect?

His arguments do not stop at the use of English within Chile. In the following quote, he elaborates a scenario in which students emigrate and then do vocational training abroad. Even in those countries where English is not spoken as a first language, they would benefit from their language skills. The motive "*emigration*" is built into an instrumental orientation: the students' lack of an integrative orientation ("if you don't like the culture…") is accepted with a tone of resignation; at the same time, the reference to "helping one's family" combines an instrumental argument with a deeply rooted Chilean value.

> TQ135: "and I always try to say.. the same .. 'if you.. want.. if you don't want to start working with the professional degree you're gonna get.. after being graduated from high school you can apply for a position abroad.. and maybe maybe and because what I know that most of you have some relatives living in Sweden for example.. and maybe they have already invited you to go there after getting your professional degree.. and if you don't like it a lot.. you can work in another field… think that most of the times you're gonna start working there and English is gonna be …useful for you…. and those countries.. I'm talking about Sweden maybe I don't know.. other countries …Sweden.. Switzerland or …other countries in Europe.. they

> speak English.. (…) maybe they're gonna train you if you're gonna learn something a particular job.. they're gonna train you in English… that's why English is the only way you can.. get a better life.. if you want to get a better position.. so think about that…if you don't like the culture okay.. but think that English is a way ..to.. help your family for example." (3M, 8)

Throughout the interview, Christian displays an uneasy mix between deep frustration and a relentless sense of agency. This is not only shown in the passages when he reports on his motivational talks, but also when he talks about other motivational strategies that he uses:

> TQ136: "I'm an advertising agent. (…) that's why I use this kind of persuasive skills of mine that I used to use.. my other skill.. my other field.. sorry.. but now inside the class. (…) and that's why.. I'm much more aware of for example using for example visual aids.. and I deal with for example I can show you.. I wanna show you some some tests (…) yeah some tests that catch my students' attention from the very beginning for example.. if I can tell you my experience about starting with a warming-up activity.. I always use flashcards… that's .. I do the same.. all the time (…) and that's the kind I wanna show you.. let me see if I have some test samples (…) yes.. I always put some images related to the subject I want to evaluate::: e::m I use different kind of.. type letters.. yeah? (...) and I usually.. so .. I usually try to a little kind of skills from my students.. and emphasise the fact of getting a good mark by sticking some figures .. som::::e ..you know.. cartoons that would say.. when I write down some words 'you did it well' or 'congratulations'.. so I think that maybe they don't take care about this.. they don't pay attention about this.. but something that in a way.. maybe unconsciously.. make them to:: see that maybe that's not a boring test.. maybe they're gonna do it faster. (…) and I.. sorry… and from time to time.. I… try to::: to take my students to the library.. and I make them to:: to::: watch a video.. I usually select some videos.. some songs.. I play them and I try to do some kind of .. interactive.. (…) activities.. for example.. 'watch the video and tick the right words you may see .. on the video'.. or and then.. 'read the lyrics and then find these words underline them' .. so they have to pay attention about the video.. so they're listening and they're watching" (3M, 5/6)

His "other" professional background seems to be an important constituent of his personal pedagogical profile: being an advertising agent has given him the tools to use "persuasive skills" and attractive visual material for the students. By using songs and videos in his lessons he also tries to make his lessons attractive to the students, which can be considered another motivational strategy. However, Christian feels that the result of all his efforts is at best noticed at an unconscious level.

To conclude, in Christian's case, a significant "blockade" in his relationship to his students, affecting his sense of agency, might revolve around a contradiction between his own cultural and linguistic biography, in which his personal relationship to the USA plays an important role, and the anti-American feelings

of some of his students. Thus, a main source of identification and creativity for him as a language teacher has great difficulty connecting with the students' world and certainly causes a lot of frustration for him. On the other hand, the liberties which he describes in terms of the opportunity to choose teaching resources (music, videos) seem to support the view that at least in relation to this, it is him, not anybody else who is hierarchically superior to him, who is in control of curricular decisions. Finally, another problem in his use of motivational talk becomes more evident when it is contrasted with other interviews; there, it might be possibly to find more effective ways of employing motivational strategies.

10.2.3 Gabriela (11S): Good Saleswoman

Gabriela is a female teacher in her early thirties who works at an urban mixed state-subsidised private school with links to the Chilean navy. She is a passionate and ambitious young English teacher with clear professional goals who goes out of her way to make the most of further professional development opportunities for herself. She has just won a scholarship to a university in an English-speaking country to study for a Master's. Her interview is quite different from most of the others as she does not appear to have any problem with student motivation. In fact, she thinks that her students are "super motivated" – she estimates her students' motivation level as being between "80 and 90 percent". And what is more, her sense of agency seems to be not only present in the interview: it seems to be the main constituent of her teacher identity. According to her, the reason for her students' motivation is this: "I am very motivating".

Although she complains about some bureaucratic and administrative constraints (just like other teachers), she does not join in with the laments about "the students nowadays". On the contrary, she relates how she tunes in with the students' interests and concerns, especially in terms of use of ICT (see also below, 10.3) and in learning content choice (see also below, 10.4).

The use of the first person singular is prevalent in her interview; on various occasions, she emphasises that it is *her* who is motivating, it is *her* who is technological, it is *her* who has high expectations of the students etc. The only time she refers to other teachers is when she explains the *difference* between their "traditional" style and her own, more modern, technological way of teaching: part of her teacher identity is being unlike them, and at the same time being close to her students. At the end of the interview, when asked about a "general message", again she does not *ask for* improvements or changes (even though she is rather critical of some policies in other parts of the interview), but *gives* a rec-

ommendation that she has also used when talking to the student teachers that she supervises:

> TQ137: "no hay una receta mágica yo creo (…) pero yo creo que la más importante es.... yo siempre les digo a los alumnos... 'es que si tú te crees el cuento..... te lo van a comprar' (…) y yo creo que soy super buena vendedora... (…) los alumnos me compran todo... todo todo todo todo todo .... porque soy buena vendedora... y eso es lo único... o sea si uno se cree el cuento si a uno le gusta lo que hace... si uno se prepara si uno.. e: busca y::: y piensa en los alumnos piensa... si esto les va a gustar esto les podría interesar... va a tener el éxito y les va a ir bien..." (11S, 10/11)[207]

What are the motivational strategies that she mentions in her interview? Analysing her discourse in comparison to the other teachers is very enlightening: even though she also seems to use motivational talks with her students, what becomes salient in the interview is that she rather *does* motivating things with the students than *telling* them what English might be good for later on; or, if she does tell them about the importance of English, she accompanies it with visible, tangible facts, such as here, where the instrumental orientation in her talk is supported, on the one hand, by figures from Chilean universities in which English is a requirement for all study courses, and on the other hand, by the successes of her former students:

> TQ138: "(KG: ¿qué tan motivados están tus alumnos por aprender...?) em e:::::::: yo creo que en una escala de cero a cien.... podría ser entre un ochenta y un noventa.... (KG: o sea.. super motivados) yo creo que están super motivados ... pero es porque yo soy muy motivadora (…) porque yo::: les pongo colo::r.. les digo que es bien importante... yo los hago cocinar en el colegio... no sé pa Halloween hacemos fiestas Halloween con los más chi:::cos ... a fin de año hacemos.. un villancico... entonces .. e::::: con los más grandes hacemos pane:les.... entonces siempre.. así les machaco como se dice acá en Chile.... les machaco el inglés .... les digo que es importante.... y les muestro cifras..... e::: de repente... el año pasado me dediqué a investigar ... cuántas universidades exigían en sus mallas curriculares el inglés (…) o les hablo de los alumnos que han vuelto y me dicen 'Miss... sabe que.. tuve que dar esta prueba.. me fue super bien ... me eximí de tal ramo' ... hay algunas universidades aquí en Chile que::::: que tú tienes que dar un examen... para ver si tú pasas ese ramo o tienes que tomar inglés o o estás eximida de inglés... (…) entonces.. la mayoría de mis alumnos.... o sea.. todos los alumnos que yo he tenido .. que han sido míos creados por

207 "There is no magic recipe I think, but I believe that the most important thing is … I always tell the student [teacher]s: if you really believe in something, they are going to buy it. And I think I am a super good saleswoman. The students buy everything from me. They buy it all because I am a good saleswoman, that's the only thing. I mean if one believes in something, if one likes what one does, if one prepares if one looks for things and thinks of the students, thinks if they are going to like it if they could be interested, one will be successful."

> mí... enseñados por mí... han pasado ese.. ese... (KG: ah.. qué bacán...) se han eximido me entendís ... entonces yo...a:: siempre parto con:::: con mis éxitos y chiquillos... es importante y yo creo que están altamente motivados pero es gracias a mí... yo .... he hecho ese trabajo..." (11S, 4)[208]

Other motivational strategies that she uses can be related to her approach, which is topic- and task-based (or action-oriented), and points towards meaningful communication with interesting and cognitively challenging activities that also involve students holistically, e.g. the cooking and singing in the previous quote (cf. Dörnyei op.cit.: 76, 78; also Gudjons 1997; Penman 2005; Müller-Hartmann & von Schocker-Ditfurth 2007; Bach & Timm 2009; Legutke 2009):

> TQ139: "generalmente yo encuentro que que a los alumnos los hago harto pensar ... siempre como que de un tema.... dependiendo también de la edad.. del nivel de ellos.... o sobre todo por ejemplo en los ramos como te digo electivos.... siempre.. tratamos.. trato de llevarlos a la reflexión.... o de comparar.... de analizar.... siempre como que resforzar el razonamiento lógico ... nosotros trabajamos con habilidades.... entonces como que... siempre apunta a eso...." (11S, 9)[209]

Other parts of Gabriela's interview will be analysed when it comes to discussing technology in 10.3, and (cultural) contents in 10.4. However, for a comparative analysis it must be said that Gabriela works at a semi-private school and that she might not be faced with the problems that some of the other teachers have to

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208 "(KG: How motivated are your students to learn…?) Uhm, I think on a scale from zero to a hundred, they could be between eighty and ninety (KG: that means super motivated). I think they are super motivated. But that is because I am very motivating. Because I make it big, I tell them that it is really important. I make them cook at school. I don't know, for example for Halloween we have a Halloween party with the little ones, at the end of the year we sing Christmas carols, with the older ones we make displays. So I always keep telling them, I push them, I tell them that it's important, and I show them figures… so sometimes, last year I started researching how many universities had compulsory English courses in their programmes… or I talk about my students who have come back and tell me 'Miss, you know what, I had to take this test, it went really well, I won't have to do that course' There are some universities here in Chile where you have to take a test to see if you already have the skills or if you have to take English or if you pass it without taking the course, so most of my students, I mean, all those students who I have had, those who were created by me, taught by me, have passed, they don't have to take English at university, so I always start with my successes and 'kids… it's important' and I think they are highly motivated but that is due to me, I have done that work."

209 "I generally believe that I make the students think a lot, always about a topic, depending on their age, their level. Or above all, for example in the elective courses we … I always try to take them to reflection, comparing, analysing, always reinforcing logical reasoning. We work with skills, so it points towards that."

tackle. She does not refer to the social background of her students in the interview, but by inference it is possible to suggest that in socio-economic and cultural terms, Gabriela works mainly with students that for other teachers like Viviana and Christian would not constitute as great a challenge. In those terms, it seems that the institutional and structural "dynamic interrelational spaces" (La Ganza op.cit.) allow Gabriela to develop a greater sense of agency (in spite of all the complaints she has about a low number of lessons per week, etc.). Her use of motivational strategies forms a powerful link between her own beliefs and the positive relationship with her students.

10.2.4 Tania (12M): Humour

To balance the picture, and in order to show that not all public school teachers' discourse is marked by frustration and resignation, I will present another teacher here, Tania, who works at a public all girls' school. The social background of her students is similar to that of Christian's and Viviana's students, and her school is also vocationally oriented. Even though she describes the difficulties associated with working with students from a deprived social background (home problems like abuse and single motherhood, low self-esteem, little future expectations and low learning motivation in general), her attitude towards these seems to be more positive. To her, being an English teacher in Chile is even "a little treat that she gave to herself" (12M, 1: "un lujito: ... que me di yo misma"). She repeatedly refers to her own interests in relation to the English language, among them, her love for literature and movies in English, but also to the more instrumental advantages of being competent in English, such as the job opportunities it opens to her.

Likewise, in her talks to the students, which she also seems to use as a regular motivational strategy, Tania combines instrumental and integrative orientations. However, her argumentation seems to run closer along an integrative orientation in the examples she uses.

> TQ140: "yo trato de… siempre se lo manifiesto ... y trato de empaparlas también con.. con el gusto al inglés no solamente por el área de::: de pedagogía sino que también por hacer otras cosas (…) y a mis alumnas yo trabajo con puras mujeres (…) a mis alumnas que les gusta el inglés yo siempre les pregunto '¿qué quieres estudiar?'… me dicen 'a lo mejor inglés' yo 'estudia inglés estudia inglés' y en algunos trabajos con cuarto medio yo llevo anuncios de los diarios que salen en inglés.. para los cruce::ros.. ese tipo de cosas o que diga::: se necesita persona con conocimiento en inglés .. y también les pongo siempre.. em:: ejemplos de.. de.. por ejemplo dos secretarias que tienen las mismas capacida:des.. aptitudes e… y las competencias digo pero hay una que sabe inglés.. ¿a cuál van a elegir? a la que sabe inglés

(…) cuesta un poco que ellas perciban eso hasta que lo vivencian o conocen algo más.. más cercano pero::.. por las cancio::nes no sé de li::bros interne::t siempre trato de decir que tienen que aprender inglés .. por esas razones.. (KG: y tú has sentido que eso ha tenido una repercusión en la motivación de las alumnas?) eh::: … (KG: esa forma de que tú trates de explica::rles la importa::ncia todo eso..) mmm .. con algunas ..es que… si yo les digo 'aprender inglés es bueno para esto esto esto' no.. no resulta .... no no no resulta (…) entonces siempre tengo que buscar.. ejemplos que.. como que les lleguen bien a ellas.. la otra vez hice.. les enseñaba que para los *drinks* que podían pedir ya.. *coke* .. una *coke* ... ya .. 'si no saben' les decía 'si van a un restorán y no saben dicen *coke* ya y les van a traer una coca cola' xxx 'ah de veras' dijeron ahí .. se empezaron a motivar .. solamente con ese::: ejemplo súper sencillo .. 'entonces imagínense que van a [an important Chilean port city] y hay un crucero y conocen a un tipo buen mozo rubio alto .. o moreno como.. como a ustedes les guste.. y las invita no sé po a tomar una.. algo o no sé o después lo van a ver a Estados Unidos o a cualquier país .. ¿qué van a decir? no van a saber como pedir una coca cola van a tener sed como van a decir *coke*'" (12M, 2).[210]

What is interesting about the strategies that she employs is that she, like Gabriela, reinforces speech with actions in class, as she is fairly clear that "only talking" does not have the desired effect: thus, for example, apart from explain-

210 "I always let them know that I try to drench them in their taste for English, not just in the area of teaching but also for doing other things. And I always ask my students – I am working with girls only – who like English 'What do you want to study?' They tell me 'Maybe English' and I say 'Study English, study English!'and in some tasks for Year 12 I take newspaper advertisements in English, for the cruise ships and that kind of thing that say 'person required with English skills' and I always give them examples like (…) two secretaries who have the same skills and competencies but there is one who knows English – Who are they going to choose? The one who knows English. (…) It is a bit difficult to get them to perceive this until they experience it or get to know it from closer. But through the songs, I don't know, books, Internet… I always tell them that they have to learn English… for these reasons. (KG: and have you felt that this has had an impact on student motivation? The way in which you try to explain its importance and all that?) Mmm, with some of them. The thing is that if I tell them 'learning English is good for this and that' it doesn't work, no, it doesn't work. So I always have to look for examples that should reach them well… the other day I was teaching them about the drinks that they could order, *coke,* a *coke*, so I told them 'if you don't know – if you go to a restaurant and you don't know how to say *coke* and then they are going to bring you a coca cola' (…) 'oh really' they said and they started to get motivated, just with that really simple example… 'so imagine you go to [an important Chilean port city] and there is a cruise ship and you get to know a good-looking tall blond guy… or dark, whatever you like best… and he invites you to have a [drink] (…) or then you are going to see him in the States or in any other country… 'What are you going to say?' You won't know how to order a coke, you'll be thirsty, how are you going to say *coke*?'"

ing the importance of English for job situations, she brings job advertisements to the lessons, as visual stimuli. She also emphasises the importance of using examples that are close to the students' age-related needs and realities, and exploits the integrative orientation by naming various possible motivating factors: songs, books, the Internet, and especially, romance, as one possibility of interaction with native speakers. This seems to be contextualised with the activities that are done at specific times in the classroom, such as the restaurant role play that is evoked here.

Whether Tania refers to integrative or to instrumental orientations, a main characteristic of her classroom talk seems to be the humour that accompanies it. This can have a positive effect on student motivation on many levels, as it helps to "create a pleasant and supportive atmosphere in the classroom" (Dörnyei, op.cit.: 42), it "makes learning stimulating and enjoyable for the learner by increasing the attractiveness of the tasks" (ibd.: 77) and can also be classified as an "emotional control strategy" that "can very effectively lighten up any kind of misery" (ibd.:114). Also, the references to possible love stories with foreigners contribute "exotic" and "fantasy" elements that can likewise make learning tasks more interesting for the students (ibd.: 76; cf. also Schumann 1998):

> TQ141: "ah sabes que la otra vez se dieron cuenta ellas.. me hicieron caso.. pero cuando estaban en cuarto medio .. porque había estado desde primero medio con ellas e:: había varias que querían estudiar después en un instituto.. o en universidad y en todas las carreras que dieron... en todas habían dos semestres de inglés.. yo dije 'ven .. yo les dije.. les dije..' .. se ríen 'les dije' y después pasaba por su sala y les decía y ellas sabían que:: que yo les estaba haciendo burlas.." (12M, 6)[211]

> TQ142: "además.. 'bueno' pero yo les digo 'puede venir alguien de allá de allá para acá .. y se enamora y cómo se van a decir?'.. yo siempre les digo cosas así [laughs]" (12M, 7)[212]

In any case, the integrative orientation seems to be most important to her, remarkably with an international scope; to her, knowing English opens up the possibility of communicating with all the people:

> TQ143: "les digo a ellas que el inglés es un idioma:: internacional o sea generalizado y que.. muchas otras personas de otros países que no son de habla inglesa .. y van

211 "oh you know the other day they realised, they listened to me, but when they were in Year 12 because I had been with them since Year 9, and there were several who wanted to study later on in an institute, or at university and in all the courses that were given there, in all of them there were two semesters of obligatory English courses. I said 'you see, I told you, I told you'… they laughed 'I told you' and then I walked through their classroom and I told them and they know that I was making fun of them".

212 "But apart from that, I tell them 'well, somebody could come here from there and falls in love and how are you going to talk?' I always tell them things like that [laughs]".

a otros lugares se manejan en inglés.. claro.. todo se maneja en inglés (…) 'si sabes hablar inglés se pueden comunicar con todos'" (12M, 11)[213]

Tania also refers to other benefits that learning a foreign language has. Here, she highlights the transferability of skills to native language competence. To reinforce her argument, she refers to another person's authority – something she seems to use strategically:

TQ144: "entonces yo les expli:co que también es bueno aprender otra lengua porque también se va mejorando el otro idio:ma.. la lengua mate::rna porque compa .. haciendo comparacio::nes y que a mí en la universidad alguna vez me enseñaron e:sto.. y que la profesora nos decía tal co::sa y les pongo ejemplos de otras per-sonas.." (12M, 3)[214]

In the context of students with very low self-esteem, she also uses motivational talk in order to increase the students' expectancy of success (cf. Dörnyei op. cit.: 57ff., 86 ff.):

TQ145: "'no niñas si ustedes quieren algún día ustedes pueden lograr hartas cosas' … y siempre:: como.. siempre tirándolas para arriba.. así se motivan harto:: con salir o con conocer.." (12M, 8)[215]

Finally, rather than expressing frustration about strict governmental guidelines, Tania expresses her sense of agency by highlighting the flexibility that is given to her so she can find topics that are interesting for the students. Also, instead of complaining about lacking student interest, she turns students into participants of her own decision-making process, which also increases the students' sense of agency and, consequently, motivation (cf. Williams/Burden op.cit.: 127 ff., Ushioda 2011):

TQ146: "en inglés yo creo que igual uno puede flexibilizar harto:: (…) si hay que pasar modales .. los modales yo los puedo pasar.. con cualquier tema... que tenga:: inserto los modales entonces yo elijo temas.. que sean que yo creo que son atractivos para ellas.. igual hago algunos sonde:os.. e:: las primeras clases conversa::mos.. les pregunto que cosas les gu::stan .. que hacen e::llas.. qué música escuchan .. qué pelí-

213 "I tell them that English is an international language, I mean generalised, and that many other people from other countries that are not English-speaking and who go to other places speak English… of course, everything is done in English. 'If you can speak English you can communicate with everybody.'"

214 "So I explain to them that it is also good to learn another language because (…) the mother tongue also improves because you can make comparisons. They taught me that at university some time ago… and that the teacher told us. I always give them examples of other people."

215 "'No, girls, if you want to, one day you will be able to achieve many things.' And I always try to cheer them up, so they get really motivated to get to know other places or to know more about things."

cula.. cosas así .. (…).. hemos visto algunas películas.. e:: entonces después hacemos descripción de personajes por ejemplo ... descripción física .. psicológica.. ahí les meto un poquito de literatura a veces..” (12M, 4)[216]

To sum up, the students’ more deprived social background does not necessarily mean that the teacher cannot employ any motivational strategies successfully. Rather, a positive if realistic attitude towards the teaching situation, relieved by a good amount of humour and enthusiasm about the contents that can be conveyed through English seem to help in the difficult task of motivating students to learn the language.

10.2.5 Conclusion

In the analysis of four interviews in this chapter, I have been able to shed light on the importance of the use of motivational strategies in the English classroom. In this context, among the different “dynamic interrelational spaces” (La Ganza, op.cit.) that have an impact on the teachers’ perception of their autonomy, or their sense of agency, of being able to influence what happens in their classrooms, there are two that are especially important: the teachers’ beliefs about themselves and their students, and the relationship between teachers and students.

In this sense, the comparison of the interviews shows that the teachers’ personal interpretations of their teaching environments, and of their own power to influence upon them, play an important role in the use and success of motivational strategies. Allowing myself to draw some very cautious conclusions from the analysis of these interviews, I would highlight the following ones:

1) If teachers choose to use motivational talks as a strategy to engage students with learning English, these talks should be as consistent as possible with their own beliefs or interests. As we have seen, if a teacher tells her students that “everybody can do it”, but she herself is convinced that some students have a talent for language learning while others do not, the non-verbal messages she probably sends out to her students are powerful enough to reduce

216 “In English I think one can handle things very flexibly (…) If we have to do modal verbs, I can do them with any topic in which the modal verbs are inserted so I choose topics that are – I believe – interesting for them. Anyway, I do a few surveys in the first lessons, we have a conversation and I ask them what they like, what they do, what music they listen to, what movie, things like that. We have seen a few movies, so after that we do a description of the characters for example, a physical and psychological description. So like that I introduce a bit of literature sometimes.”

the effect of the verbal message. Likewise, if a teacher holds a fascination for music, movies or literature in English or enjoys using the language in real communicative situations, it seems to make sense to share this fascination with the students, of course not without considering the students' interests, too.[217]

2) Motivational talks must be backed up by other motivational strategies, possibly at the moment of delivery: thus, those teachers who say that they bring visual material – job advertisements, course outlines from different universities - to the lessons to support the instrumental orientation of their speech, seem to be more successful than teachers who limit their motivational strategy to just the talk. Other valuable motivational strategies are the use of humour, interesting, stimulating, challenging, and holistic classroom activities and contents[218].
3) References to both the instrumental and the integrative orientation seem to be effective in order to motivate students, as long as indications of the *future* utility of English are accompanied by activities that make the learning and use of English in the *present* classroom significant and stimulating. However, when teachers refer to specific cultures in order to foster integrative motivation, they need to be sensitive about the students' preconceptions of certain cultures, and ideally tackle them positively.

If I have mainly examined student-teacher relationships and classroom dynamics in their strictest sense, then it will now become necessary to open up and see how other, more institutional and structural factors have an influence on student motivation and the teachers' sense of being able to have some type of control over it. By examining the points some teachers made about ICT in the coming chapter, this point will be explored further.

217 This idea could be supported by the neurobiological findings on the mirror neurons (cf. Bauer 2005).

218 Finkbeiner (1995, 2005) found in an empirical study that initial creation and maintenance of student interest benefit from action-oriented, holistic learning activities: "[I]nsbesondere solche Lernhandlungen, die in handlungsorientierte Tätigkeiten eingebunden sind, [tragen] längerfristig zum Aufbau und Erhalt von Interesse bei." (2005:54f.) Cf. also Bach & Timm 2009, Legutke 2009, Penman 2005.

10.3 Technology and English Teaching: An Extra Challenge or an Opportunity?

> TQ147: "y creo que el inglés ahora es una prioridad incluso es una estrategia de marketing espectacular porque.. inglés más computación .. a parte de todo lo que son las salas de televisión salas de computación es como un plus.. y eso es lo que los papás están buscando también…" (16P/S, 2)[219]

One issue that arose completely unexpectedly during the interviews, but in a very recurrent and consistent way was the new Information and Communication Technologies. When I started to analyse this point in greater detail, I could identify three interrelated themes that seem to be at the centre of the English teachers' perspectives and that point at both challenges and opportunities for the learning of English in a globalised world: first of all, *the public image of English* seems to have improved, or gained importance, in the few past years. Access to media in English, such as English-language movies with their original soundtrack (as opposed to dubbed versions) on cable TV and the Internet seem to play a key role in this development. Second, and conversely, *study habits and discipline* at the schools appear to be in decline. Some teachers associate this with a cultural change that has to do with, as one teacher put it, "the law of minimum effort" (3M) and a new, more "visual" mode of accessing information. The third issue can be located at the centre of the other two: *technology*, especially computer-based technology, has begun to play a central role in students' lives, as it seems, across all social classes. In the analysis it seemed to me that in the teachers' accounts of their successes and failures in teaching English to today's Chilean teenagers, these three issues heavily influenced their perceptions; the issue at the centre, technology, could either be successfully exploited in order to maximise students' motivation to study English, or, on the contrary, formed an insurmountable obstacle that played against their students' learning. As before, and as the initial quote from a private school teacher to this chapter reflects, all this has to be seen against the background of the neo-liberal structures that have taken over education in Chile, and continued social inequity: in many cases the teachers' sense of agency, and connected feeling of achievement depended on their *access to ICT resources* for their classes, which are apparently excellent at private and some state-subsidised private institutions, but non-existent or in a poor or basic state at many of the public schools. However, it also seems that the *teachers' beliefs* about themselves, their beliefs about learning in general, and

219 "I think that now English is a priority, it is even a spectacular marketing strategy because English plus ICT, besides all those things like TV rooms, computer rooms, it is like a plus, and that is what the parents are looking for, too."

language learning in particular, work as a filter in the decision-making process related to using the resources available to them (Tudor 2001).

The initial quote shows that in the public perception, English and ICT are two of the *symbols* that are linked with modernisation and social success in Chile; many advertisements for private schools use these two points to attract prospective students. Thus, it is not surprising that the topic "technology" emerged in seventeen of the nineteen interviews, even if it was unplanned and unanticipated on my part. The marked frequency of the theme led me to add a further inductive category to the previous analysis, for which I searched for the following keywords in the interviews: technology, mp3, chat, computer, access, Internet, television/TV, cable and visual; subsequently, I analysed the contexts in which these keywords appeared. Even though not all teachers made a clear statement as to whether they perceived technology as an opportunity or an additional challenge, in ten interviews it was associated with problems; in nine interviews, teachers described technology in terms of the opportunities it created for teaching English; furthermore, there were four interview passages in which teachers referred to technology in descriptive terms, without making an evaluative statement on it. This shows that several teachers view the issue as something fairly complex with its advantages and drawbacks. In the following, I will first summarise the interview passages that referred to technology; then, I will illustrate the interrelationship of the issues presented above with three interviews, establishing a link to the teachers' beliefs about learning.

Many of the teachers who describe the relationship between technology and English learning as positive explain how they are able to use it as a *motivator in lessons* – either as a topic in itself (for reading comprehension practice, for example: 6S) or by watching videos from youtube (11S), watching movies (9S) or establishing penpal contacts through facebook (10S). Other teachers come to speak about technology and English in relation to the general cultural context, without direct reference to the use of ICT in the classroom. Here, a teacher who works at a publically funded school perceives this as having had a positive impact on *balancing out social inequities*:

> TQ148: "hoy día el inglé::s.. o sea para ellos se transforma en una herramienta.. es algo útil.. o sea ... todo lo que es la globalización.. no es cierto.. cuando se comienza a hablar del inglés así como .. el idioma universa:l y todo lo demás.. entonces… ellos empiezan a sentir eso.. y yo creo que todo eso también lo ha traído también el avance de la tecnología.. el acceso que hemos tenido también a cosas… por ejemplo la televisión por cable.. o sea porque antes el inglés era privilegio así como de una clase muy.. muy de elite.. ya… y a mí me pasó.. porque cuando entré a estudiar inglés a la universidad.. no es cierto… yo entré el año:: ochenta.. y dos parece.. el ochenta y dos entré y todavía en ese tiempo el inglés era una cosa así súper de elite.. entonces la mayoría de mis compañeras que habían estudiado en colegios particu-

lares.. no es cierto.. donde… claro.. ellas estaban en contacto con el inglés… o habían viajado al extranjero… pero para nosotros que veníamos de colegio comunes y corrientes.. un mundo así… súper extraño… entonces.. hoy día ya no… yo creo que la mayoría:: hoy día.. tiene así como conocimientos del inglés desde… ya::: desde chicos.. o sea.. por un lado el colegio .. y por otro lado todo lo que ha sido la tecnología no es cierto.. en que está en contacto con el inglés (…) antes no teníamos esta suerte… o sea de que tú sales a la calle y de repente .. hay gente que está hablado en inglés.. o sea.. tú prendes la tele y puedes escuchar no es cierto.. el inglés… entonces antes no existía como eso…" (19M, 3)[220]

However, not all teachers associate technology with positive cultural development: the following quote is from a teacher who also works in a public school (though one with serious discipline problems); she paints a pretty *pessimistic picture of her students' cultural level*, and describes how, in opposition to students from private schools, the lack of travel or cultural perspectives apparently stops her students from processing English cognitively, in spite of the frequent exposure to the language through technological entertainment:

TQ149: "yo creo la dificultad (…) está por el tipo de personas a las que estamos tratando de llegar..porque te repito... en un colegio inglés....donde el inglés es fundamental.. el chiquillo que va ahí .. va porque quiere aprender inglés.. pero tiene otro nivel cultural.. él puede practicar el inglés.. en las vacaciones puede viajar al el extranjero con los papás... el nuestro no.... el nuestro es de un medio pobre... no tiene acceso a nada en inglés...y el acceso que tiene que a lo mejor es bastante..a través de la computación.. de Internet.. él no lo siente así.. en automát.... los chiquillos juegan ponte tú los juegos de videos.. todo les funciona en inglés y ellos juegan no más.. aprietan botones..no tienen idea de lo que dice...pero lo hacen bien... no lo asocian con el inglés... entonces yo creo que es una realidad más bien del nivel.. social..." (5M, 2)[221]

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220 "Nowadays English has become a tool for them. It is something useful, I mean, the whole globalisation, right, when people start talking about English as the universal language and all that. So they start feeling this. And I think that all that has also been brought about by the technological advances, the access that we have got to things, for example cable TV, because before English used to be a privilege like of a very, very upper class, you see. And it happened to me because when I started studying English at university, (…) I started studying in 82 and in those years English was still a super upper class thing. So most of my classmates who had studied in private schools, where they were in contact with English, or had travelled abroad… but for us who were coming from common schools - a super strange world. So, today not any more. I think the majority know some English from early on. I mean, on the one hand school and on the other technology right, where they are in contact with English. Before we weren't that lucky. I mean, now you walk in the streets and sometimes there are people who speak English. You switch on TV and can hear English, right. So before this didn't exist."

221 "I think the difficulty is (…) due to the type of people we are trying to reach because I'll say it again: in an English school [i.e. a Chilean private bilingual school], where English is fundamental, the kid who goes there does so because he wants to learn English, but he has a different cultural level. He can practise

In fact, in those cases where the teachers describe technology in relation to professional difficulties, they frequently talk about it using *concession clauses*, in which the first part refers to technological access to a globalised world and the second one to student demotivation – the emphasis in the translation is mine:

> TQ150: "a pesar que estamos en un mundo globalizado y en el que en este momento tenemos información de todas partes del mundo por medio de la televisión.. y ellos por Internet: … como que muchos no se dan cuenta de que realmente e:::::: deben aprender inglés pero a ellos no les interesa.. porque ellos creen .. que no que no lo van a necesitar. ..entonces hay una gran mayoría diría yo que no percibe lo importante que es aprender el inglés" (2M, 2)[222]

Other teachers establish a *causal relationship* between the technological component of youth culture and a lack of interest in studying. Here, the teacher uses an imaginary dialogue between herself and "the students", on which she comments in between:

> TQ151: "los alumnos saben que ellos tienen que dominar el inglés (…) pero ellos ¿cómo lo ven?... ellos lo ven como que 'a::: no no importa si total después si lo necesito ... tomo un curso rapidito o:: busco en Internet'... o sea para ellos la Internet ... es como la .. la tabla salvadora de ellos (…) porque...porque suponte tú si ellos necesitan... yo les muchas veces les digo 'ustedes necesitan saber como hacer una carta'.... 'no .. pero por último copio una carta del Internet' .... 'y si les llega algo del extranjero'... 'no pero es que yo lo hago....o sea traductor... para eso hay traductor'" (13M, 5)[223]

Finally, some teachers describe the relationship between technology and their students' English learning as a kind of *competition*, in which traditional learning and teaching methods necessarily lose out, especially if the teachers have few resources available to them:

English; during holidays he can travel abroad with his parents. Our kid can't. Our kid is from a poor background and has no access to anything in English, and the access that he has is maybe fairly… through computing, Internet… he does not feel it like that… the kids play for example videogames, everything works in English and they simply play, press buttons, they have no idea what it says, but they do it well. They don't associate it with English. So I believe it's a reality of a social level."

222 "*In spite of the fact* that we live in a globalised world in which nowadays we have information about the whole world by way of television, and they through the Internet, like many [teenagers] don't realise that they really *must* learn English but they aren't interested because they believe that they won't need it. So there is a great majority I would say which doesn't perceive how important it is to learn English."

223 "The students know that they need to know English but how do they see it? They see it like 'oh it doesn't matter because if I need it later I'll take a fast course or I'll search the Internet.' So for them the Internet is like their salvation because imagine if they need… I often tell them 'you need to know how to write a letter' … 'no but when it comes down to it I copy a letter from the Internet' … 'and if you get something from abroad?' … 'no but I do it (…) there are [automatic] translators for that'".

TQ152: "los medios de comunicación también.. mucho… mucha televisión mucho… mucho… Internet de repente también.. puede ser que:: haya muchos... distractores también para los chiquillos entonces e: quizás el el colegio no les está… no les satisface las necesidades digamos que ellos.. lo que ellos esperan… digamos ... uno tendría que tener un tipo de enseñanza un poco más mode::rna o sea .. usando claro... como te decía al principio o sea tecnologías digamos más modernas que llegaran a los chiquillos .... entonces si uno no tiene la infraestructura y ellos en su casa están acostumbrados ponte tú a cosas súper entretenidas.. con el Internet .. con video con qué sé yo e::: otras tecnologías más modernas… entonce::s claro po.. les debe dar lata la la clase tradicional .... y por otra parte uno.. como profesora (…) no tiene en los colegios los medios.." (15S, 6/7)[224]

The described themes parallel similar discussions around media literacy in other parts of the world, where the aims and methods of foreign language teaching also need to define their place in the middle of euphoria of unlimited access to foreign language media and resources, the development of media competence and the danger of (inadvertently) contributing to the "media squalor" (*Medienverwahrlosung*) of today's computer-addicted youth (cf. Blell & Kupetz 2005, Volkmann 2005b).

In the following, I will illustrate with three selected interviews how the different teachers develop the topic of technology, together with their beliefs about language learning (cf. Tudor 2001); the context in which they work is again crucial for their interpretations.

224 "The media also… a lot of TV, a lot of Internet maybe too… possibly there are many distracting factors for the kids too so maybe school does not satisfy their needs… what they expect… let's say… one would have to have a type of teaching which is a bit more modern I mean, using, as I said at the beginning, more modern technologies that reach the children… so if one does not have the infrastructure and they at home are used to – imagine – super fun things… with Internet… with video, whatever, other modern technologies, so of course, the traditional lesson must be boring for them… and on the other hand, one as a teacher does not have the means at the schools …"

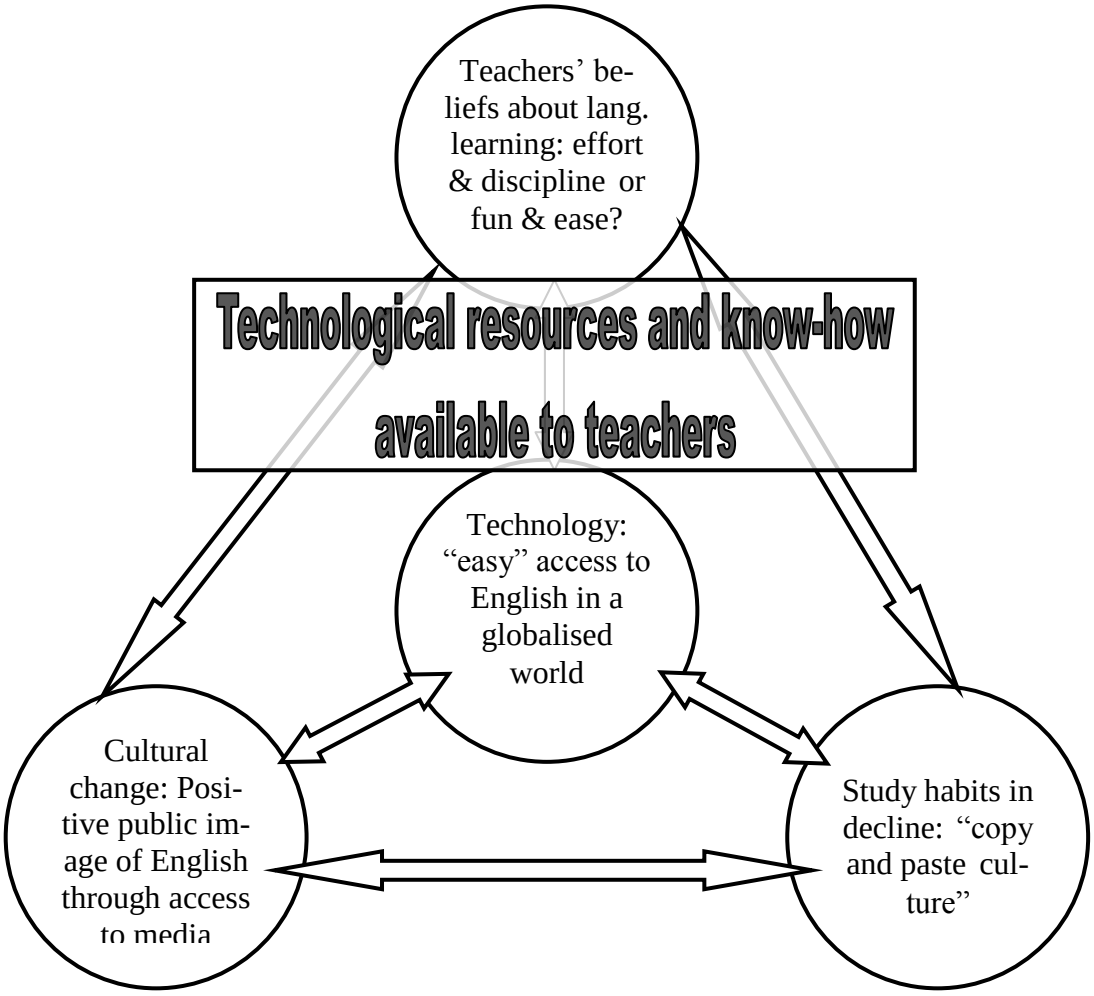

Figure 3: Technology in the teachers' perspective

10.3.1 Christian (3M): "Copy and paste culture"

We have already encountered Christian in the section on motivational talks and strategies (chapter 10.2): a public school teacher with many motivation and behaviour problems in his classes. Technology plays quite an important role in his interview. In his view, technology is partly responsible for students' poor study habits, but also forms part of a way of life in which the values that he grew up with have lost their relevance. The problems that he perceives in the educational system do not have much to do with access to resources – he seems to be able to

use ICT tools for his lessons, such as videos. However, he identifies a certain laissez-faire culture in educational management that fails to show teenagers where the limits are, and thus, deprives them of the education that he considers necessary for them.

In the following quote, he explains his view of a youth culture which apparently works against a positive study attitude; here, as before, his own speech oscillates between his comments and a passage of direct speech in which he demonstrates the talks that he gives to his students, referring to things that students had previously told him about their use of English outside lessons:

> TQ153: "for example you ask your students and you say.. 'okay, you told me that you told me that you don't like English but you use English anyway.. so ..you told me that you listen to music in English. that you usually chat with your friends.. and you've got some friends::.. abroad, so.. you're using English.. so you can't deny that.. so why don't you pay attention to the class?' what I think is that …there is a lack of em:… work will ..I don't know if I can say that .. because they're not interested in doing anything.. maybe because of the media because nowadays it's very easy to get information .. to download information from the Internet.. e.. there are not only not only photocopies.. you can make photocopies of everything. in our days but .. you can copy and paste .. that's the culture I dare to say.. our culture this youth culture.. I call it the copy and paste culture" (3M, 3)

The expression "*I call it* the copy and paste culture" shows that, even if he has not coined the term, he strongly identifies with this idea; to be more precise, with a negative interpretation of it that is associated with a lacking motivation to learn or to do anything of one's own accord.[225] Later, he goes on to explain one of his beliefs about learning English: if the students are to acquire the language to a reasonable level – including the development of speaking skills - they need to do more than "just" be in contact with the language through music and entertainment :

> TQ154: "because… em::: they are exposed to the language.. because most of them …watch you know these ..videos.. they watch DVDs movies.. they copy a lot of information some of them..e::: they're always listening to MP3 music (…) from time to time they like they like e:: listening to music.. and music is the tool to:: the way to:: make them to understand that language could be closer to them (…) but the fact that talking the language is another thing. .. to concentrate in the class. to start dealing with an activity .. that's the problem because.. a:::.. this.. the system the system that you can find nowadays at schools …allows the students to have the power to say.. 'if I don't take care about the .. the subject I can pass anyway because I'm going to arrange.. they're gonna do something about my grades.. because the system..

225 There is also a positive interpretation of the same term: cf. for example Mugaas' online article (2006), in which the creativity of young cultural producers is highlighted.

> supports me.' and you you know that you can't touch you can't do anything against the students.. but.. calling he or his or her attention.. that's all you can do" (3M, 4)

It is interesting to see how Christian describes the students as powerful, self-directed and at once hedonistic beings who indulge in passive entertainment and confidently make decisions on how to derive advantage from a system that supports them, and in which he, as a teacher, is left with the feeling that he does not really have much control over their *learning*, which is why they are actually there. At the same time, in other parts of the interview, he portrays their world as "very special.. they've got a lot of problems inside their homes… there's a lot of violence problems (…) some of them don't eat a lot.. eat in well conditions. so they're sleepy they're feeling sleepy all the time… some of them are involved with drugs" (3M, 8/9). So the seemingly empowered students really belong to a marginalised social class that "out there", in the real world outside school, does not have much access to power at all.

In another part of the interview, when discussing cultural contents, he continues to describe their values which seem to work according to a reversed logic; again, technology plays a role here:

> TQ155: "the kind of .. environment they come from.. they are not open-minded about this because they're just .. open-minded to ….this..em:: culture we're living in.. so… so… material-oriented. because they don't have money for buying for example their clothes you know the.. dress code [i.e. uniform] for coming to school , but you know that maybe they have more.. updated models .. mobile phones than mine….. that's the problem … it's everything upside down" (3M, 9)

In spite of all his efforts to engage with their world and to make learning English attractive to them, by showing them videos or smartening up worksheets with pictures, he feels powerless – while having the expectations of society on his side. Notice the way in which he self-corrects from a personal "we" (i.e., the teachers) to an impersonal way of referring to the students' tasks "what they have to do", pointing to the fact that it was not him or his colleagues who "invented" the students' tasks, but it is simply what "the world" expects from them:

> TQ156: "they don't follow the rules, they don't want to work.. they want to do what they want to do.. not what we.. what they have to do…. not .. besides the point that you're very creative.. that you ask the students to watch the video .. to work with .. I don't know .. handouts or something about.. you have to ask the students 'please concentrate.. work' they don't do anything in the class…. it's terrible" (3M, 10)

His ultimate belief lies in respect – all the paraphernalia of motivating visuals would really not be necessary if students respected him in the way he respected his teachers when he was a child. When I asked him about his motivation to become an English teacher, he answered – quite beside the point that I was actual-

ly looking for: “First of all, I always respect…respected my teachers when I was at school.” (3M, 4) In that moment, I felt the need to insist that I had actually been asking something different; however, the theme “respect” re-appeared a little bit later, pointing to the fact that this issue was central to his views about being a teacher, even if he is conscious that nowadays, other things are expected from his professional group:

> TQ157: “I had good memories about my English teachers too. Even they weren’t maybe not so creative at all because they didn’t have in those days they didn’t have so many …… em: I don’t know.. these kind of.. so many.. audiovisual aids .. like nowadays teachers have. And.. but.. I respect them a lot.. (3M, 5)

To conclude, Christian’s interview reveals great contradictions in the role that technology plays both at a generalised, cultural level in society and in classrooms. Whereas he perceives it as an aid to motivating students to complete certain tasks in the classroom, he mainly senses that there is a relationship between technology and a youth culture in which education is irrelevant; this, again paradoxically, is reinforced by an educational culture that has lost its emphasis on teaching students to respect their elders. In this sense, it can also be seen that Christian’s sense of agency is restricted, not only by the difficult relationship with his students, but also by the lack of institutional support for teachers to “control” the classroom, i.e. to establish an environment that is conducive to learning.

10.3.2 Soledad (1M): Competition

Soledad is a middle-aged female teacher who works at an urban public school in a large city. When I first made contact with her she “warned” me about the conflictive background of her school and her students. After the interview, she told me that she was even considering leaving her school, as student discipline was getting intolerable. The theme “technology” does not play a major role in her interview, even if she refers to it two or three times; the main themes that permeate her statements are related to the precarious situation in which public education finds itself nowadays, especially in terms of resources; student demotivation; and the decline in standards and student behaviour, which is in contrast to her beginnings as a teacher, when her school was still selective and she still enjoyed teaching.

The relationship that she describes between her teaching and technology is one of competition to attract students’ attention. All this has to be understood against the background of lacking resources in all areas; in her statements, she

uses the first person plural to indicate that her problem is shared by other teachers:

> TQ158: "lo que pasa es que no sé cuando yo empecé a hacer clases.. como treinta años atrás.. el la situación en el mundo era diferente en ese tiempo.. no había celulares.. no había MP3.. no había toda esta tecnología que hay ahora.. y que con la cual nosotros competimos ahora.. y nosotros como nos hemos quedado un poco atrás con todo eso.. todavía nosotros estamos con el pizarrón y casi con la tiza bueno con el plumón… tenemos pocos elementos como para atraer a los chiquillos a ... porque nosotros luchamos incluso con que nos pongan los vidrios en el invierno te fijas.. entonces.. claro.. nos faltarían muchas otras cosas como para atraer a los chiquillos un buen: ... como algo.. una planificación así buena para ponerlos al computador.. para que no se metan ellos a Internet no más .. no.. no.. sino algo específico que tú lo mandes y que con eso aprendan inglés pero más entretenido.. te fijas no en la sala de clase no más" (1M, 5)[226]

Her experience has also shown her that she cannot expect there to be much impact from technological progress in her school, as any ICT resources would never be sufficient for her class size:

> TQ159: "en algunos colegios hay laboratorios de inglés (…) sí.. pero en el mío no hay… y si hubiera hay que hacerlo así mitad y mitad o sea no sé .. se lleva una mitad de una clase.. la otra clase se llevará la otra mitad porque de todas maneras más de veinte cabinas no::... no:: pondrían… porque con los computadores que tenemos lo hacemos así.. veinte una clase.. veinte otra más" (1M, 3)[227]

Another difficulty that she describes in detail is the way in which student demotivation affects her own enthusiasm as a teacher. There is a general tone of frustration and resignation in the interview, like when she states that she has given up on sending her students homework tasks (1M, 4). In the following passage,

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226 "The thing is that I don't know when I started teaching, like thirty years ago, the situation in the world was different in those times. There were no mobile phones, there was no MP3, there wasn't all this technology that there is now, and with which we compete now. And we have been left behind a bit with all that: we are still with the board and the chalk well with the board marker. We have few elements like to attract the kids to…because we struggle even for them [school administrators] to install windowpanes in the winter you see. So of course, we would need many other things to attract the kids, like good planning to put them [to work] on the computer… So they don't only surf the Internet, but something specific that you send and with that they learn English but more fun, you see, not just in the classroom".

227 "In some schools there are English laboratories (…) yes, but in mine there aren't. And if there were we would have to do it like half and half I mean, you take half a class and the next lesson you take the other half because anyway they wouldn't put more than twenty booths .. because with the computers that we have we do it like that.. twenty one lesson, twenty in another one".

what caught my attention is the impersonal way in which she talks about her exhaustion – this might point to a certain way of distancing to avoid loss of face, or also to indicate that there is a generalised problem that affects other teachers in the same situation as hers; the emphasis in the translation is mine[228]:

> TQ160: "yo a lo mejor no sé po yo hace yo demasiados años que estoy en ese liceo.. y vi cuando ese liceo era muy bueno ... a lo que es ahora.. porque antes incluso se hacía selección de alumnos entonces eran buenos chiquillos.. buenos alu... y buenos como persona también ah.. porque además había una familia detrás… los tiempos no eran como ahora tan tan difíciles que todo el mundo sale a trabajar y anda apurado entonces respondían más y estaban más interesados y uno podía trabajar y si uno les decía xxx y ... hagamos esto otro y lo hacían con entusiasmo.. este entusiasmo no lo tienen los chiquillos.. y uno llega y trata de hacerlo y xxx pero uno mismo como el desgaste para uno es muy grande.. muy grande.. entonces de repente uno también ahí como que... no le pone el mismo entusiasmo que antes" (1M, 7)[229]

When proposing remedies in the last section of the interview, she immediately asks for a reduction in class sizes, referring to the teachers' union that has been fighting for this for many years; the point that immediately follows is a language laboratory:

> TQ161: "primero que nada que bajaran el número de alumnos ... eso el Colegio de Profesores lo ha peleado pero durante años y años y jamás se ha logrado.. porque la educación como no depende del ministerio y está ... emmm.... ahí corre más la parte económica, entonces a los sostenedores no les conviene tener menos de cuarenta y cinco alumnos ... ya, entonces para nosotros lo ideal serían treinta, treinta y cinco cuando más ya partimos por ahí y lo otro que que si se pudiera implementar más en todos los colegios municipalizados la parte de por ejemplo laboratorio" (1M, 8)[230]

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228 The translation with "one" is an effort to convey the impersonal style of the Spanish "uno"; however, "uno" is more frequent in informal spoken language in Spanish than "one" in English. On the other hand, the impersonal use of "you" in English would not reflect the same distancing effect. Finally, there is also an impersonal Spanish "tú", which has a connotation of greater intimacy with the interlocutor than "you" in English.

229 "I maybe have been at this school for too many years, and I saw when this school was very good, compared to what it is now, because before students were even selected so they were good kids, good stu[dents] and good as persons too because there was a family behind. The times were not like now so difficult, now everybody leaves for work and is in a hurry so they were more responsive and more interested and one could work and if one told them that xxx let's do this they did it with enthusiasm. This enthusiasm is missing in the kids.. and one gets there and tries to do it. But the exhaustion for oneself is very big, very big. So maybe one does not bring the same enthusiasm as before."

230 "First of all they should cut student numbers. The teachers' union has fought for this for many many years and it has never been achieved because education does not depend on the ministry and… the economic part is more important there so it does not serve the local authorities' purposes to have fewer than forty-five students. So for us ideally we

The importance that she gives to these issues is not only derived from her identification with the teachers' union, but also from her own experience. The following quote is extracted from a part of the interview when I asked her about a positive experience as a teacher:

> TQ162: "de repente los diálogos pero algunos cursos compartidos con la profesora de francés que todavía hacen francés porque como hay profesora de francés entonces hacemos la mitad del curso… hacemos para la parte oral ahí.. yo aprovecho… como ahí me quedan veinticinco (…) entonces eso ya es más divertido. más dinámico. y ya no se aburren po... hasta puedo hacerlos ver las diferencias de de fonética (…) pero antes no antes puu las clases eran ricas antes antes" (1M,7)[231]

It is noteworthy that the importance that she gives to oral work and her interest in making her lessons entertaining and dynamic is linked to her belief that for language learning, you also need silence:

> TQ163: "porque ahí también son harto desordenados.. y de repente para el inglés hay que estar más en silencio.. hay que poner más atención.. si quiero hacer algo oral me tienen que escuchar" (1M, 5)[232]

Finally, at the very end of the interview she stresses that motivation is really a key issue, and again, the hope for a solution lies in technology. To introduce this point, she tells me about a project that has been created to support those schools with the lowest results in standardised tests:

> TQ164: "la universidad que nos tocó a nosotros es la [name of a state university] ya… entonces ellos fueron al liceo e hicieron un diagnóstico (…) estuvimos conversando el día que nos reunimos.. por lo menos en mi especialidad.. y todos concordamos en eso.. la parte mot... a:... motivación.. eso es lo que más nos falta.. porque uno con los años uno de repente uno ya uno trabaja como isla porque yo soy casi ya la única persona ya en el colegio porque hay otros cabros que hacen clase pero son poquitas horas porque los veo xxx nunca entonces de repente a uno se le acaban los ... las ideas po entonces y como te decía denante.. la parte... e:: tecnológica ha avanzado tanto que pudiera uno motivarlos con cosas más visuales... entonces eso

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would have thirty, at the most thirty-five so we start there and the other thing is that they could implement more for example laboratories in all public schools").

231 "Maybe [doing] dialogues, but some shared classes with the French teacher because they still do French because as there is a French teacher we do half of the class. We do the oral part there. I take the opportunity as I have only twenty-five, so that is already more fun, more dynamic, they aren't bored any longer… I can even make them see phonetic differences… but before, no, before oh the lessons were pleasant before."

232 "Because they are also very badly behaved there. And probably for English you have to be more in silence, you have to pay more attention… if I want to do oral work they have to listen to me."

nosotros le pedimos ayuda a los de inglés de la [name of a state university] que nos dieran más ideas con respecto a motivación" (1M, 8/9)[233]

Again, Soledad uses the impersonal "uno" for talking about her own, isolated and maybe worn out way of working, while stressing that all teachers - "we all" - agreed on the problem that student demotivation poses. Another point that is important in her interview is that she refers to the prospect of introducing more ICT resources in a conditional clause ("que pudiera uno motivarlos"), as if seeing it as a mere remote possibility.

In conclusion, Soledad is mostly concerned with the restricted access to resources as she feels that this has resulted in her (and colleagues in the same situation) being excluded from the opportunity to motivate her students with more up-to-date teaching tools. In that sense, she views technology more as a hope than as a threat. On the other hand, she does not refer much to the rise of English in society (linked to technology) as do other teachers, who consider that this has helped to level out the gap between the upper class and the lower classes in terms of their access to English (see TQ148 above). The picture she draws of her teaching setting is rather gloomy; an educational system that functions according to the logic of an unequal society has simply left her and her students behind, demotivated and without much hope that things are really going to change for the better: here, it is her relationship with "bureaucracies of societies" that interfere with her sense of agency and teacher autonomy.

10.3.3 Gabriela (11S): Success

Gabriela is another teacher who has appeared before, in the section on motivational strategies (10.2): the "motivator *par excellence*", she seems to be in great control over her students' motivation and learning. Great part of her sense of agency is derived from her relationship to technology in conjunction with her closeness to youth culture – pop culture in English. What certainly helps is that

233"The university that has been selected to work with us is [name of a state university] right… so they went to the school and made a diagnosis (…) we were talking the day that we met, at least in my subject area, and we all agreed on that, motivation, that is what we need the most.. because one after so many years one is like working like an island because I am nearly the only person at school because there are other young people who teach here but they have just a few hours, because I never see them; so sometimes one runs out of ideas so as I said before… technology has advanced so much that one could motivate them with more visual things… so we asked the people from the English department at [name of a state university] to give us more ideas regarding motivation"

her school seems to be well equipped, and that she has the skills to use the equipment for her purposes.

TQ165: "KG: porque tú dijiste que tú .. tú los ves ¿supermotivados?

G: sí

KG: pero es.. por lo que tú haces .... en la sala de clase... ¿y tú podrías por ejemplo decir.. no sé..... cuáles son las cosas (…) que tú haces ... o los temas que tocas.... qué sé yo (…)

G: mira generalmente soy bien tecnológica.... ya.. entonces siempre... de acuerdo a las unidades temáticas ....siempre preparo cosas... o bajo videos desde youtube .... o por ejemplo ya.... la primera unidad del libro de uno de los libros se llama *Lifestyles* (…) ya entonces.. yo me preocupé ... y había una canción.... que era de un grupo que era *My Chemical Romance* o algo así..... era..... *The Lifestyles of the Rich and the Famous* .... y bajé el video .. y les bajé la::s *lyrics* .... ya entonces..... con esa:: con eso partió la unidad..... (…) y con el video ahí de youtube conectado y todo y entonces yo creo que esas cosas.... que un alumno vea un profesor que se meta .... y las cosas más simples .... que tú veas que tu profesor... se meta a youtube... conoce *My Chemical Romance*.... a mí me gusta *My Chemical Romance* ¿me entendís? ..... a:::::: .. motiva.... o:: 'este grupo me gusta a mí lo puso la profe en la clase de inglés' .. ¿me entiendes?..... o a veces creo actividades en Internet .... y les doy una tarea ..pequeña les digo ... mándenmelo a mi correo (…) entonces los chiquillos muchas veces así como.... 'oye le mando mis tareas a mi profe por Internet .... por mail'..... esas cosas mínimas tú no te imaginas como motivan a los niños..... porque para ellos es como 'wow... mi profe es cool es chora:::' ¿me entiendes? que son cosas tan::::: por lo menos.... yo lo hago porque a mí me gusta Internet... me gusta la tecnología.. yo busco páginas relacionadas co:n.. o siempre...un artículo... se lo muestro ahí::.. en la pantalla... e::: porque a mí me gusta.... hay profes que ni siquiera tienen correo electrónico..... entonces de repente entre.... a hacer una clase super tradicional y hacer una clase..... que tenga que ver con:::: eso..." (11S, 5)[234]

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234 "KG: Because you said that you see that they are super motivated (…) – what do you do in the classroom, or what topics to you touch on… (…) Gabriela: Look, generally I am pretty technological, so I always, according to the thematic units, prepare things, download videos from youtube, or for example the first unit of one of the books is called *Lifestyles*. So I made an effort, there was a song by a group called *My Chemical Romance* which was *The Lifestyles of the Rich and the Famous*, and I downloaded the video and the lyrics, so the unit started with that. And with the youtube video there and all that, I think that (…) a students sees a teacher who goes to … the simplest things, that you see that your teacher goes to youtube, knows *My Chemical Romance*… I like *My Chemical Romance*, you see? Oh, this motivates [them], or: 'I like this group, the teacher put it on in the English lesson', you see? Or sometimes I create activities on the Internet and I give them a small task and tell them 'send it to me by e-mail' (…) So the kids often say 'hey I send my homework to my teacher by Internet, by mail.' These minimal things you can't imagine how they motivate the children… because for them it is like 'wow, my teacher is cool' you know? It's things that are so… at least I do them because I like

Gabriela uses her students' direct speech in her account to highlight their positive reaction towards her teaching style and also their identification with her: the possessive adjective "*my* teacher" expresses the strong link that she feels between her students and herself. Her self-confidence as a teacher is also expressed by her personal way of referring to the activities that she designs – it all seems to have been her own invention, there is no reference to anybody else who might have influenced that, apart from the students, but even her own musical taste goes along with theirs. She also draws the line between herself and other teachers "who don't even have e-mail", highlighting that her up-to-date technological approach is exactly what youngsters need nowadays to be motivated to participate in the learning process.

It remains unclear whether the students' behaviour and study attitudes are no problem because of her successful approach to teaching, or because her school is different in terms of student population, discipline policies, the families' social background or any other factor that might have an influence. She does not refer to any of those issues in the interview. Another topic that she does not mention directly is the increasing significance of English in society; on the other hand, her interview is marked by a great empathy with the students' world – it rather seems that she has completely internalised the importance that movies and music in English and the modern entertainment media have for the students nowadays. Her beliefs seem free from any kind of resistance against this "modernity" or opposing ideology. On the other hand, the thematic link that she mentions in one of the quotes above is also significant in her belief system, which will be explored in the following chapter (10.4).

10.3.4 Conclusion

In this section, I have tried to show that part of the teachers' sense of agency is also developed in its relationship to bureaucracies at the whole-society level; here, especially, in relation to the resources that are (or are not) made available to engage students through technology. We have seen that currently, here in Chile, this is a complex and multi-facetious aspect of language pedagogy, and before concluding, I would like to briefly expand on this point in order to provide more background information.

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the Internet, I like technology, I look for pages (…) or an article and show it to them on the screen, because I like it. There are teachers who don't even have e-mail. So maybe between teaching a super traditional lesson and teaching a lesson that has to do with this…"

One of the reasons why I have chosen to dedicate a whole sub-chapter to the issue of technology is that in educational policies and governmental decision-making, when it comes to budgeting, a great deal of money is spent on technological equipment for schools: for example, in 2007, the Bachelet government announced that around 200 million dollars would be invested in the programme "Enlaces" (= Links), for ICT equipment, software, Internet access and the relevant teacher training for schools (Cf. MINEDUC / ENLACES, no year). - The main reason given to justify this expenditure was to close the digital divide between Chile and developed countries. Technology is often perceived to be (or "sold as") *the* innovative solution to various problems in schools nowadays; at the same time there are economic reasons behind these decisions, which benefit big businesses, even if they do not turn out to be an advantage for society as a whole. For example, as Correia (2009) states, since its start "Enlaces" has not had any impact on learning outcomes in the student population. Dominant discourses that are there to justify political decisions like these have certainly managed to convince many people, including some teachers:

> "There seems to be a general sense, encouraged by marketing, that technology can solve problems at a stroke, and in general make areas of life easier, more entertaining or more efficient. (…) The prevalent assumption appears to be that as technology can solve the problem of entertainment or communication, then it must surely be able to solve the problem of education equally easily." (Bax 2000: 208)

On the other hand, there are also alternative discourses that call into question the idea that technology is the real solution and that it is doing more harm than help, especially in the area of education, as children's and teenagers' cognitive and emotional development might be stunted by an over-exposure to the computer screen, and funds that used to be destined for additional human resources, remedial or extracurricular activities at schools might be cut in favour of expensive ICT equipment (e.g. Craig 2009, Haughton 1999).

As pointed out above, these perceptions are present in the teachers' statements, in various ways:

1) Several teachers believe that more technology could be of great help, especially in the task of motivating the students to learn English. For the teacher who reports the highest levels of student motivation, the Internet is a key source of information, classroom resource, and tool for creating independent learning opportunities, such as homework tasks that have to be sent by e-mail. It constitutes an integral part of her professional pride and sense of agency.
2) On the other hand, many teachers think that the presence of technology in society has created more problems for them. This is not just because they feel

that schools are lagging behind in this area, but also because the "fast and easy" culture of the Internet is contrary to study habits that they view as necessary for learning the language.[235] Thus, it gets in the way of their efforts to promote a positive, constructive dynamic in the classroom.

3) Thus, there are other issues that seem to be more urgent than the equipment in itself, for example: class sizes need to be reduced; if equipment is bought, there should be enough to go round for all students. Behaviour policies need to be implemented to support teachers in their work in the classroom. Teachers clearly have to be trained in the skills they need in order to use the new technologies meaningfully. Without these conditions, even if the ICT infrastructure is improved, teachers will not necessarily develop the sense of control and agency that they need in order to be able to guide students towards durable learning outcomes.

Finally, the Internet and other ICT resources are not simply a technical solution to a problem. Meaningful contents, whether they originate from traditional textbooks or from selected websites continue to play a major role in the motivation game. These contents will be the topic of the coming chapter.

10.4 Motivational and Empowering Contents

After exploring the relationships between the teachers' sense of agency and student motivation, motivational talk and other strategies, and access to or use of ICT resources, I would now like to come back to the more central question of this research investigation: the importance of cultural contents in English Language Teaching, especially in relation to student motivation. For this final subchapter, I have selected interview passages in which three teachers talk about their experiences with specific cultural topics. So that this take on this issue can be the most constructive possible, I have selected extracts where the teachers in some way or other – despite facing evident difficulties – expressed their satisfaction with the work they were doing with the students, as opposed to those teachers whose interviews were marked by a tone of generalised frustration or resignation.

In order to continue investigating their sense of agency and autonomy, I will examine how these teachers have found their own creative ways of dealing with cultural content. Also, I will try to show how they have, if not developed, at

235 This phenomenon has been subsumed under the term *Medienverwahrlosung* ("media squalor" or "abandonment") in Germany in recent years, cf. Blell & Kupetz 2005, Volkmann 2005b.

least appropriated specific cultural objectives which they want their students to achieve, constituting certain priorities in their daily work. “Imposed” textbook contents play only a minor role in their accounts. Rather, here are some good examples of the ways in which teacher creativity can turn these textbooks into useful resources, instead of additional obstacles to struggle with (cf. chapter 9.3.2).

For the purposes of this analysis, it is also necessary to bear in mind the proposed critical and empowering learning objectives for English Language-and-Culture Teaching (especially in the Chilean context) made in chapter 4.3. For a brief recap, they include the general principles of enjoyment and the development of a sense of ownership of the language. Then, access to human experiences elsewhere through English should help to develop empathy and work as an eye-opener for the individual’s own situation, giving her/him the ability to confront it constructively. Other objectives point at the critical examination of cultural products from various origins, as well as the analysis and eventual deconstruction of harmful stereotypes and prejudices. For a more active use of the language, it is recommended that students analyse intercultural communicative situations to develop greater sensitivity to their peculiarities, and to create opportunities for the students to participate in global discourses. Last but not least, English lessons should contain some information about the historical reasons behind English’s status as a global language, and the implications that this linguistic situation might have for other languages, especially those belonging to ethnic minorities.

10.4.1 Gabriela (11S): World Cultures by Topics

Gabriela’s interview has already received a lot of attention, both because of her account of apparently successful motivational strategies (10.2.3), and because of Gabriela’s positive experiences with technology and the new media (10.3.3). However, for me it was really her own, very personal way of combining language and culture teaching that caught my attention the most. With respect to language, she is the sole teacher to make some reference to her students’ linguistic achievements: she says that all her students pass English placement tests when they enter Higher Education institutions, and therefore do not need to take elementary / pre-intermediate English courses again. As for culture, she seems to enjoy innovative ways of combining different “world culture” topics. On the other hand, as she spent a few weeks in England for an in-service teacher training course, she also likes to use her own experiences in this English-speaking country in her lessons.

With regard to her principles, we have already seen that closeness to the students' world is essential for her, for example by using the new technologies that the students also enjoy. Furthermore, topicality is another important concern for her. Thus, she says that some topics simply "emerge", as they are connected to current world-wide events:

> TQ166: "a mí me gusta Inglaterra entonces .. yo.. a veces les hago disertaciones sobre las cosas que yo visité::: o por ejemplo no sé po cosas que a ellos les interesa .....e: .. cuando hemos hablado de *Stonehenge* por ejemplo ... es un tema que a ellos les gusta ....todo lo que tiene que ver con el lado misterioso lo oculto.... los ovnis (…) o no necesariamente Inglaterra no sé po.. si hablamos de Egi::pto a lo mejor les gusta por cierto aspe:cto... o Brasi::l ..por el fú:tbol por las pla:yas (…) que podemos hablar de otros países... de otras culturas.... que no solamente son de habla inglesa .... que puede ser ..no sé po.. Brasil Perú Bolivia ... Macchu Picchu.... (KG: y ahí tú sientes que de repente tienes más interés que en los países de habla inglesa?) (…) es lo mismo... sí.... sí..... pero es lo mismo ¿sabes por qué yo creo? porque no todos los alumnos aquí en Chile tienen la oportunidad de conocer (…) entonces cualquier cosa que tú les presentes como:::: algo novedoso .... o una cultura..... o un monumento..... o una creación....a ellos igual les va a interesar.. igual... una vez trabajamos me acuerdo... las siete maravillas del mundo.... eso fue (…) en el dos mil siete.... porque estaba la elección de las siete maravillas (…) había una página *Seven Wonders* (…) *of the World* …. entonces había que votar y estaba la Isla de Pascua... entonces también fue un trabajo entretenido... yo siempre trabajo también con la contingencia entonces .... cada uno trabajó.... una maravilla..... hicimos campaña en el colegio para que votara la gente por la Isla de Pascua... entonces... se van generando distintas temáticas de acuerdo a la contingencia... este año también trabajé harto con las olimpiadas.... con los.... deportes olímpicos.... con los países que participaban.... yo creo que de acuerdo a la contingencia.... se van dando los temas no más...." (11S, 7/8)[236]

236 "I like England so sometimes I give them presentations about the things that I visited. Or for example, I don't know, things that they are interested in … when we have talked about Stonehenge for example, it's a topic that they like because everything that has to do with the occult, mysterious, UFOs… or not necessarily England, if we talk about Egypt maybe they like it because of a certain aspect, or Brazil, because of football, because of the beaches. We can talk about other countries, other cultures that are not only English-speaking; they could be, I don't know, Brazil, Peru, Bolivia, Machu Picchu. (KG: And there do you feel that sometimes you get more interest than in English-speaking countries?) No, it's the same, and do you know why I think that is? Because not all the students here in Chile have the opportunity to get to know [those places], so anything that you present as something novel, a culture, or a monument, or a creation, they will find it interesting anyway. Once I remember we worked on the Seven Wonders of the World. That was in 2007, because there was the election of the Seven Wonders. There was a website. So people had to vote and Easter Island was there. So that was fun work too. I always work with current issues so everybody worked on one Wonder. We organised a campaign at school so that people vote for Easter Island. So differ-

However, it is not only topicality that makes her approach so interesting: the campaign at school for people to vote in this online vote on the "Wonders of the World" also includes other educational principles, some of which are usually propagated by project-oriented teaching-learning settings: for example, the campaign contemplates the school community as its audience and calls for action in "real life" (cf. Gudjons 1997:73ff., Müller-Hartmann & Schocker-von Ditfurth 2007: 47ff.). The world-wide democratic participation factor, even if it is mainly symbolic, adds more educational value to this activity. In those terms, the activity described here in some way provides the opportunity to participate in world discourses, which could, of course, be further developed.

Later in the interview, Gabriela describes a thematic unit in which she worked with an unusual combination of "source culture" and "international culture" (cf. Cortazzi & Jin 1999, McKay 2002:88ff.). However, her use of cultural material really serves another purpose: developing "higher thinking skills", such as comparing, contrasting, reasoning, etc.

> TQ167: "una vez .. (…) .. vimos.. una película que era ... *El Último Samurai* ... (…) que era sobre toda la cultura japonesa.... (…) entonces... yo les hice hacer un trabajo que los compararan con .... los mapuche.... (…) que no tiene nada que ver [laughs] ... tú me puedes decir... nada que ver.... pero al final igual encontramos hartos puntos de comparación .... (…) tanto e:::::::m tanto el de:::: diferencias como de similitudes ¿me entiendes? porqué:::: no sé porque usaban espada ..los otros no usaban espada ..pero eran guerreros ... de estructura social.... ¿me entiendes? entonces.... de repente.. siempre me gusta llevarlos a puntos que ellos.... razonen y digan a::: o o o yo me daba risa porque yo misma me me me impresionaba o sea.... no tiene nada que ver po o sea si tú comparai Japón con Chile no tiene nada que ver.... (…) entonces e:::::: es eso ¿me entiendes? trato de siempre llevarlos un poquito más allá y::: como el inglés es una lengua:::... tú puedes hablar de cualquier cosa po.... puedes hablar de medicina.... puedes hablar ... de las flores.... no sé po.... e::: de cómo se hacen los vasos.... e: te lleva a muchos... a muchos rincones... ¿me entiendes? (…) (KG: [laughs] (…) ¿y tú tienes algunos aspectos como... digamos que son como de cultura... del mundo... que a ti te interesan mucho?) a mí me interesan mucho y siempre trato de::::: de llevar el::: camino par' allá.." (11S, 9)[237]

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ent topics are generated according to topicality. This year I also worked a lot with the Olympic Games, Olympic sports, with the countries that participated. I believe that according to present-day events, topics emerge by themselves."

237 "Once we watched a movie, *The Last Samurai*, which was all about Japanese culture. So I asked them to work on a comparison with the Mapuche – where there is no relation at all. You could tell me that there is no connection at all. But at last we found a lot of points of comparison anyway. Both differences and similarities, you see? Because I don't know, they used swords, the others didn't, but they were warriors, social structure… you see? So sometimes I like to take them to points where they can reason and say… It made me laugh because I was impressed myself. I mean, there is no connec-

It is important to remember that the observation that English can be used to talk about basically any topic has led others to conclude that therefore English can be taught "without culture". Fortunately, this is not the case with Gabriela: her mission clearly includes broadening students' cultural horizons. Even so, whether she chooses this approach primarily for motivational purposes in order to achieve other aims, such as her students' cognitive and linguistic development, or pursues some other educational objective through the use of these contents remains implicit in her interview.

At the end of chapter 9, the issue of the appropriate scaffolding of cultural content was mentioned, which seems to be a major difficulty for several teachers. This problem occurs especially when it has to be done on the basis of decontextualised textbook content, and in combination with linguistically challenging texts that also need scaffolding, for vocabulary and linguistic structures. Here, on the other hand, Gabriela shows how she goes about to introduce a unit that according to herself is difficult - literary culture:

> TQ168: "siempre siempre en mis clases... están basadas en cosas culturales... o:::: hay un módulo en en:: en cuarto medio que se llama cultura literaria entonces.... (…) .. vemos Hamlet..a Emily Dickinson... y lo comparamos con no sé...xxxxxx ....vamos a la Sebastiana hasta de paseo... (…) (KG: ¿y enganchan con eso?) no mucho... (…) pero:::: parto por la .. la música... (…) siempre::::: e:::: les hago que traigan por ejemplo la música que a ellos les gusta.... y tú podrías decir que esto es un poe:::ma.... (…) '¿y por qué podrías deci:rlo::?' y::: parto por ahí po entonces de repente igual... enganchan un po:co y les digo... por lo menos para que conozcan hay algunos que viven.. no sé po.. quince años de su vida acá y no conocían la Sebastiana... yo todos los años los llevo a la Sebastiana para ese módulo... (…) y se maravillan.. 'o .. profe.. qué lin'... aunque sea que se maravillen con la vista.... (…) pero:: por último alguna vez en su vida han xxxx 'yo conocí la Sebastiana porque mi profe de inglés me llevó'..." (11S, 10)[238]

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tion, if you compare Japan with Chile, no connection at all. So you see, I always try to take them a bit beyond and as English is a language in which you can talk about anything: about medicine, about flowers, about I don't know, how glasses are made, it takes you to many corners, you see. (KG: And are there any aspects of world culture that interest you a lot?) They interest me a lot and I always try to take the path that way."

238 "Always, always my lessons are based on cultural things. There is a module in Year 12 that is called literary culture so we have a look at Hamlet and Emily Dickinson and we compare it to… (…) We go to Pablo Neruda's house on a trip. (KG: And do they engage with that?) Not a lot… but I start with music, so I always ask them to bring the music that they like, and you could say that this is a poem. 'And why could you say that?' And I start from there, so sometimes they engage a bit anyway and I say, at least so they get to know. There are some who have lived here for fifteen years and they have never been to Pablo Neruda's house. So I take them there every year for that module. And they are amazed, "Oh Miss, how beautiful', even if they only marvel at the view.

Her approach tackles the "new" and apparently fairly "alien" topic *literature* through two different ways of access. One is the students' very "own" youth culture: music and song lyrics which *they* can choose and bring to class. The other one takes the students out of their usual classroom environment, out and into their own countries' cultural life and thus building on "universals" of human life: a poetic stance towards life in general.

To conclude, Gabriela's approach is exciting because it combines comparisons between the students' own culture with international and target culture materials. In addition to this, her participatory, active methodology in which students get involved into a variety of cultural and linguistic activities as "whole" persons seems to bear fruits.

10.4.2 Tania (12M) : from small-c culture to big-C culture

Tania is another teacher whose motivational talks and strategies have served as a positive point of reference, contrasting the experiences of some of those teachers whose sense of agency seems to suffer in the face of similar difficulties (cf. 10.2.4). The interview with her is also very special as it develops the topic of motivation from the beginning, without much prompting from my side. My initial question about the meaning of being an English teacher in Chile is immediately answered by her own motivations about learning and teaching English, which are very much related to reading and the possibility of broadening one's perspective. Thus, I immediately follow up her answer with the question about how much her own motivation is probably reflected by the students'. This leads her to explain the complexities of the "cultural" environment in which she works, first, in the context of her students' future aspirations:

> TQ169: "el nivel:: social de ellas ..o cultural:: .. es súper reducido .. es súper bajo.. imagínate que yo a veces les hago trabajos.... e:: que.. hagan un afiche.. e:: de .. no sé po de algún lugar que ellas e:: puedan mostra::r de Chile de [a large city near the town they live] yo siempre les doy algunos ejemplos.. y ellas no saben.. bueno .. algunas .. y dicen.. 'a ver es que no sé .. no conozco' '¿pero cómo .. no has ido a [large city near the town they live]?'.. 'no.. una vez fui:: ya'.. la profesora de lenguaje ... las saca harto y las trae acá de: casco histórico.. (…) les hace un recorrido bien interesante bien entretenido.. y sabes que las niñas de eso comentan.. de esos viajes.. no conocen mucho más.. que eso" (12M, 3)[239]

But at least some time in their lives they have (…) 'I got to know Pablo Neruda's house because my English teacher took me there'."

239 "Their social or cultural level is super reduced, super low. Imagine that sometimes I ask them to (…) make a poster of some place I don't know that they can show of Chile, of

Then, Tania quickly moves on to lay out her theories about teacher action towards student motivation. Interestingly, she first refers to "theoretical" educational discourse - "words that are used a lot" – to introduce the ideas of ownership and meaningful contents:

> TQ170: "que sea pertinente lo que uno enseña y que sea:.. atracti::vo y:: (…) que se apropien.. de::: de los contenidos .. de las situaciones.. qué sea significativo" (12M, 3)[240]

However, in her accounts later on it becomes clear that these ideas have really become part and parcel of her own beliefs, and that she, herself, has experienced what it means to find meaningful contents of which the students happily take ownership. She is also very clear about the limits and liberties she has as a teacher, working at a public school where some contents are dictated by the government curriculum and school programmes. What works well for her is that it is only grammar contents and skills that are pre-established. Concerning topics, she is allowed to make her own selection, as long as they are compatible with the grammar and skills she needs to cover. In those terms, her own *and* the students' interests both play a role: at the beginning of the school year, she uses surveys with students to find out about their likes and dislikes, to inform her topic choice later on. On the other hand, she says that when she notices that a topic (e.g. from the textbook) bores even her, she tries to quickly wrap up the unit and move on.

What I found especially interesting in this interview is that there are some issues that are closely related to the framework on cultural contents presented in chapter 4, which, however, seem to spring from her own reflections; at least she does not make any more explicit references to educationalists or cultural theorists. I will briefly present two extracts, which are taken first from the middle part, the other one from the end of the interview, before summing up the main ideas. The juxtaposition of the two extracts will also show that there are certain parallels, which point at the stability of her belief system:

> TQ171: "para la elección de temáticas ahí va::. en mi:. digamos mi:: criterio propio de:: de entretenerlas pero que también apren aprendan otras cosas (…) que no sea al-

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[a large city near the town they live]. I always give them some examples. And they don't know, well, some of them, and say 'well, I don't know [that place]'. 'But have you never gone to [the large city near the town they live]?' 'No, well, I went once.' The Spanish teacher takes them out a lot and takes them to the old town and goes on a really interesting and fun trip with them. And you know that the kids keep talking about those trips. They don't know much more than that."

240 "What one teaches needs to be pertinent and attractive, so they can take ownership of the contents, of the situations. It needs to be meaningful."

go tan vacío .. que no sea no sé po hablar solamente de::: de.. un canta:nte.. pero que aprendan una cosita más.. que .. ampliarle lo cultural.. (KG: ya.. ¿y como qué cosas por ejemplo en en esos términos? .. ¿puedes dar algunos ejemplos? (…)) por ejemplo una vez vimos un extracto de *Hamlet*… e:: era un resumen en realidad... entonces después vimos algunas escenas de la película ... de Mel Gibson.. esa que es más moderna.. e:: les gustó harto (…) yo pensé que no .. pero con la frase *to be or not to be* ya es como ser o no ser como ellas de alguna: manera la traen por ahí: .. se acordaron .. y la historia es interesante ..como era era un *film review* ... entonces era mostraban los detalles más… más importantes.. (…) les gustó harto.. he visto e:: *Hamlet* ... e:::m biografías.. una vez una de Nicanor Parra ... de:: .. después ellas buscan ya yo les muestro un modelo a veces de: sor Teresa .. por ejemplo.. o de Martin Luther King ... esa la vimos la otra vez chiquitita .. y::: explicaba lo del:: del caso Parks .. de Rosa Parks .. de que se subía al bus y le pidieron que dieran el asiento .. y les encantó..” (12M, 5)[241]

TQ172: “yo creo que:: que pescar no sé po.. a::: Ricky Martin como ejemplo está bien (…) y ellas se entusiasman .. pero después ellas tienen que buscar de algo más importante.. en relación ya no sé po.. e:: Mozart.. si es de la música .. entonces ven o vemos varios tipos de música pop música clásica rock entonces ya.. ahí .. empezamos a meter un poco el bagaje cultural po o:: otras cositas.. películas .. por ahí vemos películas.. la unidad se llamaba films.. entonces vimos *Notting Hill* .. después empezamos hablar de otras películas entonces algo primero que sea atractivo .. oh que me encanta el Hugh Grant [laughs].. yo estuve todo el rato así.. (KG: [laughs]) e::: y se ríen porque yo les digo ay me encanta él:: siempre les digo.. o le digo cosas a la pantalla y ellas se ríen .. claro.. y:::: e:: podemos partir con algo:: muy interesante para ellas.. o muy *light*.. pero después viene la otra parte que ellas después no se dan cuenta .. y se entusiasman.. porque una vez vimos una unidad de:: (…) personas que hacen algo.. bueno por la humanidad .. entonces ahí vimos el del Martin Luther Ki:ng .. del boico:t.. y yo les decía ‘y aquí qué hacemos los chilenos nos suben el pasaje.. y seguimos viajando.. entonces los niños caminaban kilómetros .. y no tomaban el bus .. por un año .. un año .. se imaginan’ y empezamos a conversar.. entonce::s yo creo que de a poco las voy::: las chiquititas cuestan más pero ya.. que van::: creciendo .. entonces se interesan y al final quieren conocer más de otras personas que han hecho cosas de ese tipo .. como grandiosas… y ahí vieron la Madre Te-

241 “For the selection of topics, it is up to my own criterion to entertain them but also so they learn other things. So it isn’t something that empty, not just talking about a singer, but that they learn something else, to broaden their culture. (KG: And like what things for example?) For example, once we saw an extract from Hamlet. It was a summary, in fact. So after that we saw a few scenes from the movie, the Mel Gibson one, which is more modern. And they liked it a lot. I thought that they wouldn’t. But with the phrase *To be or not to be* they had it stored in some way there, they remembered. And the story is interesting. As it was a film review they showed the most important details. They liked it a lot. I’ve seen Hamlet, and biographies, for example, Martin Luther King. We saw that the other day a little bit, and it explained the Rosa Parks case, when she got on a bus and they asked her to give up her seat… and they loved it.”

re:sa.. ellas mismas buscaron.. e:: Gandhi .. también.. entonces ahí van aprendiendo..” (12M, 10)[242]

Tania’s principles of culture teaching, thus, seem to include the following: first, there is a clear distinction between cultural contents that are worth including because they are entertaining and fun, close to the students’ world (and therefore motivating and engaging), and other cultural contents that need to be included because they alone can broaden the students’ horizons and add to their cultural background, or “cultural baggage”, as she calls it, that they collect on the way. This distinction runs very closely along the lines of the concepts used in Cultural Studies, differentiating culture with a “small c” (popular culture) and Culture with a “capital C” (“high”, often elitist culture), and is reminiscent of Volkmann’s call to include both “Rambo and Rimbaud” into foreign language-and-culture curricula (2010: 39).

Then, the potential of audiovisual media to make “high culture” interesting and accessible to the younger generations is also mentioned here. For example, the fact that the shown *Hamlet* version is “more modern” is presented as having a positive impact on student engagement. In those terms, Tania is also clear that the “light” versions of culture are the first stepping-stone in the build-up of a unit that leads on to deeper or more complex topics.

Last but not least, what seems to be important for Tania is that the additional value of “high culture” or “universal culture” consists in its empowering com-

242 “I believe that to take, I don’t know, Ricky Martin as an example is okay, and they are enthusiastic but then they have to look for something that is more important. I don’t know, related to… Mozart, if it’s music. So they see or we see various types of music: pop, music, classic, rock, so there we start to add a bit to their cultural background or other things, movies, so sometimes we watch movies. The unit that was called movies, so we watched *Notting Hill*, then we started to talk about other movies, so first something that might be attractive. Oh I love Hugh Grant! I was all the time like this [laughs]. And they laugh because I tell them, oh, I love him, I always tell them, or I say things to the screen and they laugh, of course. And we can start with something that is very interesting for them, or very *light*, but then there comes the other part which they don’t even notice, and they are enthusiastic about it. Because once we saw a unit on (…) people who do something good for humanity. So there we saw something about Martin Luther King, the boycott. And I told them: ‘and here, what are we doing, the Chileans? They raise the fares and we continue taking the bus. So there the kids walked for miles and didn’t take the bus for a year, a year, imagine!’ and we started talking. So I think that little by little I … with the little ones it’s more difficult but they are growing up… so they get interested and in the end they want to know more about other people who have done things of that kind. Like great things. And then they found out about Mother Theresa, they started looking for it themselves, and Gandhi, too. So they are learning.”

ponent: the two interview extracts "culminate" in references to the biographies of famous social or spiritual leaders, especially Martin Luther King and Rosa Parks. The way in which Tania quotes herself as talking to her students about the bus boycott parallels my idea of using other cultures as "eye-openers" about one's own situation, and extracting messages that show up possibilities for change.

10.4.3 Verónica (17S/A): My Experience – Your Experience

Verónica is a clear exception among the interviewed teachers, as she lived in Canada for ten years and also trained as a teacher there. It is not only the fact that she lived abroad that marks her identity as a teacher; what is more, her interview is full of references to the multiculturalism of the life she encountered there. Verónica returned to Chile in 2005, i.e. about three or four years before the interview took place, and gained her most significant teaching experience in a state-subsidised private school for young adults who have not finished their secondary education in the regular system, usually due to problems that are associated to their very low socio-economic status. Her interview is evidence of a teacher with a very "different" experience, who tries to engage her students in learning English by finding "matches" between the reality of their lives and what she can offer to them as a returned emigrant.

Her declared aim is to share the foreign culture with her students so the "kids" grow and open their minds. In addition, she also talks about both integrative and instrumental motives for wanting to learn English: in this vein, she wishes to be able to help her students in reading what they like in English and on the other hand, help them with their future careers. However, this reference to future jobs is the only time in the interview that she mentions instrumental motivations. A much more consistent idea in the interview is the repeated reference to her students' personal and cultural identities, which are marked by the profound social injustices in the country, and how these relate to the learning of a foreign language and culture.

In the following, I will again present several interview passages with few comments in between, to then summarise the most important principles of Verónica's approach. First of all, she seems to have a very clear idea about her distinct personal identity as a teacher. To her, it has two advantages: on one hand, she feels that her familiarity with life abroad gives her knowledge, and thus, authority that other teachers might not have; on the other, her experience also seems to help to reach her students on an affective level:

TQ173: "el hecho de haber vivido allá a mí me da la.. quizás como la ventaja.. por sobre los profesores que no han estado .. porque yo tengo mis propias experiencias.. y mis propias vivencias ... entonces yo a ellos les puedo con base.. decir .. 'no po.. lo que tú estás diciendo no es así:: ... sino que e:e: esto se da así allá' .. ¿me entiendes?.. entonces.. e: incluso el hecho de que por ejemplo yo les cuente cosas de las que yo viví como las cosas son allá:: y hago volar la imaginación de ellos e e:: ..... de cierta manera es interesante para ellos todos me escuchan así como wuuaauu el hecho de que yo tengo fotos:: por ejemplo ... (…) ... y les llevo para que ellos vean en vivo la.. entonces es otro... el *approach* que yo tengo con ellos. es diferente.. lo que yo viví:: .... por diez años:: en en en Canadá ... entonces... es diferente.. quizás el entusiasmo mío es diferente.. obviamente porque yo les cuento mis propias experiencias..." (17S/A, 4)[243]

However, one of the most important passages of the interview does not really depend so much on her own experience: when she tells me of her success to engage her very disaffected students with the Phil Collins song "Another Day in Paradise", it seems that it is mainly her capacity to empathise that helps her to find appropriate thematic teaching material for her students; on the other hand, other characteristics such as the speed of the song and repetitions to make listening more accessible, also play a role in her decisions:

TQ174: "(…) realmente no les interesa nada ... o sea tú puedes hacer un tremendo show adelante y puedes traerle .. lo que tú.. piensas que pudiera.. encajar ahí… tuve una experiencia muy buena yo con una canción de Phil Collins ... es que donde yo quería más o menos hacer una diferencia con e:: la gramática.. y que ellos analizaran un poco la la canción de acuerdo al p:oco vocabulario que ellos tenían.. (…) *'Another Day in Paradise'* (…) porque es lenta ves.. entonces.. de cierta manera se van repitiendo ciertas cosas.. esa.. porque justamente.. la utilicé porque e::.. muchos alumnos de estos tienen como esa experiencia que tiene esa canción... ya.. de estar en la calle:: a:: de no tener dinero para:: de repente para:: .. ni siquiera para comer porque ... e:: por ejemplo en el en el colegio donde donde yo estuve yo llevaba sándwich:: porque habían.. a::lumnos que no tomaban desayuno por dos días .. o por tres días e tuvimos la experiencia de un alumno que:: vivía con el perro:: y no tenía un lugar donde vivir ... entonces él se entraba al colegio en las noches a dormir en una sala..... o sea mi experiencia de media es totalmente diferente a las.. a lo mejor a

243 "The fact that I lived there gives me maybe the advantage over other teachers who haven't been… because I have my own experiences, having lived it myself, so I can tell them [the students] with good reasons 'no, what you are saying is not really like this, but it's like that there', you see? So even with the fact that for example I tell them things that I lived there I make their imagination fly. In some way it is interesting because everybody listens so 'wow'… the fact that I have photos for example and I take them so they can see 'live'. So the approach that I have with them is different. What I lived for ten years in Canada. So it's different, maybe my enthusiasm is different, obviously because I tell them my own experiences."

las versiones que te han dado los demás .. lo mío es fuerte ... es muy muy fuerte e:: lo social ha sido ahí fuertísimo .. (…) con esa canción me resultó porque la la letra de la canción::.. de alguna manera les llamaba la atención.. porque ellos.. viven en en un ambiente que es pobre ... me entiendes tú.. viven a o mejor alguno de ellos han vagado alguna vez en la calle con.. con alguna droga que no es lo que dice la canción pero.. a lo mejor se pusieron ellos en esa:: .. y a lo mejor yo fui la única profesora.... e:: que les puso una canción..... me entiendes.. porque estaban ... pero e e yo te digo o sea el curso que me tocó a mí era de los que tiraba papeles de los que daba vueltas los .. los bancos de que había que estar pendiente si venían drogados para mandarlos a la casa o venían con alcohol.. para mandarlos a la casa ... porque.. la mayoría de ellos son.. e violentos.. niñas que ponte tú:: se prostitu::: se prostituyen.. ¿me entiendes?.. pero en cambio cuando yo puse la canción y los hice escuchar.... quedaron todos en silencio.. e el interés fue súper grande en cuanto al contenido de la canción... el hecho de que ellos me pudieran '¿qué es lo que piensan ustedes que dice acá?'.. *you know* ... que ellos pudieran.. eso yo.. yo yo siempre recuerdo esa clase porque::: .. fue:: incluso uno de ellos recortó:: .. porque el festival de viña del mar tú lo conoces.. hizo una gaviota .. (…) felices con la canción y después a mi próxima clase.. ellos querían que siguiera yo.. analizando más canciones .. algo que también les di.. porque.. yo te digo después de esa clase.. llegar.. empezaron a llegar los alumnos con su::s mp4 algunos:: ... (…) e:: y 'profesora mire escuche esta canción .. ¿qué dice?' y.. y me los ponían a mí.. entonces.. 'aquí tengo los *lyrics*.. ¿qué significa esto .. qué significa esto otro?' .. ¿me entiendes?... eso... generó eso... el que.. cada clase me me trajeran algo una canción que ellos quisieran.." (17S/A, 6/7)[244]

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244 "They aren't really interested in anything at all. I mean, you can do a huge show in front and bring them what you think might fit there; I had a very good experience with a Phil Collins song. I wanted to make a difference with the grammar and wanted them to analyse the song a bit according to the little vocabulary they had. *'Another Day in Paradise.'* Because it's slow, you see. (…) Some things are repeated. I used it because many of these students have the experience of this song, of living in the streets, not having money sometimes not even for food, because for example in the school where I was I took sandwiches because there were students who had not had breakfast for two days or three days and we had the experience of a student who lived with a dog and did not have a place to live, so he entered the school at night to sleep in a classroom. I mean, my experience with secondary school is completely different (…) maybe to the versions that the others have given to you. Mine is heavy. It's very very heavy, the social issue has been extremely heavy there. With this song it worked because the lyrics somehow caught their attention. Because they live in a poor environment, you see. They live or, to be more precise, some of them have roamed in the streets, with some drug – which is not what the song says but – maybe they put themselves into this... and maybe I was the only teacher that put on a song, you see. (…) I mean, this class was one of those that were throwing papers, who turned over the desks, so you had to watch out if they were coming in on drugs or drunk to send them back home because most of them are violent. The girls work as prostitutes, you see? But when I put on the song for them to listen they all went quiet and their interest was huge as to the content of the song. The fact that

Then, she continues with an observation on the way this lesson connected to her overall aim to help her students change their negative perception of English-speaking cultures:

> TQ175: "[Puedo] expandirme yo en cuanto a lo que significa e:: por ejemplo vivir en otro lugar .. cambiarle un poco la percepción negativa (…) que tenían algunos de ellos .. en cuanto a: los yanquis por ejemplo (…) esa parte negativa que que vienen a puro explotar y que que se llevan toda la plata y dejan los países más pobres en fin:. que que hay cierta verdad en ese sentido en cuanto a eso pero también... más mostrarles las partes positivas que puedo lograr yo como persona ... aprendiendo esto o sea.. *you know*.. es e::: como grande ...(…) eso a mí me llena de satisfacción .. porque.. lo que yo quería lograr a lo mejor de alguna manera lo logré.. a lo mejor no todo lo que yo quería pero un poquito ..*you know* ... hay algunos que.. que cuando de repente me ven en la calle 'profesora sabe que.. cada vez que escucho esa canción me acuerdo de usted..'" (17S/A, 7)[245]

She tells me that one idea about sharing the positive aspects of the culture she experienced there is, for example, recycling, so she has started to separate waste with her students. Likewise, she asks students to bring texts or other things they find from or about Canada to lessons, to share that information. Another aspect of Verónica's mission is countering and putting into perspective the "negative" bits that are part of the exportation of cultural products from the USA, such as violent movies. On the other hand, she also calls on her students to reflect on their own culture and think about those points that would make a positive contribution to other cultures; thus, turn on its head the hegemonic assumption that

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they could 'what do you think it says here?' You know, that they could… I always remember that lesson because one of them even cut out a seagull because of the Viña del Mar Festival; you know it [audience award for best songs at the festival]. They were happy with the song and then they wanted to continue analysing songs in the following lessons. I also brought them because I tell you, after that lesson, the students started coming to class, some of them with their mp4 players and 'miss, look, listen to this song, what does it say?' and they had me listen. Then, 'here I have the lyrics, what does this mean, and that?' you see? This was what it generated: every class they brought a song that they liked."

245 "I can expand on what it means for example to live in another place, change a bit their negative perception that some of them had in relation to the *Yankees* for example. This negative part that they only come here to exploit and that they take all the money home and leave the countries poorer. Right, there is some truth in this but also… show them the positive part that I can achieve as a person learning this or, you know, it's like big. It fills me with satisfaction because maybe in some way I achieved what I wanted to achieve. Maybe not everything I wanted but a bit, you know. There are some who when they see me in the streets 'Miss, each time I hear this song I remember you'."

countries like Chile only participate in globalisation as consumers, but not as actively involved "givers":

> TQ176: "tengo la energía.. tengo la:: (…) pasión a lo mejor... (…).. por todo lo que yo viví .. por todo lo que a mí me signi.. y de alguna manera ellos absorben un poco eso.. y que no se dejen guiar.. e:: eso más yo creo que más que nada lo que yo transmito.. e:: el respeto... que no se dejen guiar por imágenes que ellos ven.. de violencia por ejemplo.. porque yo les digo 'eso no es así.. eso es nada más que para vender.. entonces tómenlo ustedes… del otro .. desde el otro punto de vista..' (…) por ejemplo la pregunta '¿qué han absorbido los americanos de nosotros?'.. '¿qué transmitimos nosotros..?'.. '¿qué a ellos les pudiera servir por ejemplo porque siempre ellos..?' .... ¿me entiendes?.. no sé si me entiendes" (17S/A, 9)[246]

Later on, she explains the way her multicultural experience in Toronto gives her some points of reference to be able to address the covert or overt racism that she notices in Chile; her use of the third person plural shows that she does not feel part of that side of Chile:

> TQ177: "el hecho de por ejemplo yo haber experimentado el vivir allá ...el que a mí me pasaron unas experiencias propias por ser de::: Sudamérica (…) aquí en Chile son muy racistas .... con los mismos países sudamericanos .. por ejemplo.. Bolivia.. Perú .. ¿me entiendes? e:: son racistas .... y hay como una negatividad en contra de ellos:: ..... yo viví en en en Toronto.. y yo percibí ese racismo e:: por ser por hablar español por ejemplo ..por no ser rubia .. por no tener los ojos azules... por no e…:: a ver como explicarte:: más que nada por pertenecer a la parte de Sudamérica (…) entonces yo les ... les hablo a ellos que somos todos iguales .... que somos todos seres humanos ... que si yo ... no sé tengo la opción de abrir el cuerpo de un africano.. de un chino de un mexicano de un peruano .... todos tenemos los mismos órganos:: ... es la parte de afuera la que hace que te discriminen a ti como persona .... y yo lo viví:: ... y y y y .. no.. lo viví una vez si no que lo viví varias veces .. y bien feo ... porque ... ¿para qué? entonces yo les digo a los niños por ejemplo cuando e::: en la misma enseñanza media cuando e:::: hablamos de:: Perú o de los partidos de fútbol .... de repente .... se te van los temas para cualquier lado ..... e: esa negatividad en contra de los peruanos .. o de los bolivianos.. e::: el rechazo.. que no debería existir .... como yo lo viví ... entonces yo lo manifiesto de otra manera ... y de alguna manera yo podría decir que a lo mejor les cambio un poco.. e::: tendría que hacer un seguimiento para ver si realmente.. (…) em:: que los niños sean más tolerantes:: ...

246 "I have the energy, the passion maybe even; for all that I lived there, all that it means to me. And in some way they absorb that a bit: that they should not be misled. I think this is really what I transmit, the respect, that they should not be misled by the images that they see, of violence, for example. Because I tell them 'This is not the way it is, this is only to sell, so take it from the other point of view.' For example the question 'what have the Americans absorbed from us?' 'What do we transmit?' 'What could be of use to them for example because they always…?' Do you understand? I don't know if you understand."

¿me entiendes? e:: eso ... porque yo les cuento mi mis:: experiencias... tampoco se me va toda la clase contándoles mis experiencias .. pero cuando está el tema relacionado con lo que estamos viendo .. me tiro un poquito a decirles ciertas cosas y de ahí continúo..." (17S/A, 11)[247]

Verónica then goes on from her observations on racism, to compare her experiences concerning class-consciousness in Canada and in Chile. This comment is already quoted in chapter 9.3 (TQ96), and refers to the importance that Chileans tend to give to formal clothes and appearances, whereas in Verónica's experience, in Canada nobody cared if she was wearing formal or casual clothes. What might have worked as an eye-opener to her about her own culture helps her to empathise with her students on her return to Chile; in response to my question about how the students react to her observations, she answers:

TQ178: "por ejemplo estos alumnos de:: ... ellos están muy resentidos en ese aspecto... porque ellos obviamente.. que lo han vivido mucho más .... y cuando tú te encuentras con un profesor que está.. que apoya digamos esa parte que que los entiende en esa parte..... ellos se sienten contentos de alguna manera.. porque.. ven que una persona notó ese aspecto.. ¿me entiendes tú?.. (…) e:: y quizás por eso el .. el contacto que por ejemplo me ven en la calle .. me me saludan o me digan ciertas cosas... e:: y sean sincero también ... porque tú notas cuando un alumno es sincero" (17S/A, 12)[248]

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247 "The fact for example of having experienced living there; the fact that I had a few experiences of my own of being from South America… Here in Chile people are very racist, with the South American countries themselves, for example Bolivia, Peru. You see? They are racist, there is like a negativity against them. In Toronto, I perceived that racism for being, for speaking Spanish for example, for not being blonde, blue-eyed, for not, how can I explain – simply for belonging to South America. So I talk to them that we are all equal, that we are all humans, and if I had the option to open the body of an African, of a Chinese, a Mexican or a Peruvian, we have all the same organs. It's the outside part which makes people discriminate against you as a person. And I lived it. Not just once, several times, and really bad. (…) So I tell the kids that for example when we talk about Peru, or about football – sometimes the topics start going their own ways – this negativity against the Peruvians or the Bolivians, the rejection that should not exist - how I lived it. So I state it in a different way. And in some way I could say that maybe I do change them a bit… well, I would have to monitor to see if it really… For the kids to be more tolerant, you see? Because I tell them about my experiences. Not that I spend all the lessons telling them about my experiences, but when the topic is related to something we are doing in class I take the chance to tell them certain things and then I go on."

248 "These students are very resentful in this aspect because they clearly have lived it a lot more. And when you come across a teacher who supports that part, that understands them in this respect, they feel happy in some way, because they see that someone noticed this aspect, you see? And maybe because of this, when they see me in the street for

To sum up, Verónica's account displays an impressive degree of reflexivity around interculturality and identity issues. In terms of her teaching approach, this seems to be mainly reflected in the way she communicates with her students and tries to reach them both cognitively and affectively. It includes, first of all, recognition of the special contribution that she can make as a returned emigrant, based on the credibility and authority that she derives from her personal experiences. Then, Verónica also shows great clarity about power relations in a world that is divided into a rich North and a poorer South. However, she has a differentiated perspective in identifying the power relations within these divisions and the role that the media play, for example, in perpetuating stereotypes.

As a teacher, she describes herself as passionate; empathy seems to be the central aspect of her approach, both in her own way of relating to the students, and in the learning objectives she establishes for her students. Thus, the recognition of her students' experiences and previous knowledge serve as a starting point for her pedagogical intervention: for example, she does not refrain from being empathically explicit about their marginality in a class-conscious society; in the end, this is what she has found to "work" as a basis for learner motivation and engagement. On the other hand, she also makes conscious, autonomous decisions about prioritising learning objectives, such as tackling racism and breaking down stereotypes, especially within Chile. In addition, she gives a great deal of importance to the "mediated" encounters that students generally have with the target cultures: here, she sees the need to go deeper than the surface of the image presented and gain a more complete and balanced understanding of the other countries.

10.4.4 Conclusion

In this sub-chapter, I have aimed to present some positive accounts of curricular decision-making at teacher-and-classroom level, concerning cultural contents for English, and in the light of student motivation and empowerment. I believe that the picture presented here is one of hope, contrasting some of the bleak perspectives presented by Pinto (2008, see also 10.1). We have seen three teachers who have, at one hand, the institutional liberty, and on the other hand, the knowledge, creativity and reflexivity to choose contents which they find appropriate for their students, in terms of both motivation and pedagogical value; (external) liberty and (internal) personal capacity being the main ingredients of autonomy (cf.

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example, they say hello and certain things, and they mean it… because you notice when a student is sincere."

Benson 2008:17f.). In those terms, Pinto's concerns expressed around the low degree of autonomy awarded to teachers in a system which reserves important curricular decisions for hierarchically and administratively "higher" levels, can be, at least, complemented with the teacher interviews presented here. However, it is certainly necessary to remember that among all the teachers interviewed for this particular research investigation, these three really constituted exceptions, both in their beliefs around the role of culture in ELT, and in the development of their sense of agency: their personal experiences, their beliefs, and their relationship with the students seem to open up a "Dynamic Interrelational Space" (La Ganza, op.cit.) that supports their professional autonomy and their capacity to find suitable cultural material for the work with their students.

At the same time, the analysis showed that, at least to a certain extent, the teachers' stance towards the society in which we live is fairly critical, and that they see part of their mission in educating their students in relation to it. How does this fit in with Pinto's claims for a critical pedagogy? For example, with Tania's comments on the Montgomery bus boycott, or with Verónica's ideas of South American contributions towards a global culture, we can see that these teachers are openly questioning the hegemonic order of society and even proposing change. All of them seem to give preferential attention to alternative and sub-ordinated cultures. With the three teachers' clear idea about what good English teaching is about and the self-confidence with which they state it, there is also a certain proxmity to Pinto's call for teachers to act as "intellectuals without fear of being protagonists" (222).

However, as Pinto points out, there is also a greater need for collective reflection: it cannot be just isolated cases of teachers who participate in the teaching-learning process in the way discussed above (cf. 235). As such, it is not just their personal identity as teachers, but also their collective and social identities which are at stake. In some of these cases, it looks as if some of the teachers obtain their sense of agency partly out of the comparison with other teachers who are, according to them, less capable or less creative in engaging their students in the way they do. Spaces and time for the exchange of curricular ideas could therefore be a step forward.

In addition, we have seen here that the three teachers presented all have their very own priorities, strengths, and possible areas for development. For example, whereas Gabriela's approach highlights the cognitive and action-oriented aspects of learning and teaching, Tania and Verónica give greater emphasis to affective dimensions. Each of them also has a different approach to cultural contents: in comparison, Gabriela seems to be most independent of target culture contents, mixing mainly international and source culture materials; Tania's approach contains a bit of everything – US and British culture, India, Chile; Ve-

rónica, of course, focuses on Canada, which is relatively unusual as a first choice. This shows how the teachers' search for solutions depends very much on their own experiences, their beliefs, and the realities of their school environments and their students. Thus, the decisions that teachers finally take can be as varied as the accounts presented in this chapter. Again, more opportunities for exchange among English teachers could give the various possibilities greater potential.

Finally, it is of course impossible here to make any judgment about the effectiveness or the results of the approaches described above. This is also a fact that the teachers themselves observe. On the other hand, the teachers' personal sense of job satisfaction is a first indication that what they are doing is at least more successful than the approaches of those teachers who feel frustrated with their work at schools. What all of this might mean for further research, curricular policies, and teacher training will be the subject of the following, and final chapter.

PART IV: Conclusions

Throughout this book I have examined the interplay of diverse aspects of English learning and teaching in Chile: cultural, social and personal identities of learners and teachers in a socio-economically and culturally heterogeneous country; teachers' professional identities in a school system which suffers from blatant social inequalities; Ministry of Education-defined linguistic, cultural and cross-curricular learning objectives for English as a school subject; cultural textbook contents and ICT resources; student motivation in general, and more specifically motivation to acquire the language; finally, teachers' curricular decision-making, as based on their beliefs and experiences. It is now time for me to draw final conclusions from the analyses presented above. As these conclusions have a range of implications, they are divided into recommendations for further research, for educational and curricular policies, for materials development, and for teacher training.

11. 21st Century Proposals for Motivation and Empowerment in the Teaching and Learning of English in Latin America

11.1 Proposals for Further Research

As all research projects have their limitations in terms of time and available resources, there are several aspects that, in my opinion, did not receive sufficient attention within this investigation. In order to make the picture presented here more complete, I believe that there are certain points that could be covered in subsequent projects.

First of all, as one of the central points here is related to intercultural education, one further line of research could focus on the perspective of teachers who work in those schools in which intercultural issues are more directly tangible. Unfortunately, this was not possible for this project, but it would certainly enrich research if, for example, English teachers from Central Santiago were interviewed, who work in schools with a greater immigrant population, especially from Peru. In the same vein, in Santiago and in rural areas, it would be interesting to find out about the perspectives of teachers who work closely with the Mapuche or other indigenous communities.[249] These perspectives could give valuable hints about ways in which intercultural education through English could be offered to all students across the country.

For a different emphasis, classroom-based ethnographic research, especially lesson observations, could provide insights into the way in which certain cultural contents and classroom interaction forms could be exploited together for learner engagement; i.e., how topics and methodological approaches can come together to foster student motivation and critical reflection (cf. Tudor 2001, Wajnryb 1992, Watson-Gegeo 1988).

Another important perspective is, of course, the learners' viewpoint on their own motivation and the cultural contents they have encountered, or wish they could learn about, in class. In this case, I would personally opt again for a qualitative approach, for example, by collecting data through group interviews. On the other hand, quantitative methods, such as questionnaires could also yield in-

249 For a research line that does not have as its explicit aim to include or focus on the more marginalised, less priviledged sectors of the population, one could add, at the other end of the socio-economic scale, the views of teachers in bilingual (especially British) or trilingual private schools (especially, Italian, German or French, but also Arabic or others) – maybe for contrast?

teresting data, especially if they included some open questions for which the answers could be more detailed. A research project from this angle would enrich the knowledge base, complementing the experiences and views given by the teachers. What is more, if such a perspective was accompanied by some sort of immediate action concerning the respective learning contents, it could possibly have a direct positive impact on the learners' motivation and learning outcomes.

In addition to these empirical approaches, more theoretical research to sustain a constant debate about pertinent learning contents for English (world-wide, in Latin America, in Chile) is also needed. Literature, Cultural and Media Studies should play an important role in this area, with a pedagogical perspective in mind (cf. for example Voigts-Virchow 2005, Delanoy & Volkmann 2006 for publications in the German-speaking world).

Following this logic, a combination of all the points mentioned above could also be very useful for case studies; under these circumstances, the participating schools and the materials they use would have to be selected very carefully, so as to ensure that the study would obtain insightful results. This could provide further information to inform the following points: curricular policies, materials development, and teacher training.

11.2 Proposals for Educational and Curricular Policies

As pointed out before, some of the ways in which educational policies are implemented actually undermine teachers' sense of agency and their subjective impression of being in control over their work, rather than supporting them. One important cause for complaint is the "centralised" provision of textbooks which are often not suitable for work with students. Instead, central government should provide schools with budgets for language learning material, allowing language departments to make autonomous use of the available funds. At the same time, teachers must be allocated more time, training and opportunities for personal and collective reflection, action research, and the selection, adaptation and creation of materials, of course all within their paid school hours (cf. Gysling 2007). As this point has more than just financial implications, I will come back to materials in 11.3.

There are other issues, especially those related to motivation, that have arisen in the main part of this report, which should be addressed by educational players who operate at a higher level than the teacher and her or his classroom. As we have seen, many teachers stated that student demotivation is an issue that

affects all school subjects alike. In those terms, it cannot be the sole task of individual teachers to try and motivate their students; even if isolated cases of self-reliant teachers seem to be successful in this sense, their efforts have to be supported by the school system as a whole. On a government level, this could mean providing more pleasant and stimulating school buildings as learning environments, and in general, making more resources available to the schools (among others, human resources, and ICT resources). On a school level, I believe that there are many strategic projects that could be implemented to improve learner motivation, depending on the particular context, learners' socio-economic backgrounds, and the particular strengths or priorities of the various agents at the school. To name just two ideas that have arisen from the teachers' accounts, strategies could include promoting more learner-centred and action-oriented (task-based) teaching methodologies (cf. Müller-Hartmann & Schocker-von Ditfurth 2007, Prieto Parra 2001), or conducting a critical review of the current assessment system (turning it into a more learner-centred, process-based system, such as the *Assessment for Learning* approaches, cf. Lamb 2010).

11.3 Proposals for the Development of Teaching and Learning Materials

In the previous point, I argued that schools should have their autonomous budgets to buy the learning materials that they find most suitable for their specific contexts. However, there are dangers related to a policy of this kind: here in Chile, apart from the books specifically commissioned by the Ministry of Education, the market for English Language Teaching materials is entirely dominated by foreign (mainly British and American) publishing companies, selling textbooks and audio materials that are produced for supposedly "neutral" global customers. The hegemonic implications related to this phenomenon have already been examined in previous chapters.

What could be done to counter this trend? On a policy level, funds should be made available for projects that sponsor the creation of English teaching materials by writers from the region and targeted at the national or regional context. These initiatives could consider, for example, the cooperation with other Latin American countries and encompass both book publications and software- or Internet-based projects.

In terms of contents, one important point that should be addressed by "autochthonous" materials is the overlapping area between intercultural education for the indigenous population, and the intercultural "potential" in English teach-

ing. Under a critical pedagogy perspective, materials that take into account the heterogeneity of national cultures could lead to a deeper understanding (and consequently, questioning and challenging) of the workings of cultural hegemony and social, racial and economic power-relations within Chile (cf. Kubota 2004: 40). With topics concerning cultural differences and paradoxes that could even be, up to a certain point, disturbing or unsettling, teenagers and young adults could be engaged in stimulating reflections and discussions (with the linguistic support they need for doing this in English, and a great portion of sensitivity on the teacher's part). On the other hand, Volkmann rightly asks "How critical can English teaching be?" (2010: 15f.). Of course, materials must find a balance between stimuli for the cognitive learning goal of critical thinking, and the integration of an affective component which aims at developing desirable attitudes in the students, such as empathy with people from other cultures. This could be reached through the due representation of otherwise (e.g. in the media) under-represented, invisibilised social and ethnic groups from an "insider" (emic) perspective. Thus, students are given opportunities to take their viewpoint, and empathise with them.

As many teachers have stated that the most motivational teaching materials are usually songs and movies, ideas and resources for the pedagogical exploitation of audiovisual cultural products would probably be welcome, too. This could mean providing background information on song writers, musicians, film directors, etc., either in simple language for the students themselves or with additional details for the teachers. Historical and geographical settings could be exploited, and linguistic help (especially vocabulary explanations) could be offered. Choices could again be made based on the criteria of motivation and empowerment, small-c culture and Culture with a capital C, and diversity of linguistic, cultural, geographical and social origins.

Finally, given the concern expressed repeatedly by teachers about the heterogeneous learner groups they have to deal with, all newly published material should provide clear indications and options for differentiation, such as collections of texts with varying linguistic complexity, extension and review tasks, references to help pages, etc. (cf. Jiménez Raya & Lamb 2003).

11.4 Proposals for Teacher Training

It is clear that one of the main aims of a research project such as the present one must be to inform teacher training programmes. In the following section, I would like to keep recommendations open for both pre-service and in-service training instances, emphasising that most points should be covered in some way

sooner rather than later in a teacher's professional career. I will specify the stage of training only when I believe it to be necessary.

First, there are some important insights to be taken from the research approach taken here: under the reflective model for teacher training, the exploration of teacher beliefs and previous experiential knowledge (e.g. as a language learner) is already starting to become an important part of many teacher programmes around the world; they often focus on certain areas, such as methodological approaches, or learner and teacher autonomy (e.g. Müller-Hartmann & Schocker-von Ditfurth 2007, Hacker & Barkhuizen 2008, Vieira et al. 2008). The reflective analysis of cultural identities and its link to curricular decisions and selection of content topics could be a great step forward in contributing to the development of the type of critical teacher autonomy that authors like Pinto (2008) postulate.

With regard to the area of motivation covered in this project, it is clear that programmes must continue to emphasise the importance of learner motivation as a key ingredient for learning success. Reflection on motivational strategies and evaluation of their degree of success must be part of all pre-service training programmes; likewise, opportunities for collective reflection should be provided for in-service teachers. In this context, the distinction between instrumental and integrative motives, and their possible implications in a globalised world, should form part of these reflections, as they might have a significant impact on teachers' curricular decisions: the possibility of choosing cultural and critical approaches "as against" purely instrumental and hegemony-accepting approaches should be made explicit to (future) teachers, especially in view of their motivational and empowering potential. Teachers must know and keep in mind that due to its intimate connection with globalisation (and modernity in general), English as a school subject is especially at risk of pursuing a *de facto* curriculum that is based on an instrumental, functional rationality rather than a critical, empowering and transformative one (cf. Pinto 2008: 74). Based on the data I have analysed above, especially in 10.4, it seems that students appreciate it positively when teachers build their curriculum around topics that are not only "interesting" for the learners' professional futures. In this sense, it is important that one declared aim of teacher training programmes is also the development of competences in the area of materials selection, adaptation and creation.

In order to achieve this, there are several points to be learned from that appeared here in the context of culture: one point is that pre-service teacher training programmes must ensure that newly qualified teachers have a wide cultural repertoire at their disposition, including both popular and "high" culture, and tools to break this knowledge down for classroom use from beginner to intermediate level. How can this be achieved in a four-or five-year programme? As

most students are still at the level of second language acquisition when they enter university, the language courses offered there should be model examples of the integration of culture-and-language teaching, so that future teachers can later build on their personal experience as learners. In addition to this, there must be spaces and time for critical reflection on culture in general, including the knowledge of some important theories and strands such as Literature Studies, Cultural Studies, Film and Media Studies, Ethnography, Intercultural Theories, etc. Ideally, both the language-and-culture teaching component and the more theoretical component are pursued in parallel to make the reflective processes more meaningful for the student teachers.

Finally, Chilean ELT programmes should not shy away from the aim of actively and consciously developing their students' intercultural competence. With increasing numbers of students winning scholarships to study abroad, the need for this is becoming more and more evident. Even though for the majority it still might not seem a necessity, teacher training programmes have always had to "think ahead" of their times to prepare teachers for generations to come. However, this intercultural competence should not only be conceived of as a preparation for stays in English-speaking countries. As Rubio (2009) emphasises, there is an urgent need for teachers (of all school subjects) to begin realising that Chile itself is composed of a variety of co-existing cultures, rather than consisting in one homogenous national culture:

> "La formación inicial de los docentes debe instalarse sobre la conciencia creciente de que avanzamos hacia un mundo cada vez más global y fragmentario, por lo cual el concepto de ciudadanía compleja cimentada sobre la dialéctica entre integración y diferencias, sobre los procesos de hibridación que siguen dándose, debiera conducir la labor de un nuevo tipo de escuela, que valore la heterogeneidad cultural, los esfuerzos de integración y convivencia." (Rubio 2009: 285f.)[250]

Each teacher training programme should establish its own priorities and ways of achieving this aim. This might depend, for example, on varying factors, such as closeness to more or less homogenous traditional or heterogeneous urban indigenous communities, the presence of migrants in the community, the numbers of foreign students at the university, the percentage of students who travel and study abroad, the universities and countries that have mutual exchange agreements with the university, etc. On the basis of these varying contexts, it could be

250 "Initial teacher training must be built upon the growing awareness that we are moving towards an increasingly global and fragmentary world. Because of this, the concept of complex citizenship grounded on the dialectic between integration and differences, on the hybridising processes that are still going on, should lead the effort of a new type of school, which values cultural heterogeneity, the efforts of integration and co-existence."

decided if the focus should be on the acquisition of politeness rules and communicational routines, the analysis of critical incidents, anti-racism awareness-raising school projects, or other elements related to the development of intercultural competence.

11.5 Outlook

To conclude, I would like to express my hope that the reflections and insights presented here will serve other teachers and researchers to visualise English language teaching as one of the ways in which we can make a positive contribution towards a fairer, more humane, and more beautiful world. I hope that they can help us to remember in favour of whom we are studying and teaching (Freire 1996/2004: 75f.). I also hope that the ideas presented here will be an inspiration for those young people who are preparing themselves to become English teachers in Chile and in Latin America, with the idea in mind to contribute to a fairer, more equitable educational system, by teaching children and teenagers who learn with joy and make their statement to the world about the way *they* would like it to be: a place where their rights are respected, where all have opportunities to participate, where solidarity and creativity count for more than a prestigious surname or a potent family budget.

Finally, thanks again to all the teachers who kindly shared their experiences with me and thus made this project possible.

Appendix: Questionnaire

Cuestionario para profesores de inglés

Por favor, marque con una cruz las casillas correspondientes. Todos los datos recogidos en este cuestionario y en la entrevista serán tratados con la más absoluta confidencialidad.

Datos biográficos

☐ Mujer ☐ Hombre

Estudié en _____ (nombre de la institución donde se preparó para ser profesor/a de inglés) y me titulé (o egresé) en el año _____.

Experiencia laboral

Nombre (opcional) y lugar del establecimiento donde trabaja (Si trabaja en más de un establecimiento, indique aquí el donde más horas tiene):

_____

Este establecimiento es...

☐ municipalizado.

☐ particular subvencionado.

☐ particular pagado. Aquí llevo _____ años (indique número de años).

(Segundo empleo: Ese establecimiento es...

☐ municipalizado.

☐ particular subvencionado.

☐ particular pagado. Aquí llevo _____ años.

Tengo más experiencia con...

☐ 3º y 4º medio. ☐ 1º y 2º medio.

☐ educación básica. ☐ educación adultos.

Además del establecimiento donde trabajo ahora, gané experiencia en...

☐ educación municipalizada por _____ años (indique número de años).

☐ educación particular subvencionada por _____ años.

☐ educación particular pagada por _____ años.

Este año, trabajo con los libros entregados por el Ministerio de Educación para este año:

☐ Sí, *New Action* 1º Medio No, porque _____

☐ Sí, *Going Global* 2º Medio No, porque _____

☐ Sí, *Global English* 3º Medio No, porque _____

☐ Sí, *In Contact* 4º Medio No, porque _____

Estadías en países de habla inglesa / otras **ocasiones para practicar inglés**:

Lugar/país: Duración:

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

Si pudiera viajar este año, ¿adónde iría?

☐ Inglaterra ☐ Escocia, Irlanda o Gales

☐ Estados Unidos ☐ Canadá

☐ Australia o Nueva Zelanda

☐ ningún país de habla inglesa, preferiría ir a _____.

Razón: _____.

Asociaciones espontáneas:

Para mí, el inglés es _____ ,

_____ y

_____.

Los Estados Unidos son _____

_____.

Gran Bretaña es _____

_____.

Finalmente, yo volvería a escoger la misma profesión bajo la condición de que

_____

_____.

Thank you very much for your help!

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Teaching English in Chile

A Study of Teacher Perceptions of their Professional Identity, Student Motivation and Pertinent Learning Contents

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Book synopsis

This book examines the relationship between learner motivation and cultural contents for the teaching of English as a Foreign Language. It takes Chile as an example of the «Expanding Circle of English», where the 21st century has brought new challenges to English teaching. After providing background information on the presence of English in Latin America and Chile, this qualitative study includes the analysis of curricular frameworks, textbooks and teacher interviews. Conclusions propose an explicit, yet critical inclusion of both motivational strategies and cultural themes into educational and curricular policies, learning materials, and teacher training.

Contents

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Katharina Glas received her PhD in English Language Teaching from the University Jena (Germany) and teaches English and Language Pedagogy at Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso (Chile).