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

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

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

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

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

University teacher education

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

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

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

The Teaching of English in Chile: The Current Situation

Chilean students receive a minimum of 684 hours of English instruction from fifth to twelfth grade. This is a reasonable number of hours for the vast majority of learners to graduate from high school with a satisfactory level of proficiency in English. Unfortunately, the Chilean reality is affected by a number of factors that prevent this from happening. As will be discussed in this chapter, the policies that the Ministry of Education has put forward, such as national curriculum guidelines and textbooks and progress maps, have proved ineffective in ascertaining the attainment of solid levels of proficiency in English. What is more, many times, the provisions for teacher education programs do not take into account the complexity of the requirements of the Ministry of Education for English language education (extensive syllabi, standards and curriculum guides for which teachers have not received specific preparation), nor do they provide realistic preparation for the difficult task of teaching a foreign language to a rather diverse population. Additionally, the often-conflicting resolutions stemming from curriculum documents, as well as contradictions between new syllabi expectations (communicative, task oriented, complex and discourse based) and the pedagogical traditions present in schools (transmission-style pedagogy, focus on forms, memorization of vocabulary, teaching mostly in the first language), make progress slow, at best, as will be described below.

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

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

Currently, the official curriculum is undergoing important changes as a consequence of the implementation of the General Education Law, Law No. 20370 (Ministry of Education, 2009). In support of the General Education Law, the curriculum guidelines (Ministry of Education, 2013a) provide information on the skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing) to be developed in the English language classroom; the methodology guiding instruction (i.e. Communicative Language Teaching; CLT); and the attitudes toward the language learning situation to be encouraged in the classroom. Additionally, teachers are provided with Level Study programs with practical ideas and suggestions to help them improve their instructional practices.

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

Official textbooks

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

An early start: Problem or opportunity?

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

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

Table 6.1 Professional qualifications of teachers of English in Chilean schools

Source: Adapted from Vivanco (2012).

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

Putting the cart before the horse: National English tests

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Initial teacher education in English and mentor teacher preparation programs

Our extensive experience in and knowledge of the English language education field in Chile leads us to conclude that there is consensus among national educational authorities and university faculty that the way in which new teachers of English are educated at Chilean universities is inadequate for the needs of the country, a factor that may contribute to explaining why students are not learning English, even if qualified teachers teach them. Teacher education curricula have remained unchanged for years and consist mostly of purely academic courses with limited, if any, connection among themselves, and divorced from the actual reality of schools. To make matters worse, teacher education faculty have limited involvement in the public schools where student teachers complete their teaching practicum. To address this issue and, at the same time, the high teacher drop out within the first few years in the profession (Valenzuela & Sevilla, 2013), the Ministry of Education supported the idea of training school teachers as mentors, so that they could be effective role models and would be able to assist both student teachers during their practicum and newly qualified teachers (NQTs) during their induction. Two formal programs were offered in 2008 and 2010 by Universidad Alberto Hurtado: one for 24 university faculty from accredited universities in the country to become mentor trainers, and a mentor preparation program for 20 school teachers from an area encompassing the cities of La Serena (in the north of Chile) and Temuco (in the south of Chile). However, neither program prospered due to funding problems. Currently, the Ministry of Education is planning to develop a framework for good teaching practices in schools to help mentors, university supervisors and trainees relaunch mentor preparation programs.

Newly qualified teacher standards

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

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

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

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

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

An exit exam for NOTs: INICIA

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

In general, INICIA results for other subject areas have been poor (Ministry of Education, 2013c, 2015); therefore, universities have now turned to 'teaching to the exam' given the gatekeeping nature of the test. Two very relevant ethical questions that need to be posed are: Who has responsibility for the test results? And, who will answer to the recent graduates who fail the exam? Already there are voices that have yielded very valid claims about this exam not being suitable for measuring the minimum requirements for professional certification (for example, the 'Language Proficiency' section of the test does not assess listening comprehension. oral or written expression). Thus, universities claim, the exam shouldn't become an obstacle for graduates to find a job. Universities, schools and the Ministry of Education all agree that an exam like INICIA is necessary, but a well-designed implementation plan needs to be developed so that, for example, universities can have enough time and resources to restructure their curricula to make sure they meet the standards that INICIA is based on.

Teacher education and ongoing professional development

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

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

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

Discussion and Conclusion

The picture we have painted so far is one of disillusionment and neverending difficulties. What does the future have in store for English and its teaching in Chilean schools? In this chapter, we have argued that universities have to drastically improve their teacher training programs, school teachers have to change their classroom practices and students have to improve their learning substantially. For this to happen, there is a need for a general framework with clear standards and parameters carefully supported, supervised and followed-up by a variety of actors. As has been pointed out, there is widespread concern about the limited interactions among initial teacher education programs, the professional development of NQTs and the needs of public schools. The most urgent issues demanding attention are the generalized lack of credibility in teachers, the inadequate provisions of teacher education curricula, the outdated pedagogical repertoire of classroom teachers and university faculty alike, the lack of awareness about the very complex educational contexts with their associated social demands, the concern with the quality of teacher educators and the quality of the NQTs upon graduation. Initial teacher education programs will have to find alternatives to linking initial education with professional performance. In turn, the Ministry of Education will have to increase demands on learning results and make universities and schools accountable for their students' results (a point made by Valliant, 2004). At the same time, for these initiatives to succeed, governmental organizations will have to commit the financial support necessary to implement and sustain the initiatives.

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

So, again we go back to the very beginning. The problems are multifaceted and complex. They involve the NOTs' command of English (with its associated cultural products, practices and perspectives), their general pedagogical knowledge and their pedagogical content knowledge. If universities are the place where future teachers develop their professional knowledge base, then universities have to make sure that the curricula they offer have a positive impact on the professionalism of NQTs. Given the highly centralized and regulated nature of the Chilean educational system. the role of the Ministry of Education cannot be underscored and should be brought into the equation above.

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

Questions for Reflection

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

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