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Chapter 3
“British English is much more prestigious, everybody knows that!”: Reproducing and resisting hegemonic language ideologies in Chilean English teacher education

3.1 English language teacher education in Chile

As in many Latin American countries, English has experienced an important growth in interest in Chile over the last few decades. The role of English as a tool for communication in today’s globalised world has stressed the importance of this language in the participation that Latin American countries may have in the international economic sphere. In fact, Chile’s fairly recent inclusion as a member of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has increased the value of English for local and global purposes (Barahona 2016). Governmental initiatives such *as ‘Ingles Abre Puertas’* – ‘English Opens Doors’ in English – have highlighted the need for promoting the teaching and learning of English through different levels of the educational system (Matear 2008). As a result, this educational policy has placed increased importance on the training of English teachers as the success of its implementation is thought to depend largely on the quality of educators (Martin 2016). Universities across the country have seen this increasing demand for English teachers as an opportunity to offer courses in English Language Teaching (ELT) as part of their portfolio (Gomez Burgos and Walker 2020). However, the low achievement that learners have in standardised English tests (Martin 2016) has raised questions about the quality of English teachers in the country and the effectiveness of teacher education programmes in providing new teachers with the desirable pedagogical and linguistic competencies to teach the language.

Over 30 higher education institutions offer ELT courses in Chile. As proficiency is not a compulsory requirement to be accepted in these programmes, new students can join the ELT courses with little or no previous knowledge of English because they learn it as part of their studies. In addition, students are expected to achieve a C1 level of English proficiency upon completion of the course (Ministerio Secretaría General de la Presidencia et al. 2014). Although this is not a com-

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pulsory requirement to obtain this teaching qualification, the development of English proficiency is strongly supported. Barahona (2016) points out that most ELT courses offered in Chile follow an *applied science* model, offering a combination of modules in education and isolated linguistic components. However, this separation of strands has resulted in a clear disconnection between pedagogical and linguistic components (Abrahams and Farias 2010). In this respect, it is common to see courses in English phonology and grammar covering a large section of the curriculum to aid students in their development of English proficiency. The courses usually take between 4 and 5 years to complete, including at least one school-based practicum, and the submission of a dissertation. Short, intensive ELT courses, such as the Certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages[1] (CELTA) are also offered in the Chilean context; however, these courses do not offer the necessary qualification to teach in the school system and their impact on Chilean ELT has not yet been documented.

Given the concerns around student attainment and teachers' proficiency, it is crucial to investigate how the idea of English and its lingua franca use are perceived in Chilean ELT from a critical perspective. Approaches that encourage the imitation of idealised native speakers have historically dominated this field and have thus promoted the adoption of cultural norms of English that emanate from the UK or the US (Seidlhofer 2011; Baker 2015). Similarly, Barahona (2016: 49) argues that normative approaches have been traditionally adopted by English teacher education courses in Chile and this has resulted in "an understanding that to be a teacher of English it is necessary to master English at a native-like proficiency level, and that RP (Received Pronunciation) English is the best accent for a non-native teacher of English". Such an understanding of language and language learning is in line with the notion of "English as a Foreign Language" (EFL) which has often promoted native-like proficiency as the main goal of English language teaching and learning and considers deviations from idealised standards as deficient approximations rather than uses of English in their own right (Jenkins 2014). In this respect, the emergence of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) as a body of research challenges the long-standing dominance of the EFL paradigm by acknowledging and raising awareness of the fluidity, flexibility and diversity of Englishes and multilingual English users (Jenkins 2015). ELF research has also further contributed to the debate regarding what the goals of English language learning are by shifting the focus from imitation of idealised norms to the enabling of successful communication skills (Dewey and Pineda 2020).

1 Previously known as Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults.

A large body of ELF research focuses on the implications of the use of English as a global lingua franca for teacher education. Evidence from this field of research exposes the impact that ELF approaches to ELT can have on the beliefs and practices that English teachers from a variety of contexts display, as well as resistance to ideas and practices that challenge the ELT status quo (e.g., Jenkins 2007; Dewey and Patsko 2018; Sifakis and Bayyurt 2018). Similarly, recent contributions have focused on the relevance that an ELF-oriented approach has on the design of teacher education programmes that challenge idealised native-speaker standards and truly embrace the global diversity of ELF users and uses. In this respect, innovative approaches to ELF in teacher education have started to be applied in the Latin American context. For example, Gimenez, El Kadri, and Calvo (2018) provide evidence of recent explorations of the impact of ELF on teacher education in Brazil and highlight localised challenges and opportunities. However, the impact of ELF on teacher education programmes in Chile, with its diverse range of contextual conditions, needs, affordances, and constraints, remains an underexplored area. Therefore, this chapter provides insights into how teacher educators in Chile position themselves as users and teachers of English and expose ideas about English and language ideologies that operate in the education of future teachers of English. This investigation reveals that Chilean teacher educators hold complex, diverse, and in some cases conflicting beliefs about English. It also shows evidence of an emerging discourse of resistance to idealised native speaker models in ELT. Such an exploration is expected to shed light on the impact that ELF research has had on Chilean ELT, explore how the goals of ELT are perceived in this context, and expose potential issues of discrimination and marginalisation of language uses and users that are reproduced in the education of teachers of English.

3.2 Language ideologies in English language teaching

The last few decades have witnessed an increased interest in the beliefs that English language teachers have about the language they teach, particularly because of the potential impact that these beliefs may have on their practices (Fives and Buehl 2012). Research on teachers' beliefs has identified three important characteristics that need particular attention. Firstly, beliefs must be inferred as they are not easily and directly observable or measurable (Pajares 1992). In other words, teachers may be unaware of their own beliefs (Fives and Buehl 2012), and it may be difficult for them to articulate their cognitions (Donaghue 2003). Sec-

ondly, the earlier a belief is adopted the more resistant to change it becomes (Pajares 1992). In this respect, Kumaravadivelu (2012) indicates that teachers are likely to attach an emotional value to deeply rooted beliefs even when strong contradictory views are presented. And thirdly, the beliefs that teachers hold about their practices and the subject matter are heavily influenced by their own experiences as students (Borg 2015), which is a phenomenon known as "the apprenticeship of observation" (Lortie 1975). This notion refers to the fact that teachers, like most formally educated members of society, are exposed to thousands of hours of teaching instruction even before they join teacher education programmes as they observe their own teachers performing their roles. As English language teachers are constantly acquiring, negotiating, and challenging their beliefs about language and pedagogy, it is expected that they interact with beliefs that promote ideas about language – or language ideologies – that may result in favouring certain language uses and users and marginalising others. Considering this, the study of language ideologies can help to frame how hegemonic views of language are likely to impact the education of future teachers of English.

Silverstein provides one of the most widely accepted definitions of language ideologies. He describes them as "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure and use" (1979: 193). In other words, language ideologies can be understood as frameworks through which people conceptualise how language is – and should be – used. A very common example is the standard language ideology (SLI) which positions idealised British and American varieties of English as the default models in ELT. Lippi-Green (2012: 67) defines SLI as "a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, homogenous spoken language which is imposed and maintained by dominant bloc institutions and which names as its model the written language, but which is drawn primarily from the spoken language of the upper middle class". Such an ideology is constantly perpetuated in the teaching of English through essentialist cultural representations in ELT materials, idealised standards in international proficiency tests, and the invisibility of other Englishes in these and other aspects of ELT (Jenkins 2014).

Another related language ideology in ELT is what Holliday (2006) calls 'native-speakerism'. He defines it as "the belief that 'native-speaker' teachers represent a 'Western culture' from which spring the ideals both of the English language and of English language teaching methodology" (Holliday 2006: 385). In other words, this ideology promotes the idea that native speakers of English have an unrivalled authority over the language which makes them the most suitable teachers of English. This ideology is therefore responsible for the creation of an unnecessary divide between native and non-native teachers of English which results in inequality and discrimination in the field (Braine 2005). Similarly, Woolard (2016) refers to the *ide-*

ologies of authenticity and anonymity as two language ideologies that perpetuate linguistic authority in society. In relation to ELT, the ideology of authenticity considers linguistic forms and users that are associated with specific territories as legitimate and authentic against those that do not. Therefore, in order to be considered a legitimate user of English "one must sound like that kind of person who is valued as natural and authentic" (Woolard 2016: 22). On the other hand, the ideology of anonymity refers to how such hegemonic standards are promoted as accessible and unmarked forms of the language that come from nowhere while still reproducing an SLI. Therefore, the ideology of anonymity would be present in understandings of English as a 'neutral' international language as they would fail to acknowledge the diversity of ELF users and uses while adopting idealised standards as the taken-for-granted models.

From a linguistic anthropology perspective, Irvine and Gal (2009) provide a framework for the identification of language ideologies based on three semiotic processes: *iconisation*, *fractal recursivity*, and *erasure*. *Iconisation* refers to the process of associating particular linguistic features with specific social groups. By doing so, the observed linguistic feature is perceived as an inherent or "iconic" attribute of the speakers of the social group associated with it. Through this process, users of particular language varieties are given indexical attributes that are expected to be aspects of the identity of members of such a social group (e.g., British English as educated). *Fractal recursivity*, on the other hand, refers to the emergence of an "other" based on the indexical features identified in the *iconisation* process. That is, as Andronis (2004: 265) puts it, "the same oppositions that distinguish given groups from one another on larger scales can also be found within those groups and further divide it". For example, from the *iconisation* of the notion of British English as educated, we assume that other Englishes are not. However, through *fractal recursity*, we can identify certain varieties within British English as educated ones and others that would not be indexicalised as such; while even within those non-British varieties that are perceived as non-educated, it would be possible to separate between educated and non-educated uses. Finally, the process of *erasure* refers to the invisibility of the heterogeneity of the linguistic practices of social groups, which contributes to the maintenance of the process of *iconisation* and *fractal recursivity*. In this respect, the process of *erasure* contributes to the perception of language varieties as fixed and homogenous and ignores the linguistic diversity of their users. Therefore, it can be said that *erasure* has helped to perpetuate the notion of British English as the indexical linguistic variety of the British Isles, but this indexicality does not consider the vast diversity of varieties that can be found in this territory as the process of *iconisation* has erased them.

ELF research has challenged language ideologies that position certain linguistic features or idealised varieties over others and has raised awareness of the importance of acknowledging the diversity of Englishes in the field of ELT (Seidlhofer 2011; Dewey 2012). Therefore, a focus on language ideologies can help us understand how beliefs about English are constructed through discourse in contexts – or 'ideological sites' (Silverstein 1979) – where new language teachers are educated. For this reason, this chapter aims to answer the following question:

> *What language ideologies underpin the beliefs that teacher educators from Chilean ELT programmes hold regarding the English that they speak, teach, and is promoted by their programmes?*

3.3 The study

Given the situatedness of language ideologies and teachers' beliefs, this investigation adopted a multiple case study approach. Merriam (2009: 40) defines case studies as "in-depth descriptions and analysis of a bounded system", while Casanave (2010) explains that a bounded system is understood as an enclosed unit of analysis – or a specific context – where the object of study is investigated. Multiple case studies, therefore, explore a particular phenomenon in more than one case to achieve a deeper understanding of the particularities of the object of investigation. Three ELT university programmes, understood as both physical contexts and enclosed communities of practice where teacher educators perform their formal teaching roles, were selected as the cases for investigation.

The exploratory nature of this study motivated the choice of a qualitative approach to understanding how ideas about English use are presented, promoted, and challenged by teacher educators. As Merriam (2009: 42) indicates, case studies tend to be approached from a qualitative perspective "precisely because researchers are interested in insight, discover, and interpretation rather than hypothesis testing". In this respect, interviews, observations, and document analysis tend to be the most used data collection methods used for these purposes (Simmons 2014) and, in line with this trend, these were the methods used for this study. It should be mentioned that the study presented here is part of a doctoral project (Pérez Andrade 2019) and, therefore, due to space limitations, this chapter discusses findings obtained through semi-structured interviews only.

The choice of cases was made following a purposeful sample selection. Patton (2002: 273) indicates that this non-probability sampling technique requires researchers to select *information-rich cases*, which are "those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of enquiry".

Although any ELT university programme in Chile had the potential to be chosen for the study, these three cases were selected because of their location (they are all based in the same city), impact on the Chilean educational system (number of yearly graduates), and years of activity. It should be pointed out that the researcher did not have any personal or professional links with these institutions (e.g., previous studies or work) and only knew two of their teachers, who also helped to recruit participants. In order to respect the anonymity of the institutions under study and the teacher educators that participated in this investigation, the cases will be henceforth referred to as Institution A, Institution B, and Institution C.

Institution A was chosen mainly because of its long-standing tradition as one of the most prestigious teacher training institutions in the country. In addition, the ELT department at this institution has worked closely with the Ministry of Education in the implementation of the *English Opens Doors* (EOD) programme. Another relevant aspect of this programme is that a substantial number of awardees of the *Semestre en el Extranjero*[2] (“Semester abroad”) scholarship come from this institution. A total of 10 teacher educators, including the programme director from the ELT programme agreed to participate in this study. Institution B, on the other hand, was of particular interest because of its active role in the discussions that led to setting the national standards for English language teaching programmes in 2014 and 2021. Although Chilean universities can modify their curricula autonomously, the national standards published by the Chilean Ministry of Education act as benchmarks for curriculum design; however, the only clear reference to language use in this document is the desirability of a C1 level of proficiency. The fact that this institution had recently implemented an innovative curriculum that resulted in the replacement of specialised courses on English grammar and phonetics with courses on integrated language skills also made it an interesting site for exploration. This institution provided 8 participants, including its programme director. Finally, the third case under study was Institution C. The main motivation behind this choice was the large number of teachers that have graduated from this course in the last decade. The ELT programme at this institution has also worked closely with the Ministry of Education in the implementation of the EOD programme and has study-abroad links with institutions in North America, Europe, and Australia. 9 teacher educators from this programme, including the programme director, decided to participate in this study. A total of 27 participants from these three institutions were

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2 The Semester Abroad Scholarship offers undergraduate students seeking a degree in EFL in accredited Chilean institutions the opportunity to take EFL-related courses in English-speaking institutions for the duration of one academic term. More information is available at https://ingles.mineduc.cl/iniciativas/beca-semestre-en-el-extranjero/

recruited for the study; each of them was interviewed twice. All these teacher educators identified as Chilean nationals and Spanish as their first language. They were given the option to hold the interviews in English or Spanish and English was chosen for all of them.

As the purpose of the study was to understand how the teacher educators that represented each case (co-)constructed their views about English use and users, thematic analysis was adopted as the main analytical strategy. Following recommendations by Braun and Clarke (2006), the audio-recorded interviews were transcribed to identify early patterns and connections; codes were created following an inductive approach; emerging codes were collated into early themes; potential themes were reviewed and checked for consistency and final themes were identified, named, and defined. The analysis was done independently for each institution which led to the creation of case-specific themes. This chapter presents two themes per institution which reflect the most relevant perspectives and conflicts identified in the interview data in relation to the research question[3] and shows examples of semiotic processes (e.g., iconisation, indexicality, and erasure) which are connected to recognisable and emergent language ideologies. Although the final themes attempt to encapsulate the main ideological discourses within each ELT programme, by no means do they represent the views of all the participants from each institution as divisions and tensions are highly likely to exist. In this respect, this study attempts to make such tensions and divisions visible to provide a more representative interpretation of the language ideologies that operate in these institutions.

3.4 Findings from Institution A

Interestingly, almost all participants from Institution A trained as teachers of English at this university and this particularity was also evident in how these teacher educators referred to their own experiences as trainees providing support for the impact of the apprenticeship of observation (Lortie 1975). These teachers' views regarding the English they teach and identify with were clearly divided between those who act as 'guardians of the standard' (Milroy and Milroy 2012) and those who challenge the dominant normative approach that the programme openly promotes. The two themes discussed below present how such differing views co-exist within the institution.

3 The full list of themes, including findings from classroom observations and document analysis can be found in Pérez Andrade (2019).

3.4.1 Prestige, tradition and consistency

The analysis of the interviews conducted with teacher educators from Institution A revealed that a considerable number of these participants associated the practice of becoming a qualified English teacher with adopting a particular form of native-speaker-like English, primarily an idealised form of British English. Supporters of this idea referred to the long-standing tradition that the programme has had in educating new teachers who identify their English with this idealised model and how this idea has permeated different generations of teacher educators. Several participants from this programme stated that the promotion of British English, particularly in the phonetics classes, corresponds to a tradition that links back to the origins of the programme. Some of the most experienced teachers from this institution claimed that links with the British Council, studying postgraduate courses in the UK, and the fact that the programme was created by European academics are the main factors that have contributed to how the relationship between this idealised notion of the English language and this ELT programme was conceived.

An example of this perception is presented by Paula, an early career lecturer in English language and phonetics, who makes this association explicit as shown in Extract 3.1 below. Here, she also admits that the reasons why the open promotion of British English tend to go unquestioned by both teachers and students.

Extract 3.1

Researcher: does the programme promote a specific variety, openly?

Paula: of English? yeah yes, I would say yes, we do, the British [. . .] I think it's got to do with the tradition of the school [. . .] but maybe this is just something I'm repeating because I heard it from a former teacher of mine here but that's what I also tell my students [. . .] the thing is British English has a much longer tradition in studying the phonetics of the language [. . .] and then there's also the matter of prestige, you see, British English is much more prestigious than any other accent of English and that's common knowledge, everybody knows that, everybody knows that if you speak educated English [..] you are going to have more doors opened for you, so what I tell my students is this is a strategy [. . .] if you study British English you are going to be looked at with another pair of eyes, I don't know, like seen as an educated person.

Paula's support for the promotion of British English within the programme is justified by the alleged superiority of this idealised variety. The levels of prestige and education that Paula associates with British English are a very clear example of the type of indexicality that Irvine and Gal (2009) name *iconisation*. In this respect, Paula sees the adoption of British English as an advantage for learners of English, and particularly future teachers, as this attribute would help them adopt

the features associated with this idealised variety. In line with Paula's contribution, other teacher educators from Institution A also agree that British English is the model promoted by the programme in implicit and explicit ways. This view is also supported by Samuel, the programme director, who associates the notion of tradition discussed above with an idealised British standard of English, as observed in Extract 3.2 below.

Extract 3.2

Researcher: do you think that this programme tries to promote a specific variety of the language?

Samuel: mmm not explicitly

Researcher: okay?

Samuel: but by saying that, explicitly, I communicate the idea that implicitly it does

Researcher: how?

Samuel: it's because of this tradition that I have mentioned because when this programme started it was created with this view of British English [. . .] so as I said before, implicitly it does but, for example, we've got teachers here from the US, who are native speakers, and we also have teachers, professors, who are working here who do not speak or communicate in British English. They've got some other backgrounds, from other cultures and, when they teach, they show who they are and what their background is [. . .] and we also of course respect that students make a decision and say, 'I'm going to use this variety and not this other because I like it'.

In his account, Samuel also reflects on how embedded the idea of British English is in the programme he leads. However, he also points out that other forms of English are considered to be suitable for teachers working in this programme, stressing how teachers show aspects of their identities in their teaching. Samuel also points out that the form of English that students from this programme acquire is a matter of conscious personal choice and decision-making. This implies that students are expected to choose a particular model and make it their own, which is a view that is also shared by other teachers from this programme. Esteban, a grammar teacher, indicated that he speaks British English simply because he learnt English at this institution. In his own words, he says "I've made a decision and my decision is I'm going to try and speak and write and [. . .] the model I'm aiming at, is standard British English". A similar view is shared by Julian, a phonetics teacher, who also identifies as a speaker of British English, as seen in Extract 3.3 below.

Extract 3.3

Julian: well I speak British so I have to teach British, you can't teach something else [. . .] when I give a lecture for example I give it in British but I try not to ignore that there is

> another very important accent which enjoys the same kind of prestige which is American [. . .] and of course I have nothing against students who don't speak the type of English I speak [. . .] provided it sounds native-speaker language I don't mind which accent they will produce.

Julian's contribution clearly stresses the importance of "sounding native" when learning English for language teaching purposes. Native-speaker English, in his account, is associated mainly with two idealised varieties (or accents), which are British and American. Even though the participants from this institution tended not to explain in an articulate manner what the notions of British English and American English entail, the data show that that the terms were used to refer to generic, fixed, and stable standard varieties, not to the wide range of varieties that can be commonly found in these territories. What is more, these examples suggest that students are not only expected to choose their variety of English but also supposed to avoid mixing different varieties, which is understood by some of the participants as undesirable even when these varieties represent different forms of native speaker English. This perceived *consistency of choice* was seen as a celebrated attribute among some teachers from this institution even when "pure consistency is impossible to obtain", as Esteban indicates. More support for this idea is presented by Paula in Extract 3.4 below as she states that even though she tries to stick to a particular variety as much as possible, she finds it challenging not to mix varieties in practice.

> Extract 3.4
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> **Paula**: I try to stick to the British tradition but sometimes the American takes over (laughs) I don't know why I do that. I've been doing it since university, but I try to stick to the British, RP or General British or BBC English.

The ideas of tradition, prestige and consistency presented in this section represent an ideology of language use that is clearly connected with processes of *iconisation*. Teachers of English, according to these participants, are expected to display their expertise and professionalism through their use of English. Therefore, the association of idealised varieties of English, particularly British and American standards, with ideas of tradition and prestige positions these varieties as the most desirable and authentic forms of English use for teachers of this language while those who do not conform to these standards are regarded as inferior or undesirable.

3.4.2 Challenges to native-speakerism

As expected, not all the participants from Institution A shared the same views regarding the perceived need for future teachers of English to imitate a particular variety of the language. In fact, the data show evidence of clear tensions between teachers regarding the influence of tradition on the desirable characteristics of English teachers and present conflicting ideologies within the case. In this respect, approximately half the participants from this institution, especially those who did not self-identified as speakers of a particular standard variety of English, tended to display more positive orientations towards variation and non-standard forms in their contributions. As most of these participants also trained as teachers in this specific programme, they also showed awareness of how the idea of tradition operated in the programme and criticised the ways in which the institution promoted the acquisition of a particular variety. For example, Alex, another English grammar teacher, openly questioned the fact that some teachers within the programme take pride in cultivating an RP accent, by stating that "it's very common in this department to be proud of how close you speak to a native speaker which is very nonsensical. I'm always making these jokes about talking in RP and being a Latin American, which is very weird if you think a little bit". A similar view is also presented by David, a literature teacher, who suggests that "if you expect other people to be able to speak like a native speaker when you are not a native speaker yourself, that makes no sense". These teachers' views reveal a perceived incompatibility between the demands for native-speaker-like standards of linguistic proficiency within the programme and the fact that the vast majority of English teachers in Chile are non-native users of the language.

In line with this perspective, it was also common to see that this group of teachers also showed positive attitudes towards the influence of their L1 – in this case, Spanish – in their use of English. For example, Grace, an English communication skills teacher, refers to her English as "a mixture" as it "does not really follow a specific pattern" but that she prefers American English because she was exposed to it from a young age. Despite this familiarity with one of the idealised varieties that are considered acceptable or desirable within the programme, Grace's description of her own English displays a close connection between her identity as a non-native speaker of English and the ways in which she uses the language. She goes on to say that her English "is just the one that makes me feel comfortable, the one that reminds me who I am as a person and that's this one, with mistakes and imperfect pronunciation". Similarly, Alex embraces the influence of Spanish in his use of English while also acknowledging the impact that following a normative approach had on his use of the language. He mentions that "undoubtedly, I have some features of RP because of my training, undoubtedly, I

have some features of Spanish because it's my mother tongue [. . .] if I can categorise it in a way, it's a sort of English 'Spanish-like' which is a huge mixture of them".

Interestingly though, the impact of the *traditional approach* these teachers experienced in their ELT education and language learning experiences seemed to create internal tensions in the teachers' own belief systems. In this respect, the idea of fixed standard varieties is still present in the discourse of these teachers as the labels British and American tend to be presented as the only identifiable varieties. Following Irvine and Gal's (2009) framework, the idea of American English is presented as another in opposition to British English when it comes to standardised models resulting in a process of *fractal recursivity* which leads to the invisibility of other Englishes or, in the authors' words, *erasure*.

3.5 Findings from Institution B

In line with Institution A, participants from Institution B also tended to refer to their own training to express their views regarding the idea of English they promote as teachers and as a programme. The concept of tradition was also present in the interview data in connection with the teacher educators' own training which was, in many cases, perceived as a source of frustration in their professional development. In a similar vein, the implementation of a recent curricular innovation that eliminated courses on English phonetics and grammar is regarded as a form of distancing from traditional approaches to ELT. The implications that this innovation and these teachers' experiences as trainees have for the training of new teachers of English in Chile form the base of the two themes discussed below.

3.5.1 Rejection of *traditional* ELT due to negative experiences in training

Patterns that emerged from the interviews with participants from Institution B revealed a sense of resentment and rejection towards so-called traditional approaches to ELT. The idea of tradition in the field, as discussed by participants from Institution A, seems to transcend the borders of the cases as a concept that is equally understood by these teacher educators. In this respect, the participants from this institution welcomed the latest curriculum innovation which resulted in the elimination of modules that focused specifically on English grammar and phonetics (as opposed to what *traditional* programmes do). In fact, the data pre-

sented repeated instances of references to experiences that these teachers had while studying in *traditional programmes*.

An example of this perspective is presented by Javier, the leader of the language skills teaching team, in Extract 3.5 below. In his account, he refers to the frustration he associates with the emphasis on RP as a pronunciation goal that he experienced in his training. In his view, the problem with normative approaches is not whether the expected goals are achievable or not, but the fact that these models and standards are not particularly representative of how the language is used in real-life scenarios.

> Extract 3.5
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> **Javier**: [the phonetics class was] a source of frustration in many people, in all the people I know who studied English, we all have this fear, rejection, complaints, issues with RP, and even though you learn RP, you go to England and there's no RP, so that's the first clash [. . .] and people laugh at you because you sound like the Queen or you try to sound like the Queen.

Javier's comments expose the influence that courses on phonetics have on the beliefs that teachers have regarding their own confidence in using English. This is in line with the notion that the acquisition – or imitation – of a native-like accent, especially RP, is perceived as the main benchmark for professionalism (Barahona 2016). This view is shared by Sofia, an English language skills teacher, who refers to her own teacher training by mentioning that "we were pushed to learn a certain accent, so I had to learn the British accent at that time, and it was painful [. . .] there were some sounds that I couldn't produce". This espoused inability to adhere to the pronunciation standards resulting in negative attitudes towards normative approaches was a common pattern among teachers. As Victor, another English language skills teacher, puts it, even when such pronunciation goals are achieved by trainees, "when you go abroad, and you try to use this type of English, you sound ridiculous because the people see you and they can notice that you are a Latin American person". This perceived mismatch between ethnic identity and the way speakers sound also makes direct reference to what Woolard (2016) calls the ideology of authenticity as users of RP within this context are likely to be perceived as mere imitators of the speech of a specific indexicalised group rather than authentic users of this variety in their own right.

3.5.2 Chilean English: A newly found identity

Participants from Institution B tended to refer to the concept of identity in their contributions, especially when talking about their own use of English and when discussing the notion of English that they openly promoted in the programme. In

fact, these teachers tended to associate the idea of identity with a perceived response to the traditional approaches to ELT that have been discussed in this chapter. For example, Javier explains that the role that this concept has within Institution B is to stress the importance that the local sociocultural context has in the activity of becoming an English language teacher. He indicates that "we tend to find lots of xenocentric programmes [in Chile] meaning 'we love USA culture, we base our [programme] on what the British do, on what the Americans do' [. . .] but if you look at it from the perspective of identity [. . .] you start placing yourself, knowing, appreciating, and valuing your context".

Such a view of identity is also shared by Antonio, another English language skills teacher, who refers to the implications of developing an identity as a Chilean teacher of English. He states that "we are Chilean speakers [of English], our native language is Spanish, so we don't expect anybody to speak a standard version or British accent or American accent or acquire any particular accent". This abandonment of traditional proficiency goals and detachment from idealised standards raised questions about the expectations that these teachers had in relation to their own use of English and the trainees enrolled in this programme. In this respect, the data revealed a shared inclination towards the promotion of a so-called Chilean English, which may be understood as a similect (Mauranen 2018) in the sense that the vast majority of these teacher educators and trainees share Spanish as their first language and their use of English is likely to show similarities in terms of lexis, grammar, and pronunciation. Based on the contributions made by participants from Institution B, Chilean English would not refer to a codified variety of English, but to the performative result of contact between the users' languages (English and Spanish) in practice.

This identification with Chilean English was recurrent when the teachers from Institution B were asked to describe their own English. In Extract 3.6 below, Cristina, who teaches a course on English language skills, reflects on how her English is strongly influenced by her training and the communicative strategies she uses in Spanish. In this example, Cristina uses the concept of Chilean English to refer to the integration of local expressions such as *po* – a non-standard intensifier usually employed in Chilean Spanish at the end of an utterance – into the English she uses in the classroom. Since this resource does not have an English equivalent, Cristina is comfortable using it in contexts where her audience understands its function (e.g., with her students, colleagues, a Chilean researcher).

Extract 3.6

Cristina: once someone said, 'but you have a British accent'. No, I don't have it, no, not at all, but maybe there are some things that you can perceive, maybe because of the training but I think that if I had to define my English, I would say that it's Chilean English because,

> as the time has passed by, I have incorporated some Chilean expressions, so actually in my classes I say 'move *po'!*
>
> (Both laugh)
>
> **Cristina:** and I say things like that [. . .] I don't say that regularly, but I say it. I like *po* I usually say *po* because that is the way I speak [. . .] maybe we take some expressions, like Chilean expressions, in a way to replicate them in English.

Support for this idea was found among most teacher educators from this programme. In fact, only 2 participants from this case did not refer explicitly to Chilean English in their interviews, which revealed a rather homogenous discourse. For instance, Sergio, the programme director, mentions that he and the team were "very happy with [the students] speaking Chilean English" and while "we have some students who are fond of British or American English [. . .] soon they realise that it doesn't really matter". Similarly, Javier indicates that students "come to university thinking 'which English am I going to learn? British or American? [. . .] and we tell them immediately 'you are going to learn Chilean English'". Such a degree of consistency in the beliefs that teachers share, especially in relation to the notion of Chilean English, raises questions about what factors may be behind such alignment. In this regard, Javier comments that when recruiting teacher educators for their programme, they actively look for teachers who are willing to detach themselves from traditional approaches to ELT as Extract 3.7 below shows.

> Extract 3.7
>
> **Researcher:** [. . .] one of the teachers actually said, "this programme is not for any teacher, you need to have a specific profile", would you agree with that?
>
> **JAVIER**: absolutely, I think, first of all, a traditional teacher would collapse because basically you need to neglect your tradition in the sense that we were all trained in grammar, we were all trained in phonetics, and we understand that English does not exist without grammar or phonetics [. . .] and how come we don't have phonetics, we don't have grammar and then we have students speaking good English, C1 English, at the end of programme so we are doing something correct. Basically, we need a profile, and we look for a profile whenever we interview teachers.

Javier's comments reveal that the beliefs that teacher educators hold are key to the success of the innovations made to Institution B's programme. He clearly equates tradition with the emphasis on grammar and phonetics courses that have historically dominated Chilean ELT and sees the ability to detach from this approach as an essential requirement to be recruited by this institution. He also indicates that this strategy has not had a negative effect on the development of their students' English skills and suggests that rejecting tradition does not affect professionalisation. Noteworthily, the measure of this success is still linked to standardised values (a C1 level) as recommended by the Chilean Ministry of Edu-

cation. However, the alignment with proficiency standards set up by the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) seems to go unquestioned in this context despite the criticism of normative approaches.

As observed, the beliefs about English that these teachers share seem to oppose the pressures to develop native-like English proficiency in their own training. As previously mentioned, a vast majority of these teachers trained in Institution A which, at the time of this investigation, still presented a strong alignment with native-speakerism and SLI. In this respect, teachers from Institution B seemed to collectively respond to the native-speakerism that they experienced as trainees by rejecting idealised norms and encouraging their students to appropriate the target language. This phenomenon supports the idea that a teacher's training has an important impact on the formation of their beliefs (Borg 2015), but it also suggests that these beliefs are less resistant to change when the experiences of this training trigger negative attitudes as evidenced in this case. It could also be argued that the discourse surrounding the notion of Chilean English found here is in line with ELF thinking as it challenges native-speakerism and validates L1-influenced English. What this means in practice is still uncertain since this study does not delve into how this notion of Chilean English has permeated the different areas of the education of pre-service teachers at this institution.

3.6 Findings from Institution C

As mentioned earlier, Institution C had just implemented a new curriculum at the time of data collection. In general terms, this innovation consisted of the inclusion of modules on culture, literature, and diversity in English-speaking communities as well as the introduction of competency-based learning and assessment. As the new curriculum needed to be implemented for first-year modules only and progressively every year, teachers from this programme found themselves in positions where they had to mediate between the new curriculum and the previous – or traditional – one. In this respect, the innovations proposed by the new curriculum were received positively by some participants while others had reservations regarding the impact that this curricular change would have on their work and the education of their students. The notion of English promoted by this programme was also influenced by this innovation as presented in the themes below.

3.6.1 Tensions surrounding change

Teacher educators from Institution C tended to refer to the recently implemented curriculum when talking about the relevance of norms and models in the training of future teachers as well as the implications that the global spread of English had for Chilean ELT. These discussions exposed a clear divide among the participants between those who saw the new curriculum as a form of challenging traditional approaches to ELT and those who believed that an emphasis on normative approaches would be beneficial for their students. In Extract 3.8 below, Nicole, the programme director, reflects on how the new curriculum is expected to help the programme distance itself from the idea of traditional ELT, which is an approach that she also experienced herself as a trainee.

> Extract 3.8
>
> **Nicole**: we decided to focus more on what pedagogy means over the command of the language itself [. . .] I don't want to say this but in the old or traditional models of English [. . .] I remember that it was always focused on RP but sometimes with our students we cannot get there, but we can help them to be good teachers and that implies more things than just managing the language [. . .] but we have the other two [courses] to have students understand that there is variety of Englishes (laughs) right? so that's what we are intending with the new curriculum.

As the programme director and one of the main proponents of the new curriculum, Nicole shows great awareness of the relevance that the spread and diversity of the English language have for ELT. In fact, she is one of the few participants in this study who uses the word Englishes to refer to the plurality of the language (Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008). In her account, she also stresses how the cultivation of RP as a pronunciation model would be unrealistic for her students referring to both her own negative experience having to conform to this model and the sociocultural background of her students. In this respect, she makes a distinction between native-like linguistic proficiency in English and pedagogical skills and presents the latter as the most desirable characteristic of a good teacher of English. Support for the detachment of native-speaker norms in the programme and awareness raising of the use of ELF, although in an indirect manner, is also presented by Gloria, one of the English language skills teachers. In Extract 3.9 below, she refers to how the idea of speaking an 'English from somewhere', which clearly reflects an ideology of authenticity (Woolard 2016), is currently in decline due to the growing number of users of English who are not native speakers of the language. Gloria's view, therefore, can be interpreted as an opposition to the belief that Chilean teachers of English are expected to assimilate their way of speaking to an idealised English speaker.

Extract 3.9

Researcher: what do you understand by the claim that English is a global language?

Gloria: [. . .] well the figures are very clear, there are lots of speakers of English and not necessarily native speakers of English, but we have many more people than the native speakers of English speaking English around the world, so I think that's why it's a global language, especially when you think about not being native-like or not really having a native accent, which I don't think is important now as it used to be in the past, let's say five or ten years ago. Students who wanted to become teachers of English had to sound like an English from somewhere, RP or standard American and right now I believe that it's not really important.

However, this perceived openness and flexibility that the curriculum innovation is expected to offer both teachers and trainees in relation to the global spread of English also triggered beliefs from some teachers that can be treated as an opposition to the views presented above. Some of these participants considered the new curriculum and the motivations behind it to be a setback in relation to the previous – tradition-oriented – curriculum. In fact, it was common to find comments from some of these teachers that referred to the demands of their own training with a sentiment of nostalgia for the goals and demands associated with traditional approaches to ELT. For instance, Diego, one of the grammar teachers discusses the potential negative impact that the new competence-based curriculum may have against a more traditional approach as presented in Extract 3.10 below. In his account, Diego expresses his concern about the perceived poor level of proficiency that the students would acquire if a normative approach were not followed.

Extract 3.10

Diego: I prefer the old [curriculum], I'm the result of more demanding years I would say, I was taught in a different way, I learnt in a different way and I think that studying and making efforts and working hard can lead you to obtain a better result [. . .] probably my perception is that this idea of teaching by competences probably doesn't demand from the students the *rigourosity* or the accuracy to speak or to produce good English. If you say "she *live* here" probably you would be understood, you could be perfectly accepted even though grammatically it's incorrect because you are not pronouncing the final '*s*' and the students have a lot of support to say that because they listen to music, they see, they listen to the Beatles and the Beatles say "she *don't* care" or things like that.

This participant's understanding of what "good English" is as well as the desirable characteristics that teachers of English in Chile are expected to display seem to be directly influenced by the way in which he perceives his own education as a teacher. In this respect, deviations from idealised standards are regarded as incorrect and undesirable even when native speakers of the language produce them, thus showing a clear alignment with SLI but a detachment from native-speakerism.

This perceived nostalgia for traditional approaches is also shared by his colleague Olivia, another English grammar teacher, who reflects on the positive influence of her own language learning experiences as part of her training. She indicates that the grammar course she teaches under the new curriculum is "very different from the grammar that I was taught [. . .] and the grammar that is being taught at [Institution C] is more related to English language rather than grammar if you know what I mean", something that she considered to be detrimental.

3.6.2 Dualistic approaches to English

The other main theme that emerged from Programme C attempted to encapsulate the relationship between the implicit preference for idealised British and American varieties of English as proficiency goals and negative attitudes towards the influence of Spanish when using English. Again, references to the teachers' own training and beliefs about specific courses associated with ELT teacher education provided further evidence of ideological assumptions surrounding the discourse of participants from Institution C. In this regard, the data show that the teachers tended to perceive modules on English phonetics and phonology as sources of promotion – or imposition, in some cases – of idealised British or American English pronunciation even when the curriculum does not make explicit reference to pronunciation standards. Two out of three phonetics teachers from this programme participated in this study and their views provided clear support for this claim. For example, in Extract 3.11 below, Simon, an early career phonetics teacher, reflects on the use of RP as a pronunciation model while also referring to the importance of promoting American English as an alternative pathway.

> Extract 3.11
>
> **Simon**: I've been trying to explain the differences between the American [pronunciation] and the British one, but I think, since they are first-year students, if you show them the same symbol pronounced differently it would just create confusion [. . .] in terms of phonetics, I would probably create two courses, one for people who want to stick to the American variety and another for ones who want to go for the RP one [. . .] the objective of the course is for them to get away from the Spanish pronunciation into a sort of standard English one, so if they pronounce sounds in a sort of Spanish way I would punish that.

Simon's contribution provides a clear example of how the process of *fractal recursivity* creates an opposition (American English) to the iconised form (British English), while also creating further groupings (standard varieties) and divisions (native-like/Spanish-influenced). In a similar vein, Spanish-influenced English use among future teachers is perceived as detrimental in line with views of multilin-

gualism that understand bilingualism as the mastery of independent linguistic systems that should not influence one another, such as "parallel monolingualism" (Heller 2006) and the notion of "two solitudes" (Cummins 2008). This dualistic perspective can also be interpreted as an example of the notion of *consistency of choice* which emerged from Institution A. In this respect, Gabriela, the other phonetics teacher, while reflecting on her own English language learning experiences, suggests that learners should "acquire a neutral accent, a mixture of both", positioning these two idealised varieties as the only models available for her students. This is also replicated by Diego who comments that "we are trying to be quite aware of the fact that we have to teach both ways if possible but it's not always possible" referring to the difficulties that teachers have in providing their students with accurate modelling of both standards.

Finally, the negative perceptions towards L1-influenced English mentioned by Simon above are also shared by other participants from Institution C. Interestingly, these comments were also made by teachers who did show awareness of the diversity of English and positive attitudes towards the inclusion of other Englishes in the language classroom, which provides support for the notion that teachers can hold contradictory beliefs (Green 1971). The qualities associated with sounding native, as also found in Institution A, seem to be embedded in Chilean ELT as a form of native-speakerism in that the closer a teacher sounds to the two idealised varieties discussed here, the more professional the teacher is. In Extract 3.12 below, Myriam, an English language skills teacher from this programme, summarises this view when referring to the desirable characteristics of English teachers in Chile.

Extract 3.12

Researcher: what do you understand by a successful user of English?

Myriam: [. . .] as teachers, we target role models so for us it would be someone that could have beautiful sounds [. . .] if I could explain this to a kid, I would say [that a successful user of English is] someone that wouldn't sound Spanish

Researcher: okay

Myriam: but when it comes to a person who just learns English, it's okay, you can speak with your accent, and they would be like a Chilean English speaker, which is okay

Researcher: but not for a teacher?

Myriam: but not for a teacher

This process of *iconisation* in which teachers who "sound Chilean" when using English are perceived as unprofessional is also reflected in Diego's comments about his insecurity regarding what his students may think of his English. He mentions that "I'm always a little bit afraid of what my students will perceive of my language [. . .] I don't know what they feel when I speak English, is he a 'Chil-

ean-style' teacher or something like that?" also stressing the need to conform to idealised pronunciation norms to be considered a legitimate model for learners of English.

3.7 Discussion and conclusions

This study set out to answer the question *What language ideologies underpin the beliefs that teacher educators from Chilean ELT programmes have regarding the English that they speak, teach and is promoted by their programmes?* The analyses of the three cases revealed how the notion of British English that is promoted and challenged in these programmes plays a central role in reproducing hegemonic language ideologies in Chilean ELT. Participants from the three institutions tended to talk freely about British English without necessarily elaborating on their explanations as if the variety is taken for granted and understood by everyone in the field in the same way. Such a phenomenon seems to be embedded in Chilean ELT and reinforced through the association of specific linguistic features (e.g., RP-like sounds) with professionalism among teachers; however, this is not a context-specific phenomenon as Jenkins (2007) demonstrates. Although this study did not consider the views of English learners and teacher trainees directly, it offers support for studies that have observed a preference for British English over American English among pre-service language teachers (e.g., Veliz-Campos 2011) and the *iconisation* of native-like English as a sign of professionalism among Chilean students (Morán Panero 2019). In fact, the position that this notion of British English has acquired as the most authoritative model of English future teachers could aspire to achieve reveals a strong standard English ideology that places this idealised variety as the benchmark against which teacher educators measure their own and their trainees' linguistic ability. In line with Veliz-Campos (2011), this study provides further evidence of the impact that courses on phonetics have in the formation of beliefs that support the hegemony of standard language ideology and native-speaker ism in Chilean ELT.

The perceived need for an alignment between the features of English displayed by some of the participants and idealised varieties provides support for an ideology that sees *consistency of choice* – the adoption of features that belong to specific standards alone – as a desirable trait among some teachers. As a result of the process of *iconisation*, the fact that *sounding native* is a feature associated with professionalism also creates separations between the observed native speaker groups as some features (idealised British and American English) are perceived to be *more native* and, consequently, more professional than others allowing the creation of a

dualistic approach that ignores variation both within and outside these varieties as a process of *fractal recursivity*. Such processes, therefore, result in non-standard and non-native features of English being regarded as undesirable as evidenced in the negative views towards L1/Spanish-influenced English that some teachers displayed, leading to its *erasure* as a legitimate form of English use and the marginalisation of teachers who do not conform to the expected standards.

In line with Kroskrity (2010), participants from the three institutions showed differing levels of adherence and resistance to the dominant standard language ideology that was evidenced in this context. It should be noted that variables such as age and experience abroad were not directly explored in this study and were only analysed when the teachers made explicit reference to them. As a matter of observation, it can be argued that, in general, early- to mid-career teachers tended to be more critical of SLI and native-speakerism than the most experienced participants; however, the youngest participants from Institutions A and C showed some of the strongest alignment with hegemonic ideologies. As observed in the data, the notion of Chilean English discussed by teacher educators from Institution B did not refer to an alternative variety of English in the traditional sense, but a form of opposition to decades of imposition of xenocentric approaches to English that position idealised native-speaker varieties as the norm to be adopted in Chile. In other words, the promotion of Chilean English supports an ideology of decolonisation – similar to what Kumaravadivelu (2016) calls a *decolonial option* – that gives value and legitimacy to uses of English that are discriminated against simply because of the influence of the local language.

As can be seen in the extracts presented above, the phenomenon of ELF was not explicitly mentioned by the participants, revealing a general lack of engagement with its literature within these ELT programmes. However, awareness of the increasing demographics of non-native speakers of English, challenges to the promotion of normative approaches, and the appreciation and legitimisation of their own language use shown by an important number of participants from the three cases provide evidence of ELF-oriented understandings of English even without explicit education on ELF. The inclusion of ELF theory (e.g., Seidlhofer 2011; Jenkins 2015), ELF-oriented pedagogy (e.g., Sifakis and Tsantila 2019), and their impact on both initial and in-service teacher education (e.g., Dewey 2012, Gimenez, El Kadri, and Calvo 2018) would allow English teachers from this context to examine their own ideologies and practices. However, ELF-informed practices should not be presented as fashionable new trends coming from the usual norm providers, but as localised and emergent discussions that consider the particularities of the local ELT and social context.

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