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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES

***DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE POLICY IMPLEMENTED IN
CHILE (2003-2010)***

by

Elizabeth Mónica Torrico Ávila

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES
Doctor of Philosophy

**DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE POLICY
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This thesis aims at critically reviewing the type of discourses employed by the Centre-Left Coalition educational authorities to devise the English language policy launched by the former Minister of Education Sergio Bitar in 2003. This investigation also aims at exploring the discursive strategies used by those authorities to persuade Chileans to become Spanish-English bilingual citizens. I will observe how command of English is understood by the authorities by focusing on the text they employ to link language proficiency with economic development; globalisation; information, technology and knowledge society; and equality as it is worded within the language policy documents.

I have employed a critical perspective to discourse analysis, i.e. CDA. This methodology will allow me to examine the microstructures of the language policy texts and relate them to the contextual macrostructures of contemporary Chile that trigger the composition of such texts. Thus, I will explore not only the historical, but also the contextual features of the language policy discourses which, in turn, makes embedded ideologies hidden in the discourse emerge and, hence, expose the goals that stake-holders may have had at the moment of policy creation and implementation.

The critical analysis of the policy discourse has revealed some interesting patterns employed by the policy makers to devise the policy and to inculcate foreign language implementation in the Chilean educational system. For instance, the instrumentalisation of English, the commodification of the foreign language and the neoliberal reasoning embedded in those processes. This ideology is the result of 40 years' exposure to an economic, political and cultural hegemonic common-sense arguments which has shaped the Chilean citizen reasoning and behaviour.

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Elizabeth Mónica Torrico Ávila, declare that this thesis entitled '**Discursive construction of the English language policy implemented in Chile (2003-2010)**' and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. Parts of this work has been published before submission:

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Signed:

Date:.....

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-------|--|
| CALP | Critical Approach to Language Policy |
| CDA | Critical Discourse Analysis |
| CLP | Critical Language Policy |
| CORFO | <i>Corporación de Fomento de la Producción</i> (Production Development Corporation) |
| DHA | Discourse-Historical Approach |
| EFL | English as a Foreign Language |
| EODP | English Open Doors Programme |
| ESOL | English for Speakers of Other Languages |
| ETS | Educational Testing Service |
| IELTS | International English Language Testing System |
| KBE | Knowledge-Based Economy |
| L1 | Native language |
| L2 | Foreign language |
| LEP | Language Education Policy |
| LOCE | <i>Ley Orgánica Constitucional de Enseñanza</i> (Organic Constitutional Law on Education) |
| LP | Language Policy |
| LPP | Language policy and planning |
| LPLP | Language Policy and Language Planning |
| P-DA | Pragma Dialectics Approach |
| PIAP | <i>Programa Inglés Abre Puertas</i> (English Opens Doors Programme) |
| RAE | <i>Real Academia Española</i> (Royal Spanish Academy) |
| SFL | Systemic Functional Linguistics |
| SIMCE | <i>Sistema de Medición de la Calidad de la Educación</i> (Education Quality Measurement System) |
| TL | Target Language |
| TOEFL | Test of English as a Foreign Language |

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Research rationale

In May 2003, the president of the country, Ricardo Lagos Escobar, gave ‘Cuenta Anual del Presidente de la República de Chile¹’. In this speech, the president stated:

Iniciamos un completo programa de enseñanza del idioma inglés que permitirá, hacia el año 2010, que todo joven que egrese de la enseñanza media tenga las habilidades bilingües que le permitan integrarse plenamente al mundo global²
(Lagos, 2003:14)

This statement provides the context in which this investigation is located. The spread of English in contemporary society is not a new phenomenon. English has become the language for international communication. This language facilitates the spread of knowledge, communication and commerce worldwide. The language has become so popular that the number of its speakers and learners keeps growing. However, this citation raises many questions. First, what does the Chilean government mean by bilingual skills? What level of competence in the foreign language is the government aiming at? When the president talks about learners who graduate from secondary education, whom does he mean? There are three types of educational systems in Chile. They are municipal, publicly-funded and private; they represent different social classes as well as quality of education (Matear, 2007). Why do the learners have to achieve the goal of bilingualism by 2010? Why do young Chileans need to fully integrate in a global world? How does English help to achieve that? And, crucially, why do young Chileans need to be part of that global world the Chilean government is aspiring to?

As a former foreign language teacher and a linguist myself, I am sceptical about the plan the government has devised for the spread of English in Chile as represented in this quote. I have many concerns and they are related to the pedagogical, social and linguistic perspectives of the plan. Pedagogically, I argue that the access to quality education in Chile is linked with social class (Matear, 2007, 2008; Menard-Warwick, 2008, 2013; Byrd, 2013). Then, not all learners may graduate with the bilingual skills the government expects. Socially, as not all learners receive the same type of education (*ibid*), not all of

¹ Annual Statement of the President of the Republic of Chile (Translation by author).

² We have started a complete programme for the teaching of English which will allow that every young person who graduates from secondary school to have the bilingual skills to let them insert themselves fully in the global world by 2010 (Translation by author).

them may have access to the global world the government is proposing. That drawback may hinder access to the benefits that the government associates with globalisation. Linguistically, briefly, it is difficult for an individual to become bilingual in a short period, and even more so after the period of language acquisition, and immersed in a context in which the target language (henceforth TL) is neither required socially nor spoken outside classrooms. I am, thus, intrigued about the reasons behind the implementation of this language policy and I argue that there may be economic motives behind it. This is what motivates my research.

Since 1975, Chile's economy has been based on the economic model of de-regulation and the free market. Its Centre-Left Coalition³ governments have signed Free Trade Agreements with many countries (Harvey, 2005, 2007) during the 1990s and the 2000s . Due to the size and needs of the global economy, Sergio Bitar, former Minister of Education and the minister who launched '*Inglés Abre Puertas*⁴' in 2003, in representation of the nation's educational and political leaders, argues that '*[el] inglés es una habilidad clave para pertenecer al mundo globalizado*⁵' (Bitar, 2003) and that Chileans have to learn English 'to sell what [we] are doing, understand and learn from others' (Bitar, 2011) . In addition, Bachelet (2009a) states that:

*[e]s evidente que las perspectivas de desarrollo de nuestro país dependen, en buena medida, de que podamos contar con una población bilingüe (...) [c]on esta campaña, lo que uno puede decir con mucha claridad es win-win project, o en buen chileno: todos ganamos con esta idea. Gana la empresa, que va a contar con personal capacitado y con habilidades idiomáticas. Ganan las personas, que podrán acceder a mejores empleos, con mejores remuneraciones.*⁶

Finally, Horacio Walker (2003) points out that:

*[n]os hemos propuesto alcanzar estándares internacionales. Aunque los detalles de la prueba de diagnóstico aún no se han decidido, es una muestra a nivel nacional y lo que sabemos, hasta ahora, es que los colegios particulares tienen un mejor nivel que el resto, pues algunos tienen el inglés como segunda lengua. Lo que nos preocupa son los colegios municipalizados y particulares subvencionados.*⁷

³ The Cristian Democratic Party is a Chilean political party founded in 1957. Their beliefs focus on bridging socialism and laissez-faire capitalism. This merge has been called 'social capitalism'. However, after the economic reforms introduced by the 1973 military regime, this political party moved towards classic economic policies (Note by author).

⁴ English Opens Doors (Translation by author).

⁵ English is a key skill to belong to the global world (Translation by author).

⁶ It is clear that the perspectives of development of our country depend greatly on having a bilingual population (...) what we can say about this plan is that it clearly is a win-win project, or as we say in Chile, we all win with this project. Companies win as they would have trained personnel and with linguistic skills. People win as they will have access to better jobs and better salaries (Translation by author).

⁷ Our goal is to meet international standards. Even though the details about the diagnostic evaluation have not yet been decided, it is a sample of the national level, and according to what we know until now, private

The statements made by Centre-left Coalition leaders highlight the connection between national and individual development with competence in English to be part of a global economy. The discourse also highlights the need for English as a tool for development. There is also recontextualisation of the educational discourse into the business genre. Finally, values are also considered by the Centre-Left Coalition members. Values as part of the goal of the policy have been made explicit by the leaders' concern about municipal schools' quality of instruction in English. The concern reflects the social gap that may be the result of economic reforms introduced during Pinochet's regime in 1975 (Harvey, 2005, 2007).

I then observe the composition of the language policy documents and the impact the implementation has had in the media. A preliminary analysis provided interesting quotes about the need to learn English in Chile. They are the following:

*las personas que dominan un inglés básico e instrumental tendrán mejores posibilidades de acceder a un empleo, de obtener una mejor remuneración, de tener éxito en la universidad, de postular a becas, de iniciar un negocio exportador, acceder a una nueva formación a través de internet, entre otras ventajas y oportunidades*⁸. (Chile. Decreto N° 081, 2004).

According to this citation, having a basic level of English correlates with educational and economic success due to the increased number of opportunities the language skill brings. This is also emphasised by the Centre-left Coalition governments who have regarded the spread of English in Chile as a key skill to achieve national economic development. According to Michelle Bachelet, Centre-Left Coalition President, this important skill benefits not only the country, but also the individual citizen. Bachelet states:

[c]on esta campaña, lo que uno puede decir con mucha claridad es win-win project, o en buen chileno: todos ganamos con esta idea. Gana la empresa, que va a contar con personal capacitado y con habilidades idiomáticas. Ganan las personas, que podrán acceder a mejores empleos, con mejores remuneraciones (Bachelet, 2009b).

However, the drawback behind the enactment of this policy, which may be social segregation, has triggered economic and social change. Such change has involved, for example, the investment of large State resources for the implementation of this particular policy and a new index to emphasise the social gap (Matear, 2007). For the former, the

schools have a better level [of English] than the rest [of schools] as some of them have English as a second language. What worries us is the municipal and private-subsidised schools (Translation by author).

⁸ People who have a basic and instrumental command of English will have better chances to get a job, to be better paid, to succeed at university, to apply for scholarships, to start an export business to access to online education among other benefits (Translation by author).

2003 budget for the English Open Doors Programme (henceforth EODP) was US\$ \$3095 million (Informe Nacional de Chile: Oficina Internacional de Educación UNESCO, 2004:12) and its budget for 2009 was \$4.680 million Chilean *Pesos*⁹ (Dirección de Presupuestos, 2009:1) for the implementation of English in Chile. In addition, the 2003 Decree that authorises the spread of English since primary school provides a thorough description about the unlimited extent of the budget for the programme:

*Artículo 4º: El Programa podrá efectuar todos los gastos que sean necesarios para el cumplimiento de sus objetivos, incluidos gastos de operación, gastos en personal, convenios de prestaciones de servicios con personas naturales o jurídicas nacionales y extranjeras, como asimismo gastos por concepto de alojamiento, alimentación y traslado de especialistas y/o participantes en jornadas de trabajo, talleres de capacitación, seminarios, y otras actividades similares*¹⁰. (Chile. Decreto N° 081, 2004).

For the latter, according to the results of the 2004 national evaluation of English for primary and secondary education, only 5% of students have 'enough' command of English to communicate in educational and occupational environments. Nevertheless, the results also correlate with the socio-economic status of the educational institutions (Emol, 2005; Matear, 2007). In 2010, the results of the national evaluation improved. According to them, 11% of the students were able to understand everyday conversation and short texts. However, the social gap is still reflected in the English test results. Those results show that 65% of the upper class students have a high command of the language, while only 0,3% of lower class students do as uncovered by the results (Tercera, 2011).

The quotes taken from Centre-Left Coalition authorities, on the one hand, seem to be composed of rhetorical strategies employed with the aim of persuading Chileans to learn English. The outcomes of the policy implementation, in the form of the results of the national evaluations, on the other hand, seem to bring in social wrong in the form of social segregation. In addition, another outcome of policy implementation may trigger social change as a result of the recontextualisation of the discourse and the enactment of the policy. Evidence of this is the investment of large state resources for the implementation of the programme which may cause an increase in the social gap.

⁹ The currency of Chile (Translation by author).

¹⁰ Article 4: The Program may pay all expenses necessary for the fulfillment of its objectives, including operating expenses, personnel expenses, agreements or services with natural or artificial persons national and foreign, as well as expenses for accommodation, food and transportation of experts and/or participants in working sessions, workshops, seminars, and similar activities (Translation by author).

Therefore, in this research, I problematize the discourse used by the Centre-Left Coalition governments (2003-2010) to persuade the Chilean population of the need to learn English and I argue that rhetorical discursive strategies are usually employed when referring to the introduction and implementation of an English language policy in Chile. I thus seek to expose the nature of those strategies.

This study is focused on the relationship between the introduction of a new language policy to promote the use of English in Chile and the discourse associated with this launch. I argue that a persuasive type of discourse has been employed probably unconsciously by most agents involved in the process that language policy implementation goes through. Those processes involve creation, interpretation, implementation and appropriation (Hornberger and Johnson, 2007; Johnson, 2009, 2011). Interestingly, the agents involved in the many stages of the English Language policy creation and implementation are language policy makers and Chilean Centre-Left Coalition Ministry of Education authorities. It is unclear whether the grassroots such as parents, teachers, and minority language representatives and their language practices (Spolsky, 2004) have been invited to participate in the processes of policymaking. The analysis of the language policy texts may bring this phenomenon, as well as the rhetoric strategies, to light.

The Chilean government has promoted the English language policy as an instrument to achieve national and economic development. A critical analysis of the discourses employed by the authorities to introduce the language policy to the Chilean society will not only expose the aim of those discursive strategies, but also uncover the role played by the stakeholders involved in the language policy implementation and their language practices. The methodology I will use is the multi-layered Discourse-Historical Approach (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, 2009) (chapter 4.4). This approach is in line with Tollefson (2002, 2006) Critical Language Policy framework that is the language policy approach that informs this research (chapter 3.2.5). Then, I seek not only to identify the economic, political and social factors that have triggered the implementation of the English language policy in Chile, but also to explore the tension embedded in the discourse that compose the data and I expect that a critical discourse analysis of those texts may expose those elements and conflicts.

I have carried out a literature review to explore what has been done in the field of language policy, political, economic and social aspects concerning language policy introduction and

implementation and discourses connected to the language management in Chile. I first explored research carried out on English language teaching in contemporary Chile. Regarding the pedagogical perspective of the English language policy, abundant research has been carried out. Among those, Mc Kay (2003) examines the teaching of English as an international language in Chile. The article elaborates on including local contents in the curriculum of the foreign language, and methodological suggestions on local educational environments. She observes a positive attitude from teachers in this approach to ELT. Matear (2007) has explored the initiatives of the Chilean government to bring in national development. English language teaching is one of the strategies the government has explored. She discusses the tensions between the market-oriented education system and social class that limits access to education and enhances the social gap. Glas (2008) carries out a discursive analysis of how newspapers inform about the English Open Doors Programme to society. She explores the economic factors behind the discourses to expose the dominant ones, as well as how low command of the foreign language among teachers and learners is described. Abrahams and Farias (2010) write about ELT teacher education in Chile. Their study focuses on the lack of achievement standards and poor results on international examinations among tertiary education students. They employ Critical Pedagogy and propose the incorporation of participatory and reflective instructional activities to the curriculum. Menard-Warwick (2008) illustrates how high school ELT teachers cope with 'leftist' students. Using narratives and case studies, Menard-Warwick discusses how these teachers design teaching activities to work with students who challenge the nation's neoliberal stance. Matear (2008) focuses on English language teaching and equality in Chile. She problematizes the plan '*Inglés Abre Puertas*¹¹' in the light of the segregated Chilean educational system. She argues that the skill remains the asset of the elite. Muñoz (2010) explored the implementation of the foreign language policy in the Chilean educational institutions and the stakeholders' attitudes towards foreign language learning in a global context. Byrd (2013) elaborated on the reactions learners had towards learning English for individual and national development. She is sceptical about the cultural costs this policy would have in the Chilean society. Menard-Warwick (2013) explores Chilean English language teachers' language ideologies in a context where English is promoted in connection with a free-market globalised context. Through case studies, Menard-Warwick discusses the way that teachers place the value of English not in the possibility of economic development, but rather on global citizenship. Brunner (2013) discusses English language learning in Chilean schools from a pedagogical

¹¹ English Opens Doors (Translation by author).

perspective. She examines the inequality of the educational system and how this factor is reflected in the results of national evaluations. She interviews stakeholders in search of suggestions to improve English language teaching in the educational system. Barahona (2015) investigates teacher education twenty years after the foreign language policy was launched. Her research is based on a cultural historical activity theory perspective and she looks for factors that interfere with teacher training.

Even though investigation in English language teaching in the Chilean context is multifarious, it seems that research surrounds the language policy but does not problematize the policy itself. There is still no research on the language policy documents themselves, i.e. their composition, aims, goals, resources, and actors, among the many elements that compose such powerful, important and complex documents. The discourse and discursive strategies that compose the policy and its goals are not observed. This is where I led my exploration.

Neoliberal discourse has spread in the globalised world due to the neoliberal economy and ideology of the current global society Fairclough (2006). Research carried out by Bourdieu and Wacquant (2001) refers to the ‘new planetary vulgate’, i.e. NewSpeak Orwell (1949), which aims at persuading people to adjust to the new order. The new planetary vulgate that Bourdieu and Wacquant refer to is a neoliberal discourse. Common lexicon of this type of discourse is ‘flexibility’, ‘employability’, ‘globalisation’, and ‘individualism’, among others. Also, Fairclough (2000, 2001) takes Bourdieu and Wacquant’s statement even further and states that neoliberalism is a linguistic project. The project refers to discourse that shapes society by naturalising ideologies such as neoliberalism and the values it comprises, i.e. individualism. In addition, the neoliberal economic model has influenced the choice of language practice and language policy implementation not only in global contexts, but also in local ones. The language that promotes this linguistic project is English. English is the language that has helped the spread of knowledge and commerce worldwide, as stated before. The promotion of language practice and language policy within a neoliberal ideology is discussed by the research carried out by scholars such as Bruthiaux (2002), Brutt-Griffler (2005), Blommaert (2009) and, Ricento (2010, 2012a, 2012b). Whereas Bruthiaux argues that low-income countries should promote the nation’s official language, Brutt-Griffler states that people should learn English if it helps alleviate poverty. Conversely, Blommaert explains that foreign professionals who speak English

fluently have difficulty finding jobs in English speaking countries due to their marked pronunciation.

Since 2003, Centre-left Coalition party Chilean authorities have recontextualised business discourse when discussing English language policy issues. Evidence of this type of recontextualisation is observed in the discourse used by the Minister of Education, Sergio Bitar, when he launched the English language teaching programme in 2003 (Bitar, 2003). Furthermore, Chilean students, professionals and workers have mirrored that recontextualised discourse particularly regarding the need to learn English (Byrd, 2013). Byrd (*ibid*) reports that the participants of her research mirror the government's discourse to refer to the English Open Doors Programme. Respondents agree with the government's plan. They also think that learning English will increase their educational and professional opportunities. However, some are aware that either is too late for them, or they do not need the foreign language in their jobs.

Finally, Ricento (2012b:30) states that language policy scholars lack understanding about how the connection between political economy and language policy affects their capacity to comprehend the impact neoliberalism has on language policy. Then, it is relevant to understand the discursive construction of the rhetoric that has been used by the policy makers for the implementation of the policy in Chile. Evidence of this link is the discourse of the government regarding English as-a-tool (Ruíz, 1984; Ricento, 2005; Ruiz, 2010) for individual and national development. Uncovering those strategies and their meanings will expose the centre-Left Coalition plans or any hidden agenda (Shohamy, 2006) behind the implementation.

On the one hand, all the English as a Foreign Language (henceforth EFL) authors have written about the introduction of the English language policy in Chile. On the other hand, discourse analysts and linguists have observed how the discourse hegemonises a linguistic project. However, they all problematize language policy and discourse from different perspectives. These perspectives refer to the impact the policy may have in society. For instance, in teachers' ideologies and opinions towards the foreign language; in how to design activities to enhance language learning; in teacher training, in the assessment and outcomes; in the use of language for personal development. However, none of them examine the composition of the language policy itself. This is the gap in the body of knowledge that this investigation attempts to explore and to make a contribution to the

body of knowledge. The significance of this study contributes to the understanding of the foreign language policy in Chile. Researchers, policy makers and trainee teachers may benefit from this data and outcomes as it may allow them to make better decisions based on the evidence obtained through this study.

Objectives of the research and research questions

The purpose of this investigation is to gain an understanding of the factors and goals that are implicit in the construction of discourse of English language policy documents under the Centre-Left Coalition government. The scenario observed above has allowed me to draft the following research objectives:

1. Understand the type of discourses that have been employed by different actors involved in the introduction and implementation of the English language policy in Chile.
2. Understand what the economic, political and social factors are that influence these discourses.
3. Understand what the economic, political and social factors are that influence the creation of the English language policy in Chile.
4. Analyse the values and purposes that are embedded in the discourse regarding the English language policy.
5. Explore the persuasive intentions behind the discourses about the English language policy.

I have, therefore, devised research questions arising out of the objectives of the research. These questions are divided into two main overarching ones and two secondary research questions. They are the following:

1. How is the current Chilean Language policy regarding the promotion of the English language discursively constructed?
 - 1.1 How is the introduction of the English language policy discursively legitimated?
 - 1.2 What roles are played by different actors involved in the English language policy implementation?
2. What are the reasons behind the implementation of the English language policy in Chile?

While this research is focused on exposing social wrong as one of its goals, it solely aims at exploring the discursive construction of the English language policy as a discursive strategy to persuade Chileans about the need to learn English. This investigation will neither elaborate nor research the results of the national evaluations, and how the outcomes

of the policy implementation impact the Chilean society, unless they support the arguments made by this research.

The methodology that is the most relevant to carry out this research and which will help me answer my research questions is Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA). CDA will allow me to observe issues related to power and ideology as well as principles related to the knowledge-based economy (henceforth KBE) and imaginaries. In addition, CDA will provide the resources to carry out interdiscursive and intertextual analyses which will allow me to observe the types of discourses, their genres, and how discourses recontextualise in my data. Within the CDA framework, Discourse-Historical Approach (henceforth DHA) (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001; Reisigl and Wodak, 2009) is the most relevant one as it deals with an historical multi-layered examination of ideologies and power within texts. The analytical tools of this approach will let me expose these issues by uncovering roles actors included in the policy play, how the policy is legitimated and the arguments employed to do so. These analytical tools are Legitimation (Rojo and van Dijk, 1997; Van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999; Van Leeuwen, 2007); representation of social actors (van Leeuwen, 1996); and argumentation theory (van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 2004; Walton, 2006; Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012).

The data that I will collect and analyse is composed of English language policy documents from 2004 to 2009. I have categorised it following Shohamy (2006). They are language policy laws and language education policy. I will categorise the data 'by hand'. I seek to understand what goals agents have; how these agents are represented by the discourse and how the goals are constructed in the texts; and how the need to learn English is discursively articulated by the policy makers. The exploration of these policy documents will help me understand how the government plans to spread the foreign language, their ideologies about English and how they discursively construct the goals of the learning process and the goals of the nation within the policy. Also, due to the 'messy' process that policy creation involves (Ball, 1990; Hornberger, 2006), authors and their ideologies regarding the English language policy that has been created in Chile will be difficult to make explicit. However, argumentation will be able to reconstruct the arguments within the policy documents and make those goals explicit for further CDA analysis.

In order to achieve the objectives of this thesis and answer its research questions, I have structured this study in the following way: In chapter two, I will position the English

language policy in the contemporary Chilean context. I will explore the social, political and economic factors and circumstances that motivated the implementation of the language policy. These factors are linked with the neoliberal ideology and economy of the globalised world. The current free market context is the result of the 1975 reforms introduced in the country by the military regime. These reforms, which caused social change, have created the conditions for the need for foreign language policy update. I conclude the chapter by elaborating on the impact and outcomes of the policy in the nation as well as the obstacles it has faced.

In chapter three, I will build on the frameworks of language policy and discourse. I begin by concentrating on the conceptualisation and the historical as well as intellectual development of language policy. I also review methodologies employed to research this field. I then link language policy and discourse. I explore ways in which language policy has been previously researched discursively. I will conclude this chapter by identifying the approach to analyse language policy discourse that best fits the objectives of this investigation.

Chapter four will be an overview of the design of this investigation and its subject matter. This is the implementation of the English language policy carried out by the Centre-Left Coalition authorities during their two periods of government. I will seek to identify the economic, political and social factors that have triggered the implementation of the policy. A multi-methodological approach will enable me to uncover discursive strategies employed by the language policy makers. The approach I will take is a critical one. CDA is the most relevant approach to question my data based on the objectives of this research and its research questions. Within this approach, I will employ the DHA and its analytical tools which are legitimation, representation of social actors and argumentation. I will, finally, describe the data and its characteristics and conclude the chapter by briefly commenting on the categorisation of the data.

Chapter five is where I will begin to interrogate my data. I aim to understand how English is instrumentalised and commodified in the language policy texts by the Centre-Left Coalition policy makers. I will seek to expose ways in which discursive strategies represent the agents included in the policy and how reification of the foreign language was legitimised, how English was turned into a tool and stripped of all cultural values. This analysis leads the way to expose the ideologies embedded in the data.

Chapter six will focus on the neoliberal ideology embedded in the language policy documents. I will discuss how this dominant discourse frames the policy and how it colonizes the relationship among actors participating in the policy documents. I will also expose how this ideology is enacted and inculcated through foreign language instruction in the Chilean educational system. I will as well engage with the role KBE plays in this context and how discourse naturalises the need to learn English. I will expose the tension among stakeholders and how these texts have become a site of tension due to ideologies that compose the data and which are in constant debate with the dominant ideology.

Chapter seven, the concluding chapter, will be the one where I draw together the arguments made by this study. I will summarise the discursive strategies employed by the Centre-Left Coalition authorities to introduce the implementation of the English language policy in Chile. The language policy advocates individualism, competition and the re-structuration of foreign language instruction in accordance with market-oriented rationality. I conclude by stating that the instruction of the English language in Chile should be distanced from economic ideologies. Instead of bringing about educational equality by expanding access to language instruction as stated by the Centre-Left Coalition authorities, I argue that the language policy implementation is more likely to undermine equal access to tertiary education and employment to all Chileans.

Finally, even though the ideological discourse in the language policy is incommensurable, because they draw on conflicting views of the world, this discourse is cementing a neoliberal-oriented foreign language instruction in Chile. While I consider the dominant discourses in the policy a problem, I also think that the current social changes Chile is facing present us with an opportunity to critically reflect on and question the implications of the discursive construction of the policy. In times of radical social, political and educational change in Chile, I think it is crucial to document and critically analyse the discursive construction of contemporary education policies, how they are implemented and legitimised in society. To conclude this thesis, I refer to the strengths and limitations of this study and suggest future research in this field.

CHAPTER TWO:

LANGUAGE POLICY IN CONTEMPORARY CHILE

2.1 Introduction

The aims of this chapter are to place Chile in the global context and the English language policy in the contemporary Chilean context. In order to do that, I will discuss the impact that the global economic environment has had in the Chilean context since the 1973 *Coup d'Etat*. I will describe the political and economic influences that have triggered the need for the implementation of an English language policy in Chile. To achieve this goal, I will comment on the socio-economic and political processes that the country has gone through as factors that have contributed to the spread of English in the nation. I will then discuss socio-economic effects caused by the introduction of English in Chile. To do that, I will discuss how the introduction and implementation of the English language policy may have enhanced the social segregation caused by the 1975 economic reforms implemented in Chile by the military regime. I will, therefore, question the international economic support, and public and private collaboration. These institutions have been investing large amounts of resources in the spread of English in Chile. Finally, I will introduce the English language policy. I will describe the characteristics of the top-down language policy and name the governmental institutions in charge of planning the implementation of the policy and their goals. I will conclude this section by discussing the obstacles that have challenged the implementation of the English language policy.

2.2 Contemporary Chile in the global context

There are two significant factors that have boosted the Chilean economy in the last 40 years. The first one is market deregulation and neoliberal economic reforms introduced in the country during the Military Regime (Tsai and Ji, 2009). After meeting Milton Friedman to ask for economic advice, Augusto Pinochet¹² requested a group of market-oriented Chilean economists influenced by the University of Chicago free-market postulates (Tsai and Ji, 2009) to provide a solution for the economic problem Chile was facing at the time. These young Chilean economists and Friedman's disciples are called 'The Chicago Boys'. The second factor is the fact that Chile was first South American country to sign a Free Trade Agreement with the United States in 2003 (Representative, 2003). These factors have transformed the Chilean economy into an 'economic miracle' (Flannery, 2011).

The reason for the 'economic miracle' is foreign investment into the country's economy. According to the Foreign Investment Committee (Committee, 2015) of the Government of Chile, Foreign Direct Investment (henceforth FDI) plays a crucial role in Chile's economic growth and development. Chile has received international recognition due to a sustained increase in annual records. This flow shows the nation's competitiveness which contributes to the development of the country. Between 2010 and 2012, FDI in Chile has totalled US\$68,627 million. This result shows an increase of 42% in comparison to 2006-2009 results, which were US\$48,403.

Foreign companies investing in Chile come from diverse backgrounds. There are some international mining industries investing in Chile. They are BHP Billiton, Barrick Gold Corporation, a Japanese consortium headed by the Mitsubishi Group and Anglo American among others. BHP Billiton is an Anglo-Australian multinational mining company. It is focussed on the production of metals and petroleum. Its headquarters are in Melbourne, Australia. It is the world's largest mining company measured by 2013 revenues and Australia's largest company. Barrick Gold Corporation is the largest gold mining company in the world. Its headquarters are in Toronto, Canada. The Mitsubishi Group is also known as the Mitsubishi Group of Companies or Mitsubishi Companies. It is a group of

¹² Augusto Pinochet was Commander-In-Chief of the Chilean army from 1973 to 1998. He overthrew the elected Socialist government of Salvador Allende. Pinochet became president of the Chilean government from 1973 to 1981. In 1980, a plebiscite approved the Constitution drafted by the Government's commission. In 1988, a plebiscite ended Pinochet's regime by 56% of the votes (Note by author).

autonomous Japanese multinational companies with various industries. The Anglo American is a multinational mining company based in South Africa and the United Kingdom. It is the world's largest producer of platinum and diamonds, copper, nickel, iron ore and metallurgical and thermal coal. The company has settled their headquarters in Africa, Asia, Australasia, Europe, North America and South America.

Other foreign companies investing in Chile and contributing to the 'economic miracle' are Agbar and Marine Harvest. Agbar's headquarters are in Barcelona, Spain. It is present in Spain, Chile, the United Kingdom, Mexico, Colombia, Algeria, Peru, Brazil, Turkey and the United States. Agbar provides water services to over 25, 6 million people every day. Marine Harvest is a Norwegian seafood company. It operates in many countries such as Scotland, Canada, Faroe Island, Ireland and Chile. Since the company has a share of 25-30% of the salmon and trout market, it is the world's largest company in the sector. All these multinationals, which inject resources into the Chilean economy, need English-speaking personnel at all levels.

However, this 'economic miracle' has had two significant consequences in Chilean society. The first one is the economic bonanza and the second one is social inequality. Chile is the most stable and prosperous country in South America (Kormos and Kiddle, 2013:400; BBCnews, 2012). According to the 2012 Corruption Index (henceforth CPI), Chile is ranked number 20 among other countries such as the United States which is 19 while the UK is placed in 17th position. Chile's fastest-growing economy in Latin America during 1990s (BBCNews, 2012; Menard-Warwick, 2008:5), export-oriented (Menard-Warwick, 2008) as well as champion of the free-market economy (Dakin, 2012) has turned the country not only into the strongest economies in Latin America (BBCNews, 2012), but also as the country which has the highest human development index in the region according to the United Nations Development Program (henceforth UNDP) (Tsai and Ji, 2009). Most observers agree that Chilean economy is the most successful in Latin America (Hojman, 1996). Although Chile is a country which has the wealthiest and most developed capital city of the region (Flannery, 2011) and which has reduced the nation's poverty from 45% to 17% between 1987 and 2004 (Tsai and Ji, 2009), such economic success has also brought about significant drawbacks such as social inequality which is regarded as the predictable outcome of neoliberalism (Harvey, 2005, 2007).

The second consequence of the Chilean economic growth is, as stated above, social inequality. According to Flannery (2011) and Kormos and Kiddle (2013:30), Chile has the

highest income disparity as has been reported by the OECD¹³. Also, the nation has one of the world's least equitable distributions of wealth with a significant gap between the poor and the rich. Rich people in Chile equate the 10% of the population receiving '42.3% of combined income' (Tsai and Ji, 2009). This economic inequality, which is higher than in the other Latin American nations (Contreras, 2007:376), is a persistent characteristic of Chilean society and it influences opportunities for advancement (Contreras, 2007:80). This social gap transforms access to quality education, one of the most segregated educational systems in the world (Kormos and Kiddle, 2013), into goods of a capitalist market. As the Centre-Left Coalition government is aware of the challenges of dealing with the problem of uneven wealth distribution (BBCNews, 2012), the government has designed a plan to equally distribute capital and opportunities in society (Contreras, 2007:375). This plan consists of a voucher scheme¹⁴ which secures additional funding for education to low-income families in an attempt to increase opportunities for the advancement of young people and enhance social mobility (Contreras, 2007:381).

2.3 Neoliberalism in Chile

As this research is in the same line as Massey (2013b) who argues that:

[E]ven when we are talking about particular policies, we should be talking about them against the background [context] of understanding.

I seek to understand, discuss and analyse the English language policy against the neoliberal background which is the one in which contemporary Chile is immersed. Therefore, before embarking on addressing the effects of neoliberalism in the Chilean context, I will elaborate on the notion of neoliberalism.

Even though Saad-Filho and Johnston (2005:1) argue that 'we live in the age of neoliberalism', they also add that neoliberalism is 'the dominant ideology shaping our world today' (*ibid*) and suggest how to identify neoliberalism:

common, but not necessarily factually accurate, view that power and wealth are, to an even increasing degree, concentrated within transnational corporations and elite groups, as a result of the practical implementation of an economic and political ideology (*ibid*).

Still, Saad-Filho and Johnston think that 'it is impossible to define neoliberalism purely theoretically' (*ibid*). Tracing its origins is also not easy to do either. Clarke (2005) argues that its origins can be said to go back to classical liberalism advocated by Adam Smith. In

¹³ Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (Note by author).

¹⁴ It is a certificate of government funding used to cover student school expenses (Note by author).

this view, neoliberalism is a new paradigm of economic theory and policy making. Palley (2005), in this line of argument, states that neoliberalism has replaced the economic theory of Maynard Keynes (1936) known as Keynesianism. The more ‘monetarist’ approach inspired by Milton Friedman (1962) that has replaced Keynesianism is neoliberalism. Whereas neoliberalism advocates for ‘greater emphasis on stability in economic policy’ (Thorsen and Lie, 2007:8), Keynesianism focuses on ‘full employment and the alleviation of abject poverty’ (*ibid*). In this scenario, Munck (2005) argues that ‘as the dominant ideology shaping our world today’, neoliberalism is a dominant ideology with ‘great power over debates about reforms on international trade and the public sector’ today (Thorsen and Lie, 2007:8-9).

Having briefly introduced what neoliberalism is and pointed out its elusive definition, I may add that many authors such as Giddens (1998), Chomsky (1999), Campbell and Pedersen (2001), Touraine (2001), Rapley (2004), Harvey (2005), Hagen (2006), and Plehwe *et al.* (2006) have contributed significantly to a critical understanding of neoliberalism and its effects, yet they leave the concept without definition. Thus, Thorsen and Lie (2007:9) conclude that neoliberalism as a concept:

[H]as become, in some quarters at least, a generic term of deprecation describing almost any economic and political development deemed to be undesirable.

In addition, Cros (1950), in his doctoral thesis ‘*Le Néolibéralisme et la révision du libéralisme*¹⁵’, defines neoliberalism as:

the political ideology which resulted from efforts at reinvigorating classical liberalism in the period immediately before and during the World War II, by political theorists such as Wilhem Ropke (1944, 1945) and Friedrich von Hayek (1944; Hayek *et al.* 1935). (Thorsen and Lie, 2007).

For forty years, Cros’ concept of neoliberalism was used infrequently until used to describe the economic situation of West Germany after World War II which as termed ‘social market economy’. In 1961, Nawroth draws on Cros’ work and focuses on the political and economic developments of the Federal Republic regarding the term of neoliberalism. After Cros and Nawroth’s work, two West German Chancellors, Konrad Adenaur and Ludwig Erhard combine market economy with liberal democracy and some components of Catholic social teachings. This merge has been described as ‘neoliberalism’ and as a ‘third way’ between fascism and communism. Later on, Cros and Nawroth’s definition of

¹⁵ Neoliberalism and a revision of liberalism (Translation by author).

neoliberalism was exported to the rest of the world and became a widely-used term during the 1990s.

There are other authors that have advanced definitions of neoliberalism. Eecke (1982) definition is a term which refers to a particular kind of liberalism which is characterised by a particular connection with *laissez-faire* economic policies. Harvey (2005) also advances a definition of neoliberalism. According to him:

Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices. The state has to guarantee, for example, the quality and integrity of money. It must also set up those military, defence, police and legal structures and functions required to secure private property rights and to guarantee, by force if need be, the proper functioning of markets. Furthermore, if markets do not exist (in areas such as land, water, education, healthcare, social security, or environmental pollution) then they must be created, by state action if necessary. But beyond these tasks the state should not venture. State interventions in markets (once created) must be kept to a bare minimum because, according to the theory, the state cannot possibly possess enough information to second-guess market signals (prices) and because powerful interest groups will inevitably distort and bias state interventions (particularly in democracies) for their own benefit (Harvey, 2005:2).

This definition of neoliberalism is in line with Harvey's understanding that the world has experienced 'an emphatic turn towards neoliberalism in political-economic practices and thinking since the 1970s' (*ibid*). Harvey advises looking at neoliberalism as an economic theory that currently has been replaced by a soft Keynesian perspective to macroeconomic governance motivated by modern liberalism. It is important to point out that Harvey (2005) does not see neoliberalism as a continuation of liberalism, but as something that is independent from liberalism naming Deng Xiaoping and Augusto Pinochet as the autocrat pioneers of neoliberalism.

Anna-Maria Blomgren (1997) has introduced a neoliberal political philosophy position. She has advanced a normative political theory perspective in which she critically analyses the work of Friedman, Nokić and Hayek. She describes their economic theories as 'neoliberal political philosophy'. Blomgren's categorisation overlaps with Harvey's definition of neoliberalism, but her critical analysis highlights the intrinsic variety of the neoliberal principles. For Blomgren (1997:224) neoliberalism is:

commonly thought of as a political philosophy giving priority to individual freedom and the right to private property. It is not, however, the simple and homogeneous philosophy it might appear to be. It ranges over a wide expanse in

regard to ethical foundations as well as to normative conclusions. At the one end of the line is ‘anarcho-liberalism’, arguing for a complete *laissez-faire*, and the abolishment of all government. At the other end is ‘classical liberalism’, demanding a government with functions exceeding those of the so-called night-watchman state.

Blomgren’s critical analysis observes that Hayek, Friedman and Nozick divide theoretical fields to neoliberal assessment and policies. Harvey seems to favour policies of deregulation, privatisation and radical tax cuts. However, Blomgren’s analysis of Harvey’s work indicated that Harvey’s policy suggestions are grounded on a notion of natural law. This natural law is summarised by directing economic practice towards human beings’ social nature and their organisation of society based on giving individuals freedom of choice (Friedman 1962, 1980; Blomgren, 1997). Blomgren, carrying out the same analysis, concluded that Hayek is a more conservative kind of neoliberal. Even though his view of neoliberalism is utilitarian, Hayek also grounds his work on natural law. He thinks that ‘spontaneous order’ of social life is better than the other order which is artificially created when referring to individual liberty and well-being. Nozick in his earlier work is a representative of a deontic type of neoliberalism. Nozick supports the same policies as Friedman and Hayek, but he does not talk about the good consequences of neoliberalism. On the contrary, he states that policy reforms are supposed to be the right measures for shaping a society in line with his understanding of justice and natural rights (Thorsen and Lie, 2007:12-13).

In the light of the brief literature review I have presented here, I will, hence, introduce a current a definition of neoliberalism. This definition takes on board not only the early work on this topic as well as the critical analysis carried out by Blomgren (1997), but also Harvey’s 2005 current analysis of the field. Thorsen and Lie (2007:14-15) propose a definition which is built within a framework of a neutral analysis of the phenomenon of neoliberalism. This definition proposes that neoliberalism includes the understanding that:

freely adopted market mechanisms is the optional way of organising all exchanges of goods and services (Friedman, 1962, 1980; Norberg, 2001). Free markets and free trade will, it is believed, set free the creative potential and the entrepreneurial spirit which is built into the spontaneous order of any society, and hereby lead to more individual liberty and well-being, and more efficient allocation of resources (Hayek, 1973; Rothard, [1962/1970] 2004) (Thorsen and Lie, 2007:14-15)

Thorsen and Lie (2007:15) also include a perspective on moral virtue for the definition of neoliberalism. However, Friedman (1980) postulates that:

the good and virtuous person is one who is able to access the relevant markets and function as a competent actor in these markets. He or she is willing to accept the

risks associated with participating in free markets, and to adapt to rapid changes arising from such participation (Thorsen and Lie, 2007:15)

In addition, under Thorsen and Lie (2007) framework, individuals are regarded as responsible of the choices they make. Under this postulate, inequality and social injustice are morally acceptable since they are the outcome of freely made decision (Nozick, 1974; Hayek, 1976). Von Mises (1962) argues that if individuals ask the State to solve social injustice to care for the unfortunate affected by the freedom of choice free market ideology, this suggests that the:

person in question is morally depraved and underdeveloped, and scarcely different from a proponent of a totalitarian state (Thorsen and Lie, 2007:15).

These elements of neoliberalism proposed above show that neoliberalism becomes a loose set of ideas depicting the association of how the State and the external environment is supposed to be arranged which is separated from an absolute political philosophy or ideology (Blomgren, 1997; Malnes, 1998). This is so since neoliberalism does not link democracy to free exchanges of political ideas which means that according to Harvey's (2005) views neoliberalism could be implemented by autocrats as well as liberal democracies. From this perspective, much is left to the market from which individuals freely choose and little is left to political processes (Thorsen and Lie, 2007:15). Østerud *et al.* (2003), Trollstøl and Stensrud (2005) and Tranøy (2006) argue that advocates of neoliberalism are often sceptical of democracy. They perceive it as a process that slows neoliberalism and they suggest evading it by designing legal instruments for that goal. Thus, practical implementation of neoliberal policies, in their view, requires relocation of power from political to economic methods; from the State to the markets and individuals.

After providing a brief literature review of the origins of neoliberalism and some tentative definitions of the term, I will offer a definition of neoliberalism that is coherent with the aims of this research. There are two views that are relevant for this research. The first definition comes from Giddens (2009:1126). He defines neoliberalism as:

[t]he economic belief that free market forces, achieved by minimizing government restrictions on business, provide the only route to economic growth.

This view is deterministic and does not consider the possibility of opting for another economic model to achieve economic development. The second definition is provided by Bourdieu (1998). According to him, neoliberalism is a programme designed to destroy collective State structures because they interfere with the pure market reasoning. Since the role of the State was reduced and replaced by private institutions, collective organisations

such as unions, associations, and cooperatives have been substituted by individualisation of salaries and careers. This new scenario leaves workers' rights undermined outside of the union's protection and, hence, defenceless (Bourdieu, 1998). This definition of neoliberalism is pessimistic and regards individuals as vulnerable to the institutions that control the market. This view is also deterministic since it ignores human agency.

I understand that the Chilean economic model is based on the first definition of neoliberalism. However, Education and welfare, among other benefits, have been privatised during the military regime and collective structures such as the unions were neutralised by the forces of the regime. The worker as an individual has been left defenceless and without the protection of the State or the union which reflects the pessimistic view of Bourdieu's definition.

In what follows, I attempt to link neoliberalism to the Chilean context beyond the meaning of economics or a simplification of politics. Instead, the way I understand the notion and attempt to observe it is neoliberalism that composes social ideology which characterises politics, culture and economics of a whole period of time across the Chilean country.

I will now introduce a chronological review of the introduction of the neoliberal reforms in Chile. This review will be divided into three parts. They are Allende's overthrow, Pinochet's economic reforms and the transition to the democratic period. In 1973, the Chilean bourgeoisie, who had controlled a quarter of the nation's wealth (Harvey, 2007; Dakin, 2012), with the support of the United States of America (Harvey, 2005) called for a *Coup d'Etat* to put a sudden end to Allende's presidential period. The overthrow was led by General Augusto Pinochet and marks the beginning of a series of dramatic economic and social changes in contemporary Chilean history.

President Allende was the first Marxist Latin American President to be elected by open elections. Since Allende was elected under the 1925 Constitution of Chile, there was no Two-round system. Under this system, Allende was elected president of Chile with 36% of votes which turned him into the government of a minority. His government favoured policies of nationalisation of industries and collectivisation. The aim was to get the country out of underdevelopment. Allende nationalised 51% of United States mining companies. They were Anaconda Copper Company and Kennecott Copper Corporation. This sort of reforms, which was not supported by the Congress, caused social and political unrest and strain which led first to an institutional breakdown and then to his overthrow. His

government was regarded as unconstitutional by the Centre-Right majority and the *Democracia Cristiana*¹⁶¹⁷. Even though the overthrow was planned and called for by the Chilean elite, the Centre-Left dominated government and the United States government run by President Richard Nixon, the overthrow was actually carried out by the Chilean armed forces and the national police.

Weiner (2007:304-305) argues that Nixon, American President 1969-1974, ordered the Central Intelligence Agency (henceforth CIA) to bomb Cambodia due to suspected communists' camps while the USA was providing AK-47 automatic rifles to the new Cambodian leader Lon Nol. At the same time, when Nixon asked for accurate account of arms in the hands of the enemy, the CIA was unable to give that tally. Nixon suggested that the CIA bribe Cambodian generals into cutting off the arms flow. However, as the Cambodian generals were already profiting from the arms trade, the CIA did not have the funds for attractive compensation. Nixon was not only disappointed by the CIA's underperformance due to the inaccurate information regarding the Cambodian issue, but also stated that he could not accept any more lies in place of precise facts. As a result of the CIA's inadequate performance, in 1970 Nixon ordered that the agents responsible for the flawed report should be fired. During this unstable period, 'Nixon ordered the CIA to fix the next elections in Chile' (*ibid*).

According to Weiner (2007), by 1970, the CIA had control over every country from Mexico to the Antarctica. Weiner (2007:6) and the Church Commission Report (Report, 1975:i) state that the CIA had interfered in the Chilean elections before. In 1964, the CIA put three million dollars into the Chilean political scenario (*ibid*). They supported a pro-American Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei Montalva. The CIA also financed a covert anti-Allende project carried out by the Roman Catholic Church and the trade unions. Besides, the CIA amplified the insurgency against Allende in the Chilean military army and the national police. At the time, the Secretary of State Rusk, former United States Secretary of State from 1961 to 1969, told American president Lyndon B. Johnson, who was in office from 1963 to 1969, that Frei's victory was a 'triumph for democracy'

¹⁶ Christian Democrats (Translation by author).

¹⁷ Democracia Cristiana was founded in July, 1957 and unifies various social Christian groups such as National Phalanx, Social Christian Conservative Party and Conservative Party. Since 1990, Democracia Cristiana is the main party of Concertation (Coalition of Parties for Democracy) which is the Centre-Left Coalition party. Concertation is in a constant fight for the first place in national elections with UDI (Independent Democratic Union). UDI is a Chilean right-wing conservative political party founded in 1983 by a lawyer called Jaime Guzman who collaborated with Augusto Pinochet's regime (Note by author).

achieved ‘partly as a result of the good work of the CIA’ (Weiner, 2007:307). After six years in office, president Frei could not extend another period due to constitutional constraints.

However, the CIA had decided to interfere in the Chilean presidential elections again to stop Allende. The CIA had been warning the White House that ‘winning foreign elections required time and money’ and another covert action was necessary (*ibid*). Henry Kissinger, an American National Security Advisor from 1969 to 1975 as well as United States Secretary of State from 1973 to 1977, was concerned with the Chilean elections and approved US\$300,000 dollars for the political warfare programme ‘to crush Allende’ (*ibid*). On June 27, 1970, Kissinger, supporting Allende’s defeat, but backing no one’s election, added ‘I don’t see why we have to let a country go Marxist just because its people are irresponsible’ (*ibid*).

In 1970, the CIA stated that the plan to defeat Allende included distributing propaganda against him in the US, in Chile and abroad. The propaganda stated that Allende’s victory was a risk that would destroy Chilean democracy. If propaganda against Allende failed, Korry, who had already planned to persuade Frei to carry out a Constitutional coup, stated that once Allende came to power, we would do all within our power to ‘condemn Chile and the Chileans to utmost deprivation and poverty’ (Weiner, 2007:310). Kissinger ordered Korry¹⁸ to stop interfering and told him that the US government ‘wants a military solution, and that we shall support them now or later (...) create at least some sort of coup climate (...) sponsor a military move’ (Weiner, 2007:311).

In 1970, carrying out another covert plan, Nixon issued the CIA with instructions not to inform either the Departments of State, Defense or the Ambassador of the plan. The Church Commission Report (Report, 1975:2) reports that as the coup failed and Allende was elected president by 37% of the votes, the CIA was authorised to fund opposition against Allende in Chile. Eight million dollars were invested between 1970 and 1973. Money was used to fund political parties that opposed Allende’s government as well as private sector organizations.

Crucial actors involved in Allende’s overthrow were the Chilean elite. Henry Hecksher, an American intelligence officer born in Germany and who later emigrated to the US, taken

¹⁸ Edward Malcolm Korry ambassador to Chile during 1967 to 1971 (Note by author).

part in the Normandy invasion and who had also interrogated Nazi leaders, was the CIA Station Chief in Santiago. He had met Agustin Edwards, the Chilean owner of the main Chilean Newspaper called '*El Mercurio*' and a Pepsi-Cola bottling plant. Edwards was one of the most powerful man in Chile at that time. One week after Allende's election, Agustin Edwards flew to the United States and on September 14, 1970, had coffee with Donald Kendall, a friend of Edwards', as well as the Pepsi chief executive and a financial supporter of President Nixon, and with President Nixon. 'Kendall went to Nixon and wanted some help to keep Allende out of office' (Weiner, 2007:308). They not only discussed the timing for a military coup against Allende, but also handed Edwards 1,95 million dollars to start a campaign through '*El Mercurio*' against Allende (*ibid*).

A couple of years after the overthrow, General Pinochet 'wanted to quickly bring the country out of the economic chaos and put it on the fast track to economic development' (Byrd, 2013:1). In order to do this, Pinochet asked a group of economists, called 'The Chicago Boys', who had been educated at the University of Chicago and had received the influence of Milton Friedman's free-market disciplines to design reforms and to solve the economic difficulties the country was facing at that time (Menard-Warwick, 2008:2-6).

'The Chicago Boys' revisited the 189-page Programme for Economic Development, also known as '*El Ladrillo*¹⁹²⁰', which had been given to the 1969 Chilean president Jorge Alessandri, but who had not implemented the reforms. '*El Ladrillo*' contained ten reforms out of which only seven were finally put into practice, they were called '*Las Siete Modernizaciones de 1978*²¹'. These reforms considered two main goals. The first one included the privatisation of pension funds, public works (Dakin, 2012), and social services such as pensions, health care, education, agriculture, justice and regionalization) (Salazar, 2011a). These social services were transferred from the State to the market (Matear, 2007:79). The second goal of the reforms was to ensure that 'the market would be open to foreign direct investment, foreign ownership, no barriers to re-patriation, foreign profits' (Harvey, 2007).

¹⁹ The Brick (Translation by author).

²⁰ It is a text about Chilean political economy. It establishes the steps to follow to become a free-market economy system. It was developed in 1970 by economists of Pontifical Catholic University of Chile for the presidential candidate Jorge Alessandri. He did not win the election so the Brick was finally introduced in Chilean economy after the *Coup d'Etat* (Note by author).

²¹ The Seven Modernizations of 1978 (Translation by author).

The military regime was the perfect environment to carry out the implementation of the neoliberal reforms and set the social conditions needed to bring about social change. Due to the authority the military forces had over the civilians, military forces implemented drastic measures to control the country. These radical measures could only be implemented by an authoritarian regime such as Pinochet's military regime. For example, the regime abolished trade unions and the Constitution of 1980 forbade referendums. The same constitution also constrained changes future governments could make to the neoliberal economic reforms (Darkin, 2012; Salazar, 2011). As a result, the severe measures:

doubled Chile's rate of economic growth, drastically reduced poverty [...] that set the country on a path toward rapid development [...] Between 1988 and 2008 Chile's economy doubled and then tripled in size, increasing by almost 600% in two decades (Flannery, 2011).

This context has led Dakin (2012) to hypothesise that the economic growth of the nation was achieved at the expense of human rights. Human rights were violated during the military regime to bring in social change and, subsequently, due to the outcomes brought about by the implementation of neoliberal policies.

The last part of this chronology reviews the effects of the neoliberal reforms during the transition to the democracy in Chile. The Centre-Left Coalition seized power in 1990 which is the beginning of the democratic period in Chile. However, the ruling party did not attempt to change the economic model implemented during the military regime. Dakin (2012) states that the Centre-Left Coalition governments did not change the *status quo*. This argument is supported by Byrd (2013). She argues that the Centre-Left Coalition, have positions in Congress representation centre-left and centre-right to gain executive power, so why would they want to support reforms that might threaten their own power? Byrd agrees with Darkin's opinion and adds that the Centre-Left Coalition governments decided to continue with the neoliberal policies implemented during Pinochet's regime for their own benefit. However, due to Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (henceforth OECD) assessment and suggestions, the Centre-Left Coalition authorities decided to invest more in social benefits in order to counteract the social inequality issues produced by the neoliberal economic model.

In September 2013, during the commemoration of the 40 years of the *Coup d'Etat*, Roberto Thieme²², former member of '*Patria y Libertad*²³' stated that the Centre-Left coalition supported the *Coup d'Etat* and some of their economists helped the military regime to handle the external debt (Thieme, 2013). Thieme made these claims based not only on his extensive research as well as being witness of the overthrow, but also on the interview given by Patricio Aylwin, first president of Chile after the return to democracy (1990-1994), to The Washington Post on August 26, 1973. At that time, Aylwin stated that between '*una dictadura marxista y una dictadura de nuestros militares, yo elegiría la segunda*²⁴' (Aylwin, 1973) .

We may argue that the transition from a military regime towards democracy was carried out by a political party ally. Even though this transition brought about a democratic way of ruling, it neither changed the economic reforms nor its conflicting outcomes. I agree with Thieme (2013) and Matear (2007:63) views and conclude that the goals of the neoliberal reforms were to create not only the material conditions, but also the cultural ones to produce social change that turned Chile into a self-regulated and market-oriented society whose individuals were transformed into individualistic citizens in charge to solve their own problems and cope with their own demands through the market instead of relying on unions or collaborative work.

Thus, the neoliberal economy has been turned into reality in Chile due to the following reasons. Financial deregulation which is achieved by dismantling measures to protect foreign corporations and investment that interfere with the free-market logic (Bourdieu, 1998); the promotion and dependence of the concept of KBE, i.e. joining global financial markets with advances in information technology that guarantee capital mobility; and the need for highly qualified labour by public sectors and business environments (OECD glossary of statistical terms).

2.3.1 The consequences of the neoliberal reforms

The consequences of the Chilean economy boost are contradictory. On the one hand, the introduction of neoliberal reforms have brought about economic growth which is reflected

²² Secretary of Fatherland and Liberty (Note by author).

²³ Fatherland and Liberty. It was a Chilean political, authoritarian and paramilitary group that dissolved on September 11, 1973 (Note by author).

²⁴ A Marxist dictatorship and, a dictatorship of our military, I would choose the second (Translation by author).

by the reduction of poverty from 44% during Pinochet's regime to 15% today (Dakin, 2012). On the other hand, the strategy for economic growth has ignored social services, democracy, society and culture (Dakin, 2012) which has been predicted by the OECD. According to them, segregation as a result of the social gap is so significant that it has a relevant impact on democratic values and institutions (Matear, 2007:61). In addition, Dakin (2012) states that the social costs of this economically successful neoliberal model have been paid by the lower-classes. According to him, the lower classes have suffered from an inequality which is higher than in the other 34 OECD members. Inequality is translated into lack of opportunities because of limited access to quality education which influences job opportunities and salaries in the long term.

The introduction of neoliberal reforms such as State support to the citizens being replaced by the market ideologies and the public sector being replaced by the private one has an impact on social values. The previous socialist values are replaced by values which are influenced by the current economic model. There is a conflict of values as the previous values of solidarity and cooperation are replaced by the neoliberal values of individualism, consumerism and competition (Matear, 2007:79). According to Piller and Cho (2013:10), these values are produced by employment and economic insecurity. Piller and Cho (2013:9) add that the value of competition has turned job, education, welfare and housing into individual responsibilities, which, they argue, creates social suffering. As a result, while Dakin (2012) thinks that the new neoliberal values have changed the mind-set of the common Chilean population, Thieme (2013) is more pessimistic and states that the military regime was successful in creating the neoliberal citizen which means that individuals depend on themselves while the State has reduced their duties and obligations to the minimum.

Evidence of the influence of the neoliberal ideology and economy is reflected in the Chilean educational system. The educational system has been transformed into a market-oriented commodity and has been divided into three perspectives. First, individuals' performance mainly depends on their family background and purchasing power in order to have access to educational opportunities that lead to social mobility. Their academic ability - and therefore job opportunities and salaries - depend only on the type of education their parents can afford. Second, the government's educational efforts have not been significant. State schools and the voucher schemes have not been successful in allowing social mobility. Then, success in overcoming poverty through education has so far been limited (Matear, 2007:62-63). Finally, Chile's competitiveness in the global economy has been

unsuccessful since the global society is knowledge-oriented (*ibid*) which means that labour requires certain skills, such as information technology and English, to be productive. This is currently the nation's weakness and policies such as the linguistic ones have been advanced to tackle the difficulty.

The neoliberal principle behind this type of educational system is that the market has replaced the State. The State no longer offers social services to benefit the population. According to this neoliberal postulate, the Chilean educational system has been transformed into a business that responds to market regulations and needs. As the market provides education, the roles of the different actors involved in the process change. While schools and universities become 'service providers', the students and parents are regarded as 'clients' (Matear, 2007:63). The purpose of this educational model, based on modernisation theories, is to shape the educational system to train skilled personnel to meet the demands of the market (Matear, 2007:62) in the contemporary global KBE context.

2.3.2 Neoliberal discourse and the spread of English in Chile

According to (Fairclough, 2006:163), discourses are ways of representing and constructing social processes. Also, Bourdieu and Wacquant (2001) have recognised the introduction of a 'new planetary vulgate' to refer to the neoliberal discourse which is employed to persuade people to adjust to the current economic circumstances worldwide. Evidence of this type of discourse are the terms: 'globalisation' 'flexibility', 'governance' and 'employability' (*ibid*). Bourdieu and Wacquant (*ibid*) argue that neoliberal ideologists aim to portray a discourse-led reality and imaginary. In order to depict this discourse-led reality, they use the dominant neoliberal discourse. The dominant discourse becomes naturalised by repetition in the media as well as business and educational discourses. However, it seems that the dominant discourse is not contested. Bourdieu (1998) not only argues that this dominant discourse is supported by the International Monetary Fund (henceforth IMF) and by the OECD, but he also states that these organisations repress any form of opposition by inflicting their economic sanctions (*ibid*).

The neoliberal rhetoric emphasises individual freedom which is what neoliberal economies provide at the cost of social justice (Harvey, 2007). On the one hand, social justice has been threatened due to social segregation caused by the neoliberal values of competition and consumerism. Those who neither have the skills nor the will to keep up in such a society are victims of the system. On the other hand, radical social movements of the 1970s are also responsible for the arrival of the individualistic era. These movements

which not only asked for freedom, but also overthrew military regimes such as the Chilean military regime, were unable to distinguish between the discourse of the free-markets, i.e. economic liberalism, and the discourse of the individual freedom, i.e. civil liberalism (Piller and Cho, 2013:10; Harvey, 2007, Thieme, 2013).

This neoliberal dominant discourse affects people. Nino-Murcia (2003:136) argues that it is through the consumption of TV programmes which promote neoliberal ideology such as those broadcast by CNN, MTV and the exposition to Hollywood movies that audiences imagine themselves as being part of a global community. In her research, she advances the idea that English becomes the tool that helps people realise the dream of belonging to that community (*ibid*). On the one hand, Nino-Murcia (2003) argues that English is regarded 'like the dollar' in Peru by the locals who think that competence in English will open doors to opportunities, while Piller and Cho (2013) give an account of the anxiety that command in English has caused in South Korea. There, assessment of English in higher education enhances competition among its actors. This competition has negative social costs.

Another mode of persuasion in discourse is the use of *logos*. *Logos* is an appeal to facts and figures to support one's arguments. Today, it is possible to quantify how global a country is with the help of the index of globalisation (Piller and Cho, 2013:29). This index shows that the use of English is legitimised by the number of non-native speakers who use it. However, according to Piller and Cho (2013:3), competence in English has become a source for competition, which together with individualism, is the key value of the neoliberal era. These values produce mass suffering as reported by Piller and Cho (2013) and Bourdieu (1998), but individualism and consumerism can be challenged by replacing the individual passion for profit and re-establishing collective pursuit of common ends such as co-operation (Bourdieu, 1998).

In a similar vein, Fairclough (2000:14) states that neoliberalism is a linguistic project. To further add to this statement, Matear (2008:132) argues that decisions regarding language learning are not only educational, but also political. Matear's view is similar to Piller and Cho's one. Piller and Cho (2013:3-4) remark that the use of English has been imposed worldwide through the concept of academic excellence which promotes the neoliberal value of competition. This view has transformed English into a linguistic currency (Bourdieu, 1991, 1993) in the stock market of languages (Calvet, 1998:88). Those who have acquired this cultural capital will be able to open the door of opportunity (Piller and Cho, 2013:12-13; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990). Therefore, English language learning is

no longer a choice (Piller and Cho, 2013:12-13), but an imposition of the globalised society. These statements refer to language use that seems to come from a top-down regulation. In this scenario, Piller and Cho (2013:3-4) conclude that neoliberalism has become a language policy; a top-down language policy implemented in neoliberal contexts such as Korea and Chile and which may be challenged by the grassroots. This language policy has been planned to bridge the gaps between the market and the language in today's global society.

However, Piller and Cho (2013:3-4) are against this overt language policy and call to expose it. They argue that English has been imposed on society by the neoliberal free-market philosophy by means of discourse. According to them (2013:2-3), the spread of English, which is not the result of a free-linguistic market, but of an organised language policy (Piller and Cho, 2013:28), has to be understood and exposed as a socio-economic mechanism that has been disguised by the fallacy of a cultural promotion (Piller and Cho, 2013:17). This cultural promotion attempts to transform English into a requirement of the global market for those who dream of becoming global citizens (Nino-Murcia, 2003:5). Piller and Cho (2013:5) advise resisting the neoliberal language policy by exposing its costs. They think that English language learning is covertly imposed as the foreign language that opens doors to success, opportunities and competition in educational environments, but as a result, this policy causes social suffering (*ibid*).

The neoliberal dominant discourse that is composed of values of individualism, consumerism and competition, which causes social suffering as accounted for by Piller and Cho (2013) also highlights the need to adjust to the current global society. This discourse postulates that adapting to the new context brings in opportunities of development not only to the country, but also to the individual. This is the type of discourse that has been advanced by the Centre-Left Coalition authorities to justify the need to learn English in Chile (chapter one). This type of discursive strategy is what this research proposes to examine. It may be argued that it is through the naturalisation of the neoliberal ideology by means of discursive strategies such as neoliberal discourse that Chileans may have been persuaded to learn English.

In this context, which has been constructed by this type of discourse, the Centre-left Coalition government has considered the spread of English in Chile a key skill to achieve national development since 2003. According to Sergio Bitar, Minister of Education in 2003, this important skill benefits not only the country, but also the individual citizen

(Byrd, 2013:41). In spite of the costs of the neoliberal reforms implemented in Chile since 1975, the governments have secured economic growth. However, Chile has failed to meet the demands of the global economy due to the lack of skilled personnel (Piñera, 2011). Aware of the limitations to face the Free Trade Agreement requirements, in 2003, the Centre-Left Coalition president, Ricardo Lagos, and Segio Bitar, concluded that the government needs to face the demands of the ‘Chilean miracle.’ In order to do that, (Bitar, 2011) argues that Chile is a small country which needs English speaking citizens to go abroad to create and sell their products, learn from others in order to increase the nation’s quality of life. This is what triggered the ‘*Chile Bilingüe*’²⁵²⁶ programme.

According to The World Bank (2013), Chile has been classified as high income country, but that classification does not take into account the social gap that lashes the nation. In fact, Chile, due to its neoliberal economy, is shifting away from low wage and skills production towards business process outsourcing and information technology services. In order to attract foreign investment, the Chilean government’s website provides information related to free-trade agreements, taxation and investment policies as well as economic opportunities. Matear (2008:134) thinks that these measures not only attempt to show that Chile is a global actor in a global society, but also reveal the association between knowledge of English, foreign trade and economic growth. Although Chile currently ranks eighth place in The Global Services Location Index, which rates countries on the availability for skilled workers (Matear, 2008:132), training bilingual labour that attracts foreign investment and knowledge industries has become one of the aims of the Centre-Left Coalition governments. These governments have invested large amounts of money to achieve the goal of having a bilingual army of trained labour (Byrd, 2013:5-6).

The challenge is to motivate Chileans to learn English. On the one hand, the government’s rhetoric behind the promotion of this foreign language is related to development and economic growth, i.e. ‘that economic growth will ‘trickle down’ to benefit the poor’ (Williams and Cooke, 2002:7). Rohter (2004) also adds that learning English has been promoted as ‘natural’ and ‘beneficial’ not only for the individual, who can access better jobs and salaries, but also for the country which can fulfil the demand for skilled personnel to supply the labour needs of international companies. On the other hand, Menard-Warwick (2008:2-6) states that this market principle collides with the number of Chileans

²⁵ Bilingual Chile (Translation by the author).

²⁶ An earlier version of EODP (Note by author).

who have suffered with the implementation of the neoliberal model in Chile over the last 30 years. This model has enriched 10% of the population who control 60% of the capital (Menard-Warwick, 2008:2). Menard-Warwick (*ibid*) highlights the fact that ideology cannot be separated from culture in the Chilean context ‘with communism in contemporary Chile defined as advocacy against capitalism’ (Jaime Gomez, personal comment in Menard-Warwick, 2008:2-3). There is a political resistance to English in Chile. Some communist students connect the language with the ‘Yankee capitalist aggressors’ (Menard-Warwick, 2008:2-3). However, opposition on the side of Chilean students’ ideological beliefs is less common than lack of motivation due to social inequality as reported by Byrd (2013).

English is now considered an index of global competitiveness and it is an instrument to differentiate between those who advance towards better job opportunities as well as salaries and those whose opportunities are reduced due to underperformance (Piller and Cho, 2013:15). This global index has spread to the Chilean context as well. In Chile, English has currently become the new key index to differentiate and compete. Competence in English has become a resource that not only increases job opportunities, but also receives higher salaries. This competition is controlled by the type of education Chilean students can receive (chapter one). Generally, Chilean students have differentiated access to foreign language learning because foreign language learning is regulated by the type of education their parents can afford. Evidence of this is provided by the national evaluations of 2004 and 2010. Results show that the type of schooling that a student is exposed to due to family income may influence English language performance.

Therefore, allocating large government resources for the promotion of English in a given context may be regarded as questionable. Some scholars such as Blommaert (2009) and Bruthiaux (2002) are concerned about the resources invested in the promotion of English. The former argues that a marked accent limits job opportunities. The latter states that allocating resources for promoting English is misguided. Their argument is based on the concern that resources can be better invested in other educational programmes. This view has been supported by Byrd (2013:5-6) who has researched the EODP implemented in Chile. She has concluded that the programme is an example of how governments invest large amounts of money and human resources towards the endeavour of building a bilingual citizenry. She suggests that it would be better to invest in other policies instead (*ibid*).

2.3.3 English language and inequality in Chile

According to Matear (2008:140) and Byrd (2013:59), social class correlates with English language proficiency in Chile. Based on the results provided by the studies carried out by the researchers, education, and especially English is stratified by social class in Chile. Also, results for the national evaluations of 2004 (Emol, 2005) and 2010 (Tercera, 2011) show a strong correlation between social background and competence in English. Another factor that has been exposed by the national evaluation results is the influence of the family's cultural capital. Students belonging to the upper social class who attend mixed-funding schools perform better than the rest of their class while lower class students attending mixed-funding education perform less well (Matear, 2008:140-141). Even though efforts in the form of the voucher system have been made by the Centre-Left Coalition governments to make sure that every schoolchild learns English, proficiency in that language still depends on the type of education parents can afford. Matear (2008) states that depending on the parents' income and the importance they give to English, language exposure can be divided into three types of institutions that also represent social class. She has classified institutions as follows (*ibid*):

The first type of institution is composed of state schools, i.e. municipal. This sort of institution is funded by the state and includes students from low-income as well as low-middle class ones. They attend large classes and the ratio of teacher-student is 1:45. Textbooks are provided by the government and the teaching lessons are 4 teaching hours per week, which is 180 minutes. English teachers who work in this type of institution usually have a low level of foreign language command.

The second type of institution comprises mixed funding schools, i.e. private subsidised institutions. The students usually belong to middle class families and the classrooms accommodate much smaller groups. The level of English and certification is significant in this type of institution. Textbooks are selected by the schools' English department which are usually acquired from publishing companies from core English speaking countries (Kachru, 1985; Kachru, 1997).

The third type of institution is the private one. Upper class students mainly attend this type of institution. The teacher-student ratio is 1:20 or lower. Some of the teachers are native speakers of English and certification of English is required. Foreign language education also includes overseas study trips and exchange programmes. The final type of institution

consists of bilingual schools. In this type of school high number of hours of exposure to the foreign language is part of the curriculum (Kormos and Kiddle, 2013:403).

Another type of factor that evidences class stratification in the Chilean schooling system is the type of teachers. Language teachers are not foreign to this type of discrimination which highlights transverse class stratification. While private schools prefer to hire native English speakers teachers to attract more 'clients' because upper class children will be exposed to the native-like pronunciation, mixed-funding and state schools prefer Chilean foreign language teachers because they are not only role models for the pupils, but also they are able to understand the students' socio-economic background as well as the Chilean culture which is what native English speakers lack (Mc Kay, 2003:145).

The Ministry of Education has tried to counter-balance lower class students' educational background. *Mineduc*²⁷ has invested resources in having native language volunteers in state school classrooms (Matear, 2008). Their help consists of raising the students' aspirations and on motivating them to learn from another culture. Besides, *Corporación de Fomento de la Producción de Chile* (henceforth CORFO) has introduced an exchange programme called *Pingüinos sin Fronteras*²⁸²⁹. This programme has been designed to allow State school students to study for one academic year in New Zealand or Canada. The aim is to provide role models for their classmates which is one of the weaknesses reported by Byrd (2013). She states that lower class learners lack role models to motivate them to learn English because they are not able to see how they can benefit from learning English. Now, with the help of CORFO and *Mineduc*, they can.

Consequently, the type of education Chilean students receive is reflected in international evaluations, such as PISA³⁰. According to them, Chilean students perform poorly in reading comprehension, maths and science. These results raise concerns about the standards of Chilean education (Matear, 2008:135-136). Results of performance in English show the same pattern. However, research carried out by Glas (2008:117) highlights that the level of English asked by Centre-Left Coalition governments is low in

²⁷ Ministry of Education (Note by author).

²⁸ Penguins without borders (Translation by author).

²⁹ School children are commonly called 'penguins' in Chile due to the similarity of their uniforms (Note by author).

³⁰ The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) is a worldwide study by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. It measures academic performance of 15-year-old school students of member and non-member nations on mathematics, science, and reading (Note by author)

comparison to international standards. Comments such as *dominio básico*³¹ made by *Mineduc* authorities are frequently used in the syllabi and newspapers to describe the language level they require from the students. To conclude, Matear (2008) argument about the unequal distribution of resources to learn English act as a gatekeeper; blocking access to equal employment and study opportunities is pertinent to the Chilean context and reflects its reality fully.

It is understandable that conflicts in the form of protests expressing dissatisfaction about education have been raised in Chile by students and their parents since 2006. It has been argued by Holborow (2015), Byrd (2013), and Piller and Cho (2013), among many other authors that this educational model produces unequal access to quality education and its consequence is social segregation and social suffering. Even though Centre-Left Coalition governments have been investing in education, they have been unable to solve the problem because the solution is related to the neoliberal model and the educational reforms introduced in Chile in 1975 as stated by the researchers. According to this model, the cost of education was transferred to the parents. This cost differs by socio-economic group making upper class children benefit more from the best schooling available.

2.3.4 Public and Private Collaboration for the spread of English for Chilean economic growth

The neoliberal economy and ideology has a business understanding of education. Therefore, a link between business and education has arisen. In the Chilean context, the link between industry and education has been emphasised not only by the Constitution of 1980, but also by the education, the 1980's educational reforms, and language policies of the 1980s and 1990s. These documents highlight the link between education and industry and the importance of English in the global world. Besides, a more concrete connection between education and labour markets involving the national business community to support the administration of technical professional schools and industrial colleges has been developed (Carlson, 2002).

Evidence of the connection between industry and education is provided by the educational model suggested by Jose Piñera, former Chicago Boy. In 1993 and in 2010, José Piñera (2011) supported the creation of '*educación privada para todos dando poder a los*

³¹ Basic command (Translation by author).

*padres*³². In this framework, he proposed to divide the National Educational Budget and hand it over to the parents. According to Piñera's educational model, there are two core principles which summarise his proposal. The first principle is that parents will have to decide the best type of education for their children. Parents have the freedom to decide the most relevant education for their kids, keeping in mind the region of the country in which they live such as the mining and farming regions. The last principle is that the administration of schools should be carried out either by the teachers or by entrepreneurs. This type of administration would create competence among schools to perform better and obtain the economic support given to parents by the Education Ministry. Competence is understood here as a value.

Jose Piñera has not only recontextualised the discourse of business into the discourse of education, but he has also made explicit that the purpose of education is to develop skills required by the labour market. As a businessman, he is not only aware of how the neoliberal economic model works, but he also understands the aim of this instrumental link. Education and business become a key feature which will transform education into the main element for national development. Piñera's model also emphasises competition among schools and students, and individualism. Both are neoliberal values. Then, the link between business and education, as understood by Piñera, highlights the neoliberal ideology in the mindset of the neoliberal citizen who enacts the corresponding behaviour. Jose Piñera's educational model has not been implemented in Chile yet, but he is a significant actor in Chilean as well as foreign economy.

The connection between the neoliberal framework and education is reflected in the EODP. This programme has been introduced by the English language policy which emphasises the importance of English for national and individual development. It may be hypothesised that the importance of the language is connected with the demand of Chilean natural resources, such as copper, by the neoliberal economists as well as transnational companies. However, the lack of trained labour to communicate in English and facilitate negotiations has become an obstacle to achieving economic development. Ramos (2004b) has pointed out that efforts have been made to meet:

³² Private education for everyone giving power to the parents (Translation by author).

*los requerimientos que plantean la inserción de Chile en la economía mundial y las metas de desarrollo económico y social, que requieren la enseñanza y aprendizaje del inglés para proveer una herramienta de trabajo para todos los chilenos*³³.

Therefore, in order to counteract this difficulty, the Chilean English language policy materialised in the EODP has received support from the national and international business community. International institutions such as United Nations Development Programme (henceforth UNDP), private sectors and international organisations have collaborated to set up the spread of foreign language programme. This economic support is focused on raising the profile of the Chilean English language programme and it stresses the need for English in the ideology of national development (Matear, 2008:134).

The connection between education and industry is materialised by a plan supported by state and private institutions. The Ministry of Education and *la Confederación de la Producción y del Comercio*³⁴ have developed an agenda. According to Matear (2008:139), the agenda includes the following points:

- The creation of links between education and employment,
- It encourages the incorporation of enterprise in the curriculum,
- It promotes the teaching of technology, work-based learning and the development of skills for global economy

CORFO, a state institution, has been in charge of the development of foreign language skills such as competence in English, since 2004. As CORFO is also in charge of the development of the national industry, commerce and services, it has also served as an intermediary between English speaking professionals and private companies in need of qualified labour. In 2004, CORFO carried out a national evaluation to find out the level of English language proficiency among Chilean professionals. The results of the evaluation were employed to develop an online national register called '*Registro Nacional de Inglés*³⁵.' The database is available to national, multinational and foreign companies that are based in Chile and seek highly qualified workers. Also, CORFO has developed a system of scholarships to improve English language skills among professionals, technicians, university and technical professional institutions and industrial colleges.

³³ The demands posed by Chile's integration into the world's economy and the goals of economic and social development, require the teaching and learning of English to provide an employability instrument for all Chileans (Translation by author).

³⁴ The Confederation of Production and Trade. It is the union of Chilean business founded in 1935 (Translation and note by author).

³⁵ The National Register of speakers of English (Translation by Author).

International industries as well as institutions have economically supported the EODP. '*Minera Escondida*³⁶,' a private mining company, has contributed to the EODP by providing funds to train professionals. The institution supports the training of Chilean teachers of English who work at state schools (Corresponsales, 2012). Teachers update their teaching skills as well as competence in English at the University of Queensland, Australia. The goal of the training is that these teachers improve the quality of the education they provide at State schools. Also, the EODP has received economic support from international organisations such as United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (henceforth UNESCO) and UNDP. UNESCO's principle is that education is crucial to achieve economic development. UNESCO's support for the spread of English in Chile is related to the fact that English makes knowledge easily available and can be shared by every country (Byrd, 2013:22).

According to Sergio Bitar (2011), Chile has launched many Free Trade Agreements, but as it is a small country, Chileans need to communicate and learn from others, sell what they are doing, and need to have command of English to increase their quality of life (chapter one). Public and private companies, such as CORFO and *Minera Escondida*, have not only been involved in the transformation of the educational system to merge education and employment skills, but also supported the expansion of English in the country in order to keep training Chilean labour to meet the demands of national and foreign markets in a free-market economy and globalised world.

2.4 The English language policy implemented in Chile

This section will address the long term and short-term plans designed by the Chilean government to implement the English language policy in the nation through the EODP. This section will also discuss the obstacles that the programme has faced and the economic support that it has received to overcome the difficulties of implementation. I will conclude the section by reviewing the English language policy implemented in Chile.

As I have discussed above, the Chilean neoliberal economy is part of the global market due to the Free Trade Agreements that the nation has signed with countries such as the United States. These agreements and deregulated economy have boosted the country's economic growth. However, Chile has failed to provide skilled labour which is required by the transnational companies that aim to invest in the country. The link between economic

³⁶ It is an open pit mine located in the Chilean Atacama Desert. It has brought a large foreign investment to the country (Note by author).

growth and competence in English has been made explicit by Sergio Bitar. When he launched the ‘*El Inglés Abre Puertas*³⁷’ programme in 2003, he stated that ‘*[n]o cabe ninguna duda que el inglés es una habilidad clave para pertenecer a un mundo globalizado, del cual Chile es parte y espera participar activamente*³⁸’ (Bitar, 2003). In 2011, Bitar reaffirmed his past comments stating that as a small country, Chileans need to communicate with others so they can learn and sell what they produce. The goal of these interactions is to increase Chileans’ quality of life (Bitar, 2011) (chapter one).

In 2003, in order to train a Spanish-English speaking labour force, the Centre-Left Coalition Chilean governments transferred the responsibility to CORFO and the Ministry of Education to plan an English language insertion programme. The first institution deals with the entrepreneurship and innovation policies outlined by the government. CORFO has been in charge of training professionals and technicians since 2004, while the second institution is in charge of the spread of English in the educational system. In December 2003, CORFO and the Ministry of Education designed a programme for the spread of English composed of three steps. The first was to survey the skills and use of English among professionals, the second was to register and certify English proficient speakers, and the final step was to train people with an intermediate level of English. The main goal of this programme is to create a database of English speaking professionals and technicians in Chile; the directory is called ‘*Registro Nacional de Inglés.*’ This database is one of the services given by the Chilean government to foreign companies evaluating the possibilities of investing in the country (Universia, 2004).

However, according to Joseph Ramos (2004b), Dean of the Faculty of Economic Sciences at the *Universidad de Chile*, more Spanish-English speaking labour is required to guarantee economic sustainability. According to Ramos, the educational system, including both, university and technical education institutions, has to improve the quality and quantity of English instruction in order to increase the number of English speakers in Chile.

In addition, Ramos (*ibid*) points out that a long-term plan to improve the coverage and quality of English teaching has been designed. The first stage is composed of four main

³⁷ English Open Doors (Translation by author).

³⁸ There is no doubt that English is a key skill to belong to a globalised world, of which Chile is a party and hopes to participate actively (Translation by author).

foundations. First, align foreign language instruction to meet international standards. Second, train English teachers for primary and secondary education. Third, support educational institutions with teaching materials. Finally, to provide and improve English teaching instruction for the productive sector.

Obstacles for the implementation of the English language policy in Chile were identified by the Centre-Left Coalition before the EODP was introduced and implemented in 2003 and 2004. The first barrier to the EODP that had to be overcome was the lack of qualified teachers to apply the policy across the country (Baker, 2011) which Matear (2008:138-139) has described as the greatest challenge for the programme to be successful. Matear argued that the national evaluation of English proficiency carried out in 2003 showed that the level of competence in English of Chilean teachers correlated with the students' scores in the subject. EODP administrators concluded that the solution to this drawback was to recruit English-speaking volunteers, and send Chilean English teachers to core English speaking countries to receive training (Rohter, 2004). This economic investment for training in a foreign country has been supported with extra specialisation for teachers implemented in Chile. An illustration of this plan are continuous professional development seminars, community workshops, local teaching networks, English language teaching and methodology courses and mentoring. However, delays concerning the results of the investment and teachers' reluctance to attend training sessions have deferred the success of the programme.

The second obstacle is related to the marketisation of teacher training. As education was privatised during the 1975 reforms, teacher training provided by private institutions proliferated in the country. The reasons for this growth are the increasing need of language teachers and the economic support provided by the government to finance the training. The drawback of the training provided by private institutions is their focus on the technical training side of language education which ignores the social and cultural aspects of it (Abrahams and Farias, 2010:111-112). Moreover, Abrahams and Farias (2010:113) have observed the lack of language achievement standards, low scores in PET³⁹ and KET⁴⁰ evaluations, and outdated teacher training among others, are the consequence of the

³⁹ Evaluation of basic proficiency in English. Evaluation designed by the University of Cambridge (Note by author).

⁴⁰ Evaluation of Beginner's level of English. Evaluation designed by the University of Cambridge (Note by author).

marketisation system. To counteract these negative results, the Ministry of Education evaluates teachers' performance in a process called 'Accreditation for Teaching Excellence' which provides economic incentives for those with high performance, and dismissal with compensation for those who fail the evaluation three times (Matear, 2008:138-139).

The third barrier faced by EODP is the correlation of social class with learners' motivation to learn English (Matear, 2008; Baker, 2011; Menard-Warwick, 2008). To illustrate, market segregation by class in English language learning is evidenced by the middle and upper-middle income groups that attended English learning promotional fairs in Santiago (Matear, 2008:139). Conversely, Byrd (2013) reports on lower income students who decide not to learn English because they think they do not need the language for their jobs.

Interestingly, it has been argued that the number of hours of foreign language instruction should have an impact on students' performance. The syllabus designed by the Ministry of Education which assigns 900 hours of exposure to English language learning seem to be enough to meet the basic level of proficiency described in the national syllabus. However, the teacher:student ratio in public schools affects foreign language learning significantly. As there is one teacher for 45 students in State schools, teachers have fewer chances to monitor and model students' performance (Matear, 2008:138-139). Also, students are aware that there are not many opportunities outside the classroom for them to speak English (Matear, 2008:139). Byrd (2013) suggests that providing role models to the lower class learners as a way to show them what they can do with the foreign language to boost their motivation to learn. Thus, the chances of exposure to the foreign language and therefore the motivation to learn it are influenced by the social status of the learner. The correlative effects of class segregation and motivation for language learning are still a challenge for EODP.

In order to improve the results in state school students, The Ministry of Education, national and international institutions have supported the EODP since 2003. These institutions have invested in the implementation of mechanisms to solve the obstacles faced by the programme. Public and private companies, such as CORFO and *Minera Escondida*, have been involved in the transformation of the educational system by merging education and employment skills. CORFO and *Minera Escondida* also have supported the spread of English in the country by training Chilean labour to meet the demands of national and foreign markets of the global economy. Also, UNESCO helps developing countries'

educational programmes since this international institution regards education as crucial to achieve economic development. The Chilean government has accepted UNESCO's help as they are aware that access to knowledge is facilitated by competence in English (Byrd, 2013:22). The government leaders have acknowledged that one of the weaknesses of EODP is the lack of English teachers to fully implement the programme. However, some scholars are concerned with the resources invested in the promotion of the English language. Their argument is related to the misguided investment of resources for English teaching (Phillipson, 1992; Bruthiaux, 2002). The scholars think that those resources should be spent on other educational programmes (Bruthiaux, 2002).

2.5 English language policies implemented worldwide

Today's interconnectedness due to globalising forces such as English and technology have given rise to some regional international economic blocs. Some of these economic blocks are the Southern Common Market (henceforth Mercosur); the European Union (henceforth EU); the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (henceforth APEC); North American Free Trade Agreement (henceforth NAFTA); and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (henceforth ASEAN). These blocs are composed of countries which get together with the aim of strengthening their individual economies. However, some members of these economic blocs do not share a common language. For example, the multilingual EU. In such cases, these blocs agree on a common official language to communicate.

The official languages these blocks have agreed on depend on the members of the blocs and the goals they set up to meet. For instance, the EU is composed of many multilingual European countries hence many official languages are required to represent the members that compose that bloc. Some of its official languages are German, Spanish, French and English. NAFTA is a bloc composed of Canada, The United States and Mexico. Their official languages are French, English and Spanish. Even though the APEC and the ASEAN economic blocs also contain multilingual Asian nations, both blocs have chosen English as their official language. Mercosur members are Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and Paraguay. The official languages of this bloc are Spanish and Portuguese. One of the goals of this bloc was the promotion of these two languages among their citizenry. Hamel (2003:18) argues that due to some drawbacks such as the lack of language teachers, this goal has not been met. Among these five economic blocs, Mercosur, from which Chile is an associate country, is the only one that has not chosen English as a common official language. However, their independent nations have implemented English in their national

language policies. Next, I will expand on the English language policy implemented in Argentina, Spain, and South Korea.

Argentina, a multilingual population due to its natives and immigrants, became an independent country in 1816 and a member of Mercosur since its beginnings in 1991. Former President Domingo Sarmiento (1868-1974) focused on education reforms to lead the country towards development. In 1820, the Basic Education Law 1,420 reform establishes that it is the State's responsibility to provide free, compulsory, non-religious public primary education. This reform which was initially controlled by local provinces, became centralised by the federal government in 1890. In 1983, the educational system transitioned from a federal government to a more democratic one. This change, which was introduced by the 1993 Federal Law of Education 24,195, moved from the aim of unifying the culture and language towards a model of social inclusion. Education was placed in the hands of the central national government which introduced a national framework. This framework also included assessment and teacher training to ensure equal education access to all communities. Provinces could design their own curricula based on the national core framework and the needs of their communities. This law extended compulsory education to 10 years of education. In 2006, after a severe economic crisis, the National Education Law was passed. Changes included the incorporation of child-care centres to educational institutions as well as the extension of compulsory education to the end of secondary education (British Council, 2015).

English in Argentina has been important due to trading with UK and the US since the independence of Spain in 1816. After independence from Spain, settlement in Argentina began. Immigrants came from France, Germany, England and Italy. However, it was the English, Scots, Irish and Welsh that invested more in this nation. They bought lands, set up business and owned banks. However, these immigrants gathered in closed communities and did not mingle with the local middle and lower classes whom they refer to as 'the natives'. This closed community had their own English newspapers such as *The Standard*, *River Plate News* and *The Buenos Aires Herald* (Maersk Nielsen, 2015; Porto, 2014).

Immigrants also set up British-model schools as well as bilingual schools. They have been established since the 19th century to educate the elite and the expatriates. This curriculum was copied by the high income class private schools in the 20th century. However, English, which was not compulsory, was taught only in secondary school to this limited population. In 1998, the Federal Agreement A-15 (*Acuerdo Marco para la Enseñanza de*

*las Lenguas*⁴¹) asked for one foreign language to be compulsory in all schools from the age of 9 for a minimum of two hours per week. More than half of the provinces made English their choice of foreign language. This turn had two outcomes, unemployment among other foreign language teachers and low quality of English teaching. These reasons as well as other reasons such as historical ones transformed the transition towards English as a foreign language into an unpopular and unsuccessful one. In 2015, five foreign languages were included in the national curriculum. They are French, Portuguese, Italian, German and English (British Council, 2015).

Reasons why the spread of English did not prosper in Argentina may be related with historical ones. On the one hand, Maersk Nielsen (2003:201) argues that the American community which had settled in the Northern suburbs of Buenos Aires and had invested extensively in the country did not develop because they became terrorists' targets in the 1970s. Today, American corporations appoint either local or South American managers who have been trained in the corporations' headquarters. On the other hand, Porto (2014:8) states that the Falklands War, which was fought by the United Kingdom and Argentina in 1982, contributed to the negative attitude towards English in Argentina. This conflict dates back to the 19th century and has created conflict among both nations. Today, English has been linked with a discourse of imperialism in some sectors of Argentina.

Spain, member of not only the European Union economic conglomerate, but also part of the European Association for International Education (henceforth EAIE), has been facing harsh language policy issues since the times of the Franco Regime⁴² (Robbins, 2015). While in the past, different regions such as the Basque country, Galicia, Catalonia, Valencia and Balearic Islands (Neff *et al*, 2009) fought for their right to use the language these communities identified with over Castilian⁴³, this language has become official language of the nation as stated in Article 3 of the Spanish constitution. Today, the Spanish question the place of English within their linguistic environment.

Even though the economic rebound has positioned Spain as fourth largest economy and the highest economic growth in the Eurozone after the recession (Roman, 2015), Spanish youth unemployment rate unexpectedly reaches 45,5% today (Eavis, 2016). Haze (2013)

⁴¹ Agreement framework for the teaching of languages (Translation by author).

⁴² Francisco Franco regime lasted from 1936 to 1975 (Note by the author)

⁴³ Also known as Spanish, which is spoken by more than 350 million speakers all over the world. (Note by the author)

argues that due to this financial crisis increasing the rate of Spanish youth facing unemployment, which is the highest in the EU, Spanish universities have had to adapt their curriculum to provide their youths with more skills to access the international job market. One of those skills is the English language. In this context, as English is seen as opening job opportunities, Spanish universities have decided to internationalise their curriculum and become multicultural universities. On the one hand, Spanish students have classmates coming from countries such as China, Morocco, UK, and France to take English spoken modules on dentistry, marketing, architecture or business administration. On the other hand, foreign students enrol to learn Spanish at their international universities. However, Haze (2013) is sceptical about the new role assigned to English in Spain which may put at risk the survival of the nation's native languages.

The Spanish ministry of education does not share Haze's uncertainty. On the contrary, not only has the Spanish government named English as 'one of the basic seven skills within the labor market' (Robbins, 2015:2), but also Neff *et al.* (2009) state that this ministry has introduced English in the national curriculum since year 3. Spanish learners have three hours of English per week in a thirty students' classroom. Even though official examination of English at a national level has not been implemented yet, students need to pass a battery of tests, one of them is competence in a foreign language, in order to enter a Spanish public university. Interestingly, most students choose English out of French and German.

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (henceforth ASEAN) is a regional organisation. It is composed of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. It was created in August 8, 1967. The main goals of this organisation was economic development, promotion of peace and stability, collaboration, and research. This organisation has expanded and welcomed other countries such as Brunei, Cambodia, Laos, Burma, and Vietnam. In 1997, the leaders of the ASEAN organisation country members felt the need to integrate other nations of the region. Thus, a new organisation was created. This organization was called 'ASEAN plus three' which includes People's Republic of China, Japan and South Korea.

Education in South Korea, a monolingual country (Song, 2011) rapidly moving towards Korean-English bilingualism (Lee, 2011) and one of the world largest investors on the English education market (Lee, 2010:246), is divided into three stages. They are primary

education, middle school and high school. The first is composed of year 1 to year 6. The second one starts from year 7 to year 9. The last one, which is not mandatory, includes year 10 to year 12. English language teaching in state public schools starts in year 3 until tertiary education.

South Korea, focusing on meeting the demands of the globalisation, has embarked on a Knowledge-based educational reform (Koh, 2007). In order to achieve this goal, the 1997 education reform updated the curriculum making English language teaching move from grammar-translation oriented education towards Communicative Language Teaching (henceforth CLT). The aim is to foster native-speaker like proficiency rather than book-smart readers (Lee, 2011; Flattery, 2007).

The financial crisis of 1997 and 1998 has triggered social change in South Korea. These socio economic transformations associated with the neoliberal ideology have turned competition into a core value (Piller and Cho, 2013). In this competitive society, English, which is linked with socio-economic status, a means to gain social prestige and economic success (Flattery, 2007), has become a new index of competition, as testing and ranking mechanisms have transformed the language into a covert language policy enhanced by English as Medium of Instruction (henceforth MoI) education frenzy in tertiary education. The competitive ideology materialised by the neoliberal values behind this covert language policy has caused social suffering in the form of anxiety and suicide among learners and instructors (Piller and Cho, 2013).

As this foreign language is prestigious in South Korea, its citizens have felt the urge to improve their foreign language skills to participate in the global economy in which English is a tool (Lee, 2011:126). This language ideology combined with the neoliberal values have triggered a market for the English language. Lee (2011) has researched on the 'English Village'. It is an English language immersion privately paid project originated by discourses of globalisation. She argues that the 'English Village' is a small town that resembles an amusement park because it composed of authentic English speaking environments. Investing in this type of project is an economically better option for parents who want to avoid the financial burdensome of sending their children to study in English speaking countries. However, Lee (2011) has pointed out the drawbacks of the 'English Village'. She argues that interactions may not seem natural; native speaker staff is preferred which may unveil issues of discrimination; and the bilingual pursuit as well as

the international viewpoint may conflict with the South Korean identity and ideology. Flattery (2007) expands on the tension caused by the struggle with unsettled identities. He argues that the language gap may produce tension due to the cultural differences between South Korean and English identities that are negotiated through language.

These nations have some approaches to English language learning which are similar to the Chilean one. For instance, the economy has triggered foreign language learning in Spain, South Korea and Chile. While the Spanish universities try to combat youth unemployment by giving their learners an extra skill to make them employable, South Korea and Chile are looking for increasing their chances of economic development through English. Interestingly, whereas South Korea's language policy is a bottom-up language policy called for parents who have invested economic resources on improving their children's opportunities, the Chilean approach is a top-down one. It was the Centre-Left Coalition governments the ones who introduced the policy which have opposing reception among social actors.

On the contrary, regarding attitude towards English language learning and English speaking countries, Chile and Argentina differ. Even though Chileans went through a difficult transition from a military regime to democracy, they still do not share the same negative attitude towards English as the Argentinians do. This attitude is due to the memories Argentinians still have about the Falkland Islands war with Britain in 1982. As a result, the Argentinian school syllabi includes five foreign languages available to learn. There is neither a national evaluation of a foreign language nor a requisite of foreign language competence to apply for tertiary education.

Finally, Spain and Chile's linguistic landscapes are multilingual ones, Spanish and Chilean governments have introduced minority language policies that aim to respect and revitalise these languages among the community. However, both countries privileged English language learning. This top-down regulation is enhanced by national evaluations. While in Chile, it provides certification, in Spain it is a requirement to university application. To conclude, English language policy is determined by many factors such as economic, historical and motivational ones and implemented not only by top-down forces, but also a call from the bottom-up ones. Thus, countries' language policies have to be researched

based on their political, historical, and cultural backgrounds to understand what triggers them.

2.6 Summary

This chapter has discussed the motivations behind the spread of English in the Chilean context. In order to do that, the chapter has addressed the political and economic position of the country in the global context. It has also discussed the introduction and outcomes of the neoliberal reforms in Chile and how they have triggered the need for English language learning among Chilean citizens. The chapter has also described how the drawbacks of a neoliberal economy have transformed English into a class marker. In order to bridge the gap of income-oriented education, Chile has received national and international economic support to improve the quality of English instruction in State municipal schools. After describing the Chilean context, I have concluded this chapter by introducing and reviewing the English language policy implemented in Chile and abroad. This introduction leads the way to the next chapter. In that chapter, I will discuss the method as well as the analytical tools which will determine the discursive construction of the English language policy.

CHAPTER THREE:

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: LANGUAGE POLICY AND DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I seek to outline the conceptual and theoretical framework of this study. In order to do that, I divide this chapter into three major sections which outline and highlight leading scholarly work on language policy and discourse. Firstly, I elaborate on the notion of language policy, I delineate its origin; its historical timeline as well as its intellectual development. I point out current debates on language policy as well as the perspectives and methodological approaches employed so far to research this field. I explore the criticisms this field of study has received. I then draw on the influential work on discourse. I discuss the definition of the term and the different approaches to analyse it. This leads the section to review the ways in which language policy has been investigated by discourse analysis. I conclude this chapter by outlining the approach to investigating language policy that this research will take. Throughout this chapter, I will aim at synthesizing seminal scholarship in order to construct an understanding of the factors that may influence the implementation of a language policy in the current global context in which Chile is immersed.

3.2 Outlining language policy

Unquestionably, language plays a crucial role in social life. The control of language performance exercised by parents, teachers and authorities can be understood as the execution of language policy. Language use has been controlled either formally or informally by many stakeholders, the main and most notable stakeholder is the State. Informally, parents correct pronunciation, vocabulary choices, and become unconsciously responsible for language maintenance or for language shift (Spolsky, 2004). Media as well plays an important part standardising an official language or introducing a foreign one (Wright, 2004). Formally, the school, language policy makers, and authorities have the capacity to prescribe either covertly or overtly through their power or mechanisms a society's language practice (Wright, 2004; Shohamy, 2006). Whereas some stakeholders such as parents are the bottom-up force in language policy implementation, authorities and language policy makers among others become the top-down drive. The aim of hegemonising language practice of an official language, the spread of a foreign language or the revitalisation of a native one is what Blommaert (2009:244) understands as language policy:

The tendency there would generally be 'monoglot,' strengthening the hegemony of the official languages and implicitly (or explicitly in some instances) proscribing the use of other languages.

Having briefly introduced where language policy sits in everyday life, I now embark on elucidating its definition.

3.2.1 What is it? The notion of language policy

Many scholars such as Cooper (1989) and Shohamy (2006) have attempted to provide a definition of what language policy is. However, they have failed to come up with a comprehensive account. While states that this failure is related to the inability to understand what policy means, Ricento (2010:10) argues that the lack of a definition is due to not only the complexity of the issues that comprise language in social contexts, but also the lack of an overarching theory of language policy. Spolsky (2012:3) also attempts to define language policy that, according to him, is the result of language planning. For him, language policy is 'an officially mandated set of rules for language use and form within a nation-state.' The core of this definition is based on a top-down force that regulates the language use of a community. However, the definition does not take into account the existence of a bottom-up force. Hence, its weakness is in its inability to account for the

bottom-up language practices such as parents' feedback. Thus, Spolsky's definition is incomplete.

Being aware of the complexity of the notion and its elusive character, Johnson (2013:4-6) tries to synthesise the manifold definitions that language policy has received from many researchers and then summarises them into five overarching ones. The first definition is taken from Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:xi). They view language policy thus:

[t]he exercise of language planning leads to, or is directed by, the promulgation of a language policy by government (or other authoritative body or person). A language policy is a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in societies, group or system.

On the one hand, this definition regards language planning as the origin of the policy. It assumes that language policies are always the result of careful top-down language planning, which may be associated with a top-down approach to language implementation in a social context. For instance, a language policy implemented by the government. On the other hand, the definition does not account for other stakeholders such as the family which represent a bottom-up perspective to language use. Thus, it may be argued that this conception of language policy ignores human agency since it disregards the fact that speakers have their own bottom-up language practices. The following definition is given by Schiffman (1996:276). For him:

language policy is primarily a social construct. It may consist of various elements of an explicit nature – juridical, judicial, administrative, constitutional and/or legal language may be extant in some jurisdictions, but whether or not a policy has such explicit text, policy as a cultural construct rests primarily on other conceptual elements – beliefs systems, attitudes, myths – the whole complex that we are referring to as linguistic culture, which is the sum totality of ideas, values, beliefs, attitudes, prejudices, religious strictures, and all the other cultural 'baggage' that speakers bring to their dealings with language from their background.

This definition takes the cultural aspects of the policy into account. Schiffman states that the cultural aspect is the outcome of the policy since language policy is based in the linguistic culture. He argues that the cultural aspects underlie not only the language, but also the policy. This meaning also makes explicit language beliefs as a component of the policy. However, the signification states that there is a causal relationship between policy and language practices. According to Schiffman, language practices are the result of the policy, which is a strong claim since language practices may arise without any policy constraint.

Another definition is provided by Spolsky (2004:5). He understands language policy as:

[a] useful first step is to distinguish between the three components of the language policy of a speech community: (1) its language practices – the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire; (2) its language beliefs or ideology – the beliefs about language and language use; and (3) any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning, or management.

Spolsky elaborates on the three components that compose the definition of language policy. He states that language practice and language beliefs are not planned by either a top-down or bottom-up force. In contrast, language management is described as an intended effort to control language. Johnson (2013:6) compares Schiffman and Spolsky's definition of language policy. For Schiffman, language ideologies and language practices are based on the definition of language policy whereas Spolsky describes language ideologies and language beliefs as language policy. Besides, Schiffman understands language ideology and beliefs as the basis of the policy. Conversely, Spolsky sees language beliefs and ideologies as part of language policy.

Spolsky's definition of language ideologies and language practices as being language policy is problematised by Johnson (2013:7). According to Johnson, if both language ideologies and language practices are language policies, then if a person has a positive or negative attitude towards a certain language or if this person utters something in a marked variety of his/her native language, are those language beliefs and language practices regarded as language policies? Johnson (2013:7) states that it is important to distinguish between language policy and language ideology and he argues that language policies surface from language ideologies. He also adds that a language policy can produce language ideologies. However, language policies and language ideologies are different concepts that interconnect.

The next definition of language policy comes from Mc Carthy (2011:8). She has:

characterized language policy as a complex sociocultural process [and as] modes of human interaction, negotiation, and production mediated by relations of power. The 'policy' in these processes resides in their language-regulating power; that is, the ways in which they express normative claims about legitimate and illegitimate language forms and uses, thereby governing language statuses and uses.

McCarthy's definition of language policy is based on a sociocultural approach to language. She understands language as a multi-layered composite rather than the binary bottom-up

vs. top-down approach and focuses on how the interaction and negotiation produces language policies. She sees official language documents as potential language policy texts. The criticality of this definition is based on McCarthy's awareness of the power inequality as a result of language policy.

The last definition is provided by Tollefson (1991:16). Tollefson observes language policy from a skeptical point of view that is based on a critical theory perspective. According to him:

language planning-policy means the institutionalization of language as a basis for distinctions among social groups (classes). That is, language policy is one mechanism for locating language within social structure so that language determines who has access to political power and economic resources. Language policy is one mechanism by which dominant groups establish hegemony in language use.

Tollefson's definition is a very prominent one. He has introduced the Critical Language Policy (henceforth CLP) framework, which is based on Foucault's work (1979) among other scholars, to the definition of language policy. For Tollefson, language policy is a tool for power and a gatekeeper for access to political power and economic resources. Tollefson's critical view of policies emphasises not only how language policies perpetuate social inequality, but also how policies can be contested.

The five definitions of language policy mentioned above highlight the challenges that the definition of the term bring to the field of research. As Schiffman (1996) and Spolsky (2004) point out, language policy covers many layers such as those from government laws to communities of language practices. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) state that language policy regulations are introduced by authorities while Schiffman (1996) and Spolsky (2004) argue that speakers are also responsible of their language practices. McCarthy (2011) and Tollefson (1991) have a more critical notion of what language policy may mean. On the one hand, McCarthy (2011) is interested in the multilayered composition of the language policy and the interaction among speech communities to negotiate language policies. On the other hand, Tollefson (1991) has shed light on the ideological tensions such as power and inequality that may be the result of language policy implementation.

Above, I have not only pointed out how difficult it is to provide an overarching definition of language policy which covers all aspects of this field, but I have also problematised some of the influential meanings of this term. However, I would like to introduce one more

definition of language policy advanced by Shohamy (2006). This definition not only covers current perspectives concerning research on language policy, but also provide a novel viewpoint to research the field.

Shohamy (2006) has researched language policies in multilingual Israel. She views language as a way to show inclusion or exclusion, patriotism as well as personal identities. In that line, she regards language policy as part of this tension, as a tool within given language ideologies and language practice linguistic environment. These instruments that are in fact mechanisms which create, impose, and perpetuate language policies. They are systems of language assessment, immigration, and employment requirements among others. Then, Shohamy (2006:1) defines language policy as ‘a variety of mechanisms that create *de facto* language policies and practices.’ This definition understands language policy as a top-down force which is imposed on society. However, it may be argued that Shohamy is not explicit about human agency in her definition. Agents create and regulate their language practices, as she acknowledges in her research, outside of the control and the scope of top-down mechanisms of language control.

3.2.2 Origins: a brief history

Language policy and planning as a field of study has been widely researched, but there are still some questions to be answered. According to Johnson (2013:26), even though theoretically speaking, language policy as a field is robust, its origins and the links between theories are not very clear. Ricento (2006:16) argues that so far there is not ‘some grand theory which explains patterns of language behaviour ... or can predict the effects of specific language policies on language behaviour’. According to him (Ricento, 2006a:10), ‘there is no overarching theory of LP and planning’. Tollefson (2013:25-26), contributing to the debate, states that the vast conceptual frameworks discussing language policy do ‘not constitute a theory of language policy’. With these observations in mind, I will provide a brief historical review of language policy and planning (henceforth LPLP) as these concepts are blurred at the onset of the field.

There are two main trends of study in the linguistics discipline. Linguistic scientists are divided into those who either collect utterances with the aim of constructing grammar or those who study how people react towards utterances and how they control, evaluate and adjust their discourse. Language policy research belongs to this last trend of linguistic research which is also viewed as language management behaviour. Within language management behaviour, there is a group such as the State or an authorised division that

enunciates and acts in conformity with a language policy. This approach is known as state-as-manager perspective, which basically means:

determining which language variety or varieties shall be encouraged for use in which domains, and bringing about the development of the variety or varieties to be full adequate for use in those domains. It also implies implementing the policy, which if the policy entails, means acquiring users of the thus selected varieties. (Jernudd and Nekvapil, 2012:16)

Within this group, it may be argued that language is objectified and viewed as a resource that not only is intrinsically valuable, but is also able to be valued, i.e. commodified. At the same time, language is regarded as a problem if it does not correspond to the goals of a given speech community, as stated below:

Public planning, that is, orderly decision-making about languages on national level, is motivated by public effects of some language and by the social context. We maintain that language is subject to planning because it is a resource that is and can be valued. Aspects of language code and language use can be changed to better correspond to the goals of society. (Jernudd and Das Gupta, 1971:211)

Jernudd and Nekvapil (2012) elaborate on a recent broadening of the language policy field beyond a focus on the state-as-manager as presented above. This new perspective has allowed the development of a more general theory of language management which is based on not only a renewed interest in language policy, but also a clearer separation between attitudes towards language and the impact of society on attitudes towards language. As stated below, the aim is to:

enquire into linkages of behaviour towards language on the one hand and of enquiry into competing interests in society with an impact on behaviour towards language on the other (Jernudd and Nekvapil, 2012:17).

The new approach, which may be regarded as a context-based perspective, is opposed to the top-down approach displayed by the previous perspective and it is informed by multidisciplinary research on language such as the one carried out by linguists and sociolinguists.

Sociolinguistics emerged during the 1960s worldwide. Its concern at the time was the development of the newly independent nations and in doing so, scholars focused on the elaboration of structural linguistics and not only oversaw people's behaviour towards language, but also abstained from performing normative activities. Thus, language scientists of that period concentrated on a descriptivist rather than a prescriptivist linguistic approach. This opposition was emphasised by the following reasons: a) linguistic structuralism; b) devalued attention to language cultivation; c) sidelining work by the

Prague School linguists and by terminologists; and d) devalued activities concerned with planned language (Jernudd and Nekvapil, 2012:17). This rejectionist attitude by linguists was not only due to the ideological foundations of structuralism and to the structure of the international academic network, but also to the fact that language planning extends beyond the margins of linguistics as it is interdisciplinary and concerns not only policy formulation and implementation, but is also socio-political.

Language planning as a contemporary branch of sociolinguistics was recognized as an interdisciplinary enterprise. It has also existed as a subdiscipline with this name for nearly fifty years. The academic development of language planning led into the emergence of language planning as a major discipline. This evolution has been facilitated by the integration of the interdisciplinary aspects of language planning. This vast range of disciplines include economics, sociology, law and political science or in a specialisation within one of these last two. Researchers on language policy and planning such as Neustupný (1993, 2006), Ricento (2000), Johnson and Ricento (2013) among others have proposed historical categorisations of the field. These categories have helped to further understanding of how States have engaged in organised action to control language. In addition, Ricento (2000) proposed factors that have been influential in shaping the field of LPLP; guiding the questions to be asked, the methodologies adopted and the goals set up by policy makers of the time. These factors are the macro-social, epistemological, and strategic.

The macro-social factor refers to the events and social processes that take place in various contexts at the local and global level. An illustration of such an event which shapes LPLP research would be State formation as well as disintegration; wars; migrations; economic and communicational globalisation. The epistemological factor refers to models of knowledge and investigations that are employed by researchers at a given historical phase. Instances of these paradigms are, on the one hand, structuralism and post-modernism within the social sciences, on the other hand, rational choice theory and neo-marxism in economic and political sciences. Strategic factors refer to aims and objectives which motivate and lead research. These may be implicit or explicit reasons which motivate researchers to embark on a study. For example, uncovering the socio-economic reasons behind the implementation of a policy which may cause social inequality. Ricento (2000:197) rejects the idea of LPLP research absent from strategic purposes as he agrees with Cibuka (1995:118) who states ‘the borderline between policy research and policy

argument is razor thin.’ According to Ricento (2000:197), these factors help reconstruct the history of LPLP research. Even though there have been discrepancies regarding the timelines, I follow Neustupný (1993, 2006) to delineate the history of the field. Neustupný (1993, 2006) proposes a historical classification of language planning. This categorisation is based on his understanding of language planning as social practice. Corresponds to specific periods of time (Blommaert, 1996; Jernudd, 1996) such as the pre-modern; early-modern; modern and post-modern. These classifications are detailed in the form of examples which I briefly present below.

3.2.3 Historical classification of language planning

3.2.3.1 The Pre-modern period

The French Academy is an illustration of the pre-modern period. It was founded by Cardinal Richelieu who, at the time, realised that many vernaculars were used instead of, until then, Latin in reserved environments. On the one hand, Richelieu’s aim was to

strengthen the unity and order of the French State through bringing about the unity and order of the language (Jernudd and Nekvapil, 2012:18).

On the other, the goal of the French Academy was to

[g]ive explicit rules to the language and to render it pure, eloquent, and capable of treating the arts and the sciences (Jernudd and Nekvapil, 2012:18).

The materialisation of the language management efforts carried out by Cardinal Richelieu and the French Academy was the publication of an important dictionary. This fact was a preliminary stage of the language management endeavours. In fact, the French Academy became an inspiration for the creation of other academies in Europe. For instance, the Swedish Academy and the *Accademia della Crusca* in Italy.

3.2.3.2 The Early modern period

The European National Movements of the nineteenth century compose the Early modern type. Language planning was a crucial component of the European National movements of that century out of which modern nations originated. For instance, Norway and Finland. The significance of these movements lie in the link between the cultural and linguistic needs which led to the legitimation of social and political demands. As time passed by, they reinforced each other. Hence, language became a trait to enhance national identity.

Even though the Soviet Union of the 1920s and 1930s exhibits several features of the pre-modern stage, it can also be classified in the early-modern stage. The formation of the Soviet Union included the presence of about 100 ethnic groups who belonged to various

socio-economic levels of development and covered a huge area of territory. These ethnic groups displayed the spoken form of a language, but a few of them showed the use of a standard language. Efforts of language planning were carried out since the Czar ages. At that time, the promotion of Russian was accomplished by oppressive regimes. This may be one of the reasons why Russian was rejected as the foundation of language planning at the beginning of the Soviet period. Evidence of this may be the approach to language planning implemented once the Leninist doctrine took over. This doctrine promoted the use of ethnic languages as means of instruction. In order to achieve that, 70 alphabets were created (Alpatov, 2000:222) and textbooks were published and distributed. According to Alpatov (2000), language planning in the Soviet Union inculcated the framework of Marxist ideology. Based on this perspective, linguistics emphasised the social aspects of language, but questioned structural linguistics for underrating the importance of deliberate intervention into linguistic issues.

3.2.3.3 The Modern period

Czechoslovakia and the Prague Linguistic School approaches show features of the modern type. Linguists of the Prague Linguistic School carried out language planning in Czechoslovakia. The characteristics of this historical phase include attention to microscopic problems and the aim of modifying details (Neustupný, 2006). Conversely, macro-social problems are ignored. Czechoslovakia was founded in 1918 from the ruins of the Hapsburg Empire. The country was composed of diverse ethnic groups which showed significant problems of inter-ethnic contact. In this scenario, the Prague School focused solely on the elaboration of Czech standard language and ignored variation among ethnic groups. This is a hallmark of the modern type. The contribution of the Prague Linguistic School lies in the introduction of the cultivation theory. This approach introduced terms such as norm, function, intellectualisation and flexible stability of the standard language. Moreover, this approach is one of the two contributions to language planning which are still active in Europe among native landscapes.

3.2.3.4 The Post-modern period

According to Ricento (2000), the post-modern stage extends roughly from the 1980s to the present day. Even though this phase is still at a formative stage, some themes and issues have already been established. One of the core issues of this period is linguistic human rights. Examples of this stage are the current massive population migrations, the re-emergence of national ethnic identities which corresponds with the fall of the Soviet

Union, the tension among local and regional languages that interact with supranational languages such as French, German and English, and the repatriation of former colonies such as Hong Kong. Besides, another element that is relevant to this stage is the impact of economic ideologies such as the globalisation of neoliberalism supported by the media which is controlled by the multinationals (Said, 1994). This ideological hegemonisation has been criticised by Smith (1980:176). According to him, this massive dissemination of culture is a threat greater than colonisation.

Other examples of this post-modern stage are connected with the role of ideology. Language policy has been researched by context as well as by topic. Tollefson (1989, 1991), who has been influenced by Habermas, Giddens and Foucault, has researched the link between ideologies of power in the modern state and the evolution of language policy in eight countries. Wiley and Luke (1996) and Wiley (1998) have studied the phenomenon of English-Only and standard language ideologies in the United States. Lippi-Green (1997) researches attitudes towards language and language policy in the United States.

One common characteristic of the representatives of this stage is the influence of critical and postmodern theories on their language policy research. This characteristic is what differentiates this stage from the previous ones. However, even though Fishman was aware of the notions of hegemony and ideology, he did not place these topics at the core of his study. Fishman acknowledged this criticism (1994:93-94) responding that LPLP research has tended to reproduce sociocultural inequalities and may have been used for evil purposes, but the fact that LPLP has been employed for benevolent purposes cannot be ignored.

In addition, the epistemological stance observed during the pre-modern period is a positivist one which led to relativism during the pre-modern stage. Later on, due to the focus on detail and the micro aspects of language, the epistemological perspective to research LPLP turned into constructivism during the early-modern stage. Criticisms regarding the focus on language and ignoring the macro-component of language led research into a more sceptical view of language policy. This view gave rise to critical perspectives such as critical theory and post-structuralism to research language policy.

Two important concepts emanate from the post-modern historical period of the LPLP review. They are language ideology and globalisation. This research elaborates on both notions as they contribute significantly in the discussion chapters (chapter five and chapter

six). Thus, I will briefly discuss these topics in the following subsections. My aims are to delineate the key terms ideology and globalisation and their representation in language ideologies and language commodification.

Excursus on ideology and globalization

Before I continue with outlining language policy. It would clarify and strengthen my ideas in the thesis to discuss particular concepts. To do this, I will take us outside the chapter and add a section called ‘excursus’ next:

i Ideology

The term ‘ideology’ is a complex one and very difficult to define. Eagleton (1991) and Woolard (1992, 1998), van Dijk (1998), Woolard and Schieffelin (1994) and Wodak (2007) have reviewed the main definitions of such an abstract and diverse concept and have narrowed the concept down by organising the definitions into tendencies. Below, I provide the meanings that are more relevant for my research and next I outline my understanding of the concept:

ideology is most typically taken as a conceptual or ideational, having to do with consciousness, beliefs, notions, or ideas. (...) the basic notions that the members of a society hold about a fairly definite area such as honor, (...), and the interrelations and implications of such set of notions, (Woolard, 1992:237).

ideology is an intimate connection to social power and its legitimation. For J.B. Thompson, for example, ideology is signification that is ‘essentially linked to the process of sustaining asymmetrical relations of power – to maintaining domination... by disguising, legitimating, or distorting those relations (1984:4) (Woolard, 1992:238).

A fourth meaning of ideology would retain this emphasis [attends to the promotion and legitimation of the interests of such social groups in the face of opposing interests] on the promotion and legitimation of sectoral interests, but confine it to the activities of a dominant social power (Eagleton, 1991:29).

A fifth definition, in which ideology signifies ideas and beliefs which help to legitimate the interests of a ruling group or class specifically by distortion and dissimulation (Eagleton, 1991:30).

The first definition associates ideology with beliefs that members of a community have regarding an area such as honour. The following meaning of ideology is linked to uneven relations of power among members of a community, and ways to legitimate it. The third definition of ideology refers to ways of legitimating the interests of dominant groups. The final definition refers to legitimating the power of the elite by distortion. All of these meanings possess similar elements. They are members of a community who hold

asymmetrical power relations. Efforts to legitimate power are made by ways that may include dissimulation. However, none of these definitions take into account tension among social actors who contest power, or voluntary submission. The submitted force seems to be ignored even in the discourse.

Ideology refers to ideas and beliefs encoded with the interests of a particular group or class who legitimate and naturalise them by distorting, misinforming and misrepresenting the ideals of non-dominant groups. Even though not all discourses are ideological, the site where ideologies take place is discourse (Blommaert, 2005:158) and as the core of ideology is meaning, ideologies are constructions of reality created by discursive practices used by groups to transform, produce, and reproduce relations of power (Fairclough, 1992:87).

An effective ideology is one that is embedded in discursive practices and after being naturalised in the discourse by means of repetition, they become ‘common sense’ (Fairclough, 1992:87). To achieve that status, an ideology is considered to be successful when it is able to capture people’s desires and needs and when it is related to people’s experience. These sorts of ideologies have to be believable and interesting to a group of people in order to become effective. Ruling ideologies legitimate the power of a dominant group who, at the same time, legitimate themselves by the promotion and universalisation of beliefs and values that agree with the ideology that represents them while they disapprove of any idea that might question their ideologies. Therefore, legitimation in this view has a pejorative meaning since it may turn improper interests into respectable ones (Eagleton, 1991:54). Also, a successful ideology, which is the one that reflects the dominant group’s set of beliefs and values, is legitimated when the oppressed group assesses their own behaviour using the standard imposed by the dominant class or group (Eagleton, 1991:55). This group obtains the consent of the subordinates by controlling their wages and health care system (Eagleton, 1991:56). To conclude, neither of these two groups know that their discursive practices have ideological proportions and they even are unaware of the fact that their practices may be regarded as challenging dominant ideologies and can contribute to ideological change (Fairclough, 1992:90).

i.i Contesting ideologies

A way to resist a dominant ideology became the main concern of socialist intellectuals such as Lenin, Marx and Gramsci. In ‘What is to be done?’ Lenin, (1902) stated that a

‘particular ideology’ would allow workers to constitute the working class and would ‘become a revolutionary force’ (Blommaert, 2005:165). By ‘a particular ideology’, socialist intellectuals meant an ideology that characterises the working class, emphasising the fact that ideologies can be real agents of power and change (Blommaert, 2005:164). The ‘particular ideology’ is meant to counteract the power of ‘total ideology’ which Gramsci in his ‘Selections from the prison notebooks’ (1971) understood as the all-pervasive bourgeois ideology. For the ‘total conception’, ideology is neutral, neither positive nor negative, ‘just there.’ Both conceptions consider ideology as an instrument of power (Blommaert, 2005:164).

The working class believed they shared the same interests as the ruling class. However, in an 1893 private letter, Engels tells Mehring about Marx’s concept of ‘false consciousness’. This notion is how Marx characterises the working class. Workers think that they share interests, such as productivity, with their employers. Conversely, those interests were not compatible with those of the capitalist system. This ‘false consciousness’ was only the inclusion of the ‘total ideology’ in the workers’ mind. To solve this inconsistency and resist an ideology, the proletariat need to understand what their real situation is and learn a different consciousness which would allow them to revolutionise against the dominant ideology. Therefore, a socialist ideology has also become an ‘instrument in the struggle for power’ (Blommaert, 2005:165).

The idea was to turn a ‘particular’ socialist ideology into a ‘total’ hegemonic one; an ideology that would represent everyone who belongs to the working class. The purpose was to start a transition from a bourgeoisie capitalist ideology to a socialist one. Today, this swing from ideologies shows different stages of social change. Therefore, in order to understand the process of historical change of a society, ‘particular ideologies’ and ‘total’ ones are analysed in their contexts to comprehend their purposes and the social formations that described them. Thus, ideologies make sense in relation to one another (Blommaert, 2005:166).

i.ii Language ideology

Delineating the subject of her book, ‘English with an accent’, Lippi-Green (1997:8) helps us to understand what language ideology is. According to her (*ibid*), even linguists leave aside and regard as uninteresting:

how people think about language, how and why they try to control it, to what ends, and with what linguistic and social repercussions

Lippi-Green's perceptions about language illuminate the role language plays in social contexts. Rumsey (1990:346) states that language ideologies are 'common-sense notions about the nature of language' and Spolsky (2004:14) adds that communities share beliefs about language practice in which agents assign value to a language or a variety of language. These beliefs about language influence language practice. For Woolard (1998:3), language ideologies mediate between social forms and forms of talk, which according to Silverstein (1979:193), justifies speakers' linguistic preference. Woolard (1998:3) takes the definition even further stating that language ideologies envision and enact links of language to identity. This link supports the notion of the person and the group. Enactment of language ideology can be represented by the expression of the group who favours a given language practice (Heath, 1989:53). Conversely, a linguistic choice may be misrecognised by the group underestimating the worth of the marked form of language while the speaker of the idealised variety is invested with personal value (Woolard, 1998:19-20). This attribution of value to a given language or a variety of language makes discrimination on linguistic reasons tolerable (Woolard, 1998:19-20). Interestingly, language ideologies are not about language only, but about the link of language to identity of a group which is supported by institutions and which reinforces inequality among speakers (Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994:55-56).

Then, language ideology refers to views, ideas, thoughts and opinions about language imprinted by its speakers. The privileged variety is chosen by the elite while the stigmatized version of the language, also prescribed by the ruling class, is one legitimate means to discriminate against its speakers as mentioned by Lippi-Green (1993:73)

[w]hat is surprising, even deeply disturbing, is the way that many individuals who consider themselves democratic, even-handed, rational, and free of prejudice, hold on tenaciously to a standard language ideology which attempts to justify restriction of individuality and rejection of the other.

Lippi-Green (1993) suggests a definition of language ideology that encompasses the views of Foucault (1984), Bourdieu (1991) and Gramsci's hegemony theory. As stated before, the opinion about language and its use seems to be regulated by a community of speakers, mainly those that exercise power. This research will help us elucidate beliefs policy makers may have regarding English, how they have permeated those beliefs into the English

language policy texts and how this document delineates the tension among social actors regarding English language ideology.

ii Globalisation

Today, societies are cosmopolitan environments. Many universities not only have international professors, but also students coming from all over the world. Migration is taking place everywhere. Latin Americans as well as Spanish people migrating to Chile are reported all over the local news. Foreign companies such as mining and fishing companies are settling their headquarters in low taxation regime countries (chapter two). Outsourcing companies hire skilled personnel to serve international clients such as the Indian call centres (Heller, 2003). Large amounts of information shared as fast as a click of a mouse. There are better and faster means of transportation. All of these are evidence of the globalisation phenomenon that is currently taking place world-wide. These examples show that globalisation has overcome limits of place and time. However, these are neither the only examples of what globalisation is, nor a representation of the time in which globalisation takes place. According to Sparke (2013:xiii), 'how we represent globalisation makes a difference because it shapes how global ties and tensions are understood, managed and contested'. Therefore, I will next attempt to explain what globalisation is, how it is connected to English and why it is relevant to this research.

Definitions of globalisation depend on the aspect that scholars focus on. Keohane and Nye (2000) see globalisation as a phenomenon and state that it is 'the process of becoming global'. Mufwene (2010) then attempts to define 'global'. There are two perspectives to this word. The first one has a meaning of world-wide such as in the case of global warming. The latter meaning refers to a sense of being all-inclusive as in the case of world war. In addition, globalisation is not only local as in interdependences of industries located in one city. For instance, multinational mining companies are located in the second region of Chile, but there are also broader regional organisations such as the European Union or Mercosur⁴⁴. In addition, Sparke (2013:1) adds that there are two ways of understanding globalisation. They are the effects of global connections and the influential code word. The former refers to political, economic, legal, and ecological interconnectedness and interdependence. The latter refers to the codeword that influences the process of policymaking and modifies ways in which people live at a global scale. For instance, the

⁴⁴ Southern Common Market. It is a South American bloc of free trade. The countries that compose it are Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay. Other South American countries such as Chile are associate countries of the bloc (Note by author).

creation of a language policy for the teaching of English in Chile which will assess students' achievement using an international instrument, i.e. Common European Framework of Reference for Languages.

However, Coupland's (2010:1) contribution to the definition of the term, argues that globalisation is not a new phenomenon. He states that colonisation has also been a way in which people have come together in the past. These encounters included military and cultural interactions. The outcome of such intercommunication has been the modification of global and linguistic organisations. Imperialist countries such as France and United Kingdom have also contributed to the process of globalisation. Recently, the United States has also cooperated with the current globalisation phenomenon. A more modern way of globalisation has been carried out by the media. TV programmes such as CNN, Hollywood films and MTV have contributed to the Americanisation and McDonaldisation of the world. However, Mufwene (2010:31) argues that cultural hegemonisation as a result of globalisation threatens cultural diversity. This type of cultural hegemonisation due to the globalisation phenomenon has as a side effect. An instance of the side effects of globalisation is the spread of English.

Mufwene (2010:32) introduces another element to the definition of globalisation and argues that there is an index of globalisation. This index makes one city or country more globalised than others. Elements of this index include telecommunication, shipping, banking, and transportation representing globalisation due to interconnectedness and interdependence. However, some cities are more 'global' than others, for example, Tokyo, New York and Los Angeles. These function 'not only as major world financial centers but also as primary ports of entry and as principal diffusion centres in the spread of world-wide trends' (Mufwene, 2010:33). To illustrate, London is the base for many international banks and law firms, which represent various types of industries. Then, Mufwene argues that globalisation is actually reduced to a geographic phenomenon and it is in fact 'glocalisation' (Mufwene, 2010:32).

Migrations, colonisation, imperialism and Americanisation as globalising effects have had an impact on not only local languages, but also the global ones. In the past, Latin and French were the global languages of education and commerce. Due to colonisation, Spanish has become either the official or *de facto* languages of many Latin American countries such as Chile. Recently, Nino-Murcia (2003) gives account of Peruvians who

claim that 'English is like the dollar' and hope to learn this foreign language to live the American life. Heller (2003) talks about the need for competence in a foreign language to participate in the new global economy. Rubdy and Tan (2008) give extensive accounts on the role language and, more specifically, English plays in the global markets. In 'Language as Commodity' (*ibid*), they elaborate on the uneven conditions languages have in the world today. These differences reveal tensions for language use. On the one hand, local languages struggle to survive. On the other hand, global languages such as English take over the linguistic landscapes and become the privileged language. In this context, English as an instrument of enhancing economic opportunities for the individual becomes commodified by the neoliberal market. Thus, the scholars (*ibid*) conclude that English has been instrumentalised and commodified to meet the requirements of the global times.

In this cultural, political and economic global context, what is the role of the English language? Large banks and corporations determine the self-interest of the original G-7 countries which in turn determine policies and agendas of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization (Harvey, 2005, 2007), as they all seek to maximise their interests in relation to trade policies and investment (Ricento, 2012b:43). Additionally, they are capable of lending money and establishing the interest rates and the terms of lending (Harvey, 2005). According to Williams (2010:30), as mega-companies, mainly technological ones, do not need to have their headquarters in their home countries, they usually move to nations that offer favourable taxation regimes. The global marketplace is therefore controlled by a political class that can either economically win or lose depending on the decisions on production, distribution and prices of goods they make (Harvey, 2005, 2007). Therefore, in order to increase their interests, these corporations move their headquarters to low taxation countries which not only provide natural resources, but also an English-speaking labour force. Chile is a prime example of a country to where these large corporations move.

Due to these current political economic trends. English is the dominant language in technology and the knowledge economy. People that benefit from this type of economy are typically the highly educated, and they usually come from the richest countries (Ricento, 2012b:44-45). Conversely, competence in English is required in low-income countries which are the countries that provide cheap labour and natural resources. In low-income countries, however, there are class divisions. Then, only a small number of its citizens have the qualifications and skills, such as English, required to benefit from neoliberal policies

(Ricento, 2010, 2012 b:46). An economy that provides highly-educated labour whose citizens speak English, favourable tax policies and highly developed infrastructure will attract foreign corporations which in turn will help increase the gap between rich and poor countries as a result of their neoliberal practices (Ricento, 2012b:44). Therefore, it can be argued that neoliberal economic policies not only increase the social gap within countries, as has been widely researched, but also, as current research shows, competence in English has become a crucial factor which determines social mobility in low-income countries.

According to The World Bank (2013), Chile has been classified as a high-income country. However, this classification ignores the fact that 10% of the population equate 43% of the national income. Chile, due to its market de-regulation policies and low-taxation, is the country to where large international companies move their headquarters. These companies require English-speaking personnel as stated above. Still, only 5% of the population speaks English in the country which supports Pennycook's view. Only those who are fluent in English and have another skill, such as a profession, benefit from the types of jobs that international companies offer. Ricento (2012b:43) adds that the number of jobs these companies offer is so limited that the thought of social mobility is unjustified.

It may be argued that the reasons for implementing the English language policy in Chile seem justified by the economic and political reasons discussed before. However, it seems relevant to explore the reasons behind the implementation of the policy more coherently as they could seem very simplistic; more profound causes may have triggered the language policy introduction.

ii.i Commodification of languages

The notion of commodification was expanded and applied to research in the field of language by Bourdieu (1986), Phillipson (1992) and Heller (1999). Research in this field originates from the theory of political economy of language. According to this theory, language is objectified and assessed as goods that can become objects able to be exchanged. The economic capital of languages grants a language with value. Then, a language is not only associated with economic gain, but also provides economic prosperity to the speech community the language serves. When the purpose of languages is to allow access to trade, banking, finance, science and technology, it may be argued that languages have been commodified.

Tupas and Ruanni (2008:90) argues that commodification has existed since the dismantling of the colonies. The role of the English language in new independent states has been linked to either economic or instrumental use. In that context, English was used not only to contest colonial power, but also to achieve development. India is an instance of this phenomenon. In Chile, Spanish was the language of the colonial power that has become the national language. Natives had to communicate in Spanish to take advantage of the benefits society had to offer (Makihara, 2005a, 2005b). Consequently, that phenomenon may be interpreted as an instrumentalisation of the language with economic intentions that turns the Spanish language into a commodity.

Currently, due to the forces of globalisation which imply economic as well as human capital movement across borders, English and Spanish, among other languages, have been commodified (Pomerantz, 2002; Heller, 1999, 2003). These languages have moved from being only representations of cultural wealth to become the recipients of value in the market of languages, i.e. a valuable capital, and they have become, according to Pomerantz (2002:276), 'a commodity needed for participation in a multilingual marketplace'.

Making a connection between the past colonial period and the current global society, linguistic commodification may take place in two scenarios (Tupas and Ruanni, 2008:90). The first one refers to the language of the colonisers. In this case, the commodified language is the oppressors' language. However, in this context the language is used for contestation and economic development. In the last scenario and due to the globalisation phenomenon, languages such as English become imported into a foreign context with the purpose of commodification.

ii.i.i Commodification of English in the globalisation era

According to Giddens (1990), there is a difference between modernity and high modernity. The latter term is also known as globalisation. What sets both apart is that the latter has an impact on race, nationhood, identity and language. The relationship between language and the other factors are regarded as complex (Tan, 2008:107). This complexity is produced by the blurred borders that separate nations have today. Currently, while there are restrictions for human transit across borders, there is no limit to online capital transfer and transnational companies' mobility all over the world. Languages, in today's blurred borders, seem not only to move across them freely, but also to facilitate or hinder globalising processes.

As some of the main characteristics of globalisation are ‘porous borders and easy communication’ (Tan 2008:107), people feel free of locality, time and space limitations. This phenomenon is what Giddens (1990:63) understands modernity to be ‘inherently globalising’. Castells (1993:15-19) is more specific and provides features of globalisation that prove we have moved from modernity and capitalism to high modernity, i.e. globalisation, and new capitalism. These characteristics are the following: (1) economic growth as exemplified by the production of goods linked with science and technology (2) production moving from material goods to information-processing (3) organisation of production changing and becoming adaptable. Organisation which used to be vertical has shifted to horizontal organisation. Instead of mass production, industry has moved to customised production (4) economies, composed of finance, markets, information technology and labour, are no longer national, but global. These characteristics of globalisation are interwoven with language use and language value. One language such as English is the language that facilitates interactions, therefore, globalisation processes may have an impact in that language. This impact may be the value given to this language due to its role of communication and as a business facilitator. Conversely, other languages such as *Rapa Nui*⁴⁵ or *Mapuzungun*⁴⁶ may be thought to interfere with globalising efforts. This communication gap may have negative effects in their contexts. For instance, a speech community could be left behind in the era of information and technology.

Tan (2008:108) is more specific and delineates the way in which English is commodified in the current globalisation era. Tan includes the following:

- 1) An increased focus on the importance of English-language skills for dealing with foreigners.
- 2) An increased reference to English as ‘the international language of business’
- 3) An increased reference to English as the language of information technology.
- 4) A conspiracy of how officially certified proficiency levels of English might play an important role.

However, these characteristics and their impact on language commodification may have consequences on languages and their linguistic environment. Castells’ (1993) characteristics of globalisation have consequences on languages as argued by Lankhear (1997). These consequences are (1) the creation of new literacies that participate in virtual

⁴⁵ Native language of the people of Easter Island (Note by author).

⁴⁶ Native language of the Mapuche people (Note by author).

environments where standard English and key foreign languages are important; (2) literacy is turned into an instrument and languages become commodified which means certain languages are fostered due to economic advantages; (3) literacies provided by online education are commodified and certified and can be included in the individuals' CV; (4) the widespread use of languages in virtual environments may sometimes be obscure; and (5) literacies become technologized due to the creation of virtual learning environments. These consequences of globalisation reflect the influence on language use that governments and policy makers can have when they interfere in their nations linguistic environments. A way to interfere with speech communities' linguistic choices is through language policies (Spolsky, 2004, 2012; Wright, 2004; Shohami, 2006).

ii.i.ii Forms commodification of languages take

In the current globalised multilingual knowledge economies, English plays a multi-dimensional role and it can, then, be commodified in more than one way. It can be a reservoir of culture and identity as well as a commodity. Both, reservoir of culture and commodity, imply value and worth given to languages. In the same vein, Alsagoff (2008:44-45) argues that languages can be commodified in a variety of ways. According to him, languages can be regarded not only as economic, but also as having cultural value. Culturally languages foster social interaction and nationalism within a speech community as well as the transmission of the cultural heritage of a language. This is a value to be granted to this type of languages. The value of this sort of language is cultural richness rather than economic profit. The cultural value is linked with the worth that the language has to society.

As a commodity, English takes different forms. One of the forms English may take in this global economy is the means for internationalisation of Education. For example, the English language policy implemented in Chile provides two instances of that commodification. The first one is the standardisation of competence in English. The second one is represented by the international evaluation. They are usually carried out by international institutions such as Educational Testing Service (henceforth ETS) and International English Language Testing System (henceforth IELTS). This sort of standardisation of competence in English allows certification of a skill that in turn allows labour mobility across boundaries or skilled labour for transnational organisations. Also, Singh and Han (2008) divide English as a commodity into product and service. English language is sold as a product and as a service all over the world. As a product refers to

English learning packages, textbooks, educational materials, and as a service refers to what tutors and language teachers provide.

This thesis will seek to explore the value that Centre-Left Coalition language policy makers have given to English in the current global context in which Chile is immersed. Discursive analysis of the language policy will reveal the role and value English has received. I now close this ‘excursus’ section and continue with outlining language policy below:

3.2.4 Frameworks and conceptualisations of language policy

After summarising the historical timeline of LPLP, I will discuss the intellectual development of this field. Ricento (2000) and Johnson and Ricento (2013), divide the intellectual records of LPLP research into three stages. They are classic language planning; CLP and an intermediary stage. Ricento (2000:206) refers to the era of study as classic language planning because of the following reasons: the academic discipline of language planning was established as an international academic concern at the end of the 1960s; language planning as a subject of research was already delimited; their research frameworks and methods were already identified and used. Besides, research was already institutionalised in the form of conferences and newsletters. These characteristics become the core defining principles of this stage.

The main scholars of this period are Fishman *et al.* (1968); Fishman (1970); Fishman (1971), and Charles Ferguson (1971). They were the precursors of the organisation of sociolinguistic studies and research on language problems in developing nations and people’s behaviour towards language. They both introduced sociolinguistic survey work in the new nations with support from the Ford Foundation. In addition, Einar Haugen was also a representative of the classic language planning period. Haugen was a Scandinavian language specialist known for his work on Norwegian immigrants’ bilingualism in the United States and bilingualism in general. His work on the Norwegian language (1959) and his book ‘Language conflict and language planning: the case of modern Norwegian’ (1966) caught international scholars’ attention. Haugen also contributed to the field introducing significant conceptualisations such as language planning, corpus planning and status planning (Haugen, 1959). These significant conceptualizations were later expanded not only by Cooper (1989) who introduced the notion of acquisition planning to Haugen’s

framework, but also by Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) who updated Haugen's and Cooper's work by adding language in education planning.

The early development of classic language planning as a discipline required the accomplishment of many tasks that became the foundation of the LPLP field. These commissions refer to the elaboration and the identification of a body of literature as well as the formation of a network of discussants of international scope. The outcome of this research is presented in 'some introductory references pertaining to language planning' published by Rubin and Jernudd (1971) first, and then by Rubin *et al.* (1979). Another outcome was the publication of the book 'Can language be planned? Sociolinguistics theory and practice for developing nations', edited by Rubin and Jernudd (1971). In this book, Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971:211) elaborated on a theory of language planning and summed up their contribution as follows:

[a]n approach to language planning as decision-making. We do not define planning as an idealistic and exclusively linguistic activity but as a political and administrative activity for solving language problems in society.

This work is the result of one year of intensive work at the East-West Center's Institute of Advanced Projects in 1968-1969 funded by the Ford Foundation. Another outcome was the publication of research carried out by The Centre for Applied Linguistics. They issued a collection of papers edited by Rice (1962). These articles were sponsored by the US Agency for International Development. The last outcome of this commission was carrying out the International Research Project of Language Planning Processes. Fishman was the principal researcher and the materialisation of this project was the publication of the book 'Language planning processes' (Rubin *et al.*, 1977). These facts are the first steps towards what was to come and they mapped the directions for further inquiry within the field.

Another task of this era refers to the scope of LPLP as a field of research. Language planning became an academic multidisciplinary concern and the topic for international academic cooperation and funding support for research. The field began to receive support from Ford Foundation as well as the Rockefeller Foundation. While both sponsors were oriented mainly towards the language situation in multilingual developing countries, the support from the Rockefeller Foundation aimed at research in India's multilingual landscape. These developing countries faced various problems, but the founding institutions were mainly concerned with supporting the language ones. Such problems refer to political, economic, and social issues caused by language problems. Thus, the goals of

the sponsors were to support the processes of modernisation and development of these nations.

Another significant task of this stage was the epistemological and ontological stance their researchers took. The classic language planning approach is based on the premise that language planning takes place at the level of nation-state with the aim of bringing about development to the entire society. According to this premise, political processes that States go through determine the goals to be achieved regarding language as a tool in the building of a nation-state. This positivist view on the connection between the State and language planning was commented on by one of the participants of the international research team and documented by Jernudd, (1977:132) who summarises this view as follows:

we recognized and accepted the realities of the political processes and central state power, and we believe in the good of state action, that governments could act efficiently and satisfactorily.

Even though multidisciplinary research was carried out to support the findings of LPLP as a theory, features of the classic language planning era were highly criticised as the discipline developed. Criticisms to this era refer to conceptualisations; disciplines involved in the study of LPLP; lack of formal methodologies to investigate LPLP; the influence of the state in LPLP research; and scholars' epistemological stance and how that impacted their LPLP research.

The research carried out during the 1970s and 1980s revealed some variables relevant to language planning and their relationships which were problematised. Some core terms such as corpus planning and status planning (Haugen, 1959) became well-known. These conceptualisations were frequently criticised for being a simplistic differentiation. It was argued that language planning was advised to take into account and cover the interests of the diverse social groups. This notion revealed tension between politics and people's interests and values, which may differ. In addition, there was also scepticism regarding the disciplines that best research this field. It was argued that neither sociolinguistics nor linguistics were able to research the domain properly. Instead, it was suggested that the field would be better studied by representatives of other disciplines which re-emphasises the interdisciplinary origin of the approach.

A prevailing weakness from this period is the lack of formal methods to study LPLP. Critics of language planning have extensively criticised this flaw which was voiced by

Jernudd and Nekvapil (2012:26). They argue that one of the main tasks that remains relevant for LPLP research is ‘the introduction and elaboration of formal procedures and concrete techniques of language planning’.

Jernudd and Nekvapil (2012:27-28) also account for the criticisms classic language planning has received. According to them, social science scholars opposed the perspective regarding state influence on language planning. Their concern was related to the institutions linked with government and the possibility of them supporting inequality and maintaining hegemonic common-sense. Research in the field distanced LPLP from structuralism and the social sciences survey method towards the growing influence of critical theory frequently associated with discursive methodology. Perceptions of failure of governance and failure of social and economic progress in some emerging states fed disillusionment with development and that combined with growing interest on rights in general as well as minority and indigenous rights. The shift from the affairs of the State discourse towards a highlighted market economy discourse polluted the notion of planning. Due to the functionalist approach to language planning, it was argued that language policy specialists did not contribute to the expected social change. Instead, they seemed to support the solidification of social and economic inequality in developing nations (Williams, 1992). Evidence of this deterministic view is materialised in Tollefson (1991) ‘Planning language, planning inequality’. Cooper (1989) famous for his contribution to language planning, remains faithful to his previous understanding of the notion of planning although he finds it misleading to conceptualize language planning as problem-solving. This view distances Cooper from the classic language approach.

The early classical stage of LPLP focuses not only on a micro observation of the language planning and language policies in developed and developing countries, but is also concerned with nation building supported by the notion of national identity brought about by a common standard language. In order to achieve standard language practice; status planning and corpus planning are required. Even though this stage was context-oriented, it did not observe how it impacted language. Instead, exponents of this stage focused on understanding language. This approach to LPLP may be epistemologically regarded a structuralism. Within this epistemological stance, we find structural linguistics which is concerned with ‘linguistic forms and structures, but not their social meaning or force’ (Johnson, 2013:32). Evidence of this type of research is represented by Chomsky (1965). He introduces the ‘deep and surface structure’. Both notions have two main implications.

They not only position the language in the mind of the speakers, but also place all languages at the same level of development in which no language is neither more evolved or more primitive than the other. However, Chomsky's appreciations describe native speaker's performance and it ignores the existence of the non-native speaker and their linguistic difficulties.

The critical second stage of LPLP acknowledges limitations of the previous stage and problematises them. Epistemologically, this stage takes a post-structuralist stance. This stance is a multidisciplinary one that has a strong influence on critical linguistics, critical sociolinguistics and critical discourse analysis. The focus of post structuralism is the observation of the relationship between language and power. Discursively, post-structuralism aims at finding out 'how social structures and discourse form and inform individual behavior, including language use' (Johnson, 2013:32). This stance approaches language policy texts critically and questions 'the search for a uniform knowable authorial intention in texts' (Barthes, 1967).

Hence, research at this stage is aimed at understanding the attitudes of a community towards a language policy in order to explain why certain languages have a better status than others. This phenomenon may be correlated not only with the social and economic status of its speakers, but also with the number of them. Many issues were questioned such as the neutrality of diglossia as a way of supporting national development and modernisation. Inequality among indigenous languages and the supremacy of European languages may seem to perpetuate socioeconomic unbalance. This linguistic inequality is based on access to education which is under the control of the dominant groups locally and under the influence of regional and global economic blocks globally.

According to Ricento (2000:202), this second stage can be characterised as one that shows a growing awareness of the negative effects and inherent limitations of the language planning theories and models as well as the realisation that sociolinguistics constructs such as diglossia, bilingualism, multilingualism are not only complex, but also ideologically burdened. The choice of European languages to facilitate national development seemed to care for the interest of modern countries, which was often detrimental to marginalised countries, and the political, economic and social interest of their minority language speakers. The *de facto* language policy implementation as the official language of some developing countries tended to limit the utility of many minority languages for the sake of nation building. Thus, research led scholars to conclude that language choice could not be

engineered based on a chosen LPLP model, but they acknowledged that linguistic behaviour is social behaviour inspired by the micro attitudes and beliefs of the speakers and their speech communities as well as the macro political and economic global forces impacting the speech communities.

In this context, advancements of earlier stages of LPLP became the core of discussion in this stage. Developments in linguistics and social sciences of the 1960s that had significant implications for the research on LPLP became pertinent in the 1980s sciences and they impacted scholarly work and served to question LPLP research (Hymes, 1996). Among those developments, practicable models for the study of language acquisition, use and change had received special attention. At the same time, Fasold (1992) problematised terms such as native speaker, mother tongue and linguistic competence.

LPLP research during this stage has also been criticised. According to Cobarrubias (1983:41), when faced with the task of language intervention, language policy makers, authorities and teachers among others are not 'philosophically neutral'. This weakness was also observed during the first stage. Fishman (1983:382) acknowledges the criticism and argues that some linguists regard 'language planning as immoral, unprofessional and/or impossible'. Scholars became aware that earlier approaches to language planning such as those introduced by Haugen (1966) and Ferguson (1966) were deficient from a descriptive viewpoint (Fishman, 1966). This perspective was seconded by Haugen. He argued that even a revised version of his book could not be regarded as a theory of language planning (Haugen, 1983). These perspectives among others led scholars to conclude that they had to reconsider where the field was and where it was heading. Evidence of this scepticism comes from the old-fashioned language policies still prevailing in developing countries. However, Tollefson (1991:28-29) argues that failure of modernisation lies in the intention to 'protect and preserve dominant economic interests'.

Similarly, Pennycook (1994), Woolard and Schieffelin (1994) criticised notions of language and language policy which were imported by western-oriented notions. Pennycook (1994) argued that these views help perpetuate ideological attitudes towards language. Woolard and Schieffelin (1994:69) problematised the notion of *diglossia*. They argued that it is an 'ideological naturalisation of sociolinguistic arrangements' (*ibid*) that perpetuates societal and linguistic inequalities. Pennycook (1994:29) also criticises autonomous linguistics claiming that their neutral descriptivism hints prescriptivism (Harris, 1984). A broader criticism against the approaches to language planning research

and language policies implemented in the developed and developing countries comes from Hymes (1975/1996), Wolfson and Manes (1985), Tollefson (1986, 1991), Luke *et al.* (1990) among others. According to their claims, whereas many scholars from the early period were concerned with language planning regarding standardisation, graphisation and modernisation, during the second stage, scholars were focused on the social, economic and political effects of language contact.

At the intermediary stage, critical movements in linguistics and sociolinguistics such as those introduced above influenced the field of LPLP research. This impact would then be incorporated into CLP study. Three developments led to this approach to LPLP research.

They are the following:

(1) the focus shifted away from ‘language planning’ being understood solely as something imposed by governing bodies to a broader focus on activity in multiple contexts and layers of language planning and policy; (2) increasing interest in language planning for schools, including the introduction of acquisition planning by Cooper (1989) to the original status/corpus distinction; and (3) increased interest in the sociopolitical and ideological nature of language planning and policy. (Johnson, 2013:33)

Evidence of this type of approach to LPLP research is provided by Kloss (1977, 1998) book entitled ‘The American Bilingual Tradition’. This work explains how the United States has dealt historically with multilingualism. His work concludes that the US orientation towards minority languages is one of tolerance. This orientation is based on the constitution of the United States and it has been present throughout the construction of the country. Kloss (1998:51) argues that ‘tolerance-oriented minority rights have been handled very generously in the United States’. Another orientation which is relevant to minority language rights is the promotion oriented one. According to Kloss (1998:21), promotion-oriented language minority rights aims at

regulat[ing] how public institutions may use and cultivate the languages and cultures of the minorities... [and] promises them the recognition and use of their languages by the organs of the state

Even though Kloss’ approach is positive and promising, it minimises the effects of social discrimination towards non-European minority languages. This drawback may be influenced by his German ancestry and distance from the United States.

Wiley (2002), aware of not only the importance of Kloss’ research, but also the limitations of his framework, expands Kloss’ work and introduces new categories. They are

expedience-oriented policies, repression-oriented policies; restriction-oriented policies and null policies. Wiley (2002) also replaces the term ‘rights’ by ‘policies’. See Table 2.1 below which has been adapted from Wiley (2002:48-49):

Table 3.1: Categories of policy orientations

| Policy orientations | Policy characteristics |
|----------------------------|---|
| Promotion-oriented | The government/state/agency allocates resources to support the official use of minority languages |
| Expedience-oriented | A weaker version of promotion laws not intended to expand the use of minority language, but typically used for short-term allocations |
| Tolerance-oriented | Characterized by the noticeable absence of state intervention in the linguistic life of the language minority community |
| Restrictive-oriented | Legal prohibitions or curtailments on the use of minority languages |
| Null policies | The significant absence of policy recognizing minority languages or language varieties |
| Repression-oriented | Active efforts to eradicate minority languages |

Another significant proposal to classify orientation of language policies is introduced by Ruiz (1984). His influential work ‘Orientations in language planning’ proposes three orientations to language planning in education. He argues that language policies towards minority languages can be understood as language-as-problem; language-as-right; and language-as-resource. Based on Ruiz’s (1984) elaboration of the concepts, Johnson (2013:36) summarises those notions into the definitions below:

A language-as-problem orientation, which treats minority languages as problematic roadblocks for majority language acquisition, is characterized by transitional policies, the goals of which are linguistic and cultural assimilation, such as early-exit transitional bilingual education.

A language-as-right orientation is reflected in efforts to grant linguistic human rights around the world and may be characterized by one-way developmental bilingual education, in which minority languages students learn the dominant language while maintaining their mother tongue.

A language-as-resource orientation envisions linguistic diversity and multilingual education as resources for native and non-native speakers and therefore two-way additive (sometimes called two-ways immersion or dual language) bilingual

education, in which both native and non-native English speakers learn in both languages, epitomizes this orientation.

The significance of Ruiz's work is the inherently critical approach to language planning which is reflected in the ideas he exposes in his book. His critical ideas permeated Tollefson (1991). To illustrate, Ruiz understands language planning as social control and uncovers the connection between language and power. He argues (Ruiz, 1984:2)

Orientations are basic to language planning in that they delimit the ways we talk about language and language issues... they help to delimit the range of acceptable attitudes toward language, and to make certain attitudes legitimate. In short, orientations determine what is thinkable about language in society.

The connection between language and power drawn by Ruíz (1984) has also been displayed by Foucault (1978) and Fairclough (1989, 2010). While the former is a representative of critical theory epistemological stance, the latter is one of the founders of CDA. The notion behind this critical stance is that language policy discourses can become hegemonic commonsense and naturalise attitudes towards language and its speakers by ways of thinking, being, acting and educating. This notion will become a salient feature of CLP approach. Kloss and Ruiz's orientations developed frameworks which help uncover the goals and ideological orientations behind the language planning and policies. These frameworks led to the nurturing of critical approaches to language policy (henceforth CALP) research.

CLP has emanated from the growing critical direction taking place within linguistics, applied linguistics and sociolinguistics and CALP has become a response to earlier proposals on language planning. Advocates of this critical trend, such as Tollefson, see language policy as political and ideological, and argue that language policy serves the interests of dominant groups. According to Tollefson (1991:32-35):

[L]anguage policy is viewed as one mechanism by which the interests of dominant sociopolitical groups are maintained and the seeds of transformation are developed... The historical-structural model presumes that plans that are successfully implemented will serve dominant class interests.

Johnson (2013) argues that core notions of CLP first drawn by Tollefson's work, 'Planning language, planning inequality' were implicit in Ruiz's 1984 article. An illustration of this statement is the post-structural perspective Ruiz's paper displays. In it, Ruiz argues that

Orientations are basic to language planning in that they delimit ways we talk about language and language issues... they help to delimit the range of acceptable attitudes towards language, and to make certain attitudes legitimate. In short, orientations determine what is thinkable about language in society (Ruíz, 1984:2)

Here, Ruiz links discourse and power, as well as claiming that language and social control are at the core of critical theory (Foucault, 1978) and CDA (Fairclough, 1989, 2010).

Besides, a distinctive characteristic and concern within the field of LPLP research is the conception that:

the discourse of language policies can hegemonically normalize particular ways of thinking, being and/or educating, while concomitantly delimiting others (Johnson, 2013:37)

Kloss and Ruiz's frameworks elucidate the ideological orientations of language planning. The acknowledgement of ideological orientations embedded in language planning is a sign of the critical approach the field was taking. Evidence of this move towards a critical perspective is Cooper's 1989 book called 'Language planning and social change'. Here, Cooper (1989:164) exposes his interest on the sociopolitical nature of language planning. He states:

Language planning, concerned with the management of change, is itself an instance of social change.

This book is at the core of language policy and planning research, generally, and of CLP, specifically. Cooper problematises the commonsense understanding that language planning is only a top-down direction. According to him (1989:38),

Microlevel, face-to-face interactional cycles can both implement decisions initiated from above and initiate language planning which snowballs to the societal level or government level. In short, I believe it an error to define language planning in terms of macrosociological activities alone.

Makihara (2005a, 2005b) gives an historical account not only of the bottom-up efforts from the Rapa Nui speakers who have tried to revitalise the use of their native language, but also how a young population of male Rapa Nui's, *Yorgos*⁴⁷, who have decided to isolate themselves and enhance the culture and language of their ancestors.

3.2.5 Current approaches to Language Policy research

Language policy-making is a messy process as stated by Ball (1990) and Hornberger (2006). Both think that language policy-making takes place in an unsystematic way. While Ball (1990:3) states that '[p]olicy making (...) is often unscientific and irrational,' Hornberger (2006:25) claims that policy is not always the output of planning. In addition,

⁴⁷ Young Rapa Nui men (Note by author).

Fettes (1997:14) declares that ‘a great deal of language policy-making goes on in a haphazard or uncoordinated way, far removed from the language planning ideal.’ The process in itself is also a fuzzy one. It may consist of small changes to already existing language policies as pointed out by Johnson. Still, language policy and language planning is a powerful resource to manipulate language in a given context either implicitly or explicitly. Next, I elaborate on current language policy approaches which position themselves in the CLP stage and have led the way to new approaches to language policy research.

Shohamy (2006) sees language policies as instances of ideological tension and conflict among speakers. She states that the definition for language policy can be placed between ideology and practice. For her (2006:45), language policy is

the primary mechanism for organizing, managing and manipulating language behaviours as it consists of decisions made about languages and their uses in society.

According to her, policy makers have the power to decide not only which languages to legitimise through education and media, but also the contexts in which these languages will be promoted. This power over society can take two forms (Shohamy, 2006:50). They are overt and covert language policies. The first one is the explicit intention of language manipulation as it is observed in the language education curriculum. The latter form is the implicit purpose of language use such as *de facto* languages. Researchers who have a similar approach towards language policy are Kennedy *et al.* (2001). For them, governments decide to intentionally embark on changing a language in order to fulfil their own agendas. In the same vein, Tollefson (1991:31) historical-structural approach assumes that dominant interests are implicit and entangled in hegemonic ideologies that help keep the interests of the ruling elite. These authors’ views help us to understand how language policies can be built to support political agendas and interests.

Another current approach to language policy study has been introduced by Spolsky (2006). He concluded that language policies exist in complex and dynamic contexts in which a modification to any part affects the other parts, and, non-linguistic factors explain language practices and beliefs of others. Spolsky also expanded the definition of language policy by adding more elements to it. According to him, language practice, language beliefs and ideology, and language management are components of language policies (Spolsky, 2004:39). The first is related to people’s everyday use of their languages. The second gives

an account of beliefs people have about languages, whether it is a prestigious or marked one. The last element, which is language management, refers to a linguist or a policy maker who engineers the language intervention (Spolsky, 2004:8). This extension of language policy definition has allowed the field to grow as it brings about new questions and new theoretical frameworks. Evidence of this is his work 'Language management' (Spolsky, 2009).

Another approach to language policy research is provided by Hornberger (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Hornberger, 2006). She combines the work carried out by Ferguson (1968), Kloss (1968), Stewart (1968), Neustupny (1974), Haugen (1983), Nahir (1984), and Cooper (1989) on the language policy field and devises a method for language policy and planning (LPLP) which identifies two approaches: policy planning and cultivation planning. Each of these types included Haugen (1972) and Cooper (1989) status, corpus and acquisition planning as parameters of the framework. Although, the strength of Hornberger's framework lies in how to analyse LPLP activities and goals, its limitations are related to the unpredictable outcomes of the LPLP. Besides, other variables that call for further analysis on Hornberger's model are government's non-linguistic agendas and incomplete or inappropriate implementation, lack of evaluation, evaluation and finally an understanding of the complexity of LPP framework development (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996:404).

In 1984, Ruiz introduced a critical perspective to the investigation of language policy. He developed a heuristic model known as orientations to language planning in order to examine central issues in this field. By orientations, Ruiz means 'a complex of dispositions toward language and its role, and toward languages and their role in society' (Ruiz, 1984:16); and the aim is to make orientations in policies explicit by exposing and classifying them. He also introduces three orientations to language policy for minority languages in the United States; language-as-problem, language-as-rights, and language-as-resource (Ruiz, 1984:75).

Language-as-resource (henceforth LAR) is the first orientation. In this classification, language is regarded as a tool to measure which languages are more useful than others. This evaluation can be done from an economic point of view (Ruiz, 1984:17). An example of the economic value of languages is the spread of English today and how this language is regarded as an instrument in the technological, political and economic global environments (Ruiz, 2011:164). Even though Ricento (2005) does not underestimate LAR as a discursive

methodology, he criticises this orientation due to the use of native languages as an economic and military construct. LAR is an instrumentalist approach to language, which ignores its cultural and ethnic basis and serves capitalist interests instead. Besides, LAR interferes with the advancement of language rights (Ruiz, 2011:158). Ruiz's (2011) reply to these criticisms recognises that economic reasoning works against minority language maintenance (Ruiz, 2011:158); that all language policies have more economic interests than cultural democratic ones (Ruiz, 2011:160); and that his 1984 introduction of LAR did not emphasise the importance of language rights (Ruiz, 2011:166). To conclude, Ruiz is aware that his framework is useful, but has flaws. Consequently, he relies on academic work and exchange to guarantee linguistic social justice (Ruiz, 2011:169).

Language-as-problem is another orientation. Ruíz (1984) indicates that language has always been considered a problem to be solved in the LPLP literature. The solutions to these problems are either the teaching of English at the expense of the native language teaching or bilingualism (Ruíz, 1984:19-20). In the Chilean context, the lack of speakers of English has been overtly described as a problem by Centre-left Coalition Minister, Sergio Bitar, who introduced '*Chile Bilingüe*' programme in 2003 and by the National Renewal president, Sebastian Piñera, in 2011. The last orientation is called language-as-right. Ruíz (1984:22) claims that movements for the promotion of native and heritage languages have taken place not only in the United States, but also internationally. These movements view language use as a human right. The framework proposed by Ruiz in 1984 is still useful to research in language policy and planning. Summing up, these orientations can be improved by taking into account Ricento's (2005) comments. Hence, they can be implemented in different contexts. Evidence of this can be observed in the orientations given to the English language policy implemented in Chile (chapter five).

Ruiz's critical view of language policy has triggered a line of research in language policy. Ricento (1998) and Tollefson (2002) have followed this path of research and have stated that language policy can be used by the state to preserve systems of social inequality. In addition, Tollefson (2002) puts forward a political view of language policy that regards language policy as an exercise of power. This view builds upon the work of Ruiz (1984, 2011) who show awareness of the political use of language policy. In addition, Tollefson (2002), Johnson (2013), and Ricento (2006) have also developed a critical approach to the study of language policy called CLP. CLP shows the development of language policy as one of the many aspects of the socio-political processes which preserves and reproduces

social inequality (Johnson, 2004:75). This approach has been criticised by Ricento and Hornberger (1996) since they think that the method is deterministic and it ignores the power of human agency.

An evolution of this critical approach to language policy study is the introduction of multidisciplinary work. The merge between CLP and CDA as well as multi-layered approaches such as micro and macro, i.e. linguistics and sociology, levels to research LPLP has allowed researchers and scholars to learn more not only about the construct of LPLP, but also about the motives agents involved in the process of implementation and interpretation may have. Interestingly, new approaches to research this field open up new questions and new views which demonstrate that LPLP is a fruitful and flexible field of investigation.

Evidence of multidisciplinary and multi-layered work on LPLP is the work carried out by CDA researchers. They mainly observe the macro and micro connections embedded within the processes of language policy and planning. Wodak (2006) proposes a discourse-historical approach to language policy. Wodak uses a socio-philosophical orientation to examine the discourse which constructs a language policy with the purpose of making explicit the agents' choices. Mortimer (2013) introduces a method that analyses discourse of speech chains in ethnographic research on Paraguayan language policy. Similarly, Hornberger and Johnson (2007, 2010) have advanced their research on the ethnography of language policy. Moreover, Johnson (2011) has taken his research further and has suggested a way to combine CDA with the ethnography of language policy. He uses CDA to examine 'the intertextual and interdiscursive connections between the various layers of policy texts and discourses' (Johnson, 2011:267). A recently updated proposal on CLP advanced by Tollefson (2006) shares some similarities with the CDA approach. These similarities are related to the concern about the link between discourse and power; the manifold levels of social context that a text can take; and a strong belief in social justice. For both approaches, CDA and CLP, the main doctrine is the idea that language policy discourses are able to 'hegemonically normalize particular ways of thinking, being, and/or educating, while concomitantly delimiting others' (Johnson, 2011:269).

3.2.6 New approaches and methodologies to research language policy

I will now briefly discuss new approaches and methodologies to research the field of language policy. The field has expanded over the last decade and by doing so it has proven how fruitful and complex this field is. There are many fields of social life and contexts

which have been colonised by language policies, such as law (Voldymyr, 2006), language rights (Romaine, 2002) and, religious language policy (Spolsky, 2009). I will briefly elaborate on those new approaches below:

Ramanathan (2013) is the editor of 'Language policies and (Dis)citizenship'. In this collection, she highlights how areas of language policies, globalization, citizenship and pedagogic practices are interconnected and the consequences they may have when one domain permeates another. The aim of this book is to explore the limits of the understanding of citizenship. She understands citizenship as being beyond the passport restrictions, and more as a participant of society. This participation refers to social conditions of the context which created policies, such as language policies, that may not guarantee equal conditions. Shohamy (2006) gives evidence in which holding citizenry does not guarantee equal rights within society. In the field of applied linguistics, research has been conducted on citizenship testing and language (Shohamy and Kanza, 2009; Wodak *et al*, 1998) and on language policies (Hornberger and May, 2008; McCarthy, 2011; Ramanathan, 2013). Ramanathan (2013) estimates that the role of citizenry has not been researched thoroughly and argues that there are questions, which contain issues of access and rights at their core, left to ask, such as:

The term itself raises a variety of questions: under what local conditions does 'dis-citizenship' happen? What roles do language policies and pedagogic practices play? What kind of margins and borders keep humans from fully participating? (Ramanathan, 2013:2).

The connection between language policy and citizenship is drawn by the orientation towards language policy Ramanathan's book takes. This orientation refers to 'the right to participate fully' (Ramanathan, 2013:8) which is enforced by the citizenry. This tenet establishes that 'all humans are equal in the eyes of the law' (*ibid*). Young (1998) provides extensions to this type of orientation to language. They are:

(a) that the emphasis is on what citizens have in common; (b) that the policies and laws apply to all in the same way and that rules are blind to individual and group differences.

There is a conflict between Young's extension to the orientation and these rights guaranteed by citizenry. These regulations become diffuse when they have to be enforced among citizens and their language. There are differences among individuals as well as the group. They both have different worldviews and may belong to different social groups.

These characteristics will influence their language practices; enforcing the regulations stated above puts pressure not only on the group, but also on the individual. Thus, affiliating to a citizenry and hegemonically assimilating it disregards individuality and difference. Hence, this type of disrespect to difference leads to dis-citizenship (Kymlicka and Patton, 2003; Ricento, 2006; Turner, 1992; Wiley and Wright, 2004).

Briefly, 'Language policies and (Dis)citizenship' (Ramanathan, 2013) gives an account of novel approaches to study language policy. To illustrate, chapter one explores gendered registers of women under the influence of language policies. Chapter four, by means of critical discourse analysis, uncovers discrimination that Iraqi women experience when immersed in English speaking environments. Chapter five observes language ideologies of English teachers' dialogues about globalisation in Chile using a Bakhtian orientation. These approaches, among others, reveal how vast, complex and interwoven the field is.

Another new approach to research language policy has been introduced by Ricento (2012, 2015). Ricento connects language policy and political economy. In his 2015 edition, he reports how a political economic approach may be useful to explain events in varied settings in which a 'global' language receives a distinctive character. The findings of this edition show decisions that authorities, policy makers, members of a community and individuals make regarding the language to use when immersed in a global economy such as India and South Korea. These decisions refer to the languages to be taught in schools and used by the media. In these contexts, English is usually promoted as the 'global' language due to its instrumental worth. However, access to English or English-medium instruction in low-income countries is restricted by the learners' income and social class.

The methodologies that have been used to research language policy connected with political economy are varied. They include CDA, ethnography, economic models such as Marxist and Capitalist ones, as well as historical, geographical and linguistic analysis. The conceptual frameworks developed by this approach problematise the widespread use of English as a 'global' language. One of the questions raised in this book is:

Does English serve as a *bona fide* [i.e. genuine] lingua franca, and does it advance the interests of sustainable economic and social development in the low-income/developing countries where it is commonly taught in schools? (Ricento, 2015:2)

A more recent vein of research in the field of language policy is connected with political theory. Ricento *et al.* (2015) are the editors of a book called 'Language policy and political theory: building bridges, assessing breaches'. In it (2015:1), they argue that language and moral reasoning are features of human capacities. Both features are not only shared across humanity, but also fundamental to policy and politics. On the one hand, political theorists regard diverse moral values at the core of politics, on the other, language policy makers acknowledge that linguistic diversity is the main concern of policies referring to language use in various contexts such as education, minority language rights and language policies. Thus, language and moral reasoning can be regarded as 'dividing commonality' (Peled, 2014). These commonalities are shared by all humans, but they are the same features that divide them. Dividing commonality is a frequently visited feature within the field of language policy and this is the topic of the book.

There is a sub-discipline of political theory and philosophy called normative political theory. 'Language policy and political theory' argues that normative political theory and language policy have both much to offer to profit and learn from each other. This new vein of research proposes new directions and forms. These paths refer to different interdisciplinary studies, methods, conceptualisations and concerns that link political theory with language policy. The perspective taken by this edition is:

to observe how debates within political theory can help enrich our understanding of the complexity of language policy. At the same time, we hope to demonstrate that the methods and findings from the language sciences should influence how political philosophers think and write about language (Ricento *et al.*, 2015:2).

There are many premises discussed in this book. The editors refer to the complexity of having and promoting one single language as well one single understanding of what is a good state of society. They also mention the complexity of language, power and ethics when linked with 'dividing commonality'. This interface accounts for the language-related conflicts faced by individuals across political and linguistic environments. This tension is caused by the interdependence of language and moral reasoning. Globally, as the interaction with different cultures is facilitated by migration and the internet, we are being exposed to morals and languages which differ from ours. Thus, the editors' advice to overcome this tension at the linguistic and moral level, is to transcend linguistic borders and find common moral principles (Ricento *et al.*, 2015:2).

Linguistic minorities as well as multilingual speakers fighting to share linguistic spaces are evidence of this type of premise. Also, research on moral reasoning requires unpacking the type of enquiry to put forward. This is where multidisciplinary research is introduced. Disciplines such as linguistics, sociolinguistics, and normative political theory have helped engaging with the debate on language and social justice. However, this type of emerging multidisciplinary research is in its onset and it is therefore incomplete. The link between sociolinguistics and political theory can help formulate an interdisciplinary framework that combines sociolinguistic empiricism and the normative perspective. This merge may help to synthesise research on power in language.

However, the editors point out the drawbacks that this type of research may face.

According to them, the distance between political philosophers and language policy researchers affects investigations in this sub-field negatively. Hence, the aim of this book is to encourage dialogue and debate between these researchers regarding these common issues; combine efforts that may help not only to contribute to theory building, but also to evolve the field of study as the link between sociology and linguistics did in the 1950s. The interconnection between language, power and ethics is a difficult and evolving one. This complex interface is the result of tension between not only linguistic and moral differences, but also the interdependence of both features. This interface may be observed as an instance to further the field with the exploration of theories and methods. This is what this edition is aimed at. Research on language policy and political theory comprised in this book aims at promoting debate; refining questions; and opening the field for discussion.

To conclude, this chapter's review on LPLP, its timeline, its intellectual history, and its early and current approaches to research on this field have allowed me to conclude that not only investigating the Chilean English language policy requires an interdisciplinary approach that observes the historical, cultural, and ideological perspectives of the language policy, but also that historically, there has been a top-down approach to describing and proscribing societies' language practice throughout the centuries. In most instances, this LPLP approach has not taken into account the grassroots' ideologies to exercise language practice. This phenomenon is similar to the way in which the English language policy has been implemented in contemporary Chile. In that context, the language policy has been created, implemented, and approved by language experts and government authorities within the Chilean Ministry of Education premises. The extent to which the grassroots'

participation in the creation of this policy as representatives of the Chileans language practice is what this research findings may expose.

Since there are issues of power and ideology contesting the Chilean linguistic landscape that have been refreshed by the implementation of the 2004 English language policy, the methodological approach that best suits this study and based on this investigation's goals, objectives, and research questions is Tollefson's CLP framework (2002, 2006). This critical framework has been preceded by Ruiz (1984) and Cooper (1989). In this study, I intend to combine the CLP framework with a coherent critical discourse analysis approach to carry out a discourse analysis of the English language policy laws that compose the data of this project. This merge will help uncover ideological tensions embedded in the data. It will also allow me to observe the characteristics of the language policy texts as well as its interdiscursive and intertextual composition. Consequently, even though this type of analysis focuses on unveiling the goals as well as the common traits of the discourses employed by the policy makers, it still may help uncover the role played by the grassroots during the policy creation and implementation process as well as the importance given to language practice by the policy makers. Thus, due to the contextual characteristics of the English language policy and the type of analysis I intend to undertake, the investigation of this particular language policy positions itself into the post-modern stage of language policy research whose critical perspective is permeated with a post-structuralist stance. Therefore, as I aim to analyse the language policy discourses, I need to explore the connection between language policy and discourse. This is where I turn to next.

3.3 Discourse

In this section, I review the concept of discourse as proposed by the two main paradigms, the formalist and the functionalist. Then, I introduce a third definition of the term proposed by Schiffrin (1994) which bridges the gap between the two previous definitions. I then indicate which definition of discourse is the one that is relevant to this research. After that, I briefly discuss the main approaches to discourse analysis. I conclude this section by connecting language policy with discourse. Next, I introduce the notion of discourse.

3.3.1 Outlining discourse

According to van Dijk (1997:1) it is difficult to provide a straightforward definition of discourse as the concept is connected with language, interaction, society and culture. Also, there are many disciplines such as linguistics, psychology and social sciences that study

discourse from varying dimensions. Thus, it is not unexpected to realise that the concept of discourse is blurred.

The first definition of discourse I would like to explore has been provided by Schiffrin (1994). Schiffrin (1994:20) introduces two paradigms that summarise the nature of language to account for the meaning of discourse. Schiffrin declares that the structuralist (Hymes, 1974) and the functionalist paradigms make different assumptions about the goals of language, method for studying it and the kind of data and empirical evidence they look for. The first model is influenced by Chomsky's nativist approach (1965, 1967) to language whereas the second paradigm is inspired by the Hallidayan social construct approach to language (1978, 1994). As the interests for researching language of these two distinct paradigms vary, so does their definition of discourse. While the functionalist model regards discourse as sentences, the structuralist one 'views discourse as language use' (Schiffrin, 1994:20). The structuralist defines discourse as 'language above the sentence or above the clause' (Stubbs, 1983:1) while the functionalist states that '[t]he study of discourse is the study of any aspect of language use' (Fasold, 1990:65). In order to bridge the gap between both definitions of discourse, Schiffrin (1994:40) offers her own definition which intersects language structure and function. This definition views discourse as utterances. This meaning of the term compels us to see context as part of the definition of discourse and regards sentences as contextualised structures (Schiffrin, 1994:40-41).

Another definition of discourse that widens this notion has been introduced by Blommaert (2005). Blommaert (2005:2) proposes a definition of the concept of discourse. This definition is associated with semiosis. Blommaert defines semiosis as meaningful symbolic behaviour (*ibid*). According to this, discourse is language-in-action. In order to define discourse as language-in-action, we need to define discourse and language-in-action. In the linguistic field, discourse is either a conglomerate 'of linguistic forms larger than the single sentence (a 'text') or as language-in-use, i.e. linguistic structures actually used by people' (*ibid*). This 'language-in-use' is what Brown and Yule (1983) refer to as 'real language'. This point of view of discourse represents the development of current linguistic pragmatics. This advancement was triggered, on the one hand, by the recognition of language-in-use as a valid object of study as well as the discovery of grammar and syntactic elements, on the other hand, it was motivated by the interdisciplinary interactions between linguists and scholars of various fields such as literature, philosophy and

anthropology among others. These different approaches to observing and analysing discourse, have led to new approaches.

Blommaert (2005) not only follows this pragmatic perspective of discourse, but he also expands it. He includes other notions of discourse which can be understood as non-linguistic. For Blommaert, non-linguistic forms of discourse include banners containing semiotic meaning which constitutes the action in language-in-action. Even though signs are visuals, they contain semiotic meanings. The significance of this type of discourse has been explored by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996). Moreover, I would like to present a distinction between discourse, in lower case, and Discourse, capital, introduced by Gee (1999:7). This distinction is linked with those provided by the main paradigms discussed above. According to Gee (*ibid*), the first meaning of discourse is language in use. The last one is:

socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking, valuing, acting, and interacting in the ‘right’ places and at the ‘right’ times with the ‘right’ objects.

Gee thinks Foucault provides a similar definition that embodies the concept of resistant discourse to distance himself from the criticism of being too deterministic. Foucault’s (1976:100-102) definition of Discourse is the following:

Discourse can be an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy... [D]iscourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it... [D]iscourses are tactical elements or blocks operating in the field of force relations; there can exist different and even contradictory discourses within the same strategy.

Foucault’s description of Discourse, capital letter, as an instrument of both power and resistance shows not only how agents understand and act towards language policies, but also how power and purpose is embedded in the discursive construction of the policy.

After reviewing the definitions of discourse introduced above, the most relevant notions of the concept for this research are the ones provided by Schiffrin (1994) and by Foucault (1976), discourse as utterances which embody structure and function and Discourses as instruments to (re)produce and contest power. Thus, there are two definitions of discourse that seem suitable for this study, they are the following:

Discourse constitutes the social. Three dimensions of the social are distinguished -

knowledge, social relations, and social identity - and these correspond respectively to three major functions of language... Discourse is shaped by relations of power, and invested with ideologies (Fairclough, 1992:8)

Discourse... refers to language in use, as a process which is socially situated. However... we may go on to discuss the constructive and dynamic role of either spoken or written discourse in structuring areas of knowledge and the social and institutional practices which are associated with them. In these sense, discourse is a means of talking and writing about and acting upon worlds, a means which both construct and is constructed by a set of social practices within these worlds, and in so doing both reproduces and constructs afresh particular social-discursive practices, constrained or encouraged by more macro movements in the overarching social formation (Candlin, 1997:iix).

This research requires an understanding of discourse that embodies a) the function of the language in the text, i.e. a language policy; b) language in context in order to comprehend how different agents create, implement and understand a language policy; discourse as an instrument of power and resistance as language policy has agents who propose them and modify them with certain goals in mind. At the same time those policies in the form of discourse have an effect on a society who either hegemonises or contests the *status quo*; c) discourse as language in action as the discourse of the language policy has a performativity effect in society enacting forms of behaviour; d) language as social relations. As discourse constitutes the social and it is social relations that are semiotically constructed, language policies are embedded in those social relations, they are encoded and decoded by social actors; they are resisted as well as promoted by social agents. Language policies are discourses which are social-discursive practices. Therefore, in order to understand the power of a language policy in a given context, what the overt goals of the policy are, and how that policy can influence agents' behaviour, I turn to discourse analysis of language policies. The theory and method of different approaches to discourse analysis will help unveil what is intertextually and interdiscursively hidden in the language policies.

3.3.2 Methods of discourse analysis

As diverse disciplines such as linguistics, anthropology and sociology have researched discourse analysis, the field is regarded as a vast one. Disciplines investigating discourse are not only those that first developed discourse as a field of research enriching it with models of understanding and methods for analysing it, but also disciplines that have applied those models and methods to research their particular domains such as social psychology. The goal of this section is to name the main approaches to discourse analysis that suggest how vast the field is.

I introduce next the major approaches to discourse analysis according to Jaworski and Coupland (2006) and Schiffrin (1994). They are speech acts, interactional sociolinguistics, ethnography of communication, pragmatics, conversation analysis, the variationist approach and CDA.

According to Schiffrin (1994), there are six common approaches to do discourse analysis. They are speech act theory, interactional sociolinguistics, the ethnography of communication, pragmatics, conversation analysis, and variation analysis. Schiffrin (1994:13) argues that the six often overlap, though the differences between them are very clear. The core trait that differentiates them lies in the origins of the approaches. The origins, which vary significantly, dictate the theoretical perspectives these approaches employ. According to Schiffrin (*ibid*), these diverse origins:

May be responsible for different assumptions and beliefs about language – assumptions about the stability of linguistic meaning, the role of the speaker intentionality, the degree to which language is designed for communicative purposes, and the contribution of linguistic meaning to interactive meaning.

Another difference based on the origin of the approaches lies in the methods for data collection and analysis they use which is based on different theoretical assumptions. For instance, some approaches such as interactional sociolinguistics focus their analysis on fragments of talk. The variationist approach focuses ‘on distributions of discourse items across a wide range of texts’ (*ibid*). The ethnography of communication employs social, cultural and personal information about the interlocutors who at the same time may become informants in the analysis of their own talk. The pragmatics approach gathers data from an idealised speaker or hearer ‘whose characteristics do not enter into participant strategies for building text at all’ (*ibid*). Some approaches pay more attention to linguistic meaning whereas others focus their interest on interactive meaning. These choices demonstrate that methodological decisions are based on thorough theoretical and methodological observation of what they regard as data. Next, I briefly introduce each of them with the aim of illuminating which discourse analysis approach suits the aims of this study best.

Speech act theory was developed by two philosophers, John Austin and John Searle. They developed this approach based on one belief. This belief is summarised as ‘language is used to perform actions’ and focuses on exploring how meaning and action are linked with

language (Schiffrin, 1994:49). According to them, language is used not only to describe the world, but it is also employed to perform actions indicated by the utterances. Austin (1975) distinguishes speech acts into locution, its illocution and its perlocution. The first one is the actual words used in an utterance. The second one is the speaker's intention behind the utterance. The last one is the effect that the utterance has on the listener (Jaworski and Coupland, 2006:13). According to Austin, language is a form of action, and an utterance has an effect on the listener when it brings a change in the social reality. This type of speech is called performative. In order for performatives to realise its perlocutionary intention, felicity conditions have to be met. In order for an act to work, it has to fulfil conditions which are based on a typology of speech acts. According to Searle (1969, 1979), they are the following: representatives, directives, commissives, expressives and declarations. However, there are many taxonomies and there would be unlimited classifications to account for all the verbs in a language. Therefore, attempting to provide felicity conditions to all those verbs is a complex procedure (Jaworski and Coupland, 2006:14). To conclude, even though this approach was not developing with the purpose of carrying out discourse analysis, the matters with which this theory engages with such as meaning, use, and actions can lead to discourse analysis. In fact, some scholars such as Labov and Fanshel (1978) have employed the speech acts theory in their research. They have observed and examined a psychiatric interview employing the speech acts theory approach (Jaworski and Coupland, 2006:14).

H.P. Grice, a philosopher, proposed a different way of explaining communication. This perspective on communication analysis is crucial for the development of pragmatics and interactional sociolinguistics. As a philosopher, his interest in language was linked with sense, reference, truth, falsity and logic. Although, he argued that the logic he employs for language is not based on the same formal, i.e. mathematical, logic postulates, he advances a model of communication grounded on a notion of cooperative principle (*ibid*). This principle is defined as 'collaborative efforts of rational participants in directing conversation towards attaining a broadly common goal' (*ibid*). In order to achieve this goal, participants follow a set of maxims. They are 'be informative, be truthful, be relevant, and be clear' (*ibid*). Following these maxims produces unambiguous interactions. However, meaning is implied by means of two types of implicatures. They are the following: conventional implicatures and conversational implicatures. While the former follows conventional meaning of words employed in sentences, the latter is the result of ignoring one or more conversational maxims. When participants realise that one or more

conversational maxim has been ignored, they look for indirect interpretation through conversational implicature. However, Grice's principle has been criticised due to the type of speakers he employed to do his analysis as well as not taking into account the notion of strategic non-cooperation, the core postulate of inference as the main way to generating meaning in interactions is still crucial in many discourse analysis approaches (Jaworski and Coupland, 2006:14).

Conversation analysis approach (henceforth CA) was developed by Harold Garkinkel. The origin of this approach lies in the sociological approach to language and communication called ethnomethodology. This approach was influenced by the phenomenology of Alfred Schutz which was then applied to conversation. Most notable proponents of this approach are Harvey Sacks, Emmanuel Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson. The CA approach focuses on the study of 'the link between what social actors 'do' in an interaction and what they 'know' about the interaction' (Jaworski and Coupland, 2006:14). It differs from other categories of sociology because it does not centre in analysing social order, instead it 'seeks to discover the methods by which members of a society produce a sense of social order' as conversation itself shows its own manifestation of order and sense of structure (Schiffrin, 1994:232).

CA approach overlaps with other discourse analysis approaches. CA shares a similar concern with interactional sociolinguistics. They both observe the problem of social order and how language creates and is created by social order. CA and ethnography of communication are interested in human knowledge and the belief that no interaction should be regarded as unimportant. While all three approaches care for minute analysis of particular utterances, CA differentiates itself from the others in terms of the assumptions this approach makes; the methodology it employs, and the way of theorizing (*ibid*). According to Jaworski and Coupland (2006:16), the goal of CA is 'to discover and describe how the organization of social interaction makes manifest and reinforces the structures of social organization and social institution'. They (*ibid*) also list the features of CA. They are the following:

- Openings and closings of conversations;
- Adjacency pairs (i.e., compliment - compliment response, etc) ;
- Topic management and topic shift ;
- Conversational repairs;
- Showing agreement and disagreement;
- Introducing bad news and processes of troubles-telling;
- (probably most centrally) mechanisms of turn-taking.

Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) propose some guiding principles for turn-taking organization. They observed that during turn-taking, speakers sometimes experience gaps in conversation; they also observe that during turn-taking, one speaker speaks at a time; to facilitate turn-taking, speakers sometimes fill the gap in conversation. They fill the gap by using adjacency pairs or grammatical units; speakers signal when they want to let the other speaker participate in the interaction. This can either be done by gesturing or changing the tone of voice; transition points such as signalling are also employed by speakers (Jaworski and Coupland 2006:17-18).

The main proponent of the theory and method of the variationist approach is William Labov. According to Schiffrin (1994:282), the origins of the variationist analysis also known as the variationist approach lie exclusively within the field of linguistics. The approach emanates from language variation and change. Even though research on variationist analysis focuses on what Labov calls ‘alternative ways of saying the same thing’, this approach has extended its research to texts (*ibid*). Some fundamentals of this approach observe patterns of variation socially and linguistically. These patterns can be exposed via systematic investigation of a speech community. Exponents of this approach seek to identify the social and linguistic factors that cause alternative ways of saying the same thing.

Dubois and Sankoff (2003:283) argue that the goal of the variationist approach is to emphasise the ‘potential signification of discourse’ (*ibid*). This signification refers to the different levels of meaning that are interwoven to form discourse. This framework is represented by four principles connected with the process of creating discourse. They are the specific conditions of oral speech; the type of corpus; the identification of the significant levels conditioning a discourse process; and the dynamic nature of discourse (Dubois and Sankoff, 2003:283-284). One of the problems that variationist analysis addresses is linguistic change. This approach observes language change by examining systematic relationships of units of discourses and how they relate to one another. In order to do this, variationist analysts have developed methods for analysing and giving accounts of those relationships.

Interactional sociolinguistics has been developed by the anthropological linguist John Gumperz (1982). Gumperz seeks ‘to develop interpretative sociolinguistic approaches to

the analysis of real time processes in face to face encounters' Gumperz (1982:vii). Gumperz's work has focused on intercultural interaction and the mechanisms of miscommunication. An instance of this research is how intonation, pauses, lexical choices, syntactic choices, and non-verbal signals can cause misinterpretation among members of different cultural communities. These features are called contextualisation cues by Gumperz. According to him, these features show that what is said has to be connected with the contextual knowledge which will help infer what is meant (Schiffrin, 1994:99-100). These contextualisation cues which signal speech events are called 'frames' by Goffman (1974). Frames are interpretative means which allow speakers to disambiguate sentences or other forms of communication during interactions. While there is an ongoing interchange between contextualisation cues and what is said, frames belong to that 'what has been said' part of the message and it mainly labels the communicative process (Jaworski and Coupland, 2006:24). These categorisations become the metamessage of the utterance. Jaworski and Coupland (2006:24), explain the way in which metamessage is employed:

When we look for ways in which frames are constructed and changed or shifted, we try to identify how participants convey their metamessages through various verbal and non-verbal cues.

Goffman (1981:128) introduces another feature which is linked to Gumperz's work. It is called 'footing'. He defines it as 'the alignments we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance'. Goffman states that changes in footing are connected with specific contextualisation cues such as changing speech styles (*ibid*). Finally, one of the most significant contributions of interactional sociolinguistics is the formulation of the politeness theory. It was developed by Brown and Levinson (1987). According to them, the theory of politeness is how speakers deviate from the efficient modes of communication by not saying what they mean.

The ethnography of the communication approach has been inspired by Chomsky's work. Chomsky's 1965 work on linguistic competence and linguistic performance is at the core of this approach. According to Schiffrin (1994:137), the ethnography of communication seeks to:

Open new analytical possibilities (by finding new kinds of data and asking new questions) and to propose new theories. It seeks to do so by analysing patterns of communication as part of cultural knowledge and behaviour: this entails a recognition of both the diversity of communicative possibilities and practices (i.e. cultural relativity) and the fact that such practices are an integrated part of what we

know and do as members of a particular culture (i.e. a holistic view of human beliefs and actions).

One important exponent of this framework is Hymes. Dell Hymes' (1972) work has also been influential for the ethnography of communication framework. His 1974 work called 'Foundations of sociolinguistics: an ethnographic approach' moved away from the sociolinguistic study of the 'form' and 'content' of language as 'product' towards a study of language with a view of it as a 'process' (Schiffrin, 1994:138). Hymes also regarded language as knowledge as part of the sociolinguistic problematisation and connected what he named as 'the ethnography of communication' to communicative competence. Dell Hymes definition of the notion is composed of four components. According to Jaworski and Coupland (2006:22), they are the following: linguistic competence; social appropriateness; psycholinguistic limitations; and observing actual language use.

Dell Hymes' conceptualisation of language is distanced from Chomsky's introspection and intuition perspective, and introduces as well as expands on the rules of speaking in a community. Thus, the sentence structure analysis was replaced by the classification of speech communication brought in by Hymes in 1972. The classification is composed of: speech situations; speech events; and speech acts (*ibid*). Hymes' classification of speech events has a sub-classification. Its components are situation; participants; ends; key; instrumentalities; norms of interaction; and genres (*ibid*). The methodology as well as contextual interest of this approach has had an impact on many discourse analysis traditions, especially in the interactional sociolinguistic framework.

A critical perspective to discourse analysis is provided by the discipline called CDA.

Fowler (1981:25) clarifies what 'critical' means in his own research:

I mean a careful analytical interrogation of the ideological categories, and the roles and the institutions and so on, through which a society constitutes and maintains itself and the consciousness of its members... all knowledge, all objects, are constructs: criticism analyses the processes of construction and, acknowledging the artificial quality of the categories concerned, offers the possibility that we might profitably conceive the world in some alternative way.

Many of the elements in Fowler's definition have become the hallmarks of CDA. Among those elements are the questioning of objectivity as well as the practices that produce it; exploring texts and discourse practices with the aim of uncovering hidden meanings; viewing society as discourse construction which has also been advanced by Foucault

(2006). Even though many discourse analysis approaches have a similar view, CDA distances itself from these frameworks by some characteristics that lie in the historical origins of the approach. Jaworski and Coupland (2006:28) point out that early approaches to discourse analysis, such as the Birmingham School of Linguistics, focused on a descriptive perspective of discourse analysis. For instance, coding students and teachers' interactions in the classrooms. Instead, CDA is concerned with the analysis of social constructionism and focuses on the construction of ideology. (van Leeuwen, 1993:193) argues the goal of CDA 'is, or should be, concerned with ... discourse as the instrument of the social construction of reality'.

Scholars who employ a CDA perspective come from different disciplines such as rhetoric, anthropology, sociolinguistics and pragmatics (Wodak and Meyer, 2016:2). They have all developed different frameworks to analyse their data based on their own fields of work. However, they coincide in a 'critical' view to doing discourse analysis. The major approaches, which have emerged from the multifarious disciplines that fall within the CDA umbrella are the following: the socio-cognitive approach; the dialectical-relational approach; the Foucauldian approach; the recontextualisation of social practice; corpus linguistics; multimodality; the social media; political discourse analysis; and the Discourse-Historical approach. The origins of the CDA approaches listed above as well as their theoretical frameworks vary from one framework to the other. Even though the theoretical positions of these approaches vary, the similarities lie in the specific research questions they ask.

Out of all of the approaches to discourse analysis I have briefly discussed above, I have concluded that CDA is the approach which is more relevant to the study I will conduct. The criticality of the CDA framework as well as its focus on ideology is what I seek to observe in my investigation. Therefore, I will expand on the CDA approach and the analytical tools I will employ extensively in chapter four.

3.3.3 Language policy and discourse

A pioneering research on language policy has been carried out by scholars who are exploring the connection between the policy and the interpretation stakeholders make of the policy discourse. This new approach is motivated by Ricento and Hornberger (1996) and Hornberger and Johnson (2007) who stress the need to research the different layers of language policy and planning such as the interpretation of a policy made by different

members of a community. Some examples of the innovative research in the field are provided next.

Johnson (2004:72-74) examines the changing discursive landscape of language policy and he focuses on the agents, processes and goals in language planning. He wants to find out how agents, such as teachers, administrators and parents, in an educational environment adapt to changes in language policies. To do this, Johnson (2009:139-140) introduces ethnographic research on language policy. He attempts to provide a better methodological support for language policy research combining critical conceptualisations with the empirical data collection of language policy interpretation and appropriation.

Another example of ground-breaking investigation on language policy comes from Hult (2010:7-8) proposes a new orientation to investigate ‘ecology of language’ which is a holistic way to research multilingual language policies. This orientation takes into account the relationship between speakers, language, policies and the context. The focus of research is on how the discourse operates within different layers such as creation, interpretation and implementation (Hornberger and Johnson, 2007), and the purpose of the investigation is to understand the relationship between language policy and social actions. Johnson (2011:267-268) integrates CDA into the ethnography of language policy and argues that stake-holders use dominant discourse and their own beliefs ‘to interpret and appropriate policy language in ways that can both restrict and facilitate multilingualism.’ Hult (2012) discusses the use of language policy as a discursive tool of negotiation of the status of languages in Sweden. Conversely, even though there are new perspectives to research language policy, Johnson (2013) declares that while the theoretical field of language policy research is rich, empirical data collection on language policy creation, interpretation, appropriation and instantiation is not. Then, he gives an account of his findings that include appropriation and implementation; language policy as text and as discourse; the layers of policy text, discourse and practice; and the nature of policy text and discourse. Both, Johnson and Hult’s research on language policy enrich the field and bring about a better understanding on the policy in context.

After reviewing the research on the connection between language policy and discourse and how agents interpret policies, I aim to address the discursive construction of language policies and its effects based on the research and findings discussed above.

Drawing on Halliday's work on semiotics (1978), I understand that language policy is part of a social semiotic construct since it has been developed through the same processes – such as language - that semiotically construct other human activities. Language policies are part of discursive contexts of the societies that have built them (Ball, 2006:48; Hult, 2010:9) and as social actions, language policies are mediated by discourses which regulate and influence human behaviour. Norms, such as language policies, either become hegemonic or they are developed by common practices. A policy text is a social act that is the outcome of political, economic and historical contexts. Therefore, interdiscursive and intertextual analyses of these documents, supported by a CDA methodology, are required for understanding the ideological and historical elements of the multiple authored policy text (Johnson, 2011:270) which is a characteristic of language policy texts because they are produced by a process of copy and paste of previous policies (Johnson, 2011:277). This phenomenon makes it hard to trace the voices as well as the origins of the policies. Then, the analysis of the policy documents becomes more difficult.

As language policy is a discursive process, we need to understand what the meaning of discourse is within the field of language policy research. Fairclough (1989) differentiates discourse and orders of discourse. The first one is talk and writing. The latter is '[t]he discourse/semiotic aspect of a social order' (Fairclough, 2001:4) which is composed of genre, discourse and style. According to Fairclough (2004:111). 'a particular articulation or configuration of genres, discourses and styles,' which are orders of discourses, represent a specific social ordering of relations such as dominance as a way of making meaning. The re-working of a long-lasting, stable formulation of genres, discourses and styles create new orders of discourse (Fairclough, 2004:113). A contrasting definition of orders of discourse is given by Foucault (1981). For Foucault, orders of discourse are:

interdependent networks which constrain discourse and practice, shape and are shaped by society and relations of power; help to contribute (and change) knowledge, social relations, and social identity; and are invested by ideologies (Johnson, 2004:78).

As Foucault's work is criticised as being deterministic, Foucault introduces contesting discourses in which he views discourse as 'an instrument of power and as a point of resistance' (Johnson, 2004:78). As I have outlined the semiotic aspect of language policy and the components of orders of discourse, I will briefly explain policy-as-discourse, policy-as-text and policy-as-genre.

Ball (1993:23; Johnson, 2013:102) postulates two concepts, they are policy-as-text and policy-as-discourse. The first orientation is related to written and spoken outcomes of policy discourse. They include all of the policy documents about creation, interpretation, appropriation and instantiation of policies (Johnson, 2013:111). Policy-as-text focuses on the analysis of top-down policies and how they are interpreted and put into action by active agents. At the same time, policy-as-text disregards the attempt to understand authorial intentions. Policy-as-texts produces and is produced by policy discourses. The second orientation has been invested with language ideology so policy-as-discourse standardises and naturalises certain ways of being, behaving and speaking. Policy-as-discourse highlights the power of policies that can determine limits of what is educationally achievable (Johnson, 2009:142). This type of orientation is able to reflect and challenge dominant and popular ideas about language and its instruction (Johnson, 2013:111).

Finally, policy-as-genre. (Johnson, 2009:149) and Johnson (2013:117) state that policy writing is a genre in itself. It is characterised by borrowing from other policy texts. The policy takes language from an old policy which twists with the new language and creates a hybrid of policy text and discourse. The drawback of the hybridity is that the semantic intentions and the authors of the policy are hard to pinpoint which complicates the interpretation that different authors can elicit from the policy. The problem lies in the multiple intentions expressed by the many authors that have written the policy and who create a cacophony of multiple ideological voices. Thus, two important issues arise. The first one is how policy makers interpret old policies and create a new policy from the understanding of an old policy; and how stakeholders such as teachers interpret and enact such an eclectic policy in their educational institutions.

Discussion of discourse in the language policy field, orders of discourse, policy-as-text, policy-as-discourse and policy-as-genre allows me to understand the way agents may interpret language policies and the influence these interpretations may have in a given context. Johnson (2004:78) states that analysing language policy discourses makes explicit how stakeholders exercise agency when they interpret, incorporate and negotiate with the policy discourses of the language policies they have to engage with. As I stated above, language policy is a discursive process that means that language policy discourses are generated, sustained and manipulated in policy documents and conversation. These interactions with the policy discourse result in appropriation, resistance and/or change of language policy discourse and text Johnson (2004:80) and this is the connection CDA

makes with micro-discursive practices and macro-level discourses or orders of discourse. According to Foucault (1981), discourses can make people act and talk in certain ways which become hegemonic. However, discourse can also be an instrument to resist dominant discourses (Johnson, 2009:152). At the language policy level, Johnson (2004, 2009, 2011) and Hult (2010, 2012) give account not only of how the interpretation of language policy discourses influences the implementation of such policies, but also of the power of agency that stake-holders have which allows them to interpret and put into action policies according to their understanding of the discourse, their own ideologies and the power they hold in the institutions they work for.

Research carried out by CDA, CLP, LPLP and Ethnographic Studies on the field of language policy discourses can help to counteract the power and influence that discursive contexts have on the interpretations of a policy made by members of a community. Examples of this type of research are the following. First, the main goal of CDA and CLP in relation to language policy research is to expose the power of language policy discourses to regularise ways of acting and educating and correlatively limiting others Johnson (2011:269). Second, a combination of ethnography and CDA can reveal the micro and macro levels of language policy and the various levels of policy creation, interpretation and appropriation. On the one hand, CDA establishes the interdiscursive and intertextual links between policy texts and discourses. On the other hand, ethnography explains why a language policy is recontextualised in a certain way in a given context (Johnson, 2011:277). Finally, CLP makes explicit how the State uses language policies to preserve systems of social inequality (Ricento, 1998; Tollefson, 2002; Wiley, 2002; Johnson, 2004:74). To conclude, Ball mentions that by focusing on the power of the State to shape processes of policy interpretation and enactment, we tend to forget the discursive authority that policies can exercise in society (Johnson, 2004:77; Johnson, 2009:143).

3.4 Summary

The aim of this chapter has been to map recent scholarship on language policy and discourse. I began by delineating the key concepts of this research. To do that, the chapter has discussed the elusive notion of language policy; its timeline; its intellectual stages; and earlier as well as new approaches to language policy research. Expanding on the intellectual stages of the LPLP field has opened the path for discussing language ideology and globalisation. The former reveals how dominant language ideologies are hegemonised by the social actors. The latter exposes how language in a globalised context becomes

commodified due to economic ideologies. This review has allowed me to position my investigation of the English language policy in the post-modern historical period of the language policy field as well as in between the intermediary and CLP intellectual stage. I have then elaborated on the connection between language policy and discourse. Exploring previous work on this merge has illuminated the direction this research will take. Thus, I have not only outlined the notion of discourse, but also expanded on different approaches to discourse analysis. The chapter concludes by elucidating the most relevant discourse analysis approach to carry out this study. Having introduced the theoretical and conceptual frameworks of this thesis, I move on to the next chapter that presents the Chilean context in which the English language is positioned.

CHAPTER FOUR:

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the design of this investigation and its subject matter: the implementation of the English language policy carried out by the Centre-Left Coalition authorities in Chile from 2003 to 2010. I explain why this research focuses on the discourse of the language policy. As I seek to identify the economic, political and social factors that have triggered the implementation of the English language policy in Chile in 2004, it will be necessary to take a methodological approach which will enable me to uncover the discursive strategies employed by the language policy makers during the two periods of the Centre-Left Coalition governments.

In the first part of the chapter, I will discuss the approach I intend to take, which is based on CDA. I will explain why I draw on CDA and I will examine the basis of this approach. I will explain which approach within the CDA discipline I will employ to analyse my data, which is the DHA (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, 2009), and the analytical apparatus that will facilitate the process. This apparatus is composed of three analytical tools. They are legitimation (Rojo and van Dijk, 1997; Van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999; Van Leeuwen, 2007); representation of social actors (Van Leeuwen, 1996); and argumentation (van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 2004; Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012; Walton, 2006). I, furthermore, will outline the ways in which I integrate the Pragma-Dialectical Approach (henceforth P-DA) (van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 1992, 2004; van Eemeren, Grootendorst and Kruiger, 1987; Walton, 2006) and the analytical apparatus of argumentation theory in an attempt to engage with argument reconstruction to support the data analysis. This section includes an overview of the limitations of this methodological approach. In the last part of the chapter, I will describe the corpus of the data I have collected from the language policy laws and language education policy documents issued by the Chilean Ministry of Education from 2004 to 2009 and I will summarise the contents of the policy documentation. I conclude this chapter with some brief comments of the categorisation of the data on which I elaborate in the analysis chapters.

4.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

As I explained in chapter two, CDA is the most relevant approach to carry out the data analysis of this study. I will therefore elaborate on this discipline in this subsection. In order to do that, I aim to provide a definition of CDA and expand on the origin of the discipline. This information builds the basis to provide a common definition of discourse within the CDA approach. Then, I provide the principal exponents of this discipline and name its goals. I move on to name the main approaches to CDA, the principles CDA aims to explore and the research questions it answers. I conclude the section by discussing the drawbacks of the paradigm as well as the criticism it has received. The purpose of this section is to explain how the CDA framework will help me to not only observe and analyze the data, but also to discuss the findings in the light of this socio-discursively critical approach.

4.2.1 Origin and definitions of discipline

CDA is a multi-disciplinary and eclectic framework. It originates from rhetoric, linguistics, anthropology, philosophy, sociolinguistics, socio-psychology and cognitive science among other fields of study. Before becoming recognized worldwide as CDA, it used to be called Critical Linguistics (henceforth CL) early on by Wodak (1995) and Kress and Hodge (1979). Today, CDA and CL are used interchangeably (Wodak and Meyer, 2009:1). CDA is a discipline composed of leading scholars from different backgrounds who share some research interests such as discourse in social contexts.

Some crucial influences on CDA are not only linguistic-oriented, but also socially and culturally oriented. CL based their work on Halliday's systemic functional and social semiotic linguistics. Halliday's methodology is still pivotal among CDA researchers and influences their work because it provides a clear linguistic framework for the analysis of the link between discourse and social meaning (Blommaert, 2005:23). Another significant influence on CDA, according to Slembrouck (2001), comes from British Cultural Studies. The Birmingham Centre for Cultural Studies addressed social, cultural and political problems regarding social transformation in Britain during the late capitalism period. Themes arising from these influences have become the centre of attention of CDA.

Fairclough's (1989) 'Language and Power' book is regarded as the start of CDA. In this book, Fairclough employs a political perspective to analyze discourses of power in Britain.

He provides a methodological framework for discourse analysis and a political stance which is now a label of CDA.

There are some notions that are at the core of CDA. Their definitions are manifold, however, I will define and engage with the meanings that are in line with this investigation and that fall under the umbrella of CDA. They are ‘Critical Discourse Analysis’, ‘critical’ and ‘discourse’. The first definition I engage with is ‘Critical Discourse Analysis’.

According to van Dijk (2001:352), Critical Discourse Analysis is

a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context

This definition is in line with the themes introduced by Fairclough’s (1989) work. The signification of the notion as well as the book emphasise the interest of uncovering the connection between discourse and power in society. The definition acknowledges a top-down use of power which is either enacted and or resisted by a bottom-up force. Thus, the definition makes explicit the ideological tension in society which is triggered by power.

Another notion which is crucial for the CDA approach is ‘discourse’. Definitions of discourse from a CDA perspective are varied. These definitions are as diverse not only due to the nature of the concept itself, but also due to the varying disciplines that observe discourse from different viewpoints and goals which are still within the umbrella of CDA. These definitions are as distinct as the multiple approaches to CDA. Then, according to this introduction, definitions of discourse within the CDA approach can refer to an image as well as to a speech. Evidence of these multiple definitions are the following: van Dijk (2005) gives account of racist discourse and Fairclough and Fairclough (2011, 2012) discuss policy and political discourse.

Also, Blommaert (2005:27) provides a definition of discourse from the CDA perspective. He states that ‘CDA conceives discourse as a social phenomenon’ and therefore the duty of CDA researchers is to ‘improve the social-theoretical foundations for practicing discourse analysis as well as for situating discourse in society.’ In order to do that, Blommaert (2005:27) states that CDA takes two directions, and these are the problems CDA researchers are mainly interested in. They are theories of power and ideology and an attempt to overcome determinism. The first theory is related to Foucault’s discussions on orders of discourse (1981) and power and knowledge (1980); Gramsci’s formulation of the notion of hegemony (1971). Also, Fairclough’s work attempts to describe the relation

between linguistic patterns and social structure. The second direction includes the work of Pierre Bourdieu's (1991) *Language and symbolic power*.

Even though there are many definitions of discourse as demonstrated above, CDA researchers agree on a definition which is based on the understanding of 'language as social practice' (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997) and regard the 'context of language use' as crucial for CDA. Having this in mind, a common definition of discourse for the Critical Discourse Analysis approach has been introduced:

CDA sees discourse - language use in speech and writing - as a form of 'social practice'. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), which frame it: The discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned - it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power. Discursive practices may have major ideological effects - that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people. (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997:258).

This overarching definition of discourse encompasses the interests of discourse as an object of research for all disciplines that use the CDA approach as a framework for theory and method.

The last notion that I will briefly refer to is the term 'critical'. The emphasis of CDA on critical, which is traced to the early days of CL, and the influence of critical theory through the work of The Frankfurt School and Jürgen Habermas is reflected in Wodak and Meyer (2009:6) view of critical. According to them, critical:

indicates that social theory should be oriented towards critiquing and changing society, in contrast to traditional theory oriented solely to understanding or explaining it. The core concepts of such an understanding of critical theory are:

- Critical theory should be directed at the totality of society in its historical specificity.
- Critical theory should improve the understanding of society by integrating all the major social sciences, including economics, sociology, history, political science, anthropology and psychology.

CDA, in line with critical theory, highlights the significance of interdisciplinary work in order to observe the role of language in creating and transmitting knowledge; in organizing social institutions; or making use of power (Graham, 2002; Lemke, 2002; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001).

4.2.2 Exponents of CDA

The main exponents of CDA are named by Blommaert (2005:21). They are Norman Fairclough with a systemic-functional linguistics background; Teun van Dijk's interest in text linguistics and cognitive linguistics; Ruth Wodak's research on interactional studies; Paul Chilton's research in linguistics, semiotics and communication studies. Also, Margareth Wetherell, Michael Billig, Theo van Leeuwen and Gunter Kress are associated with this discipline. All are leading scholars in their fields of investigation; they share some doctrines of analysis; they discuss similar concerns; and they have created tools to carry out their investigations, but they have different backgrounds and interests of research.

4.2.3 Goals of CDA

There are two sides to the aims of CDA researchers. On the one hand, they aim to make explicit the relationship between language and power in discourse. Wetherell *et al.* (2001:300) states that the goals of CDA are to find out which structures of text and talk play a role in reproduction of power and domination. In the same line, according to Wodak and Meyer (2009:10), CDA is interested in the analysis of 'relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control manifested in language,' its purpose is to research critically about social inequality which is expressed and legitimised by the use of language. Also, Wodak (1995:204) indicates concisely that the goal of CDA is to 'analyse opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language.' On the other hand, definitions of CDA not only want to make overt the legitimation of power through discourse, but also these researchers state that discourse can also be the tool to resist power. To illustrate, Blommaert (2005:25) states that the goal of CDA is to uncover:

ways in which social structure relates to discourse patterns (in the form of power relations, ideological effects, and so forth), (...) [i]t is not enough to uncover the social dimension of language use. These dimensions are the object of moral and political evaluation, and analysing them should have effects in society: empowering the powerless, giving voices, exposing power abuse, and mobilising people to remedy social wrongs.

For van Dijk (2001:352), the goal of CDA is to comprehend, make explicit and combat social inequality. The CDA approach not only aims to expose the use of language as a means of power abuse, but also as a method to resist it.

4.2.4 Approaches to CDA

As stated above, CDA is a multidisciplinary approach whose researchers come from varied fields of research so their research interests and perspectives also vary. Although their investigations are classified under the umbrella of CDA, the scholars make their positions and interests explicit. Also, these approaches of CDA focus on the collection of different types of semiotic data such as written, spoken and visual. I will briefly name the main approaches of CDA here, but Wodak and Meyer (2001, 2009, 2013) provide a detailed compilation of the research carried out by these approaches. They are dispositive approach, the socio-cognitive approach, the discourse-historical approach, the corpus linguistics approach, the social action approach and the dialectical-relational approach. These approaches problematize political discourse, ideology, racism, the discourse of economics, ads, media language, gender, educational and institutional discourse. These topics of research have become the principles of CDA that I explain next.

4.2.5 Principles of CDA

There are many crucial principles for CDA. They are language of the new capitalism and KBE, political discourse, gender inequality, media discourse, nationalism and racism. Even though these principles are significant, I will focus on discussing those that are relevant for my research. They are power, ideology, capitalism and KBE. First, power is an important notion for CDA which is more specifically described as social power. But before I embark on a discussion of this concept, I will explore van Dijk's elaborations of the notion. For van Dijk (2001:354-355; in Wetherell et. al. 2001:304), the definition of power is related to control. For him, a group who controls power is in fact in control of actions and thoughts of other groups and institutions. Power over thoughts is achieved by influencing people's minds with the help of media, politics and science as forms of discourse. Thus, this form of manipulation indirectly controls the actions of a group (Schiffrin *et al.*, 2001:355). However, power is not absolute. A dominant group may have a certain extent of control over a subjugated group at a given time. The subjugated group may accept, legitimate and approve the control of the dominant group, but the subjugated group is also able to exercise agency, resist power abuse and challenge the hegemony (Gramsci, 1971). In order to keep or restore the *status quo*, the dominant group exercises two different types of power (van Dijk, 2001). The first one is coercive power. To illustrate: military, parents,

teachers and money. The last one is the legal power which takes the form of laws, rules, norms and habits.

Ideology is also a significant notion for CDA. Wodak and Meyer (2009:8) have defined it as ‘a coherent and relatively stable set of beliefs or values.’ This set of beliefs or values are the configuration of ideologies and, as it was previously mentioned, CDA aims to explore secret and underlying everyday beliefs which are realised in metaphors and analogies. Metaphors seem neutral and may be unquestioned by people which is the way dominant groups attempt to influence people’s minds. For example, Van Dijk (2013) explains how newspapers, using metaphors, account for the arrival of immigrants as ‘immigrants come in floods.’ Then, ideologies, such as racism, become hegemonic when people accept the *status quo* and ignore challenging views. In addition, Fairclough (2003:218) states that ideologies ‘may be enacted in ways of interacting (and therefore in genres) and inculcated in ways of being identities (and therefore styles).’ When people begin to mirror the media discourse on racism and they have a negative attitude towards immigrants, it means that they have enacted and inculcated an ideology. Finally, van Dijk (2009:78-79) states that:

Dominance, defined as power abuse, is often based on, and legitimated by ideologies, that is, by the fundamental social beliefs that organize and control the social representations of groups and their members. Many forms of CDS [critical discourse studies] research require such an ideological analysis, especially because ideologies are typically expressed and reproduced by discourse.

Van Dijk’s metaphor on the immigrants’ arrival was produced by the media, reproduced and legitimated by social actors by means of discourse. This example shows the power of discourse which is used to introduce, legitimate and enact an ideology in society which is what Foucault (1981:52-53) summarises as

discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but is the thing for which and by which there is struggle, discourse is the power which is to be seized.

The new capitalism and the KBE are also crucial principles to explore among CDA researchers. Capitalism has historically faced many shifts. It has been called, liberalism due to its open market characteristic of deregulation and free trade. It has also been referred to as late capitalism. This means that it is a part of an earlier form of capitalism. New capitalism, as defined by Fairclough (2002:163) is:

The capitalist system has a well-documented capacity to sustain itself through major transformations. ‘New Capitalism’ refers to the new form of capitalism emerging from contemporary transformations. We can think of these transformations as simultaneously a ‘re-structuring’ and a ‘rescaling’ (Jessop,

2000). A ‘re-structuring’, in the sense that there are shifts in relations between different domains or fields of social life – most obviously, between the economic field and other fields (including the political, educational and artistic fields), including a ‘colonization’ of other fields by the economic field. Witness what is happening to higher education. A ‘re-scaling’, in the sense that there are shifts in relations between different scales of social life – between social life on a local scale (e.g. in small towns), a national scale, a regional scale (e.g. the European Union) and a global scale.

This definition takes into account the discursive phenomena of re-structuring and rescaling. The former refers to the movement of discourses from one field to another. This includes processes of de-colonization and colonization of discourses in new fields. The latter refers to the capacity of discourses to become hegemonic. These processes may support the hypotheses put forward by Fairclough (2000:14). For him, New Capitalism is a linguistic project which requires new discourses. According to this perspective, the neoliberal system uses language to shape actions, participants and circumstances with the purpose of eliminating any barrier that interferes with the globalized economy.

KBE is a discursive strategy that articulates the discourse of development. This discursive strategy may be part of the linguistic project Fairclough (2000, 2002) aims to expose and Bourdieu and Wacquant (2001) had hypothesized, but failed to describe. KBE is an imaginary. Imaginaries are representations composed of things that are, things that have been and imaginaries. Imaginaries are constituted of things that might be, could be or should be (Fairclough, 2000, 2001). The concepts of knowledge-economy and knowledge-society are imaginaries as they are represented as possible worlds or a possible state of affairs. The concepts of knowledge-based and knowledge-driven social and economic order introduced by the neoliberal political approach are discourse-driven which means that language plays an important role in the current social and economic organizations (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012:5). Neoliberalism, as a new type of capitalism which contains all recent developments of capitalism, is composed of discourses that shape it and are shaped by it.

4.2.6 Drawbacks and criticisms

According to Blommaert (2005:33), it is unquestionable that CDA has strengths such as the capacity to uncover the hidden dimensions of power and its effects in society. CDA makes explicit that language is not neutral and it has the potential to become an instrument of emancipation in issues such as social inequality. CDA’s multifarious origin gives rise to interdisciplinary approaches and asks for multidisciplinary analysis of language in social

contexts. However, CDA has drawbacks which have been problematized by some researchers. Blommaert (2005:31) not only criticizes the paradigm and analytical approach of CDA, but he also mentions the limitations of CDA in its capacity to become a critical study of language. Blommaert reports on Widdowson's (1995, 1996, 1998) many criticisms to the CDA approach which are the following. First, according to Widdowson, CDA is biased in the analysis. He disagrees with some research strategies and mentions some methodological deficiencies. Widdowson states that CDA makes blurry the boundaries of the definitions of concepts, disciplines and methodologies. Therefore, concepts and analytical methods in CDA are vague. Last, Widdowson states that CDA provides biased interpretations of discourse disguising it as critical analysis. CDA reduces semantics to pragmatics and texts which have ideological meanings are forced to the reader by means of repetition. In addition, Blommaert (2005:32) gives account of two other researchers' criticisms against CDA. Verschueren (2001), on the one hand, thinks that CDA states the obvious. The scholar evidences his argument by stating that one ideological frame is replaced by another. Capitalism is replaced by anti-capitalist beliefs. Schegloff (1997), on the other hand, states that CDA analysts transfer their own political opinions and prejudices into their data and they analyse that data with those limitations in mind.

In addition, Blommaert (2005:34) provides his own criticisms of the CDA approach. According to him, CDA contains three main limitations. They are the following: linguistic bias in CDA; closure to particular societies; and closure to a particular time-frame. First, CDA approach is based on linguistic textual analysis as well as on its systemic functional linguistics origins. But in order to understand discursively what happens in society, it is important to look at the language as well as the context. Second, Blommaert thinks that much research is carried out in the leading researchers' countries of origin. To illustrate, while Fairclough has researched on the British political discourse, Wodak has investigated discourse in the European context. Therefore, the observations these researchers make are sound for similar European high-income countries as contexts, but these conclusions fail to be generalized in global contexts. The last criticism Blommaert makes about the CDA approach is the lack of historical development research using CDA as a method of analysis. Global events, such as the transformation of capitalism throughout the years, have not been accounted for by the CDA researchers. According to Blommaert, CDA should take history seriously and focus not only on finding the problem, but also the reasons of the issue being problematized by the researchers.

To counteract Blommaert's criticisms, on the one hand, I may argue that currently, CDA research is taking place outside the main exponents' countries of origin. Wodak has recently collaborated in an article about the Latin American Peace Corps in Haiti and how they discursively construct their identities (Ferreiro Gomez and Wodak, 2014). In addition, van Dijk has also researched in the Latin American context. He is interested in racism and explored the Hispanic attitudes towards it (van Dijk, 2005). On the other hand, CDA scholars are interested in current social events and have extensively researched on the field. Faiclough (2000a) has researched on language and neoliberalism.

Finally, van Dijk (2001:363) also indicates some drawbacks that he describes as 'methodological and theoretical gaps.' According to his research on discourse, cognition and context (van Dijk, 1998), CDA fails to make explicit the interface between discourse and context. Van Dijk also indicates that there is a gap between linguistic-oriented text and talk and approaches of social studies. The first one disregards theories of sociology and political science in relation to power abuse and inequality. The second one rarely employs minute discourse analysis. Therefore, there is a need to unite different approaches to produce a successful multidisciplinary approach able to bridge gaps to account for socio-cognitive linguistic events. After acknowledging the need of bridging the gap between discourse and context, van Dijk (1990, 1993, 1998, 2009) has researched and published extensively on the matter of discourse, cognition and mental models.

4.3 CDA and Language Policy

In this section, I elaborate on the reasons why CDA is the most relevant approach within the field of discourse analysis to carry out data analysis for this research. In order to do so, I draw on previous work regarding the integration of CDA and language policy. Research shows that some crucial principles from CDA such as power, ideology and determinism are embedded in language policy documents (See Tollefson, 1991; Johnson, 2011; Pennycook, 2002) and I intend to expose examples of these principles by using this critical perspective to discourse analysis on my data.

Earlier research on language policy has built the path for exploring new approaches and methodologies to further the knowledge scholars have in this field. Critical approaches to the study of language policy is one of the newcomers in language policy research. These approaches have been called CLP or CALP. They have introduced not only new terminologies that expand the definition and understanding of the concept, but also new

perspectives to question the impact these policies have in their contexts. Instances of new terminology and perspectives in the field of language policy is the notion of ‘critical’.

‘Critical’ is a new word in this field which has been introduced by but implied by Ruíz (1984). There are three definitions of this term when ‘critical’ is used in connection with language policy research. They are a critical view of traditional approaches to language policy investigation; a critical stance to research which is aimed at social change; and the influence of Critical Theory on language policy research. Language policy researchers influenced by critical theory are interested in ‘how social inequality is reproduced and sustained’ (Tollefson, 1991; Tollefson, 2006). A fourth notion is introduced by Unger (2013:39). For the scholar, the meaning of this word is similar to the definition that CDA researchers use. Unger (*ibid*) summarises the meaning of ‘critical’ that is common for both disciplines, i.e. CLP/CALP and CDA. According to him, the meaning of ‘critical’ is ‘seeking to expose social inequalities and ultimately to effect positive change in society’. Also, Johnson (2009), Hult (2010) and Unger (2013) have introduced examples of new perspectives to research language policy. They have employed CDA for the analysis of their LP documents. Both, the terminology as well as a critical perspective to discourse analysis have enriched and expanded language policy as a field of research.

There are some characteristics that emphasize the critical perspective to language policy research. These characteristics are common among researchers of this field. These characteristics are the definition of language policy and CLP/CALP, its exponents, the interests they have and the aims of the research they conduct.

It is pertinent at this stage to introduce two relevant concepts. They are language policy and CLP/CALP. I outline a definition of language policy that is consistent with CDA. This definition is provided by Tollefson (1991:32-35). According to him:

[L]anguage policy is viewed as one mechanism by which the interests of dominant sociopolitical groups are manifested and the seeds of transformation are developed [...] the historical-structural model presumes that plans that are successfully implemented will serve dominant class interests.

Tollefson provides an explicitly political and ideological definition. This conceptualization can be questioned from two perspectives. The first one assumes that language policies are the sites for dominant groups to serve their interests which brings about the second criticism. This last questioning stems from the one-sided view of power. Tollefson’s definition for language policy ignores agency and assumes that the subjugated group

cannot contest the *status quo*. This lack of agency has been widely criticised by researchers such as Hornberger and Ricento (1996) who have emphasised how CALP underestimates human agency. Also, the agentive role of the actors involved in the implementation of policies has been obscured due to the stress on the hegemonic and monolithic power of the policies (Canagarajah, 2005; Pennycook, 2002). To counteract these interpretations of human agency, Bowe and Ball (1992) call for policy analysis which exposes not only disagreeing, but also contradictory interpretations of the policy texts.

This view of language policy is coherent with the understanding of CLP/CALP. This approach focuses on the study of language policy from a ‘critical’ point of view and it is defined next. Ricento (2005:8-9) provides his viewpoint of what CLP/CALP is and how it can be described. He argues that:

Language policy debates are always about more than language. Insights from political, economic, and social theory can provide scholars in LPP research with tools to explain what is at stake, why it matters, and what effect particular policies or policy approaches might (or might not) have on such debates.

This definition emphasises the importance of political and economic aspects of the language policy. Both of them are crucial components of social contexts and language policy scholars have currently brought them into the debate. For instance, Ricento (2012a) highlights the lack of sophisticated understanding of the link between political-economic aspects and language policies that scholars had and which would affect their research. In addition, Shohamy (2006) and Matear (2008) linked language policy with political decisions. This macro analysis, i.e. the context in which the policies are made and where they have an effect, incorporates a new layer of analysis that was pointed out by Tollefson (1991, 2013) and that was suggested by Ricento and Hornberger (1996) and Hornberger and Johnson (2007).

Even though there is no unified well-known critical approach to language policy, exponents of this line of research can be classified into this ‘loose network of approaches’ of CLP/CALP (Unger, 2013:39). Among the exponents, we can find Ricento (1998), Tollefson (1991, 2002, 2006, 2013), Wiley (2002), Pennycook (2002, 2006), Canagarajah (2005), Heller (1999), and McCarthy (2011). Their common research interests are summarised by Johnson (2009:140):

[E]mphasise how language policies marginalize minority languages and how the state can use language policy to perpetuate systems of social inequality (Ricento 1998; Tollefson 1991, 2002; Wiley 2002).

According to these research interests, it can be concluded that they rest solely in the concept of power. They have a view of language policy which is a top-down one. It can be argued from the text that power not only comes from a language policy text, but also from people who seem to be assigned an irrelevant role behind the language policy. The policy makers are hidden in the shadows of the texts and it seems that the recipients of the policy effects do not exercise free will. Thus, it can be argued that actors involved in and impacted by the process of policy making lack agency and the power of the top-down language policy cannot be assigned to a particular agent. A critical discourse analysis can expose roles those agents have and how they relate to the power of the policy.

The goals of critical approaches to language policies stem from the definitions of language policy and CLP/CALP discussed above as well as research interests 'critical' language policy scholars have. Researchers using critical perspectives to language policy investigation tend to avoid approaches to language policy research that are apolitical. As the exponents are interested in inequality, they aim to reduce it by promoting more democratic policies. They also seek to promote the maintenance of minority languages (Tollefson, 1991, 2013).

Two conceptualizations that originate from critical theory are applied to language policy research. They are policy-as-text and policy-as-discourse (Ball, 1993, 2006; Foucault, 1977). The first one focuses on the many possible ways to interpret a top-down policy and how agents implement those policies. This sort of analysis de-emphasises the analysis of policy text alone. The last conceptualization highlights the power of a policy to set limits to what can be regarded as normal or doable. Foucault's work (1977, 1978) on discourse and power is influential here. According to him, it is through discourse that certain ways of talking, being and acting normal can be understood as hegemonic.

Ball (1993:10) acknowledges that he is uncertain of the meaning of policy as he thinks that the term cannot be explained simply. However, because of his writings on policy, he has two concepts for the notion. They are policy-as-text and policy-as-discourse. Ball defines policy-as-text as:

representations which are encoded in complex ways (via struggles, compromises, authoritative public interpretations and reinterpretations) and decoded in complex ways (via actors interpretations and meanings in relation to their history, experiences, skills, resources and context). A policy is both contested and changing, always in a state of 'becoming', of 'was' and 'never was' and 'not quite' (Codd, 1988:239).

Ball (1993:23) problematizes policy-as-discourse by arguing that social actors misinterpret processes of policy interpretation and enactment due to the state control of schools and, therefore, the ability to manipulate institutions by means of discourse. This argument is also supported by Foucault (1979, 1981). In his ‘technologies of power and discipline’ work, Foucault elaborates on top-down control over body and habits creating ‘docile’ bodies. Bodies influenced by this sort of discipline adapt to current ways of economic production. Thus, the policy has the power to establish by means of discourse what is normal. However, the focus on interpretation and enactment of a language policy tends to overshadow the discursive control that these documents may have in a community. A critical discourse analysis of such policy documents may help expose patterns in the construction of those discourses and the discursive strategies its authors use which may influence and enact behaviour.

However, language policy research has benefitted from the integration of CDA to the field as has been illustrated by Johnson (2009:151). He argues that CDA is useful for language policy research for the following reasons:

(1) Its attention to the various layers of context in which a text is produced and interpreted lines up well with the multiple layers of context through which language policies must pass; (2) Its focus on the discourse and power helps explore how language policies, and societal discourses, can hegemonically sculpt language education towards monolingual practices; (3) While CDA recognizes the power of macro discourses, it allows for counter discourses (and thus counter-discourses who interpret and appropriate language policies in agentive ways).

Nevertheless, there are some differences between critical approaches to language policy research and CDA. These differences have been summarised by Unger (2013:40):

- They focus on the ‘content’ of language policies but do not analyse the language of the policy itself.
- In Wodak’s (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 93) context model [which contains four levels of analysis], he emphasis is on analysis of th top two levels, i.e. the broader socio-political and historical context, but the other two levels [the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses and the immediate, the language or text internal co-text] are less frequently investigated.
- The term discourse, if used at all in CALP, is often either poorly defined or used inconsistently, which admittedly is a criticism that can also be levelled at much CDA research (Reisigl, 2007).
- Some CALP research focuses on the material impacts of a particular language policy on people - but backgrounds the possible symbolic impacts (e.g. issues of prestige, or of Bourdieu’s symbolic capital).

These differences are so diverse that CALP research can explore and, as a result, expand the understanding researchers have on language policies. For instance, this research aims to

explore the intertextual and interdiscursive layers of the policy from a critical perspective to discourse analysis, i.e. a micro-level of text analysis. This approach requires a ‘critical’ definition of language policy and of discourse as well as an understanding of the political-economic context in which a given language policy is introduced and which triggers the need for the policy. The findings of this analysis may bring light into ideologies entwined in the policy and expose its socio-political processes, which may perpetuate social inequality.

I would like to explore a multi-methodological approach to language policy analysis. This approach attempts to integrate multiple dimensions of language policy documents as the object under investigation. CDA provides the analytical tools to create an instrument to carry out the data analysis this investigation is aiming to accomplish, i.e. make explicit issues of persuasion, legitimation and agency embedded in the discourse. This investigation intends to examine different layers of data. These layers involve the macro level of analysis, which is the context in which the policy was created, as well as the micro level of analysis. This level involves an intertextual and interdiscursive analysis of the data. The approach within the CDA umbrella which allows me to carry out this investigation and answer the research questions (chapter one) is the DHA (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, 2009). Historical, contextual, interdiscursive and intertextual analysis of language policy documents can capture political, economic, social elements that shape and trigger the policy; and its ideological composition. However, the direction this research is taking will neither explore nor elaborate on other layers of policy analysis such as appropriation of the policy and evaluation of its outcomes.

To conclude, this section has aimed at discussing why the integration of a ‘critical’ view to language policy research and the use of a critical perspective to data analysis can not only expand the field of language policy research, but also explore, using a multimethodological approach, different layers of the language policy texts. This analysis may make explicit the discursive construction of instances of ideology and social struggle embedded in the English language policy texts that constitute the data of the research I am carrying out.

4.4 Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)

In this section, I aim to elucidate why DHA is the most suitable approach within the CDA umbrella to carry out the analysis of the English language policy implemented by the Centre-Left Coalition government in 2003 and, hence, not only meet the objectives of this

investigation, but also answer its research questions. I then embark on discussing the origins of the approach, main principles, design characteristics, and the depth of its discursive analysis.

4.4.1 Origins of DHA and main definitions

This approach was founded by the Vienna School of CDA (De Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak, 1999; Krzyzanowski and Wodak, 2011; Reisigl and Wodak, 2009; Van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999; Wodak, 2011). The main principles its exponents are interested in exploring are ‘ideology’ and ‘power’. Even though, ideology and power are basic notions of every CDA framework, it is important to clarify how these concepts are understood within the DHA.

For the DHA framework, ‘ideology’, on the one hand, is a one-sided viewpoint consisting of opinions, values and perspectives shared by determined members of a group. The purpose of ideologies is establishing and maintaining unequal power relations by means of discourse. For example, by hegemonising identities or by gatekeeping. For DHA, language is understood to be invested with power by powerful people who use it for their own purposes. Thus, the aim of DHA is to demystify certain hegemonic discourses by exposing ideologies that ‘establish, perpetuate or fight dominance,’. This is the reason why DHA is particularly interested in how ideology is semiotically and linguistically reproduced in society.

‘Power’, on the other hand, refers to unequal relationships between social actors who either take on different social positions or belong to different social groups (Wodak and Meyer, 2009:88-89). Exponents of the DHA framework suggest ways in which power is implemented. They are the following: actional power represented by violence; control of people shown by threats; and technical control through objects exercised by means of transportation or weapons. In addition, for the DHA framework, power is legitimated or de-legitimised by means of discourse. Texts become the sites of social struggle in which hegemony and dominance are displayed. Thus, the aim of DHA is to observe the way in which manipulation of power is expressed linguistically. In order to do that, DHA looks at how power is discursively employed by the use of grammatical structures or genre which are embedded in discourses.

The difference of the DHA approach from other CDA frameworks lies in the DHA's strong and organised focus on argumentation. This interest dates back to the 1980s. During those days, the discourse analysis was focused on a historically-oriented understanding of the Austrian connection with National Socialism and Anti-Semitism. However, the use of the argumentation analytical tools was arbitrary during those days. Researchers of the time were grounding their analysis on the work of Habermas, Kienpointner, and Toulmin among others (Reisigl, 2014:67-68).

4.4.2 DHA research design

As I discussed in 4.2.6, CDA has been criticised for being biased from linguistic as well as ideological reasons. Wodak (2008:12) argues that in order to minimise the risk of being biased, it is advisable to triangulate either by using different methods to approach the problem, i.e. multimethodical and interdisciplinary designs, or by gathering different data sources. She has concluded this by drawing on the work carried out by Aaron Cicourel (1974) and Cicourel *et al.* (1974). In the DHA framework Reisigl and Wodak (2001, 2009) have introduced, they take into account four levels of discourse analysis (Wodak and Meyer, 2009:31; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001:41). Those levels are:

- (1) the immediate language – or text text-internal co-text; (2) the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses; (3) the extralinguistic (social) level, which called the 'context of situation' and is explained by middle-range theories; and (4) the broader socio-political and historical context.

This principle for triangulating data allows not only frequent movement between the levels to assess the findings these levels have provided, but also transition from purely linguistic discourse analysis to observation of the contextual and historical aspects of the data (Wodak, 2008:12). However, Wodak and Meyer (2009:31-32) are categorical about obtaining objectivity through triangulation procedures. According to them, 'objectivity cannot be reached by means of discourse analysis.' They call for scrutinising methods of research as they may contain the researchers' beliefs and ideologies. These preconceptions can influence investigations to support the analysts' own points of view about the object of research. Thus, the risk of bias cannot be ruled out of research, but multi-methodical analysis of different data can be a viable procedure to ensure validity to a certain extent.

4.4.3 Depth of DHA discursive analysis

In order to understand the characteristics of the discursive analysis carried out by DHA exponents, it is important to understand the meaning of the notions they use as different disciplines and researchers construct their own definitions within their own fields of

research. The first notions I will discuss are ‘text’, ‘genre’ and ‘context’. Their varying significations may create confusion. DHA draws up definitions of these concepts to clarify the way they understand them. For DHA, on the one hand, ‘texts are parts of discourses’ (Wodak and Meyer, 2009:89) and texts are written or they are oral objectification of linguistic actions (Ehlich, 1993). Genre, on the other hand, is described as ‘a socially ratified way of using language in connection with a particular type of social activity,’ (Fairclough, 1995:14). Context, which is also a very elusive term to define has even been considered as a ‘quasi-wastebasket consisting of unsystematic, unpredictable factors’ (Chomsky, 1965). These notions are relevant to understand the composition of discourse and how these concepts as elements interact in it. The DHA framework regards

intertextual and interdiscursive relations between utterances texts, genres and discourses, as well as extra-linguistic social/sociological variables, the history of an organization or institution,’ (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009:90).

According to this, texts are connected to other texts in the past as well as in the present. This link is achieved by making an explicit reference to an actor or an event and by relocating arguments. The process of relocating topics or elements from one specific context into another is called recontextualization in which topics and elements have been de-contextualised from their specific context to be placed into another (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009:90). DHA will allow me to trace discourses and observe how they have been de-contextualized and recontextualized into new discourses. It will also let me know the roles actors play in an historical period as members of a society.

The last notion I will elaborate on are fields of action. DHA provides its definition of interdiscursivity which is the connection between discourses through topics and subtopics such as economy and neoliberalism respectively. For DHA, fields of action are ‘a segment of social reality which constitutes a frame of a discourse’ (Girnth, 1996) and different functions of discursive practices, such as law, define various fields of action. To illustrate, the field of action for language policies can be observed in the table below. This has been inspired by Reisigl and Wodak (2009:90). Language policies discourses start from the field of Law making procedure, i.e. Chile *Decreto 081/2004*, and move to other fields of action such as formation of public attitudes by means of an interview given by the Minister of Education launching *Chile Bilingüe*⁴⁸. Language policies also move to the field of action of Political executive and administration when they are passed or rejected by a given stakeholder. Chile *Decreto 081/2004* was approved and signed by three Centre-Left

⁴⁸ Bilingual Chile (translation by author).

Coalition authorities. They are the President of the Country, the Minister of Education and The Minister of Finance. See Table 4.1 below:

Table 4.1: Fields of action (After Reisigl and Wodak 2009:91)

| Field of action: Law making procedure | Field of action: Formation of public attitudes, opinion and will | Field of action: Political executive and administration | Field of action: Political control |
|---|---|--|--|
| Political (sub)-genres: Law, bill, amendment, parliamentary speech, minister speech, regulation, recommendation, prescription, guideline, etc. | Political (sub)-genres: Press release, interview, minister speech, election speech, lecture and contribution to a conference, opening speech, etc. | Political (sub)-genres: Decision (approval, rejection), minister speech, etc. | Political (sub)-genres: Declaration of an oppositional party, commemorative speech, election speech, press release, petition for a referendum, etc. |

Expanding on the comprehension of intertextuality and interdiscursivity, Reisigl and Wodak (1999:187) understand it as ‘the reference and dynamic reformulation of arguments and topoi’ from one text to the other and from one context to another by means of de-contextualisation and recontextualisation. This process is described by Wodak (2008:3) as follows:

By taking an argument and restating it in a new context, we first observe the process of decontextualization, and then, when the respective element is implemented in a new context, of recontextualization.

The product of this process is the new meaning acquired by the recontextualised text. The new meaning can either be implicit or explicit. While this is achieved explicitly by reference to topics, persons, and events, implicit reference is achieved by allusion, evocations or transfer of arguments. According to Reisigl and Wodak (2009), interdiscursivity is emphasised by the links and hybridity of different discourses through topics and subtopics. In order to track the intertextual and interdiscursive links, DHA focuses on combining the original texts and discourses with the context they are embedded in.

Having illuminated the relevance of the DHA to language policy research, I now expand on the analytical tools that I will employ to analyse my data. These analytical tools have in

the past been explored by DHA researchers for similar concerns such as the power of discourse in society.

4.4.4 Analytical tools

Some DHA exponents have designed their own strategies to analyse the data they collect. The analysis they aim to carry out is a three dimensional one and it follows the following steps:

After (1) having identified the specific contents or topics of a specific discourse, (2) discursive strategies are identified. Then (3), linguistic means (as types) and the specific, context-dependent linguistic realizations (as token) are examined. (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009:93). .

The way DHA scholars direct their investigations is by asking the following questions:

1. How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions named and referred to linguistically?
2. What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events and processes?
3. What arguments are employed in the discourse in question?
4. From what perspective are these nominations, attributions and arguments expressed?
5. Are the respective utterances articulated overtly; are they intensified or mitigated? (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009:93).

These steps and these five questions have allowed me to develop the analytical tools that will lead the analysis of the data. The analytical tools I have chosen to build my design, which are aligned under the umbrella of DHA, are three. They are legitimation (van Leeuwen, 2007; van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999; Martin Rojo and van Dijk, 1997); representation of social actors (van Leeuwen, 1996) and argumentation (van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 2004; Fairclough and Fairclough 2012; Walton, 2006). I elaborate on them, below:

4.4.4.1 Legitimation

In the following subsection, I introduce Theo van Leeuwen's (1996, 2007) legitimation framework. This framework proposes a way to analyse how discourses construct legitimation of social practices. Before expanding on that, I will engage with the concept of legitimation itself.

The word legitimation comes from the Latin *legitimus* and its meaning refers to making something legal or legalising something. Today, legalization has been used outside the legal jargon and it has been linked with the concept of justification. This connection has

been explained by Reyes (2011:783). According to him, '[t]he very act of legitimization *per se* implies an attempt to justify action or no action or an ideological position on a specific issue.' Chouliaraki (2005:1-2), building on a political view of the concept, draws on Gramsci's understanding of hegemony and argues that legitimization is a sort of 'soft power' in which *status quo* is achieved 'by consensus rather than coercion.' Thus, based on such postulates, a definition of legitimization has been advanced by Reyes (2011:782).

According to him, legitimization is:

the process by which speakers accredit or license a type of social behavior. In this case, legitimization is a justification of a behavior (mental or physical).

As legitimization is associated with behaviour, legitimization in the form of behaviour is enacted by means of argumentation. This means that agents construct arguments to explain social actions and ideas. Also, actors, who use legitimization, attempt to employ it with a goal in mind. This goal may be, for instance, obtaining the interlocutor's approval and support. There are many reasons for the search of approval such as obtaining or keeping power, achieving social acceptance, improving community relationships and reaching popularity (*ibid*). In addition, legitimization, in this definition, is connected with social institutions of a given context. Van Leeuwen (2007:92) supports this standpoint by stating that 'legitimation is always the legitimization of the practices of specific social institutional orders.' According to this, I may argue that it is advisable to analyse legitimization of social practices through discourse in context. Following this argument, Berger and Luckmann (1966:111) provide another definition of legitimization. According to the authors:

Legitimation provides the 'explanations' and justifications of the salient elements of the institutional tradition. (It) 'explains' the institutional order by ascribing cognitive validity to its objectivated meanings and (...) justifies the institutional order by giving a normative dignity to its practical imperatives.

This definition associates legitimization of social behaviour with institutions, which are the entities that exercise the normative assessment of social practices in certain contexts.

In addition, legitimization of social actions is usually achieved by the use of persuasive discourse. In such types of legitimating discourse, social practices take two directions. The first one refers to institutional actions; policies are regarded as beneficial for the group or society. The second direction persuasive legitimating discourse can take refers to morally reprehensible or controversial actions. These actions are either ignored, obfuscated or reinterpreted and considered acceptable, or the same actions are justified and regarded as morally or politically correct having the present circumstances in mind (Martin-Rojo and van Dijk, 1997:528). According to Martin-Rojo and van Dijk (*ibid*), successful

legitimation of social practices has two implications. The former is approval of specific actions. The latter refers to the acceptance not only of the dominant group or institution, but also of their status and leadership in society. What this last implication reflects is a top-down and bottom-up direction of legitimation. While the top-down direction means that the dominant group or institution aims at being legitimated by the dominated group, the dominated group or institution legitimates the dominant group or institution through either acceptance, compliance or implicit consent.

Van Leeuwen (2007:91) proposes a framework for analysing the language of legitimation. According to him (*ibid*), there are four categories of legitimation. These categories were developed by the author in his previous work called 'The Grammar of legitimation' (1995). They are the following: authorization, moral evaluation, rationalization and mythopoesis.

Van Leeuwen (2007:92), defines them as follows:

- 1) Authorization, that is, legitimation by reference to the authority of tradition, custom and law, and of persons in whom institutional authority is vested.
- 2) Moral evaluation, that is, legitimation by (often very oblique) reference to value systems.
- 3) Rationalization, that is, legitimation by reference to the goals and uses of institutionalized social action, and to the knowledge society has constructed to endow them with cognitive validity.
- 4) Mythopoesis, that is, legitimation conveyed through narratives whose outcomes reward legitimate actions and punish not legitimate actions.

According to the author, these key categories are realized by means of linguistic resources and they can occur independently or in combination. They are used for legitimizing or delegitimizing (*ibid*). Van Leeuwen (2007:93) argues that legitimation responds to the questions 'Why should we do this?' and 'Why should we do this in this way?' and the categories listed above help reply these questions.

The definitions of legitimation given above refer to social practices in connection with specific institutions within a context as well as reasons for legitimating a viewpoint. The language policy documents I have collected as data refer to language policies passed by an institution within the Chilean context. They all decontextualize texts from legal policies and recontextualize them in new texts such as educational syllabi. These texts happen in a given context within given institutions, i.e. Chilean Ministry of Education and Chilean Legislature branch. This research attempts not only to make explicit strategies of legitimation and their linguistic means of realization in discourse, but also to give an account of those legitimation strategies through the analysis of language policy laws and

syllabi. Both types of documents are the legal and educational mechanisms used by the Centre-Left Coalition authorities to support the policy implementation in Chile. Exploring discourse strategies employed by the authorities to legitimate the implementation may offer some insights about the reasons the ruling government had for promoting this language policy.

4.4.4.2 Representation of social actors

The following section briefly introduces a framework developed by van Leeuwen (1996). This methodology has been designed to explore how discourse is employed to represent social actors from a socio-semantic perspective. In order to discover how social actors are realised linguistically, Van Leeuwen (1996: 32) asks three main questions. They are the following:

What are the ways in which social actors can be represented in English discourse?
(...) Which choices does the English language give us for referring to people? (...)
How are the relevant social actors represented in an instance of a particular kind of
[...] discourse?

the categories outlined by van Leeuwen attempt respond to these questions.

Concerning social actors' representation, Van Leeuwen (1996:32) attempts not only to formulate a socio-semantic record of ways in which this representation can be done, but also to arrange 'the sociological critical relevance of [the] categories' (*ibid*). Van Leeuwen (1996:32) favours this socio-semantic analysis rather than a linguistic one. The author gives two reasons to support his methodological choice. They are language constraints and context-based meaning. The first one refers to the difficulty of concepts such as 'agency' to be sociologically understood. Linguistically, it is realised either by possessive pronouns or by a prepositional phrase with 'from.' The last reason for a socio-semantic analysis follows the assumption that meaning is connected with culture rather than to language.

The categories introduced by this analysis are considered pan-semiotic, i.e. referring to signs and symbols (Kurubacack and Volkan Yuser, 2010). According to this perspective, a given culture represents the world using their own set of arrays. This set prescribes what can be linguistically as well as visually represented (van Leeuwen, 1996:34). Van Leeuwen (*ibid*) argues that this pan-semiotic observation may also be under the influence of historical change. This type of change is significant for CDA research. Visual and verbal representations in various contexts are increasing, and critical questions regarding this phenomenon become crucial.

Van Leeuwen's framework for representing social actors focuses on sociological categories (1996:34). This type of analysis names categories as 'nomination' and 'agency'. Conversely, these categories would receive a different name if analysed under a linguistic light. They would be called 'nominalisation' and 'passive agent deletion'. Van Leeuwen (*ibid*) seeks to base his analysis in linguistics. Therefore, the categories he has outlined will be linked with either linguistic or rhetorical realisations. The analysis is grounded on linguistic realisations through linguistic or rhetorical devices, but focused on sociological categories which will help find the concept of 'social actor' rather than the linguistic concept of 'a nominal group'.

The socio-semantic categories drawn by van Leeuwen (1996) are the following:

Exclusion: Representations include or exclude social actors suit their interests and purposes in relation to the readers or whom they are intended. Some exclusions may be innocent, details which readers are assumed to know already, or which are deemed irrelevant to them, others tie in close to the propaganda strategy of creating fear, (van Leeuwen, 1996:38).

Role Allocation: Representations can reallocate roles, rearrange social relations between participants. [W]ho is represented as 'agent' (Actor), who as 'patient' (Goal) with respect to a given action? (van Leeuwen, 1996:43).

Genericisation and specification: The choice between generic and specific reference is another important factor in the representation of social actors; they can be represented as classes or as specific, identifiable individuals (van Leeuwen, 1996:46).

Assimilation: Social actors can be referred to as individuals, in which case I shall speak of individualisation, or as groups, in which case I shall speak of assimilation. Given the great value that is placed on individuality in many spheres of our society (and the value placed on conformity in others) these categories would have to be of primary significance in Critical Discourse Analysis. (van Leeuwen, 1996:48).

Association and disassociation: There is another way in which social actors can be represented as groups, association. Association, in the sense in which I shall use the term here, refers to groups formed by social actors and /or groups of social actors (either generically or specifically referred to) which are never labelled in the text (although the actors or groups who make up the association may of course themselves be named and/or categorised. (van Leeuwen, 1996:50).

Nomination and categorisation: Social actors can be represented either in terms of their unique identity, being nominated, or in terms of their identities and functions they share with others (categorisation), and it is, again, always of interest to investigate which social actors are, in a given discourse, categorised and which nominated. (van Leeuwen, 1996:52-53).

Functionalisation and identification: Functionalisation occurs when when social actors are referred to in terms of an activity, in terms of something they do, for instance an occupation or a role [...]. Identification occurs when social actors are defined, not in terms of what they do, but in terms of what they, more or less permanently or unavoidable, are. (van Leeuwen, 1996:54).

Personalisation and impersonalisation: I have discussed representational choices which personalise social actors, represent them as human beings, as realised by personal or possessive pronouns, proper names nouns whose meaning includes the feature 'human'. But social actors can also be impersonalised, represented by other means, for instance by abstract nouns, or by concrete nouns whose meaning does not include the semantic feature 'human'. (van Leeuwen, 1996:59).

Overdetermination: [it] occurs when social actors are represented as participating, at the same time, in more than one social practice. (van Leeuwen, 1996:61).

Van Leeuwen's categories for representing social actors conflates lexicogrammar and discourse level systems (1996:67). It also brings together transitivity and rhetorical elements. Thus, socio-semantic as well as linguistic features are merged in the analysis because they are all implicated in the representation of social actors. To conclude, this framework will help me explore the way in which social actors have been represented in the language policy and language education policy documents. I aim to use this methodology of discourse analysis to explore how actors that participate in the language policy implementation are discursively constructed.

4.4.4.3 Argumentation

In this section, I will briefly explain what argumentation is. In order to do so, I will elaborate on the aims of the theory, its definition, characteristics of argumentation, the interests argumentation theorists seek to research, the themes that interest them and the goals argumentation theorists pursue. I conclude this section by mentioning how argumentation is relevant to this investigation.

According to Walton (2009:1), argumentation is an interdisciplinary study which aims at drawing conclusions by using logical reasoning. Some other disciplines that use this structure of reasoning are law, science, maths and politics. However, research on this type of reasoning is not new. Since the time of Greek philosophers and rhetoricians, argumentation theorists have been interested in discovering the elements that make an argument.

As research on this field has been around since the Greek philosophers, there are many definitions of argumentation which are relevant to the discipline that employs the notion. These definitions may not coincide with others. Even though there is a lot of debate regarding the understanding of what argumentation is, as well as so many definitions that range from everyday use to technical use, from verbal activity to social activity. I will rely

on the definition provided by van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2004:1) which is the most pertinent to guide this research. According to the authors, argumentation is:

A verbal, social, and rational activity aimed at convincing a reasonable critic of the acceptability of a standpoint by putting forward a constellation of propositions justifying or refuting the proposition expressed in the standpoint.

This definition focuses on the intention to persuade the audience of the acceptability of a standpoint. Persuasion is carried out by either justifying or refuting a viewpoint. This definition does not mention whether the standpoint is a valid and sound argument. Thus, we may speculate that the standpoint may be composed of fallacies. This definition also refers to a technical meaning of the term. Whereas the general meaning of argumentation refers to everyday language, the technical one is 'based on the conceptual analysis of the theoretical notion of argumentation'. This meaning includes a 'process-product' ambiguity. Where the process refers to 'I am about to complete my argumentation' and the product is 'this argumentation is not sound' (*ibid*).

A relevant characteristic of argumentation is that it always refers to one viewpoint regarding a given topic. The speaker or writer favours a point of view using argumentation. The listener or reader may doubt the acceptability of that opinion. The purpose of using argumentation is to convince 'the listener or reader of the acceptability of the standpoint' (Van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 2004:2). The aim of the argumentation is to either justify a standpoint or refute it.

An argument structure is composed of the following elements: one single standpoint or expression or more of them. If the standpoint is positive, the structure of the argument is thought to be employed to justify a standpoint. If the standpoint is negative, the structure of the argument is used to refute it (van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 2004:2).

Once the composition of the argument is exposed, argumentation theorists follow a number of tasks of argumentation. They identify the premises and the conclusion of an argument which compose the text. They analyse the text to look for implicit premises or conclusions. An implicit premise is called *enthymeme*. An *enthymeme* is 'an argument with unstated premise or unstated conclusion' (Layman, 1996:226). They evaluate the argument to conclude whether it is weak or strong. Finally, they create new arguments to prove how a given conclusion was reached (Walton, 2009:1).

There are three ways to critically question an argument. This is performed by:

attacking one or more of the premises of the argument, by attacking the inferential link between the premises and the conclusion or by mounting a counter-argument (Walton, 2007:223-224).

However, other authors have introduced other ways to attack an argument. Krabbe (2007) argues that the premises put forward may not be relevant to the conclusion. Thus, the argument is refuted. Fairclough and Fairclough (2012:63-64), based on their framework for political discourse analysis, state that the only relevant question to rebut an argument is:

whether the action being proposed will have negative consequences that will undermine the stated goal (or the goals the agent wants to pursue, or other agents' goals).

Argumentation theorists, who are interested in oral as well as written arguments (Walton, 2009:1), are concerned with problems related to the study of argumentation. Specifically, they focus their research on 'unexpressed elements in argumentative discourse, (...) argumentation structures, (...) argument schemes (...) and fallacies' (Van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 2004:3). These four problems correspond respectively to some elements of the argument structure that are expressed implicitly. Structures of arguments are classified into single and complex structures. There are argumentation schemes that include causal, comparison, and symptomatic. The last problem is the structure of fallacies. According to Copi and Cohen (1994:700) and Layman (2005:123), they are errors in reasoning and some may include the use of *topoi*. *Topoi* are:

content-related warrants or 'conclusion rules' that connect the argument or arguments with the conclusion, the claim. As such, they justify the transition from the argument or arguments to the conclusion (Kienpointner, 1992:194; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001: 75; Reisigl and Wodak, 2009:110)

This interest in the structure of arguments led researchers to outline their research aims.

Therefore, the goal of argumentation theorists is:

to develop norms, criteria and procedures for interpreting, evaluating and construing argumentation that are faithful to the complexities and uncertainties of everyday argumentation (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 1997).

In everyday life, this goal is valid since practical decisions such as policy implementations may be based on invalid arguments that are thought to be reasonable bases for decision-making. The study of the structure of arguments may show the composition of them and expose the type of arguments that compose a policy. This is one of the reasons why I have selected argumentation theory. This logical reasoning and the practical resources it provides will let me observe, reconstruct and analyse arguments embedded in the language

policy documents, which are laws and school syllabi. This procedure will show the validity of the arguments or expose the fallacies they may contain.

P-DA is a type of argumentation. It has been developed by van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1984, 1992, 2004). This type of argumentation is employed to analyse and evaluate argumentation in everyday use. P-DA views argumentation as a complex speech act as part of social interaction that aims at specific communicative goals. This research will employ P-DA framework to analyse the structure and validity of the arguments that compose the data.

4.4.4.3.1 A Pragma-Dialectical Approach

Argumentative schemes are an important element within the DHA approach.

Argumentative strategies are analysed not only with the purpose of understanding how arguments and argumentation are legitimised, but also with the aim of critically analysing political discourse (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012; Wodak, 2008; Reisigl and Wodak, 2009; Van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999). This type of discourse is one of the many that compose the language policy documents I will investigate.

I will elaborate first on the Pragma-Dialectical Approach drawing on van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1992), van Eemeren *et al.* (1987) and van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2004). As the aim of pragma-dialectics is to ‘reconstruct the process of resolving a difference of opinion occurring in an argumentative discourse or text’ (van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 2004:95); these works will help me construct a critical analysis of argumentative discourse which will allow me to interpret and evaluate the arguments put forward by Centre-Left Coalition authorities through the language policy documents they introduced in the Chilean context. Tools to evaluate such arguments are provided by the Pragma-Dialectical approach. These tools are the rules for critical discussion, (van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 1992: chapter 19; Walton, 2006:177).

Due to the extensive research on the study of argumentation during the last thirty years, argumentation has evolved into a field of study. Scholars, such as Toulmin (1958), van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1984, 1992, 2004), Walton (2006), have developed diverse outlines of paradigms which depend on the perspective to argumentative discourse researchers take as a stand point. Such scholars are interested in ‘how argumentative discourse can be used to justify or refute a standpoint in a rational way’ (van Eemeren and

Grootendorst, 1992:3). One of those paradigms was developed by van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2004) and it is called Pragma-Dialectics.

As Pragma-Dialectics can be regarded as a tool to help resolve a difference of opinion using the rules of critical discussion (Walton, 2006:167) to systematise the dialogue between two or more parties, it is argued that Pragma-Dialectic analysis is based on pragmatics. The text or discourse is composed of speech acts and the attempt to resolve an issue between parties requires speech acts that take part in a dialogical process. Examples of those speech acts that take place in policies are the illocutionary speech act of declarative speech and the perlocutory act of persuading and convincing an audience (Searle, 1969; Austin, 1962; van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 1984)

On account of dialecticians regarding every argument to be part of a critical discussion, whether explicit or implicit, their model provides rules that specify which moves, in the various stages of such discussion, can contribute to resolving a difference of opinion. If this methodological verbal exchange is seen, pragmatically, as an interaction of speech acts, this approach, which is advocated by us, can be called pragma-dialectics. (van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 1992:7).

It is not easy to claim that a text or discourse is argumentative. There are two ways to determine if the text or discourse is argumentative. The former is by discovering if the text or discourse aims at removing doubt regarding a view point. The latter is to elucidate if the speech act of argumentation has taken place (van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 1984:39-46; 1992:30-33). However, sometimes essential elements of a critical discussion are missing, not fully stated, presupposed or hidden in the text or discourse. The aim of the reconstruction of the argument is to bring the elements of the debate to the surface (van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 2004:97).

Another difficulty that arises from argument reconstruction is the intended receiver in a dialogic event. Examples provided by van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2004:99) describe the real antagonists in dialogue. They state that in a broadcasted political debate, a protagonist politician engages in a debate with an antagonist politician. In this context, the real audience the protagonist wants to persuade may be the television viewers. In a letter to an editor, the writer aims to address the readers of the newspaper rather than its editor. According to the scholars, '[i]n such cases there are, in fact, two antagonists and the listeners or readers who are the real target group' (van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 2004:99).

Regarding the language policy introduced by the Centre-Left Coalition government in Chile *Decreto 081/2003*, the authorities passed a law which has been received by teachers,

lecturers, and researchers who engage with that document and question it. They are the real target group. In order for the Pragma-dialectics dialogical framework to resolve a conflict of opinion between the Centre-Left Coalition language policy and this researcher's interpretation of the policy, it requires the tools of this theory, i.e. rules for critical discussion, to question the argument reconstruction and to make explicit the fallacies contained in the language policy documents.

The rules for a Critical Discussion employed by P-DA (Walton, 2006:177; van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 1992:208) will constitute one of the analytical tools of this research. The goal of these rules is to prevent obstacles which may conflict with the resolution of a difference of opinion. These obstacles are known as fallacies. I will first introduce the rules for critical discussion and then, I will provide a list of fallacies.

Rule 1: Parties must not prevent each other from advancing or casting doubt on each other's viewpoints.

Rule 2: Whoever advances a viewpoint is obliged to defend it if asked to do so.

Rule 3: An attack on a viewpoint must represent the viewpoint that has really been advanced by the protagonist.

Rule 4: A viewpoint may be defended or attacked only by advancing argumentation that is relevant to that viewpoint.

Rule 5: A person can be held responsible for the unstated premises he leaves implicit in his argument.

Rule 6: A viewpoint is regarded as conclusively defended only if the defense takes place by means of argumentation based on premises accepted by the other party, and it meets the requirement of rule 8.

Rule 7: A viewpoint is regarded as conclusively defended only if the defense takes place by means of arguments in which an argumentation scheme is correctly applied.

Rule 8: A viewpoint is regarded as conclusively defended only if supported by meeting the requirements of rules 6 and 7 and if the unstated premises in the chain of argumentation are accepted by the other party.

Rule 9: A failed defense must result in the proponent withdrawing her thesis and successful defense must result in the respondent withdrawing his doubt about the proponent's thesis.

Rule 10: Formulations of questions and arguments must not be obscure, excessively vague, or confusingly ambiguous and must be interpreted as accurately as possible.

van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1992:212-215) provide a list of the traditionally accounted for fallacies. They are given in the table 4.2 below and they include the rules of critical discussion they violate:

Table 4.2: The rules of critical discussion (Eemeren and Grootendorst, 1992:212-215)

| N. | FALLACY | RULE |
|----|--|------|
| 1 | <i>Affirming the consequent</i> Confirming necessary and sufficient condition by treating a necessary condition as a sufficient condition | 8 |
| 2 | <i>Fallacy of ambiguity</i> Misusing referential, syntactic, or semantic ambiguity | 10 |
| 3 | <i>Argumentum ad baculum</i> ⁴⁹ Putting pressure on the other party by threatening him with sanctions | 1 |
| 4 | <i>Argumentum ad consequentiam</i> ⁵⁰ Using an inappropriate (causal) argumentation scheme by rejecting a descriptive standpoint because of its undesired consequences. | 7 |
| 5 | <i>Argumentum ad hominem</i> (direct personal attack, abusive) Doubting the expertise, intelligence, or good faith of the other party | 1 |
| 6 | <i>Argumentum ad hominem</i> (indirect personal attack, circumstantial) Casting suspicion of the other party's motives | 1 |
| 7 | <i>Argumentum ad hominem</i> (tu quoque) Pointing out an inconsistency between the other party's ideas and deeds in past and/or present | 1 |
| 8 | <i>Argumentum ad ignorantiam</i> (1) ⁵¹ <i>Shifting the burden of proof in a nonmixed dispute by requiring the antagonist to show that the protagonist's standpoint is wrong</i> | 2 |
| 9 | <i>Argumentum ad ignorantiam</i> (2) <i>Making an absolute of the failure of the defense by concluding that a standpoint is true just because the opposite has not been successfully defended</i> | 9 |
| 10 | <i>Argumentum ad misericordiam</i> Putting pressure on the other party by playing on his feelings of compassion | 1 |
| 11 | <i>Argumentum ad populum</i> (populistic fallacy) (variant <i>argumentum ad verecundiam</i> (1)) ⁵² Using an appropriate (symptomatic) argumentation scheme by presenting the standpoint as right because everybody thinks it is right | 7 |
| 12 | <i>Argumentum ad populum</i> (2) ⁵³ Defending a standpoint by using nonargumentative means of persuasion and playing on the emotions of the audience | 4 |
| 13 | <i>Argumentum ad verecundiam</i> (1) ⁵⁴ Using an inappropriate (symptomatic) argumentum scheme by presenting the standpoint as right because an authority says it is right | 7 |
| 14 | <i>Fallacy of Composition</i> Confusing the properties of parts and wholes by ascribing a relative or structure-dependent property of a part of the whole to the whole | 8 |
| 15 | <i>Denying the antecedent</i> Confusing necessary and sufficient conditions by treating them | 8 |

⁴⁹ Appeal to force (Note by author).

⁵⁰ Appeal to consequences (Note by author).

⁵¹ Appeal to ignorance (Note by author).

⁵² Appeal to authority (Note by author).

⁵³ Appeal to the people (Note by author).

⁵⁴ Appeal to authority (Note by author).

| | | |
|----|---|---|
| 16 | <i>Fallacy of division</i> Confusing the properties of parts and wholes by ascribing a relative or structure-dependent property of a whole to a part of the whole | 8 |
| 17 | <i>False analogy</i> Using the appropriate argumentation scheme of analogy incorrectly by not fulfilling the conditions for a correct comparison | 7 |
| 18 | <i>Ignoratio elenchi (irrelevant argumentation)</i> Putting forward argumentation which does not refer to the standpoint under discussion | 4 |
| 19 | <i>Fallacy of many questions</i> Falsely presenting something as a common starting point by wrapping up a standpoint in the presupposition of a question | 6 |
| 20 | <i>Petitio principii (begging the question, circular reasoning)</i> Falsely presenting something as a common starting point by advancing argumentation that amounts to the same thing as the standpoint | 6 |
| 21 | <i>Post hoc ergo propter hoc</i> ⁵⁵ Using the appropriate argumentation scheme of causality incorrectly by inferring a cause-effect relation from the mere observation that two events take place one after the other | 7 |
| 22 | <i>Secundum quid (hasty generalization)</i> Using the appropriate argumentation scheme of concomitance incorrectly by making generalizations based upon observations that are not representative or not sufficient | 7 |
| 23 | <i>Shifting the burden of proof (1)</i> (<i>argumentum ad ignorantiam</i>) Requiring the antagonist in a nonmixed dispute to show that the protagonist's standpoint is wrong | 2 |
| 24 | <i>Shifting the burden of proof (2)</i> Requiring only the other party in a mixed dispute to defend his standpoint due to the Principle of Presumption or the Criterion of Fairness | 2 |
| 25 | <i>Slippery slope</i> Using the appropriate argumentation scheme of causality (argument from consequence) incorrectly by erroneously suggesting that by taking the proposed course of action one will be going from bad to worse | 7 |
| 26 | <i>Straw man</i> Imputing a fictitious standpoint to the other party or distorting the other party's standpoint | 3 |

To conclude this subsection, I would like to acknowledge conflicts that arise from the epistemological framework of DHA and P-DA. One of them is related to the normative and descriptive critique and the last one refers to the concept of critique.

First, investigation on argumentative discourse requires researchers to take a stand point to overcome the limitations brought about by the descriptive and normative approach. Both are exemplified by contemporary linguistics; the former, and by the modern logic, the

⁵⁵ After this, because of this (Note by author).

latter. As both approaches are interwoven, the aim is to facilitate the communication link between them both (van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 1992:6).

Last, according to Forchtner and Tominc (2012), there is an epistemological and normative conflict at the paradigm core of DHA. This approach to discourse analysis is founded on Popper (1962a, 1962b, 2008) and Albert's (1968) critical rationalism as well as on Habermas and School of Frankfurt critical theory. However, both paradigms conflict regarding the concept of critique.

The last analytical tool within the argumentation framework that I have also included in the the methodological design of this research is the argument reconstruction. I will employ Fairclough and Fairclough (2012:45) scheme for argument reconstruction. Their contribution to the framework is including a value premise to the scheme. This premise is inserted within the argumentation structure to reconstruct the arguments of the data I have collected. I then, draw on the Pragma-Dialectics tool of rules of critical discussion to expose the fallacies embedded in the text and which will bring the *topos* to the surface. At this stage, I would like to reiterate that I do not subscribe to any of these frameworks in their entirety and that they all have an unequal influence on my research. Finally, I, with the help of these analytical tools, will be able to observe the composition of the discourse that has been used by the Centre-left Coalition authorities to implement the English language policy in Chile.

4.5 Data

In this section, I explain what the language policy implemented in Chile is. I clarify its specific terminology. I show the reasons Centre Left Coalition authorities gave to implement this policy. I provide a timeline of the language policy implementation. I explain why I have chosen the data. Finally, I describe the data of this research.

4.5.1 Characteristics of the data

Chile *Decreto*⁵⁶ 081/2004 is the language policy implemented in Chile in 2004. It delineates how English will be taught in Chile, who will learn the language and how. It determines the resources that will be invested in spreading the language in Chile. It also elaborates on how teachers and trainee teachers will be trained and by whom. Finally, it

⁵⁶ Decree (translation by the author).

discusses assessment and achievement based on international language performance parameters.

The National Congress of Chile is the Legislative Branch of the government. It is composed of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. Since 2005, members of both are elected by universal suffrage. A decree is enacted by any authority over the issues under its competence. When this regulation emanates from the president of the republic, it becomes a Supreme Decree. The language policy is a type of regulation called Chile *Decreto* 081/2004. This decree was promulgated in March 2004 when members of the legislative branch were appointed. In addition, the authorities that passed this decree based on the competence they have over matters under their capacity are Michele Bachelet, President of the Republic; Sergio Bitar Chacra, Minister of Education; and Nicolás Eyzaguirre Guzmán, Minister of Finance. Thus, we can conclude that the English language policy in Chile is a top-down policy imposed on the Chilean society.

The reasons given by the authorities to implement this decree in the Chilean educational system are supported by the Centre Left Coalition authorities. These reasons range from academic to professional opportunities. They talk about national and individual economic development as well. Bitar, former Centre Left Coalition Minister of Education, in a recent interview recalling the beginnings of the policy highlights the economic and professional benefits that competence in English will bring:

that we have launched many Free Trade Agreements with other countries, that help us to export. (...) After that, what? You need people help us communicate with others, to travel, invent new products, sell what you are doing, understand, learn from others. (...) The next stage (...) if most of the people manages [sic] English, we are able to increase levels of quality of life. (...) Almost half of the material [information] you find in the internet are strictly in English. (...) I realised later that especially mothers from low income groups feel that if their sons would manage English and the same time computer science and connections that it would help them to be at the vanguard of new jobs for the future. Also, when we started analysing what was needed in the country to expand the work capacity, most of the interviews were telling us that technicians managing English. (...) Young people involved in games and Facebook, to show how they can expand their networks using English. (...) The possibility if you go to the university, to have a technical background to have the language that will help you to go around the world to find new jobs, to make more money, to build new businesses (Bitar, 2011).

Ricardo Lagos, former Centre-Left Coalition president of the republic, leading the most open market-friendly economy country in Latin America, talking with former U.S. president Bush about the language and the connection with development, focuses on the economic bonanza that the skill will provide and states:

We spoke about the English language and how important it is to be able to foster through our ministries the learning of English. (...) As a country, we want to be a bridge and a platform for flows [sic] of international trade and in the Asia-Pacific region. (Lagos, 2004)

In 2009, Michele Bachelet, reinforcing the efforts towards foreign language (henceforth L2) spread launches another programme for learning English in Chile. It is called ‘*Chile Habla Inglés*’⁵⁷ and it refers to the importance of learning English. She argues that the foreign language is a tool for the training of the national human capital. Bachelet states:

*ganan las personas, porque pueden optar a mejores remuneraciones; gana la economía del país, porque cuenta con mejores recursos humanos para competir en el mundo, es decir, gana Chile*⁵⁸ (Bachelet, 2009c)

Bachelet points out that salaries vary depending on the skills. According to her, workers who speak English earn at least 30% more than those who do not. She concludes by saying: ‘*una gran oportunidad para ampliar el horizonte laboral*’⁵⁹.

The report, called ‘Orientaciones de la Política Educativa 2003-2006’⁶⁰ (Ministerio de Educación, 2003:4), prepared by the Centre-Left Coalition Ministry of Education delineates the goals that the ruling government wants to achieve in educational terms during their presidential period. This report elaborates on three challenges that education will face. They are: the moral challenge; the cultural challenge and the instrumental challenge. There are two main skills that are regarded as the skills for the globalization. They are: English language and digital literacy. The report states:

*Desafío Instrumental: habilidades para la globalización. Idioma extranjero y alfabetización digital son los dos pies para caminar en el mundo global. En el futuro serán analfabetos quienes no puedan utilizar una segunda lengua y quienes no sean capaces de comunicarse, escribir o realizar operaciones a través de un computador.*⁶¹

There is a timeline that clarifies the institutional implementation of the language policy. This timeline shows that the spread of English in Chile was taken seriously by the authorities. In May 2003, Minister of Education, Sergio Bitar, launched an educational

⁵⁷ Chile Speaks English (Translation by author).

⁵⁸ People win because they can qualify for better wages. The country’s economy wins because it has better human resources to compete in the world, that is to say, Chile wins (Translation by author).

⁵⁹ A great opportunity to expand the labour horizon (Translation by author).

⁶⁰ Educational Policy Guidelines (Translation by author).

⁶¹ Instrumental challenge: globalization skills, foreign language and digital literacy are the two feet to walk in the global world. In the future, illiterates will be those who are unable to use a second language and who are unable to communicate, write or perform operations through a computer (Translation by author).

plan called ‘*El ingles Abre Puertas*⁶²’ (Bitar, 2003). This was the first initiative to promote the learning of English in Chile. In March 2004, decree 081/2004 was promulgated. It delineated the how language will be learned in the country. In 2004, a diagnostic evaluation was taken by year 8 and year 12 students across the country. 11,000 students took the evaluation in 299 schools. The University of Cambridge was in charge of the assessment. The test was the English for Speakers of Other Languages (henceforth ESOL) evaluation. The results of the evaluation showed that only 5% of the secondary school students passed the test (Ministerio de Educacion, 2004a). Bitar (2005), at the time, stated that Chile was one of the few countries that measured their students’ level of English at the start of the language policy implementation. He added that the results show that the level of competence in English is linked with the socio-economic status of the learners. He concluded emphasising that the results are due to the use of the old educational curriculum. In that curriculum, English is taught from year 7. Bitar argued that the Ministry of Education is planning to incorporate an annual national assessment of English, called *Simce*⁶³ de ingles since 2007.

In 2005, after the diagnostic evaluation was carried out and the results evaluated, the Ministry of Education implemented an updated curriculum for the teaching of English in the Chilean educational system. Two syllabi for the teaching of English were introduced. While one was the syllabus for primary education, the other was the plan for the secondary one. They are the following:

- a) *Currículum Educación Media, Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios. Formaciónn general, idioma extranjero. Actualización 2005. Gobierno de Chile. Ministerio de Educación, 2005.*⁶⁴
- b) *Currículum Educación Media, Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios. Formación Diferenciada Humanista Científica, idioma extranjero. Actualización 2005. Gobierno de Chile. Ministerio de Educación, 2005.*⁶⁵

⁶² English Opens Doors (Translation by author).

⁶³ Sistema de Medición de la Calidad de la Educación/ Education Quality Measurement System (Translation by author).

⁶⁴ Secondary Education Curriculum, Fundamental Objectives and Minimum Compulsory Contents. General Training for foreign language. 2005 Update. Government of Chile, Ministry of education (Translation by author).

⁶⁵ Secondary Education Curriculum, Fundamental Objectives and Minimum Compulsory Contents. Differentiated Scientific Humanist Training for foreign language. 2005 Update. Government of Chile, Ministry of education (Translation by author).

The modification of the secondary education curriculum focuses on meeting the demands of contemporary society such as the command of knowledge and technology. These skills will enhance students' development in their future career paths. *Currículum Educación Media*⁶⁶ modifies the curriculum to include the core objectives and basic contents of the foreign language. The first syllabus is the general curriculum designed for all secondary students in Chile. The last syllabus is the curriculum for year 11 and year 12 students who have chosen humanities as their major. This implies that these learners have extra hours of English per week.

In May 2009, the High Council of Education, a branch from the National Education Council, amended the order emanated from the 18.962⁶⁷ law. This amendment aimed at modifying some chapters of *Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios* of five subjects. They are Spanish language, math, history social sciences, natural sciences and English at both levels, that is, primary and secondary education. As a result, two decrees were passed. They are Chile *Decreto 256/2009* and Chile *Decreto 254/2009*. They were issued by the Ministry of Education. The first one was passed in June 2009 and the last in July 2009. The main change was authorising the update of the contents of the syllabi. However, *Currículum Educación Básica*⁶⁸ modifies the teaching of English starting from year 7 as it used to be before the 2003 Language policy to year 5. The 4 hours of instruction per week remained the same. In November 2009, bringing together the suggestions from the Ministry of Education and the results of the national diagnostic evaluation, the Ministry of Education introduced a new curriculum for the teaching of English in Chile. These syllabus contained the reasons why learning English is important; the contents to be learned from year 5 to year 12; the learning activities; the teaching materials and how each language skill will be developed. This is the syllabus that has been used since then and this is the timeline that has guided me to select the data that is the most relevant for this research. Observing the reasons why the Centre-Left Coalition authorities have implemented the English language policy and the timeline they have followed to do so has allowed me to choose the most relevant data for this study. Next, I give a brief summary of the language policy documents and language education policies that compose the data of this investigation.

⁶⁶ Secondary Education Curriculum (Translation by author).

⁶⁷ LOCE (Note by author).

⁶⁸ Primary Education Curriculum (Translation by author)

4.5.2 Corpus for analysis

In summary, the corpus for analysis includes the following policies:

1. Language Policy

1.1 *Decreto* N° 081/2004

This is the main language policy document regarding the spread of English in Chile. This decree regulates the teaching of English in the country. This policy was promulgated in March 2004 and it regulates the reinforcement of the English language learning programme in the Chilean education system. Specifically, this decree has an impact on State funded schools from the 5th year of primary education to the 4th year of secondary, including vocational education. This document outlines the extent of the policy by describing the activities that have been delineated to achieve its goals. For example, funding for the implementation of the programme, creation of assessment and teaching materials, and training for English teachers and exchange scholarships for trainee teachers. This decree was signed by the President of Chile, Ricardo Lagos; by the Minister of Education, Sergio Bitar; and by the Minister of Finance, Nicolás Eyzaguirre.

1.2 *Acuerdo* N° 028/2009

This agreement is a modification of the introduction section of *Marcos Curriculares de la Educación Básica y Media* and of the *Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios*⁶⁹ in five subjects of the curriculum. This agreement is contained in the *Ley Organica Constitucional de Enseñanza* (henceforth LOCE⁷⁰) where one of the subjects whose syllabi would be modified was English. The agreement, which was also assessed by expert internal and external consultants, was introduced by the Ministry of Education. It was passed by the Board of Education. It was finally promulgated on May 2009 and signed by the Vice Chairman of the Board of Education, Nicolas Velasco.

1.3 *Decreto* N° 256/2009

This decree modifies *Decreto Supremo*⁷¹ 40/1996 of the Ministry of Education which lays down *Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos*

⁶⁹ Primary and secondary education Curricula framework; fundamental objectives and minimum compulsory contents Primary and secondary education Curricula framework; fundamental objectives and minimum compulsory contents (Translation by author).

⁷⁰ Organic Constitutional Law on Education (Translation by author).

⁷¹ Supreme Decree (Translation by author).

*Obligatorios*⁷². This document states that the Ministry of Education has passed the suggested modification on *Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios* and authorizes its implementation in primary education. The decree demands the introduction of the educational modification in English as a foreign language syllabus and provides a thorough description of the contents and activities for the teaching of the four skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing) from 5th year of primary education to the 8th one. Finally, this decree was signed by President Michelle Bachelet and by Minister of Education, Mónica Jiménez and promulgated on July 1, 2009.

1.4 Decreto N° 254/2009

This decree modifies *Decreto Supremo 220/1998* of the Ministry of Education which lays down *Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios*. Decree N° 254/2009 informs that the Ministry of Education has passed the suggested modification on *Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios* and authorizes its implementation in secondary education. The document demands the introduction of the educational modification in English as a foreign language syllabus and provides a thorough description of the contents and activities for the teaching of the four skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing) for secondary education. According to this document, the teaching of other foreign languages, such as French and German, will be regulated by *Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios del Subsector de Idioma Extranjero*⁷³ which is now called *Sector de Idioma Extranjero*. This Decree was signed by the President of the Country, Michelle Bachelet and by Minister of Education, Mónica Jiménez and promulgated on June 26, 2009.

2. Language Education Policy

2.1 Currículum Educación Media, Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios. Formación general, idioma extranjero. Actualización 2005. Gobierno de Chile. Ministerio de Educación⁷⁴, 2005.

⁷² Fundamental objectives and minimum compulsory contents (Translation by author).

⁷³ Foreign language (Translation by author).

⁷⁴ Secondary Education Curriculum, fundamental objectives and minimum compulsory contents. General training. Update 2005. Government of Chile. Ministry of Education (Translation by author).

This syllabus emphasizes the demands by contemporary society placed on students who have graduated from secondary education. These learners are required to play an active role in either academic or professional lives. In this context, the goal of *Subsector Idioma Extranjero* is to give pupils tools to access information, knowledge and technology which are facilitated by having a skill such as command in English. These are the reasons that trigger the modification of *Contenidos Mínimos* which aim to target the needs that students may have in their future areas of development. In addition, the syllabus gives a brief description of the contents to teach and makes explicit that the teaching of English is still regulated by the general syllabus called *Idioma Extranjero*. This shows that the modification of objectives and contents has not been implemented in this syllabus yet even though the language policy was passed on March 2004. This document has been published and distributed by The Ministry of Education.

2.2 Currículum Educación Media, Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios. Formación Diferenciada Humanista Científica, idioma extranjero. Actualización 2005. Gobierno de Chile⁷⁵. Ministerio de Educación, 2005.

This syllabus is designed for and aimed at 3rd and 4th year students of secondary humanities-sciences education. It will allow learners to increase the depth and breadth of the subject. It gives the educational institutions freedom to decide which contents to enhance based on the skills and interests students may have. At the same time, this syllabus allows students to choose between a general instruction of English or a specialized one called *Formación Diferenciada Humanista-Científica, Idioma Extranjero*. This syllabus shows that the teaching of English is still regulated by the general syllabus called *Idioma Extranjero* and that modification of objectives and contents have not been implemented yet even though the language policy was passed on March 2004. This document has been published and distributed by The Ministry of Education.

⁷⁵ Primary Education Curriculum, fundamental objectives and minimum compulsory contents. Differentiated Scientific Humanistic. Foreign language. Update 2005. Government of Chile. Ministry of Education (Translation by author).

2.3 Propuesta Ajuste Curricular. Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios. Idioma Extranjero, inglés. Ministerio de Educación⁷⁶, 2009.

According to this syllabus, the changes experienced by the country due to its integration in a globalised world requires secondary school students to have command of a foreign language which would allow them to succeed in academic and working environments. The syllabus describes the contents to teach from 5th year of primary education to the 4th year of the secondary one. This syllabus shows that modification to *Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios (Acuerdo 028/2009)* have been introduced in the lesson planning and design of teaching activities and materials. This syllabus states that even though the goal of learning a foreign language is to enhance personal growth, it also explicitly declares that it is an instrumental goal as well. A tool to pursue professional and academic advance. Finally, this syllabus has been passed by the Board of Education.

The main focus of this research is concerned with the economic, political and social factors that have triggered the implementation of the 2004 English language policy in Chile. In order to explore these factors, I take the key language policy documents and language education policies passed by the Ministry of education since 2004. All documents have been issued by the President of the Republic, the Minister of Education and the Minister of Finance. Then, I observe the language policy discourse. The goal of this observation is to explore and make assumptions about the discursive strategies embedded in the data and employed by the policy makers either consciously or unconsciously.

My analysis comprises the seven key language policies and language education policies described above passed under the Centre Left-Coalition governments since 2003 to 2010 (113 pages in total). All analysed documents were obtained in electronic form through the database of *Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional de Chile*.⁷⁷

In my selection of data, I have focused on the political period in which the English language policy was launched. This political period was ruled by Centre-Left Coalition and

⁷⁶ Curricular adjustment proposal. Fundamental goals and compulsory minimum curriculum. Foreign language, English. Ministry of Education (Translation by author).

⁷⁷ Library of the National Congress of Chile (Translation by author).

it covers two presidential periods. The first one is led by the former president Ricardo Lagos (2000-2006) and the second is by former (and as from 2014 current) Chilean President Michele Bachelet (2006-2010).

As the purpose of this research is to look for persuasive discursive strategies embedded in the English language policy, other language policy documents such as those regarding the maintenance of indigenous languages or the teaching of French and German as foreign languages will not be considered as part of the data, but they may be used to support the arguments made by this research.

As I will focus on a specific period of time and I will use the CDA analytical framework as well as the analytical tools designed by the CDA scholars, I will be able to account for issues of power and ideologies embedded in the language policy texts which may be a representation of the economic, political and social Chilean context.

In order to assess the validity and reliability of this research, I have employed the principle of triangulation as understood by Cicourel (1974) and Cicourel *et. al.* (1974) and employed by Reisigl and Wodak (2001, 2009). The use of this type of triangulation implies that I will be employing different analytical tools for data analysis with the aim of answering my research questions. The multi-methodological approach I will adopt to triangulate is a linguistic-based observation of the social actors (van Leeuwen, 1996), a political examination of the text (Fairclough, 2003) and an intertextual and interdiscursive historical analysis of the language policy discourse (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, 2009). Even though the goal of using this multi-methodological framework to triangulate the data is to minimize the possibility of being overly biased (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001:35; Wodak and Meyer, 2009:31), I am aware that according to Wodak and Meyer, (2009:31-32):

rigorous “objectivity” cannot be reached by means of discourse analysis for each “technology” of research must itself be examined as potentially embedding the beliefs and ideologies of the analysts and therefore guiding the analysis towards the analysts’ preconceptions.

The underlying principle of this research is the investigation of the rhetorical discursive strategies. The selection of theories and methodologies to explain this discursive phenomenon are aimed at achieving the objectives of my research and to answer my research questions. Thus, the theoretical framework I have built is specifically aimed at investigating the discursive strategies used by the Centre-Left Coalition governments that

may have the effect of persuading Chileans to learn English. Looking at how the language policy was discursively constructed will allow me achieve that goal.

4.5.3 Data categorisation

Many themes have emerged through the data analysis. A summary of the ideologies, one of the themes, which have emerged from data analysis are provided in the Diagram 4.1 below:

Diagram 4.1 Ideologies emerging from data.

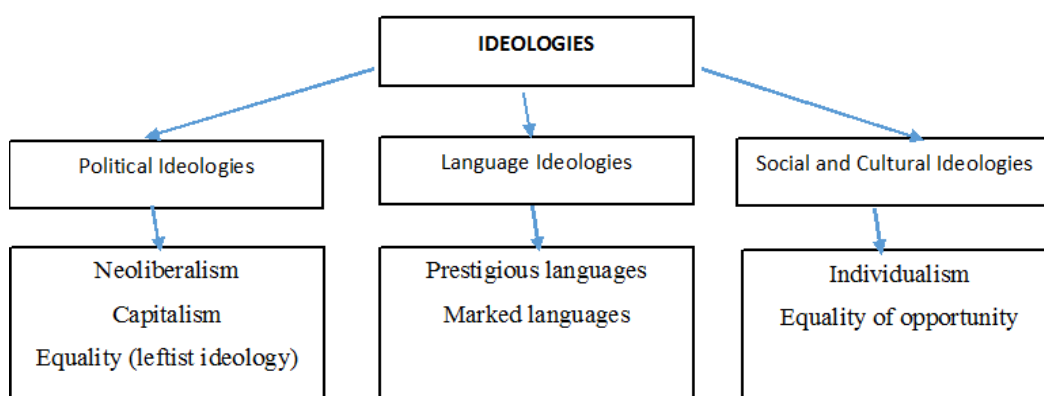


Diagram 4.1 shows the themes that I have found in the data that composes this investigation. The dominant ideologies from the data are neoliberalism and English as a prestigious language. There is opposition among these themes. On the one hand, we have the neoliberal ideology introduced in the Chilean context through the 1975 Military Regime reforms (chapter two). This ideology is contested by leftist stakeholders such as parents and politicians who disagree with what they call ‘imperialism’. These political and ideological extremes are composed of values. While neoliberalism brings in individualism and competition (Harvey, 2005, 2007), leftist ideologies promote social equality and contend social wrong. On the other hand, language ideologies (chapter three) are divided into prestigious languages such as English which is associated with economic and individual success while marked languages such as *Mapuzungun*⁷⁸ remain limited to indigenous communities.

Other themes that have emerged from the data through repetition and metaphor are the following:

⁷⁸ Native language of the Mapuche people (Note by author).

- English for economic development
- Value of languages
- Instrumentalisation of English
- Commodification of English
- Globalisation and language spread
- Language planning and language teaching
- Economic and professional perspective of English

These themes are interwoven with the ideologies I introduced above. English for economic development is part of the neoliberal economy. This neoliberal economy is influenced by a neoliberal ideology which epistemologically contradicts the discourse of social equality which is also included in the data. Both perspectives foster certain sets of values in general, i.e. individualism as opposed to equality. These sets of values can be extended to the value of languages. The way English is represented in the data may reveal traces that connect the foreign language with a certain ideology and how this connection is carried out.

These themes have emerged consistently in the data and, hence, based on my ontological (see chapter one) and epistemological stance (chapter three), they have attracted my attention due to my former pedagogical occupation and current political interests. I start the analysis by focusing on themes within the ideologies named above (Diagram 4.1). They are the instrumentalisation of English and its commodification. These themes have also appeared consistently in the data analysis. The type of organisation I propose to carry out in the discussion will allow the analysis of the data from the detail, i.e. instrumentalisation of English, and I will elaborate on the commodification of the language in chapter five. Then I will expand on the neoliberal ideology embedded in the data in chapter six. This structure will lead the way to conclude the analysis discussing the political nature of the English language policy texts. Finally, carrying out the discussion of the data I propose will meet the objectives of the research and answer the research questions (chapter one) posed by this thesis.

4.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have aimed at giving an overview and justification of the methodology, its theoretical framework and analytical tools that, as I have argued, are the most relevant for answering the research questions of this research.

The chapter began by providing a brief literature review of what CDA is. CDA scholars such as Wodak, Fairclough and van Dijk, among others, seek to make explicit issues of power abuse by means of discourse in social contexts in order to contest the *status quo* through discourse. In this line, the analysis of the discourse reveals the meaning of not only explicit discourse, but also the implicit meanings through micro, i.e. linguistic, and macro, i.e. contextual, analysis of the texts. The micro analysis of linguistic structures and its connection with the macro structure of social institutions reveal issues of power and hegemonic ideologies that are at the core of societies. I have realised that by using CDA and its analytical tools in my own investigation, I will be able to expose the hidden agendas of those who launched, wrote and implemented the English language policy in Chile.

In the final part of this chapter, I briefly introduce my data and its characteristics. I explained the timeline through which the English language policy was implemented in the country. Then, I named the themes which surfaced after data analysis. These themes show which ideologies are dominant in the discourse of the language policy. These dominant ideologies have motivated the two analysis chapters that I discuss next. Having constructed my theoretical framework in chapter two, chapter three and chapter four and after having discussed the methodology of this research in this chapter, I now turn to the discussion of the results.

CHAPTER FIVE: INSTRUMENTALISATION AND COMMODIFICATION OF ENGLISH

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I begin to interrogate the discursive construction of the texts that form the data of this research. I analyse the data in order to understand how English is instrumentalised and then commodified by the Centre-Left Coalition language policy makers. A critical analysis of the ways in which English is reified in the Chilean context is significant since it will lead the way to explore the ideologies embedded in the language policy discourses that benefit from the objectification of the language.

I draw on Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999), van Leeuwen (1996, 2007), Reisigl and Wodak (2001, 2009), van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2004), and Walton (2006) to explore the discursive construction of texts created by the policy makers. I wish to understand what strategies are employed to represent agents included in the policy; what linguistic resources are used by the Centre-Left Coalition policy makers to legitimate language instrumentalisation and commodification in the policy and school syllabi; and which arguments put forward in the language policy documents intend to justify language instrumentalisation and commodification.

I divide this chapter into three parts. The first part describes and briefly discusses fields of action, genres and contents that constitute the policy documents. The section aims at introducing the reader to the data analysis. The second part interprets and explains the instrumentalisation and commodification of English and the discursive strategies employed to do so. Extracts taken from the data will aid the process. The last part will summarise this chapter by bringing together issues discussed here.

5.2 Data analysis

As I discussed thoroughly in chapter four, I draw on Shohamy (2006) to divide the data into two classifications. They fall into language policy decrees and language education policy documents. The main language policy document is Chile *Decreto N° 081* (2004). Chile *Acuerdo N° 028* (2009), Chile *Decreto N° 256* (2009), and Chile *Decreto N° 254* (2009) are the legal language policy documents that facilitate and regulate the implementation of the language policy in the Chilean educational system. The *Acuerdo* authorises the modification of the national curriculum for the teaching of English in primary and secondary schools in Chile. These language policy decrees trigger the modification of the school syllabi which is meant to meet the requirements established in Chile *Decreto N° 081* (2004).

Even though I have analysed every single document that composes the data, i.e. its macro-level, I have limited myself to analyse selected sections, i.e. micro-level. Regarding the micro-level of analysis, I have chosen passages that deal with anything that might refer to language policy implementation, its justification and the ideologies behind it. This information is usually included in the introduction of language education policy documents and in the whole language policy decrees. I have focused my analysis on the reasons given by the language policy makers regarding the need for English in the Chilean Context. Conversely, I have not observed discourses that list and describe teaching methodologies and materials, language contents per school year, language skills to develop and how it will be carried out. These texts may be regarded as the pedagogical discourses that belong to the educational field. I reiterate: My research seeks to understand and uncover ideological debates embedded in the language policy texts. I do not intend to elaborate on the teaching and learning processes, or outcomes that these documents may refer to.

The data introduced above is composed of ‘top-down’ language policy decrees and language education policy documents which are contested by members of society as the main ‘bottom-up’ stake-holders. Based on the data analysis, these stakeholders come from a wide spectrum of society. They are teachers, politicians, learners, experts, policy makers and international volunteers. While some of them are positioned as bottom-up recipients of the top-down policy, some others are in a position of power. Thus, there may be conflicts among stakeholders within the policy documents themselves. These debates have to do not only with language ideologies, but also with political and economic ideologies.

The process of analysing the data introduced at the beginning of this section has uncovered many interesting themes worth elaborating on thoroughly (chapter four). However, I have

restricted myself, for the sake of meeting the goals of this thesis and its research questions to discuss a few selected themes. In the next section, I begin to explain why I select certain themes over others and to describe how I code them.

Diagram 4.1 (chapter four) shows the themes that I have found in the data of this investigation. The dominant ideologies are neoliberalism and English as a prestigious language. There is opposition between these themes. On the one hand, we have the neoliberal ideology introduced in the Chilean context through the 1975 Military Regime reforms (chapter two) which emphasises the values of competition and individualism (Harvey, 2005, 2007). On the other hand, we observe leftist ideologies in the values of equality and common good. These complex political and ideological extremes are influenced, as well as promoted by, values observed in the language policy. Evidence of this debate is shown in Extracts 5.1 and 5.2 below:

Extract 5.1

*Becas destinadas a la estadía de un semestre en el extranjero de alumnos destacados de las carreras de pedagogía en inglés de las universidades que hayan obtenido la acreditación institucional otorgada por la Comisión Nacional de Acreditación de Pregrado*⁷⁹ (Chile Decreto N° 081, 2004⁸⁰).

Extract 5.2

*La necesidad de encuadrarse en los propósitos de las políticas educacionales de Estado que impulsa el Gobierno de Chile, en orden a mejorar la calidad de la educación, asegurar su equidad y comprometer en ello la participación de la comunidad*⁸¹ (Chile Decreto N° 254, 2009⁸²).

Extract 5.1 and Extract 5.2, above, are both categorised in the corpus as language policy documents (4.5.2). They are evidence of the ideological tensions embedded in the language policy texts. While Extract 5.1 promotes the value of competition among peers, Extract 5.2 calls for equity and collaboration. Recognising and categorising values that emerge in the data is carried out by exploring the lexicon of the corpus. This linguistic observation is one of the four levels of analysis of DHA (see section 4.4.2). However, conflicting values are not the only tensions exposed by the data analysis. I have also observed tensions brought

⁷⁹ Scholarships for a semester abroad to outstanding students of English teaching programmes at universities accredited by the Undergraduate National Commission of Accreditation (Translation by author).

⁸⁰Regulations for strengthening English language learning program in the primary and secondary education of educational institutions ruled by the Decree with Force of Law No. 2 of 1998 of the Ministry of Education and by the Decree Law No. 3,166 of 1980 (Note by author).

⁸¹ The need to fit into the educational purposes of state policies promoted by the Government of Chile, in order to improve the quality of education, ensure equity and thereby engage in community involvement (Translation by author).

⁸² It modifies the Supreme Decree No. 220 of 1998 of the Ministry of Education establishing the fundamental objectives and mandatory minimum contents of secondary education and establishes the general rules for their application (Note by author).

about by the introduction of the policy in the Chilean linguistic environment (chapter two). Language ideologies may refer to the appreciation of one language over another. In the Chilean context, English is the prestigious language which is associated with economic and individual success. This is emphasised by the President of the Republic's statement regarding the promotion of English in Chile:

[e]s evidente que las perspectivas de desarrollo de nuestro país dependen, en buena medida, de que podamos contar con una población bilingüe [...] [c]on esta campaña, lo que uno puede decir con mucha claridad es win-win project, o en buen chileno: todos ganamos con esta idea. Gana la empresa, que va a contar con personal capacitado y con habilidades idiomáticas. Ganan las personas, que podrán acceder a mejores empleos, con mejores remuneraciones⁸³. (Bachelet, 2009a).

This quotation shows the presence of a prestigious language and the need of a bilingual citizenry. Bilingual, according to Michelle Bachelet, refers to Spanish and the prestigious language. However, some Chileans are already bilinguals, but their bilingualism may include native languages. Those languages seem to be regarded as marked by certain sectors of society. Instead of being promoted throughout the country, marked languages such as *Mapuzungun*⁸⁴ remain limited to indigenous communities. The state of the native languages in Chile and the tensions caused by the introduction of English in this linguistic landscape are beyond the scope of this thesis. Thus, I will only refer to them if the point is relevant to the discussion.

Other themes that have emerged from the data through repetition and metaphor and that are intertwined with the themes I introduced before are the following:

- English for economic development
- Knowledge-based economy
- Value of languages
- Instrumentalisation of English
- Commodification of English

English for economic development is part of the neoliberal economy (Ricento, 2012a, 2012b). This neoliberal economy is influenced by a neoliberal ideology (Harvey, 2005) which epistemologically contradicts the discourse of social equality that is also included in the data (See Extracts 5.1 and 5.2). Both perspectives foster certain sets of values in

⁸³ It is clear that the perspectives of development of our country depend greatly on having a bilingual population (...) what we can say about this plan is that it is a win-win project, or as we say in Chile, we all win with this idea. Companies win as they would have trained personnel and with linguistic skills. People win as they will have access to better jobs and better salaries (Translation by author).

⁸⁴ Native language of the *Mapuche* people (Translation by author).

general, i.e. individualism as opposed to equality. These sets of values can be extended to language ideologies and the value of languages. The way in which English is represented in the data may reveal traces that connect the foreign language with a certain ideology and CDA can explain how this connection is carried out.

Both, ideologies and themes have emerged consistently in the data and, hence, based on my ontological (chapter one) and epistemological stance (chapter three and chapter four), they have attracted my attention due to my former pedagogical occupation and current interest in politics. I start the analysis by focusing on themes within the ideologies named above (Diagram 4.1). Those themes are the instrumentalisation of English and its commodification. These themes have also appeared consistently in the data analysis. The type of organisation I propose to carry out the discussion begins with expanding on the space in which texts, i.e. data exist, the features texts exhibit, and how they become available to social actors; discussing the instrumentalisation of English; elaborating on the commodification of the language; and expanding on the neoliberal ideology embedded in the data. This structure will lead the way to conclude the analysis discussing the nature of the English language policy texts.

5.2.1 Fields, genres, voices and contents

The data of this research contains elements that linguistically construct and foster ideological debates within the foreign language policy decrees and language education policies. I attempt to expose those elements and demystify the discursive strategies that contribute to those debates. In order to do so, I will rely on the analytical tools provided by DHA (chapter four). I have employed this multi-methodological approach to analyse language policy data and to integrate the analysis of different genres; different methods; and different dimensions of the object under investigation. The way I will go about this analysis starts with the interdiscursive and intertextual features of the English language policy data such as fields of action and genres. Here, I will illustrate how policy texts and discourses are linked to other texts and to other discourses, how fields of action such as political discourse, spread to other fields of action such as educational discourse and how genres resemble other genres (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009).

The English language policy is an arena in which ideologies and discourse strategies take place. In this arena, we observe struggles among competing discourses such as educational and economic ones. Although, these discourses are interwoven in the language policy, they can still be traced and individualised. This merging of discourses is referred to as

intertextuality and interdiscursivity (chapter four). According to Wodak (2008:3), ‘[i]nterdiscursivity [...] indicates that discourses are linked to each other in various ways’, while the goal of the implementation of a foreign language is intercultural communication, it may be argued that the Chilean foreign language policy aims at instrumentalising and commodifying the language and transforming it into a tool and a product to advance economically and professionally. Extract 5.3, below, illustrates this argument:

Extract 5.3

*el propósito del subsector de idioma extranjero en la Educación Media es entregar a los estudiantes una herramienta que les permita acceder a información, conocimiento y tecnologías, así como apreciar otros estilos de vida, tradiciones y maneras de pensar. Tiene por tanto propósitos de formación y enriquecimiento personal, así como instrumentales para fines laborales, académicos o profesionales*⁸⁵. (Curriculum Educación Media, 2005a⁸⁶)

Extract 5.3 is taken from Curriculum Educación Media, 2005a document which has been classified as language education policy in the corpus of this research (4.5.2). A DHA linguistic level of analysis (4.4.2) uncovers that Extract 5.3 contains discourses that belong to the field of education as well as the business one. These discourses merge in the extract. Still, they show the link between education and employment through lexicon. The lexicon that has been employed for that are terms such as, *académicos*⁸⁷, *estudiantes*⁸⁸, *laborales*⁸⁹ and *empresa*⁹⁰. While *académicos* and *estudiantes* belong to the field of education, *laborales* and *empresa* correspond to the field of business. This type of lexicon has been used to persuade learners of the instrumental value of the foreign language.

Regarding the fields of action, defined ‘as segments of the respective societal “reality”, which contribute to constituting and shaping the “frame” of discourse’ (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001:36), and Genre, which is defined as:

the conventionalised, more or less schematically fixed use of language associated with a particular activity, as a socially ratified way of using language in connection with a particular type of social activity (Fairclough, 1995:14).

⁸⁵ The purpose of the subdivision foreign language in secondary education is to provide students with a tool that allows them access to information, knowledge and technologies, as well as appreciate other lifestyles, traditions and ways of thinking. It therefore has training purposes and personal enrichment as well as instrumental purposes for academic or professional goals (Translation by author).

⁸⁶ Secondary education Curriculum. It establishes Fundamental Objectives and Mandatory Minimum Contents of education for the teaching of English as a foreign language in General education (Note by author).

⁸⁷ Academic (Translation by author).

⁸⁸ Students (Translation by author).

⁸⁹ Employment (Translation by author).

⁹⁰ Industry (Translation by author).

We can find the following information in the instrumentalisation of English in the Chilean context: the instrumentalisation of English is present transversally across the data of this research. This means that I have found evidence of instrumentalisation of the foreign language not only in the language policy documents, but also in the language education policy ones. Conversely, the commodification of English is present mainly in the main language policy decree, i.e. Chile *Decreto* 081/2004, whereas all data exhibits implicitly and explicitly ideological features. The data that composes this research is in a written form. Their field of action is law-making political procedure and within this field of action, we can find many genres that overlap and link to each other.

The question is which genres take place in a language policy. According to Wodak (2003), politicians rarely talk about language policy overtly, what we find instead are written policy documents such as laws, constitutions, declarations, etc. We usually have parliamentary debates in which policies are introduced in a declarative mode; in political speeches, politicians use persuasive or rhetoric discourse to convince the audience of the measures that have been taken; researchers eliciting data from language policy documents employ interviews, questionnaires, focus groups and tests (Wodak, 2006:172-173). In the case of the Chilean language policy, the data I have gathered is composed of laws, Bills and guidelines. They are called *Decretos*⁹¹, *Acuerdos*⁹² and *Curriculums de Educación*⁹³. They are under the umbrella of the field of action of law-making political procedure and as they are genres, they link and overlap.

Genres refer to texts associated with particular types of texts. For instance, the Chilean national curricula or school syllabi for the teaching of English. This document is classified under the 'guidelines' genre and it is composed of year, goals, outcomes of learning procedures, the four skills, i.e. reading writing, listening, and speaking, and pedagogical activities. The syllabi are non-compulsory in nature, but they are significant for the teaching of English in State schools as private institutions usually have their own syllabi for foreign language instruction. Thus, these guidelines may be regarded more as a request from the Ministry of Education than as an imposition to follow its instructions. Also, 'guidelines' such as the school syllabi usually possess deontic powers (Searle, 2003) since the policy makers receive their power from society and in order to justify the

⁹¹ Decrees (Translation by author).

⁹² Agreement (Translation by author).

⁹³ School sillabi (Translation by author).

implementation of English, the policy makers argue that competence in English is a skill to succeed professionally and academically.

The modality employed in the language education policy documents to sign mood that is linguistically realised by the verbs can be summarised as follows: the three language policy laws documents that compose the data usually employ indicative mood that is realised by declarative and imperative sentences. The use of modal verbs is limited to *deber*⁹⁴ and *poder*⁹⁵. This last authoritative mood is supported by the following lexicon: *imponer*⁹⁶, *exigir*⁹⁷, *demandar*⁹⁸ and *requerir*⁹⁹. I may also state the use of passive voice that hides the authority in charge of the demands expressed in the syllabi.

The national curricula are provided by the Chilean Ministry of Education. They also provide the textbooks that are created by the same Board and they are aligned with the language policy. The educational authorities who belong to the Ministry of Education and who are in charge of policy implementation in the state schools through the syllabi are the actual agents. This means that the language education policy documents do not have abstract or hidden agents. They may not appear within the syllabi, but they are represented by a signature or by the publishing details. Finally, the national curricula for the teaching of English is hegemonic and top-down. The purpose is to standardise educational practices and foreign language performance among Chilean learners.

Genres in the language policy decrees are stated mainly in the imperative mode. Use of legal jargon is observed. There is also employment of persuasive rhetoric to convince readers, i.e. stakeholders, about the significance of the policy. The goal of the rhetoric discourse is to justify the linguistic measures. As there is use of persuasive rhetoric, the language policy decrees include strategies of argumentation which are typical of political discourse.

The English policy decrees are top-down, even though the language policy is non-compulsory. Its use is recommended in State schools whereas private institutions have their own foreign language syllabi. Language policy decrees also possess deontic powers

⁹⁴ Must (Translation by author).

⁹⁵ Can (Translation by author).

⁹⁶ Impose (Translation by author).

⁹⁷ Demand (Translation by author).

⁹⁸ Demands (Translation by author).

⁹⁹ Require (Translation by author).

and have included a section which justifies the implementation of the language in the Chilean educational system.

Modality in the language policy *Decretos* and *Acuerdos* is realised by the indicative mood. These documents are written in declarative and imperative sentences. There has been use of passive voice and nominalisation to hide the stakeholders who order or command the policy implementation. The lexicon that accompanies the legal jargon are words such as *reglamenta*¹⁰⁰, *regula*¹⁰¹, *rige*¹⁰², *responsabilidad ineludible*¹⁰³, *exige*¹⁰⁴, *designados*¹⁰⁵, *expertos*¹⁰⁶, *requerimientos*¹⁰⁷, *condiciones*¹⁰⁸. Finally, only one document has used a modal auxiliary, i.e. *poder*¹⁰⁹. That document is Chile Decreto N° 081/2004.

These policies have been created by a Board of Centre-Left Coalition educational authorities and their implementation was not discussed in National Congress of Chile. Neither the Senate nor the Chamber of Deputies heard nor debated these *Decretos*¹¹⁰ and *Acuerdos*¹¹¹. Thus, the language policy implementation can be regarded as a top-down language policy which has not been debated either by members of the Congress or by grassroots actors. The agents in charge of the creation are overtly named in the policy decrees. They are not abstract or hidden agents. Finally, these policy decrees are hegemonic and top-down. Their goal is to regulate the teaching of English in Chile. Figure 5.1 shows the organisation of fields and their corresponding genres.

¹⁰⁰ Regulate (Translation by author).

¹⁰¹ Regulate (Translation by author).

¹⁰² Rule (Translation by author).

¹⁰³ Inescapable *responsibility* (Translation by author).

¹⁰⁴ Demand (Translation by author).

¹⁰⁵ Appointed (Translation by author).

¹⁰⁶ Experts (Translation by author).

¹⁰⁷ Requirement (Translation by author).

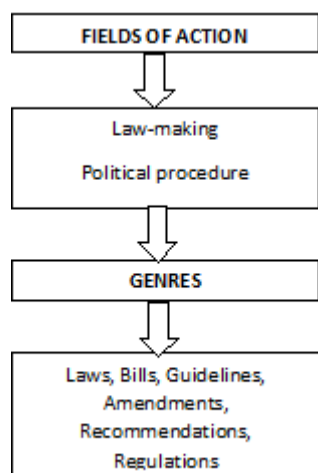
¹⁰⁸ Requirement (Translation by author).

¹⁰⁹ Can, be able to (Translation by author).

¹¹⁰ Decrees (Translation by author).

¹¹¹ Agreements (Translation by author).

Figure 5.1 Fields of action and genres (after Reisigl and Wodak, 2009).



In addition, language policy decrees and language education policies show a phenomenon of interdiscursivity and intertextuality. This is expressed in the multiple voices that make up a language policy. This phenomenon is what Johnson (2011:277) calls the ‘cut and paste’ process. What Johnson (*ibid*) means is that policy makers cut and paste parts of other policies and create a new one. Thus, language policies are composed of previous policies, so they relate to other texts and to past historical and contextual times, and to many voices, i.e. past and current policy makers’ voices (chapter three). See Figure 5.2 below. There you can observe how fields, texts and genres interact.

Figure 5.2 Relationships between texts, fields and genres (after Unger, 2013).

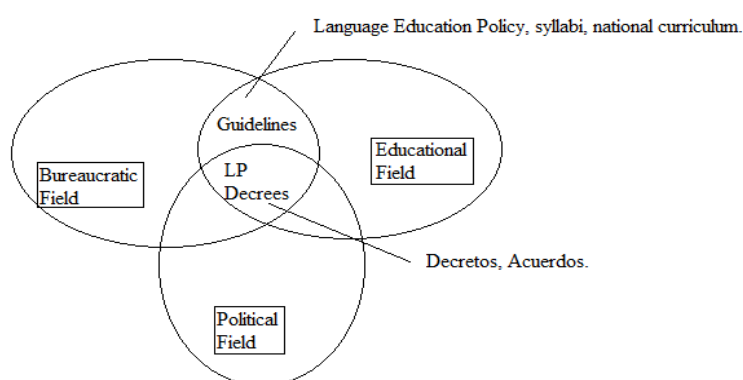


Figure 5.2 shows that the data is composed of political, bureaucratic and educational fields that interact with each other. Within those fields, we find guidelines and language policy

decrees as genres. The interaction of those fields have produced *Decretos*¹¹², *Acuerdos*¹¹³ and national curricula in the Chilean context by language policy makers. Social actors have access to those texts depending on the field they belong to. They read them and interpret them, contest them or support them. Finally, the contents of each language policy decree and language education policy is covered in chapter four (4.5.2).

5.3 Instrumentalisation and commodification of English

5.3.1 Instrumentalisation of English

Current global forces such as the economy have the capacity to reorganise the hierarchy of languages in the societies it impacts (Ricento, 2012a). Based on this assumption, I look at the Chilean multilingual context and I examine the English language policy and language education policy documents implemented in Chile. In them, I observe that English has been instrumentalised. In Extract 5.3, above, English is regarded as an instrument which aids access to knowledge, information and technology. This quotation, therefore, motivates the analysis.

The questions that remain to be asked are: why has English been instrumentalised in the Chilean context? And what are the reasons that trigger this instrumentalisation? Scholars in the field of English language learning such as Phillipson (1992), Pennycook (2004) and May (2001) argue that English is regarded as a world language. As such, it provides access to economic success and, therefore, social mobility. This argument is also replicated by Extract 5.3 given above. In it, English is seen as a tool to achieve academic and professional goals.

Besides, the data provides more reasons that support the instrumentalisation of English. According to the policy documents, the main reasons to instrumentalise English are *acceder a información*¹¹⁴, *conocimiento y tecnologías*¹¹⁵; *resolver situaciones comunicativas de variada índole*¹¹⁶; *y para fines laborales*¹¹⁷, *académicos*¹¹⁸, *profesionales y otros propios del mundo juvenil*¹¹⁹. Use of lexicon, which is one of the layers of analysis

¹¹² Decrees (Translation by author).

¹¹³ Agreements (Translation by author).

¹¹⁴ Information access (Translation by author).

¹¹⁵ Knowledge and technologies (Translation by author).

¹¹⁶ Solve various kinds of communicative situations (Translation by author).

¹¹⁷ For employment purposes (Translation by author).

¹¹⁸ Academic (Translation by author).

¹¹⁹ Professional and others relevant to the youth (Translation by author).

of the DHA discipline, has uncovered the instrumental goals embedded in the corpus. See Extract 5.4, Extract 5.5, Extract 5.6, and Extract 5.7 below:

Extract 5.4

*El propósito principal del currículum de inglés es entregar a los y las estudiantes las habilidades necesarias para utilizar el idioma como una herramienta que les permita acceder a la información, así como resolver situaciones comunicativas simples de variada índole, en forma oral y escrita*¹²⁰. (Chile Decreto N° 254, 2009¹²¹)

Extract 5.5

El propósito principal del currículum de inglés es entregar a los y las estudiantes las habilidades necesarias para utilizar el idioma como una herramienta que les permita acceder a la información, así como resolver situaciones comunicativas simples de variada índole, en forma oral y escrita. (Propuesta Ajuste Curricular, 2009¹²²)

Extract 5.6

El propósito principal del currículum de inglés es entregar a los y las estudiantes las habilidades necesarias para utilizar el idioma como una herramienta que les permita acceder a la información, así como resolver situaciones comunicativas simples de variada índole, en forma oral y escrita. (Chile Decreto N° 256, 2009¹²³)

Extract 5.7

*El aprendizaje del inglés como lengua extranjera tiene, por tanto, propósitos de formación y crecimiento personal, así como propósitos de orden instrumental para fines académicos, laborales y otros propios del mundo juvenil*¹²⁴. (Chile Decreto N° 256, 2009)

While Extract 5.6 and Extract 5.7 are decrees which belong to the language policy categorisation of the data (4.5.2), Extract 5.4 and Extract 5.5 are classified as language education policy documents. By analysing these extracts, we observe that there are two phenomena taking place. Firstly, the ‘cut and paste’ process uncovered by Johnson (2011). Extract 5.4, Extract 5.5 and Extract 5.6 above are evidence of these phenomena. Discourses are taken from one policy document into another in a process of decontextualization and recontextualization. The voices of the creators merge with other

¹²⁰ The main purpose of the English curriculum is to give the students necessary skills to use the language as a tool that allows them access to information and solve simple communicative situations of various kinds, orally and in writing (Translation by author).

¹²¹ Secondary education Curriculum. It establishes Fundamental Objectives and Mandatory Minimum Contents of education for the teaching of English as a foreign language in General education (Note by author).

¹²² Proposal for Curricular Adjustment. Fundamental Objectives and Minimum Obligatory Contents for the teaching of English as a Foreign Language (Note by author).

¹²³ This Decree modifies Supreme Decree No. 40 of 1996 of the Ministry of Education. It establishes the fundamental objectives and minimum mandatory contents of primary education and establishes general rules for their application (Note by author).

¹²⁴ Learning English as a foreign language has, therefore, training purposes and personal growth, as well as instrumental purposes for academic, employment and youth interests (Translation by author).

voices. The original discourse is, thus, hard to trace. Finally, the metaphor of English as a tool. Extract 5.4 Extract 5.5 and Extract 5.6 above state that English is like a tool, *el idioma como una herramienta*¹²⁵. This is a discursive strategy of persuasion in rhetorics. It is called a simile. This is a ‘figure of speech which is similar to metaphor [...] it establishes an association by saying that something is like something else’ (Engøy Henriksen, 2011:50). The verbs that accompany the simile in the examples above are: *entregar*¹²⁶ and *utilizar*¹²⁷. They both are used in indicative mood and declarative statements. They are both material process verbs (Halliday, 1994), i.e. process of doing. These types of verbs realise the process of one entity (Actor) doing something (direct object) to another entity (Goal, indirect object) linguistically. The way to assess this process is asking the following questions; ‘What did [the syllabus] do? What did the [the syllabus] do to the [students]?’ (Halliday, 1994:110). The representation of the actors and actions is done in active voice. The metaphor of English as a tool, then, is a persuasive strategy written as a statement which may influence those who are in touch with the language policy decrees and language education policy documents.

Analysis of the simile carried out above raises more questions. Those questions range from who is behind the instrumentalisation of English in the language policy documents? which actors are involved in the instrumentalisation of the foreign language? How are they involved? The Extracts above show that no agent or active actor in subject position carries out the action of instrumentalising English; there is no active agent or ‘doer’ of the instrumentalisation of the foreign language. If there is any, it may be embedded in the discourse. However, these actors can be traced by observing the policy documents. The relevant analytical tool to observe the participants of the data and the roles they play is the representation of social actors (4.4.4.2). A closer look at the data reveals that we have nominalised actors who have undergone the process of nomination which means that names and surnames have been provided. In the case of the language policy decrees, they have been signed by the President of the Republic, Michelle Bachelet, and the Minister of Education, Mónica Jimenez. The language education policy documents in the form of national curricula carry the logo of the Ministry of Education instead. The main stakeholders of the English language policy, i.e. learners, teachers and experts, are generalised in the policy texts and undergo functionalisation which means they are

¹²⁵ Language as a tool (Translation by author).

¹²⁶ Give (Translation by author).

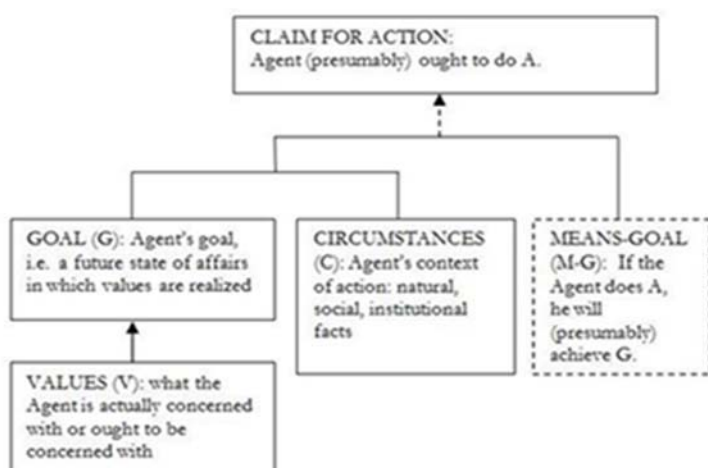
¹²⁷ Employ (Translation by author).

represented according to what they do, as opposed to the nomination of the authorities. Teachers and learners are placed in the object position of the sentence. They are usually the recipients of the policy and of the instrumentalised language instead of the active actors in the learning process. The fact that the English language policy documents are contained in laws and guidelines; that experts are hired to supervise training and that the language is a tool that helps achieve given goals are all discursive strategies to legitimise not only the policy, but also the instrumentalisation of English in the Chilean educational system.

With the analysis of the data I have discussed so far regarding the reasons stated by the policy makers to instrumentalise English in the language policy, the actors involved in the policy implementation and the metaphor used for the instrumentalisation, I now engage with the quality of the reasons given by the policy makers to justify the instrumentalisation of English. I would like to know whether those reasons are reliable and valid.

In order to assess the quality of the reasons given by policy makers to instrumentalise English, I will reconstruct the arguments employed by the policy makers for that purpose. The methodology I have designed to carry out such analysis is under the umbrella of DHA. It is called argumentation theory (4.4.4.3) and the analytical tool it employs is called pragma-dialectics approach (4.4.4.3.1). In order to clarify the explanation of the analysis, I will use Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) argumentation scheme in Figure 5.3 below:

Figure 5.3: Fairclough and Fairclough’s (2012:45) Argumentation Scheme.



According to this scheme (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012:245-248), agents face a crisis which is the claim of action. The claim would be the lack of skills required from the students to face the challenges posed by the current global world. The Extract 5.8 and

Extract 5.9, below, which are classified as language policy documents in the corpus (4.5.2), illustrate this claim:

Extract 5.8

*la educación del siglo XXI tiene la responsabilidad ineludible de incluir en su currículum y estrategias formativas el desarrollo de nuevas competencias que hoy son claves para mejorar la vida cultural, social y laboral de los jóvenes como es el aprendizaje de un idioma extranjero*¹²⁸ (Chile Decreto N° 081, 2004¹²⁹).

Extract 5.9

*la creciente inserción de Chile en la economía mundial, materializada por los acuerdos comerciales recientemente logrados con Estados Unidos, la Unión Europea y Corea exige un esfuerzo significativamente mayor como país para responder con éxito a las nuevas oportunidades de desarrollo social y económico*¹³⁰ (Chile Decreto N° 081, 2004¹³¹).

The current state of affairs is the circumstance premise. This premise represents the context in which the policy rests. According to the extracts, the context is an increasingly globalised and interconnected one (Extract 5.9). The goal premise refers to the reasons agents may have that motivate the action. They may be obligations or duties agents feel obliged to comply with. The goal premise is informed by the value premise which in Extract 5.3¹³² is personal enrichment, cultural diversity and national identity. The goal premise is connected with the value premise since problems are created from values that agents have (Extract 5.2¹³³). Once a goal is achieved, it turns into the current state of affairs. Then, new circumstances may be the cause of novel goals to pursue.

¹²⁸ Education in the twenty-first century has an inescapable responsibility to include in its curriculum and development training strategies new skills that are key to improving the cultural, social and working life of young people as it is the learning of a foreign language today (Translation by author).

¹²⁹ Regulations for strengthening English language learning program in the primary and secondary education of educational institutions ruled by the Decree with Force of Law No. 2 of 1998 of the Ministry of Education and by the Decree Law No. 3,166 of 1980 (Note by author).

¹³⁰ The increasing integration of Chile into the global economy, embodied by trade agreements recently reached with the United States, the European Union and Korea requires significantly more effort as a country to successfully respond to new opportunities for social and economic development (Translation by author).

¹³¹ ¹³¹ Regulations for strengthening English language learning program in the primary and secondary education of educational institutions ruled by the Decree with Force of Law No. 2 of 1998 of the Ministry of Education and by the Decree Law No. 3,166 of 1980 (Note by author).

¹³² Extract 5.3: The purpose of the subdivision foreign language in secondary education is to provide students with a tool that allows them access to information, knowledge and technologies, as well as appreciate other lifestyles, traditions and ways of thinking. It therefore has training purposes and personal enrichment as well as instrumental purposes for academic or professional goals (Curriculum Educación Media, 2005a), (Note by author).

¹³³ Extract 5.2: The need to fit into the educational purposes of state policies promoted by the Government of Chile, in order to improve the quality of education, ensure equity and thereby engage in community involvement (Chile Decreto 254,2009) (Note by author).

This argument reconstruction (4.4.4.3; 4.4.4.3.1) employing the data introduced above reveals two interesting things. Firstly, a fallacy has taken place. Fallacies are the tools employed by pragma-dialects to assess arguments (4.4.4.3.1). After data analysis, the fallacy that supports the instrumentalisation of English in the language policy is *post hoc ergo propter hoc*, i.e. ‘after this therefore because of this’ (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001:72-73; van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 1992:212-215). This fallacy implies a causal consequential relationship. According to this, the instrumentalisation of English will result in academic and career success, i.e. ‘A before B, therefore B because of A’ (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001:73). The fallacy lies in taking into account only the reasons in the form of premises to draw a conclusion and ignoring other factors that may influence the final outcome. Those factors may be habitus and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991). Thus, the fallacy violates rule for Critical Discussion No.7 (4.4.4.3.1) which is a tool from the pragma-dialectic approach to question the argument reconstruction and to expose the fallacies. This rule is summarised by stating that a viewpoint is valid only if it is supported by a debate based on a proper argumentation scheme (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001:71).

Lastly, once the arguments involved in the instrumentalisation of English are reconstructed, they have uncovered a very interesting notion extensively discussed by Fairclough (2000, 2001, 2004) and by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), acknowledged by the CDA scholars (Wodak and Meyer, 2009) and is a recurrent theme in the data of this research. This concept is the KBE (chapter three). The KBE is presented in Extract 5.3 as ‘*una herramienta que les permita acceder a información, conocimiento y tecnologías*¹³⁴’ below:

Extract 5.3

*el propósito del subsector de idioma extranjero en la Educación Media es entregar a los estudiantes una herramienta que les permita acceder a información, conocimiento y tecnologías, así como apreciar otros estilos de vida, tradiciones y maneras de pensar. Tiene por tanto propósitos de formación y enriquecimiento personal, así como instrumentales para fines laborales, académicos o profesionales*¹³⁵ (Curriculum Educación Media, 2005a¹³⁶)

¹³⁴ A tool that allows them to access information, knowledge and technology (Translation by the author).

¹³⁵ Extract 5.3: The purpose of the subdivision foreign language in secondary education is to provide students with a tool that allows them access to information, knowledge and technologies, as well as appreciate other lifestyles, traditions and ways of thinking. It therefore has training purposes and personal enrichment as well as instrumental purposes for academic or professional goals (Curriculum Educación Media, 2005a) (Note by the author).

¹³⁶ Curriculum Educación Media, 2005a is about the secondary education Curriculum. It establishes Fundamental Objectives and Mandatory Minimum Contents of education for the teaching of English as a foreign language in General education. (Note by the author).

The analytical tool that has allowed the recognition of the KBE discourse is the linguistic level of analysis of the DHA approach (4.4.2) and Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) argument reconstruction scheme. This argument reconstruction scheme is part of the argumentation theory approach (4.4.4.3). The KBE is an imaginary and depending on where it is located in the argument reconstruction, the imaginary may have performative powers (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012). In Extract 5.3, the imaginary is in the circumstance position that means that information and technology are a current need, not a goal to be achieved in the future. A similar phenomenon occurs in Extract 5.1 below:

Extract 5.1

*Becas destinadas a la estadía de un semestre en el extranjero de alumnos destacados de las carreras de pedagogía en inglés de las universidades que hayan obtenido la acreditación institucional otorgada por la Comisión Nacional de Acreditación de Pregrado*¹³⁷ (Chile Decreto N° 081, 2004¹³⁸).

The KBE is occupying a position within the argumentation scheme of the instrumentalisation of English that may raise a few questions. Those questions have to do with the purpose of the KBE, is it something happening now? Is it something we want for the future because it complies with our values? According to the argumentation scheme, these questions are represented in either the circumstance premise or the goal premise. Based on the argument reconstruction, the representation of the KBE is in the circumstance premise as current state of affairs. This means that information, knowledge and technology, which is what we would like to achieve through the use of English as a tool, is required now. This need is not something we are working on today to achieve in the future. This is what Fairclough (2001, 2004), Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), Bourdieu and Wacquant (2001) call an ‘imaginary’ (chapter two).

The KBE imaginary is one of the reasons why English has been instrumentalised in the English language policy launched in Chile. This imaginary has been placed in the circumstance position in the argument reconstruction. When this imaginary occupies this position, it contains performative powers (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012) as the circumstance represents the real context. The imaginary, which is the vision of reality, is turned into a fact. It has the power to institute reality by declaration and, hence, people believe it is a fact. Policy makers, who have been invested with deontic powers (chapter

¹³⁷ Scholarships for a semester abroad to outstanding students of English teaching programmes at universities accredited by the Undergraduate National Commission of Accreditation (Translation by author).

¹³⁸Regulations for strengthening English language learning program in the primary and secondary education of educational institutions ruled by the Decree with Force of Law No. 2 of 1998 of the Ministry of Education and by the Decree Law No. 3,166 of 1980 (Note by author).

two), may demand that Chilean students learn English now (Extract 5.9). At the same time, deontic powers give reasons for action to people, i.e. Chilean students feel they have to learn English to succeed. The performative power of the imaginary refers to the fact that the imaginary is collectively recognised as a fact (Fairclough, 1989; Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012). Thus, deontic powers influence human behaviour. Successful collective recognition of the deontic powers is measured by the capacity to persuade people, the quality of the arguments, and the support the imaginary may have. Success on the instrumentalisation of English may be measured by the introduction of change of educational syllabi in 2005 and in 2009 and by the national English evaluations of 2004 and 2010. Fairclough (1989) and Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) refer to this phenomenon as ‘the power behind the discourse’. According to them, success of the imaginary depends on the reception it may have from the community, i.e. persuasion or acceptance, as well as the intrinsic qualities of the discourse ‘[i]t depends on whether the vision is supported by groups of those who have the power to decide and impose it as a view of what the world is’ (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012:108). Thus, language policy makers who have deontic powers have successfully introduced the imaginary of the current KBE context. This imaginary has enjoyed the performative powers to achieve an annual English language evaluation since 2004 in Chile.

Issues of human agency may also apply here. While Fairclough (1989) and Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) state that the performative power behind the discourse may influence human behaviour due to the deontic powers (Searle, 2003) policy makers have, it seems that human agency has been ignored or underestimated by these notions. Chilean primary and secondary learners may in general be under the influence of the foreign language policy. Society has invested laws, regulations and guidelines such as the English language policy and language education policy documents with deontic powers. However, this regulation may still be contested by other members of the society. These voices have not been invited to participate neither in the policy creation nor implementation, but they have been echoed by the media and briefly acknowledged here.

Those members of the community who have an opinion about the EODP are referred to as the grassroots. They are composed of politicians, Chilean teachers of French, Chilean university students, researchers, and university lecturers. Sara Larrain (2004) is a politician and an environmentalist. She is the Leader of the Chilean Social Forum. She understands the move towards Spanish-English bilingualism as corporate led globalization. Larrain states:

[w]e are quite worried about this because it takes up an economic hegemony and translates it into a cultural hegemony, (...) Chile's insertion ought to be into the world at large, not into the U.S. empire. These are not Roman times, when Latin was the universal language.

Bitar (2011) also reports issues of controversy regarding the English language policy implementation. Bitar (*ibid*) states that some teachers of French were confused about the English policy and how it would affect them (6.2.5). Bitar explained at the time that all foreign languages would still be included in the educational system, but English teaching would be emphasised. Byrd (2013), who is a master student researching on the English language policy at the University of San Francisco, also argues that some of the university students she interviewed were not accepting the policy fully. They understood the importance of having an extra skill for employability, but they were aware they did not need it for their occupations.

Pedro Godoy (2004), who is a Member of Centro de Estudios Chilenos¹³⁹(6.2.3), is sceptical about the policy since it does not reach state schools, teachers are not qualified and the limited command of Chileans have of their own native Language. He concludes by providing examples of the negative scenario for the vast majority of Chilean learners regarding the command of the foreign language. Finally, Mary Jane Abrahams (2013), a Chilean Lecturer who works in Universidad Alberto Hurtado training future teachers of English, is also wary about the policy (6.2.3). According to her, the policy implemented by the government is a waste of money since the results are linked with social class in Chile. She supports her argument by recalling the results obtained in the national evaluations. She concludes by making a call to the government on being honest with the community about the results of the policy. Jaime Retamal (2010), who is a lecturer at Universidad de Santiago de Chile, criticises the results of the national evaluation. He argues that since there are not enough qualified teachers to teach in the country, those teachers who have the best certification work at private schools.

On the contrary, there are other voices coming from the grassroots who oppose this pessimistic view of the EODP. These voices come from lecturers, professionals and parents. Patricia Cabello (2005), Vice-Chancellor at Universidad de Las Americas, states that English is no longer an option, but a need. This is the skill that will help us achieve

¹³⁹ Centre of Chilean Studies. It is a centre that postulates a third way, neither 'Left' nor 'Right', to observe the Chilean context. Their main lines of research are economic development, social justice, sovereignty and the Chilean identity (Note by editor).

development. Also, Fabiola Coli (2004), a parent, acknowledges that the EODP has given the opportunity to state school children to learn English at an early stage. Matear (2008:139) also concerned about the effects that the EODP can have in society such as social segregation argues that this concern does not minimise the interest of learning English among professionals. They keep attending English learning promotional fairs in Santiago. Then, based on the argument reconstruction to understand the validity of the reasons to instrumentalise English, it seems those reasons are drawn from fallacies and imaginaries. However, human agency determines whether or not those reasons are reliable and able to motivate action among the entire Chilean community.

To conclude this section which has analysed data that supports instrumentalisation of English, I would like to refer to the value of the foreign instrumentalised language in the marketplace (Wee, 2008). The value is based on the assumption that the instrumentalised language adds to the already existing fluency in the mother tongues of the country. Thus, educating a Spanish-English bilingual citizenry only adds to the already existing Spanish-native language bilinguals the nation has. In this context, I argue that the value of English relies on the acquisition of an extra linguistic resource to the already bilingual/multilingual Chilean speakers. The value of English is what I will discuss next.

5.3.2 Commodification of English

Globalising forces have facilitated neoliberal economy. These forces, which are cultural diversity and exchange of large amounts of information and goods (Mufwene, 2010:31), travel through blurred limits between countries. On the one hand, it is due to the advances in technology and the arrival of the internet that there is no limit to capital movement. Companies can transfer capital across boundaries as people do when shopping online. On the other hand, transnationals are able to move their headquarters to developing countries whose characteristics are possession of natural resources, low taxation regimes and a skilled workforce. The link between the transnational companies and developing countries is English. The use of English has currently become the key linguistic skill that facilitates interactions around the world.

The value assigned to English in the current global society has not only instrumentalised the language and turned it into a tool to achieve economic opportunities, but also has commodified the foreign language, since due to its current characteristic, it has value; it is possible to profit from this linguistic skill. Heller (2003), echoing Duchêne (2009), has

stated that current global forces have transformed the ‘workforce’ into the ‘wordforce’ and has, for this reason, facilitated the circulation of workers all over the world.

However, the current characteristic of English is not a new phenomenon. According to Giddens (2002) and Heller (2010) we may be asking new questions about old phenomena. The current state of English as an instrument and as a commodity that facilitates multilingual encounters is not a characteristic of the current global world. Languages have been instrumentalised and commodified throughout history. An illustration of this phenomenon in Chile is the use of Spanish by *Rapa Nui*¹⁴⁰ speakers during the 1960s (Makiraha, 2005a:731, 2005b:11). The islanders used Spanish to communicate with the governmental authorities of the island for personal and community benefit. Then, I agree with Coupland (2003:446) argument. He states that ‘we need to address a range of factors linked to processes of globalisation to account for these local circumstances’. I regard the foreign language policy as an outcome of the globalisation forces that have had an impact on the Chilean scenario and, therefore, I attempt to explore how English has been commodified within the language policy documents and I hypothesise about the reasons for that.

Regarding the commodification of English in the policy texts that compose the data of this research, findings show that there are two main ways in which commodification of English takes place in the language policy laws and language education policy texts. They are the cultural and monetary value of English.

5.3.2.1 Cultural value of English

The value of language can be classified into two types. The first type refers to the cultural value of a language. This type of classification regards language as a reservoir of culture and tradition and as a representation of national identity. There is evidence of this type of classification in the data. In the following Extract 5.10, Extract 5.11, Extract 5.12, Extract 5.13, Extract 5.14 and Extract 5.15. The first two extracts are classified as language education policy documents in the corpus for analysis (4.5.2), the last four extracts are categorised as language policy. See the extracts below:

Extract 5.10

*El sub-sector idioma extranjero **valora**, asimismo, la importancia del aprendizaje de un segundo idioma como instancia de formación, proponiendo hacer de la sala de clases un ambiente propicio para recrear la vida en sociedad, estimulando el respeto en toda actividad participativa e incentivando a los alumnos y alumnas a*

¹⁴⁰ *Rapa Nui*'s community native language (note by author).

responsabilizarse de su propio proceso de aprendizaje. Es así que se fomentará el uso de enciclopedias, diccionarios, gramáticas, paquetes computacionales u otras fuentes de referencia que promuevan el aprendizaje autónomo y aquellas actividades que permitan el reciclaje y la actualización del conocimiento a través del idioma extranjero¹⁴¹ (Curriculum Educación Media, 2005a¹⁴²)

Extract 5.11

*Además de propósitos de orden instrumental, el aprendizaje de una lengua extranjera persigue fines de formación y crecimiento personal. Este fin se evidencia en los Objetivos Fundamentales que apuntan a descubrir y conocer la presencia de otras culturas y **valorar** la diversidad cultural, como así mismo, reconocer y **valorar** las bases de la identidad nacional en un mundo cada vez más globalizado e interdependiente¹⁴³. (Propuesta Ajuste curricular, 2009¹⁴⁴)*

Extract 5.12

*Es también un propósito importante promover progresivamente el desarrollo de habilidades cognitivas de orden superior y desarrollar la capacidad de **apreciar** otros estilos de vida, tradiciones y maneras de pensar. El aprendizaje del inglés como lengua extranjera tiene, por tanto, propósitos de formación y crecimiento personal, así como propósitos de orden instrumental para fines académicos, laborales y otros propios del mundo juvenil¹⁴⁵. (Chile Decreto N° 256, 2009¹⁴⁶)*

Extract 5.13

*Además de propósitos de orden instrumental, el aprendizaje de una lengua extranjera persigue fines de formación y crecimiento personal. Este fin se evidencia en los Objetivos Fundamentales que apuntan a descubrir y conocer la presencia de otras culturas y **valorar** la diversidad cultural, como así mismo,*

¹⁴¹ The subdivision of foreign language values, at the same time, the importance of learning a second language as an instance of training, proposing to turn the classroom into an environment that fosters the recreation of life in society, encouraging respect in-group activities and encouraging the learners to take responsibility for their own learning process. Thus, the use of encyclopaedias, dictionaries, grammars, software packages among other resources that promote independent learning and activities that allow recycling as well as updating knowledge through the foreign language will be encouraged (Translation by author).

¹⁴² Secondary education Curriculum. It establishes Fundamental Objectives and Mandatory Minimum Contents of education for the teaching of English as a foreign language in General education (Note by author).

¹⁴³ Besides instrumental purposes, learning a foreign language aims for training and personal growth. This purpose is evident in the Fundamental Objectives that aim to discover and learn about other cultures and the **value** of cultural diversity, as well as recognizing and **valuing** the foundations of national identity in a world increasingly globalized and interdependent (Translation by author).

¹⁴⁴ Proposal for Curricular Adjustment. Fundamental Objectives and Minimum Obligatory Contents for the teaching of English as a Foreign Language (Note by author).

¹⁴⁵ It is also an important purpose to promote gradually the development of higher level of cognitive skills and develop the ability to appreciate other lifestyles, traditions and ways of thinking. Learning English as a foreign language has, therefore, training aims and personal growth, as well as instrumental purposes for the academic, professional and youth interests (Translation by author).

¹⁴⁶ This Decree modifies Supreme Decree No. 40 of 1996 of the Ministry of Education. It establishes the fundamental objectives and minimum mandatory contents of primary education and establishes general rules for their application (Note by author).

*reconocer y valorar las bases de la identidad nacional en un mundo cada vez más globalizado e interdependiente*¹⁴⁷. (Chile Decreto N° 256, 2009¹⁴⁸)

Extract 5.14

*Además de propósitos de orden instrumental, el aprendizaje de una lengua extranjera persigue fines de formación y crecimiento personal. Este fin se evidencia en los Objetivos Fundamentales que apuntan a descubrir y conocer la presencia de otras culturas y valorar la diversidad cultural, como así mismo, reconocer y valorar las bases de la identidad nacional en un mundo cada vez más globalizado e interdependiente.*¹⁴⁹ (Chile Decreto N° 254, 2009¹⁵⁰)

Extract 5.15

*Es también un propósito importante promover progresivamente el desarrollo de habilidades cognitivas de orden superior y desarrollar la capacidad de apreciar otros estilos de vida, tradiciones y maneras de pensar. El aprendizaje del inglés como lengua extranjera tiene, por tanto, propósitos de formación y crecimiento personal, así como propósitos de orden instrumental para fines académicos, laborales y otros propios del mundo juvenil*¹⁵¹. (Chile Decreto N° 254, 2009¹⁵²)

By means of the linguistic layers of DHA analysis, the lexicon that composes these extracts show that while Extracts 5.12, and Extract 5.15 may regard the English language as a reservoir of culture and heritage, Extracts 5.11, Extract 5.13 and Extract 5.14 explicitly consider foreign language teaching as an instance of enhancing the value of national identity. The lexicon employed for the former are: ‘*otros estilos de vida, tradiciones y maneras de pensar*’¹⁵³, the latter use the following texts: ‘*reconocer y valorar las bases de la identidad nacional*’¹⁵⁴. Conversely, Extract 5.10 values English as a

¹⁴⁷ In addition to the instrumental purposes, learning a foreign language pursues training and personal growth. This goal is evident in the Fundamental Objectives that aim to discover and know the presence of other cultures and to value cultural diversity, as well as to recognize and value the foundations of national identity in an increasingly globalized and interdependent world (Translation by author).

¹⁴⁸ This Decree modifies Supreme Decree No. 40 of 1996 of the Ministry of Education. It establishes the fundamental objectives and minimum mandatory contents of primary education and establishes general rules for their application (Note by author).

¹⁴⁹ In addition to instrumental purposes, learning a foreign language pursues training and personal growth. This goal is evident in the Fundamental Objectives that aim to discover and know the presence of other cultures and to value cultural diversity, as well as to recognize and value the foundations of national identity in an increasingly globalized and interdependent world (Translation by author).

¹⁵⁰ It modifies the Supreme Decree No. 220 of 1998 of the Ministry of Education establishing the fundamental objectives and mandatory minimum contents of secondary education and establishes the general rules for their application (Note by author).

¹⁵¹ It is also an important purpose to progressively promote the development of higher order cognitive skills and develop the capacity to appreciate other lifestyles, traditions and ways of thinking. The learning of English as a foreign language has, therefore, purposes of formation and personal growth, as well as instrumental purposes for academic, labor and other purposes of the youth world (Translation by author).

¹⁵² It modifies the Supreme Decree No. 220 of 1998 of the Ministry of Education establishing the fundamental objectives and mandatory minimum contents of secondary education and establishes the general rules for their application (Note by author).

¹⁵³ Other lifestyles, traditions and ways of thinking (Translation by the author)

¹⁵⁴ Recognise and value the basis of national identity (Translation by author).

possibility to promote independent learning among Chilean learners. In addition, according to these extracts, the cultural value of English is signalled by two verbs. They are *valorar*¹⁵⁵ (Extract 5.10, Extract 5.11, Extract 5.13 and Extract 5.14) and *apreciar*¹⁵⁶ (Extract 5.12 and Extract 5.15). On the one hand, the infinitive verb *valorar*¹⁵⁷ is followed by the nominalisation *crecimiento*¹⁵⁸ as the subject of the sentence in Extracts 5.11, 5.12 and 5.14. It is also followed by the infinitive verbs *descubrir*¹⁵⁹, *conocer*¹⁶⁰ and *reconocer*¹⁶¹. These verbs are part of a passivated sentence since there is no active agent performing the action of valuing the language. Extract 5.10 is the only sentence that possesses an active subject which is *El sub-sector idioma extranjero*¹⁶². The nominalisation of *importancia*¹⁶³ has become the subject of the sentence in Extract 5.10. This discursive strategy not only attempts to make the text sound objective, but also focuses the attention on the nominalised word rather than emphasising the role and value that English is receiving. A non-nominalised sentence would state something like ‘*el aprendizaje de un segundo idioma (...) es importante*¹⁶⁴’.

On the other hand, the verb *apreciar* in Extracts 5.12 and Extract 5.15 also signals the value of language as a reservoir of cultural heritage. The structure of the sentence that contains the verb shows no subject as the sentence is passivated. The active actors in subject position who are in charge of the action have been purposely excluded (van Leeuwen, 1996, 2007) (chapter four). We do not know who appreciates English in Chile *Decreto 254/2009* and Chile *Decreto 256/2009*. Conversely, the verb *valorar*¹⁶⁵ is followed by the object *alumnos y alumnas*¹⁶⁶ in Extract 5.10.

Following van Leeuwen’s (1996, 2007) legitimization framework as an analytical tool (4.4.4.1), we can observe that *alumnos y alumnas* have been generalised and functionalised in the discourse. They take a passive position in the sentence as recipients of the action in which they are encouraged to appreciate the foreign language. This extract is the only one

¹⁵⁵ Value (Translation by author).

¹⁵⁶ Appreciate (Translation by author).

¹⁵⁷ Value (Translation by author).

¹⁵⁸ Growth (Translation by author).

¹⁵⁹ Discover (Translation by author).

¹⁶⁰ Know (Translation by author).

¹⁶¹ Recognize (Translation by author).

¹⁶² The subdivision of foreign language (Translation by author).

¹⁶³ Importance (Translation by author).

¹⁶⁴ Learning a foreign language is important (Translation by author).

¹⁶⁵ Value (Translation by author).

¹⁶⁶ Learners (Translation by author).

that includes the learners explicitly in the act of valuing the foreign language. They are the indirect object of the sentence and recipients of an action that contradicts the argument of developing the learners' autodidactic skills. Even though modality is mainly represented by the indicative mood, sentence construction tends to be complex. The sentences are composed of passive structure in which the 'doer' of the action is not expressed overtly. Evidence of it is given in a section of Extract 5.10:

*Se fomentará el uso de enciclopedias, diccionarios, gramáticas, paquetes computacionales u otras fuentes de referencia que promuevan el aprendizaje autónomo*¹⁶⁷ (...).

In addition, these extracts evidence the 'cut and paste' phenomenon which is common in language policy documents (Johnson, 2011) (chapter three). Extracts 5.12 and 5.15 explicitly show it, as do Extract 5.11, Extract 5.13 and Extract 5.14. These last extracts are the ones that talk about the acknowledgement of the national identity and the value of cultural diversity. Hence, the value of national identity, how to achieve it or enhance it by the promotion of English was not emphasised by the language policy texts.

The argument reconstruction (4.4.4.3; 4.4.4.3.1) of the proposition in favour of the value of English, which has been clarified by Figure 5.3 above, show no explicit claim of action. We are left with the call from the Centre-Left Coalition authorities to meet the requirements of a global world. According to them, the justification for having a Spanish-English speaking citizenry is illustrated in Extract 5.9 below:

Extract 5.9

*la creciente inserción de Chile en la economía mundial, materializada por los acuerdos comerciales recientemente logrados con Estados Unidos, la Unión Europea y Corea exige un esfuerzo significativamente mayor como país para responder con éxito a las nuevas oportunidades de desarrollo social y económico*¹⁶⁸ (Chile Decreto N° 081, 2004¹⁶⁹).

The result of this call of action is the justification for the introduction of the language policy. The language policy laws and language education policy documents make overt the

¹⁶⁷ The use of encyclopaedias, dictionaries, grammars, software packages or other sources for reference that foster independent learning will be promoted (Translation by author).

¹⁶⁸ The increasing integration of Chile into the global economy, embodied by trade agreements recently reached with the United States, the European Union and Korea requires significantly more effort as a country to successfully respond to new opportunities for social and economic development (Translation by author).

¹⁶⁹ Regulations for strengthening English language learning program in the primary and secondary education of educational institutions ruled by the Decree with Force of Law No. 2 of 1998 of the Ministry of Education and by the Decree Law No. 3,166 of 1980 (Note by author).

need to adjust to the global society and economy through language management (Spolsky, 2004) (chapter three). The goal according to Extract 5.12¹⁷⁰ and Extract 5.15¹⁷¹ is professional and personal growth. The circumstances are the acknowledgement of national identity as influenced by globalising and independent forces (Extracts 5.11¹⁷² and Extract 5.13¹⁷³). The value premise (Extract 5.14¹⁷⁴) refers to the personal growth due to acknowledgement of the importance of recognising and appreciating the foreign language and its representation of a cultural identity. The means-end is stated in Extract 5.10¹⁷⁵. Here students are encouraged to become independent learners by being in charge of their own learning process. Learners are given tools such as dictionaries and software packages to meet the goal. There was neither an explicit nor implicit link between educational materials with teaching methodologies to achieve autonomous skills.

The argument reconstruction (4.4.4.3; 4.4.4.3.1), clarified by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) argumentation scheme in Figure 5.3, has evidenced some mismatches in the text. Firstly, the goal premise introduces the notion of national identity as being influenced by globalising forces. This may be analysed even further and may be understood as distancing Chileans and their national identity from other identities as opposed to Chilean identity permeating with other identities. Thus, national identity may refer to building

¹⁷⁰ Extract 5.12: It is also an important purpose to promote gradually the development of higher level of cognitive skills and develop the ability to appreciate other lifestyles, traditions and ways of thinking. Learning English as a foreign language has, therefore, training aims and personal growth, as well as instrumental purposes for the academic, professional and youth interests (Note by author).

¹⁷¹ Extract 5.15: It is also an important purpose to progressively promote the development of higher order cognitive skills and develop the capacity to appreciate other lifestyles, traditions and ways of thinking. The learning of English as a foreign language has, therefore, purposes of formation and personal growth, as well as instrumental purposes for academic, labor and other purposes of the youth world (Note by author).

¹⁷² Extract 5.11: Besides instrumental purposes, learning a foreign language aims for training and personal growth. This purpose is evident in the Fundamental Objectives that aim to discover and learn about other cultures and the **value** of cultural diversity, as well as recognizing and **valuing** the foundations of national identity in a world increasingly globalized and interdependent (Note by author).

¹⁷³ Extract 5.13: In addition to the instrumental purposes, learning a foreign language pursues training and personal growth. This goal is evident in the Fundamental Objectives that aim to discover and know the presence of other cultures and to value cultural diversity, as well as to recognize and value the foundations of national identity in an increasingly globalized and interdependent world (Note by author).

¹⁷⁴ Extract 5.14: In addition to instrumental purposes, learning a foreign language pursues training and personal growth. This goal is evident in the Fundamental Objectives that aim to discover and know the presence of other cultures and to value cultural diversity, as well as to recognize and value the foundations of national identity in an increasingly globalized and interdependent world (Note by author).

¹⁷⁵ Extract 5.10: The subdivision of foreign language **values**, at the same time, the importance of learning a second language as an instance of training, proposing to turn the classroom into an environment that fosters the recreation of life in society, encouraging respect in-group activities and encouraging the learners to take responsibility for their own learning process. Thus, the use of encyclopaedias, dictionaries, grammars, software packages among other resources that promote independent learning and activities that allow recycling as well as updating knowledge through the foreign language will be encouraged (Note by author).

borders rather than building bridges of communication and understanding. Whether the English language policy is an instance of cultural division and discrimination enhancer in the Chilean context is an argument I will elaborate on in the next chapter.

Lastly, Extract 5.10¹⁷⁶ talks about promoting students' independent learning skills. However, DHA (4.4.2; 4.4.3; 4.4.4) informs us that they are placed in the object position of the sentence. In this place, they are the recipients of actions, as stated above, and not active doers of their learning processes. The policy documents are top-down orders that request students to learn English. They are given the learning materials and receive assistance from teachers and English-speaking volunteers. Thus, the questions are: how is independent autonomous learning of a foreign language enhanced? And how is valuing English within the limits of the appreciation for national identity encouraged? Are teachers and language volunteers trained in promoting Chilean identity understanding as well as English teaching understanding in order to build bridges of intercultural appreciation and communication and hence learning to value English and Spanish as recipients of culture and heritage? Hence, the main questions to be asked are: how do you promote the cultural value of language? What is beyond appreciation of national identity in a multicultural and interconnected globalising world? And are teachers trained to distinguish between national identity and discrimination? Even though these questions are relevant, they are beyond the scope of this research.

5.3.2.2 Monetary value of English

The last way to commodify English is by giving the language a monetary value. This classification is subdivided into English as product, English as service and English as symbolic capital. Singh and Han (2008) divide English as a commodity into product and service. English language is sold as a product and as a service all over the world (Rubdy and Tan, 2008). In the Chilean English language policy documents, English as a product refers to English learning packages, textbooks, educational and testing materials and as a service, it refers to what experts, English-speaking volunteers and the State provide.

¹⁷⁶ Extract 5.10: The subdivision of foreign language **values**, at the same time, the importance of learning a second language as an instance of training, proposing to turn the classroom into an environment that fosters the recreation of life in society, encouraging respect in-group activities and encouraging the learners to take responsibility for their own learning process. Thus, the use of encyclopaedias, dictionaries, grammars, software packages among other resources that promote independent learning and activities that allow recycling as well as updating knowledge through the foreign language will be encouraged (Note by author).

Due to the magnitude in terms of time, goals and resources of the English language policy plan, the programme has been supported by the Chilean State. This assistance has accepted the responsibility to cover the costs of foreign language implementation in the Chilean educational system. The allowance from 2003 to 2008 is acknowledged explicitly in Chile *Decreto 081/2004*. Whereas the budget of the EODP for 2003 was US\$ 3095 million (Ministerio de Educación, 2004b:12), the EODP financial plan for 2009 was US\$4,680 million (Dirección de Presupuestos, 2009:1).

Part of that allowance has been invested in the purchase of international assessment for primary and secondary learners as a ‘product’. Examinations are usually carried out by international institutions such as ETS and IELTS. There is evidence of two international evaluations that have been bought by the Chilean Ministry of Education. In 2004, the University of Cambridge, a service and a product provider, was in charge of the first national evaluation of competence in English, i.e. ESOL examination. The goal of this evaluation was to have objective information regarding learners’ L2 performance in the Chilean educational system. In 2010, the American Educational Testing Service, i.e. ETS, was in charge of the second national evaluation. Their product was TOEFL Bridge (EducarChile, 2010). The aim of this evaluation was to observe the outcomes of the policy implementation. Investment in these products has been included in the language policy by the policy makers. Extract 5.16, which is taken from the English language policy law itself and is categorised as language policy, evidences the Governments’ will to invest in this item, see the extract below:

Extract 5.16

*Contratar la elaboración, diseño, validación, y aplicación de instrumentos y pruebas de medición diagnóstica, experimentales, y censales, para medir niveles de aprendizaje de inglés en alumnos de enseñanza básica y media de los establecimientos educacionales antes mencionados*¹⁷⁷ (Chile Decreto N° 081, 2004¹⁷⁸).

According to this Extract, we can infer that, through the policy makers, the State has planned to have a budget that covers the costs of language management (Spolsky, 2004) (chapter three). The policy is more specific and delineates which costs will be covered by the budget. This allowance has been included in the main language policy document, i.e.

¹⁷⁷ Hiring the development, design, validation, and application of instruments, diagnostic, experimental, and census tests to measure levels of English learning in elementary and secondary school students of the educational institutions mentioned above (Translation by author).

¹⁷⁸ Regulations for strengthening English language learning program in the primary and secondary education of educational institutions ruled by the Decree with Force of Law No. 2 of 1998 of the Ministry of Education and by the Decree Law No. 3,166 of 1980 (Note by author).

Chile *Decreto 81/2004*. Extract 5.17 that is categorised as language policy document in the data illustrates this point below:

Extract 5.17

*Artículo 4º: El Programa podrá efectuar todos los gastos que sean necesarios para el cumplimiento de sus, objetivos, incluidos gastos de operación, gastos en personal, convenios de prestaciones de servicios con personas naturales o jurídicas nacionales y extranjeras, como asimismo gastos por concepto de alojamiento, alimentación y traslado de especialistas y/o participantes en jornadas de trabajo, talleres de capacitación, seminarios, y otras actividades similares*¹⁷⁹. (Chile Decreto N° 081, 2004¹⁸⁰)

Extract 5.18

*Artículo 6º: El Programa se financiará durante el año 2008 con cargo al ítem: 09.01.04.24.03.517, 10 de la Ley de Presupuesto para el Sector Público*¹⁸¹. (Chile Decreto N° 081, 2004¹⁸²)

In the case of English-as-a-product in an instance of international assessment, Extract 5.18, which is an extract taken from the language policy law and which is categorised as language policy document in the data, specifies what type of product the State is buying and how it will be financed. Extract 5.16, Extract 5.17, and Extract 5.18 have been observed under the light of the DHA first level of analysis (4.4.2; 4.4.3; 4.4.4).

The outcome of this product, i.e. international assessment, and the goal of the language policy is the standardization of English performance in Chile. The way to standardise language performance and classify Chilean students within a framework has also been taken into account by the policy makers. According to an interview with Andrew Sheenan, a British ELT consultant, this policy aims at evaluating the students using the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (Sheenan, 2005). The use of international standards has also been made explicit in the main language policy document. Extract 5.19, below, has been taken from Chile *Decreto N° 081, 2004* which has been categorised as language policy document in the corpus (4.5.2) shows how the policy

¹⁷⁹ Article 4 º: The programme may pay all expenses necessary for the fulfilment of its objectives; including operating expenses, personnel expenses, rendering of service agreements with legal or artificial people, national or foreign, as well as expenses for accommodation, food and transportation of specialists and/ or participants in working sessions, workshops, seminar, and similar activities (Translation by author)

¹⁸⁰ Regulations for strengthening English language learning program in the primary and secondary education of educational institutions ruled by the Decree with Force of Law No. 2 of 1998 of the Ministry of Education and by the Decree Law No. 3,166 of 1980 (Note by author).

¹⁸¹ Article 6º: The programme will be funded in 2008 under the item: 09.01.04.24.03.517, 10 of the Budget Law for the Public Sector (Translation by author).

¹⁸² Regulations for strengthening English language learning program in the primary and secondary education of educational institutions ruled by the Decree with Force of Law No. 2 of 1998 of the Ministry of Education and by the Decree Law No. 3,166 of 1980 (Note by author).

makers had planned to have experts in charge of the internationally standardised language evaluation to be carried out in Chile. The analysis of this extract was carried out by using the DHA methodology.

Extract 5.19

c) Contratar con especialistas, sean personas naturales o jurídicas, nacionales o internacionales, la realización de:

1.- Elaboración de estándares de aprendizaje del idioma inglés alineados a estándares internacionales¹⁸³. (Chile Decreto N° 081, 2004¹⁸⁴)

Sheenan can be regarded as a stakeholder within the language policy implementation context. His role is legitimised as he is considered an expert in the field of the teaching of English as a foreign language (4.4.4.1). He is also not only a native speaker of English who comes from an inner circle country (Kachru, 1985, 1997), but also works for and is supported by an international language institution (4.4.4.2). Another product that is taken into account by the language policy law and its budget is training. Extract 5.20, below, which has the same characteristics as Extract 5.19, states how the Budget of the English Open Doors programme will support teacher training.

Extract 5.20

b) Realizar talleres, jornadas y cursos de perfeccionamiento presenciales y a distancia para profesores de inglés, incluyendo programas de perfeccionamiento en el exterior para profesionales y talleres comunales, que serán organizados en coordinación con el Departamento Centro de Perfeccionamiento, Experimentación e Investigaciones Pedagógicas (CPEIP) del Ministerio de Educación¹⁸⁵. (Chile Decreto N° 081, 2004¹⁸⁶)

Bitar (2004b) and Fábrega (2006), both Centre-Left Coalition authorities in charge of the policy implementation in Chile, have agreed on the significance of the role the English language teacher plays to accomplish the goals of the policy. It has been stated that the lack of proficiency in English and Spanish spoken lessons were regarded as one of the drawbacks to improve the national results especially among municipal schools (Bitar, 2005). Matear (2008:138) argued that teachers' results of language proficiency tests

¹⁸³ c) Hire specialists, whether legal or artificial people, national or foreign, for performing: 1. Development of English language learning standards aligned with international standards (Translation by author).

¹⁸⁴ Regulations for strengthening English language learning program in the primary and secondary education of educational institutions ruled by the Decree with Force of Law No. 2 of 1998 of the Ministry of Education and by the Decree Law No. 3,166 of 1980 (Note by author).

¹⁸⁵ b) Conduct workshops, seminars and in classroom and long distance training courses for teachers, including development programmes abroad for professionals and community workshops, that will be organised in coordination with Improvement and Experimentation Centre and Pedagogical Investigations (Translation by author).

¹⁸⁶ Regulations for strengthening English language learning program in the primary and secondary education of educational institutions ruled by the Decree with Force of Law No. 2 of 1998 of the Ministry of Education and by the Decree Law No. 3,166 of 1980 (Note by author).

correlated with the learners' average. Gordon Cronister, another expert and administrator of the language examinations in Instituto Chileno-Norteamericano de Cultura in Santiago, has explained that: '*la enseñanza del inglés en los colegios públicos es muy mala, con salas de clases repletas y con profesores que no están calificados para enseñar*¹⁸⁷'. This institute evaluated 50 municipal language teachers. From them, 40% got a basic level of proficiency in English which, according to the expert, is an indication of what is happening in the rest of the country (Cronister, 2008).

In addition, as the teachers are very important for the policy implementation, according to Fábrega (2011), the policy also has considered training of future generations of teachers. Extract 5.21 and Extract 5.2, which have been taken Chile *Decreto N° 081/2004* that has been categorised as language policy in the corpus (4.5.2), show that the budget includes a scholarship programme for trainee teachers:

Extract 5.21

e) Becas destinadas a la estadía de un semestre académico en el extranjero de alumnos Art. único N° 1 destacados de las carreras de pedagogía en inglés de las Universidades que hayan obtenido la acreditación institucional otorgada por la Comisión Nacional de Acreditación de Pregrado. (Chile Decreto N° 081, 2004¹⁸⁸)

Extract 5.22

Estas becas se regirán por lo dispuesto en el decreto supremo N° 358, de 2001, modificado por el decreto supremo N° 193, de 2006, ambos del Ministerio de Educación. f) Contratar todos los bienes, servicios e insumos necesarios que demande la ejecución y operación del Programa¹⁸⁹. (Chile Decreto N° 081, 2004¹⁹⁰)

Thus, based on the experts' testimonies as well as statistics these actors provide, the policy not only succeeds in persuading society about how relevant the budget for teacher training is, but also manages to legitimise the financial plan and the role of the expert with that

¹⁸⁷ The teaching of English in State schools is very bad, overcrowded classrooms, and teachers that are not qualified to teach (Translation by author).

¹⁸⁸ Regulations for strengthening English language learning program in the primary and secondary education of educational institutions ruled by the Decree with Force of Law No. 2 of 1998 of the Ministry of Education and by the Decree Law No. 3,166 of 1980 (Note by author).

¹⁸⁹ These grants are governed by the provisions of Supreme Decree No. 358 of 2001, as amended by Supreme Decree No. 193 of 2006, both from the Ministry of Education. f) Hire all goods, services and supplies needed that requires the implementation and operation of the Programme (Translation by author).

¹⁹⁰ Regulations for strengthening English language learning program in the primary and secondary education of educational institutions ruled by the Decree with Force of Law No. 2 of 1998 of the Ministry of Education and by the Decree Law No. 3,166 of 1980 (Note by author).

information. The analytical tools in 4.4.4.1 and 4.4.4.2 uncovers legitimation of the policy and the experts.

The last type of English as a product exhibited in the language policy law is the educational materials. The policy covers not only creation of the teaching material, but also its distribution among Chilean educational institutions. Extract 5.23, below, taken from the language policy law that is classified as language policy document in the data (4.5.2), evidences how the budget will be employed regarding pedagogical materials:

Extract 5.23

3.- Estudios para la evaluación del cumplimiento de las metas del Programa. d) Adquirir, producir, editar, diseñar, imprimir y distribuir material didáctico en todos sus formatos, para el fortalecimiento del aprendizaje del idioma inglés en los establecimientos educacionales antes mencionados¹⁹¹. (Chile Decreto N° 081, 2004¹⁹²)

Language as service and as a form of commodifying English is represented in the monetary use some stakeholders give to English with the support of the language policy laws. These stakeholders are the experts, English-speaking volunteers and the State.

The experts are required to care for the international standards of language proficiency, teacher training, teaching material development and language assessment. All these services are included in the budget, as evidenced by Extract 5.19¹⁹³ and Extract 5.17¹⁹⁴. The fact that they are referred to as experts is a form of legitimation of the policy and of the commodification of language, as money has to be paid for the experts' linguistic services. However, no credentials about the experts' expertise or qualification were provided in any of the language policy documents. Legitimation is the analytical tool employed for the analysis of these extract (4.4.4.1).

¹⁹¹ Studies for the assessment of compliance with the programme. d) Purchase, produce, edit, design, print, and distribute educational materials in all formats, to strengthen the learning of the English language in the educational institutions mentioned before (Translation by author).

¹⁹² Regulations for strengthening English language learning program in the primary and secondary education of educational institutions ruled by the Decree with Force of Law No. 2 of 1998 of the Ministry of Education and by the Decree Law No. 3,166 of 1980 (Note by author).

¹⁹³ Extract 5.19: c) Hire specialists, whether legal or artificial people, national or foreign, for performing: 1. Development of English language learning standards aligned with international standards (Note by author).

¹⁹⁴ Extract 5.17: Article 4 °: The programme may pay all expenses necessary for the fulfilment of its objectives; including operating expenses, personnel expenses, rendering of service agreements with legal or artificial people, national or foreign, as well as expenses for accommodation, food and transportation of specialists and/ or participants in working sessions, workshops, seminar, and similar activities (Note by author).

The English-speaking volunteer services have also been included in the language policy decree. Extract 5.24, which is taken from Chile *Decreto N° 081/2004* and which is categorised as language policy document, evidences how the English-speaking volunteers have been included in the policy:

Extract 5.24

*2.- Diseño, implementación y evaluación de las actividades de perfeccionamiento docente, de programas de voluntarios de habla inglesa en los establecimientos educacionales referidos y de cursos y módulos de inglés técnico para áreas especializadas*¹⁹⁵. (Chile Decreto N° 081, 2004¹⁹⁶)

This extract has been analysed under the umbrella of DHA and has provided the following information: English-speaking volunteers provide their services, they are paid by the State and they volunteer for a period of eight months which is one school year. Volunteers support the English teachers' work in the classroom and become an instance of teachers and learners communicating with native speakers. This type of experience, which used to be rare in municipal schools before the implementation of the language policy, was regarded as a motivational activity by Byrd (2013). Finally, the State is regarded as a stakeholder and, in this role, it is a service provider. The State represented by a Board from the Ministry of Education provides training courses to English teachers as uncovered by Extract 5.20¹⁹⁷.

Regarding actions and actors included in the policy texts, I will focus the analysis, which belongs to the DHA discipline (4.4.2; 4.4.3; 4.4.4), on the types of verbs that are used for the commodification of the language as well as on the actors incorporated in the policy and the position they have been given by policy makers in the texts. The type of verbs associated with costs and budget are *adquirir*¹⁹⁸, *producir*¹⁹⁹, *imprimir*²⁰⁰, *distribuir*²⁰¹, *contratar*²⁰² and *realizar*²⁰³. These verbs are used in imperative mood in Chile *Decreto*

¹⁹⁵ Design, implementation and evaluation of teacher training activities, English-speaking volunteer programmes in educational institutions, courses, and seminars of technical English for specialised environments (Translation by author).

¹⁹⁶ Regulations for strengthening English language learning program in the primary and secondary education of educational institutions ruled by the Decree with Force of Law No. 2 of 1998 of the Ministry of Education and by the Decree Law No. 3,166 of 1980 (Note by author).

¹⁹⁷ Extract 5.20: b) Conduct workshops, seminars and in classroom and long distance training courses for teachers, including development programmes abroad for professionals and community workshops, that will be organised in coordination with Improvement and Experimentation Centre and Pedagogical Investigations (Note by author).

¹⁹⁸ Purchase (Translation by author).

¹⁹⁹ Produce (Translation by author).

²⁰⁰ Print (Translation by author).

²⁰¹ Distribute (Translation by author).

²⁰² Hire (Translation by author).

²⁰³ Make, carry out (Translation by author).

081/2004. The verbs are expressing commands. The statements are clearly indicating that the ‘doer’ which is embedded, i.e. purposely excluded, in the text desires the actions to take place. There is also nominalisation of some verbs in the *Decreto*. Those nominalised verbs are *elaboración*²⁰⁴, *distribución*²⁰⁵, *diseño*²⁰⁶, and *implementación*²⁰⁷. The reason may be the intention of policy makers to distance the text from people and to make the *Decreto* look more objective and absent from emotional attachment.

In addition, *El Programa*²⁰⁸ (Extract 5.17²⁰⁹, Extract 5.18²¹⁰, Extract 5.22²¹¹ and Extract 5.23²¹²), and using DHA analytical tools for analysis (4.4.2; 4.4.3; 4.4.4), is regarded as an actor and, in this role, it takes two positions in the text. It becomes the active subject of the sentence (Extract 5.19²¹³). In this position, *El Programa* is the ‘doer’ and is in the position of performing all costs. Consequently, neither authorities nor the State is in charge of the budget, but the EODP itself. When passivated, *El Programa* (Extracts 5.18²¹⁴) is placed in object position and the actor in the subject position is embedded. We do not know who is in charge of the activities that will lead to meeting the goals of *El Programa*.

²⁰⁴ Elaboration (Translation by author).

²⁰⁵ Distribution (Translation by author).

²⁰⁶ Design (Translation by author).

²⁰⁷ Implementation (Translation by author).

²⁰⁸ The programme (Translation by author).

²⁰⁹ Extract 5.17: Article 4^o: The programme may pay all expenses necessary for the fulfilment of its objectives; including operating expenses, personnel expenses, rendering of service agreements with legal or artificial people, national or foreign, as well as expenses for accommodation, food and transportation of specialists and/ or participants in working sessions, workshops, seminar, and similar activities (Note by author)

²¹⁰ Extract 5.18: Article 6^o: The programme will be funded in 2008 under the item: 09.01.04.24.03.517, 10 of the Budget Law for the Public Sector (Note by author).

²¹¹ Extract 5.22: These grants are governed by the provisions of Supreme Decree No. 358 of 2001, as amended by Supreme Decree No. 193 of 2006, both from the Ministry of Education. f) Hire all goods, services and supplies needed that requires the implementation and operation of the Programme (Note by author).

²¹² Extract 5.23: Studies for the assessment of compliance with the programme. d) Purchase, produce, edit, design, print, and distribute educational materials in all formats, to strengthen the learning of the English language in the educational institutions mentioned before (Note by author).

²¹³ Extract 5.19: c) Hire specialists, whether legal or artificial people, national or foreign, for performing: 1. Development of English language learning standards aligned with international standards (Note by author).

²¹⁴ Extract 5.18: Article 6^o: The programme will be funded in 2008 under the item: 09.01.04.24.03.517, 10 of the Budget Law for the Public Sector (Note by author).

Besides, important stakeholders of the policy, i.e. teachers (Extract 5.20²¹⁵), learners (Extracts 5.16²¹⁶) and English-speaking volunteers (Extracts 5.24²¹⁷), are placed in the object position within the sentence construction. These agents are not active doers, but recipients of the services provided by *El Programa*. Thus, nominalised verbs that have an effect on these actors are: *aprendizaje*²¹⁸, *perfeccionamiento*²¹⁹, *estadía*²²⁰, *alimentación*²²¹, *traslado*²²² and *capacitación*²²³.

Figure 5.4 below shows how intertextuality, which is uncovered thanks to the tools of analysis provided by DHA, is expressed in Chile *Decreto* 081/2004. One of the links between texts is shown by the stakeholders as the main topic. This topic is divided into sub-topics such as learners, teachers and experts. These actors are linked to other actors in the present and in the past. Actors, such as the teachers, are also linked with different genres. They are transported from an educational genre, to a business genre. They are first decontextualised from their educational fields of action and moved to an economic one. This phenomenon is called recontextualisation (chapter four). The figure also shows interdiscursivity in the policy document. We can observe how business discourse which is evidenced in Extract 5.17²²⁴ and 5.18²²⁵ is linked with *El Programa*, i.e. EODP. This programme is explicitly pedagogical as its goal is English language learning. Figure 5.4 below shows the intertextual and interdiscursive links of the language policy law.

²¹⁵ Extract 5.22: b) Conduct workshops, seminars and in classroom and long distance training courses for teachers, including development programmes abroad for professionals and community workshops, that will be organised in coordination with Improvement and Experimentation Centre and Pedagogical Investigations (Note by author).

²¹⁶ Extract 5.16: Hiring the development, design, validation, application of instruments, diagnostic, experimental, and census tests to measure levels of English learning in elementary and secondary school students of the educational institutions mentioned above (Note by author).

²¹⁷ Extract 5.24: Design, implementation and evaluation of teacher training activities, English speaking volunteer programmes in educational institutions and courses and seminars of technical English for specialised environments (Note by author).

²¹⁸ Learning (Translation by author).

²¹⁹ Training (Translation by author).

²²⁰ Residency (Translation by author).

²²¹ Catering (Translation by author).

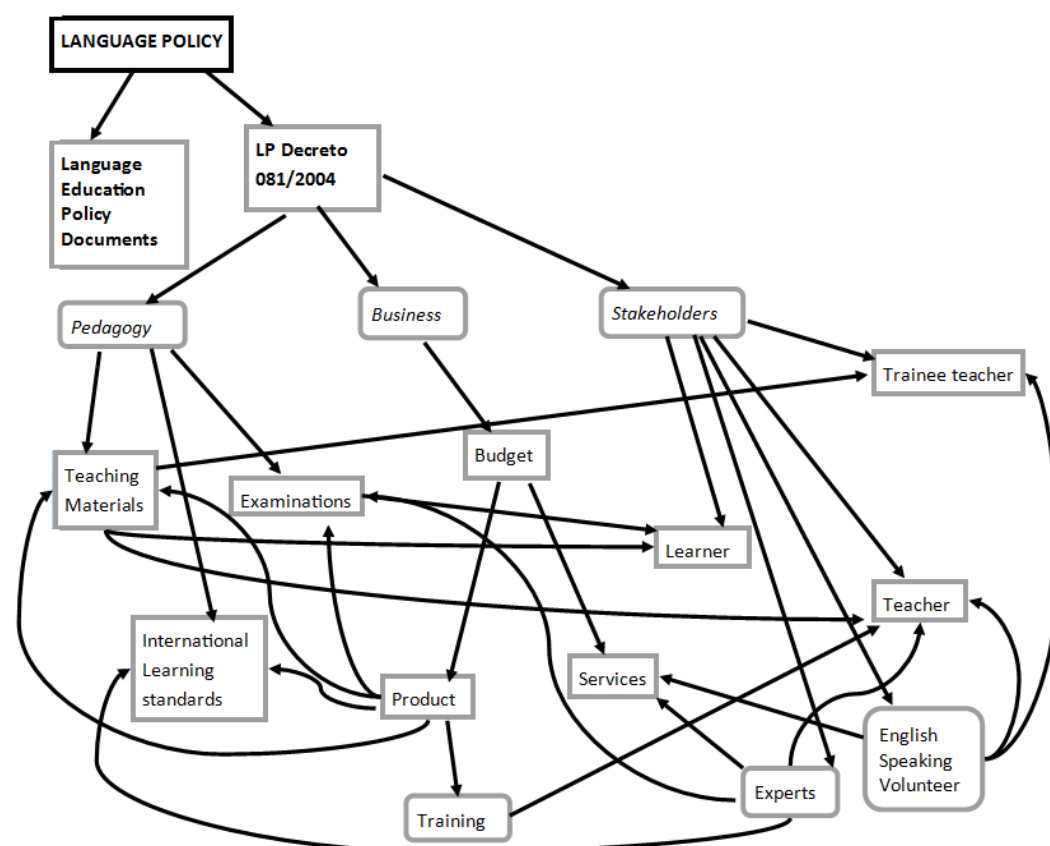
²²² Transportation (Translation by author).

²²³ Training (Translation by author).

²²⁴ Extract 5.17: Article 4º: The programme may pay all expenses necessary for the fulfilment of its objectives; including operating expenses, personnel expenses, rendering of service agreements with legal or artificial people, national or foreign, as well as expenses for accommodation, food and transportation of specialists and/ or participants in working sessions, workshops, seminar, and similar activities (Note by author).

²²⁵ Extract 5.18: Article 6º: The programme will be funded in 2008 under the item: 09.01.04.24.03.517, 10 of the Budget Law for the Public Sector (Note by author).

Figure 5.4: Decreto 081/2004 Intertextual and interdiscursive links (After Wodak, 2008:20).



Finally, the argument reconstruction, which is clarified by Figure 5.3, for the commodification of English in the language policy provides interesting information. I will employ Extract 5.25 and Extract 5.26. They are both taken from the main language policy which is classified as language policy in the corpus of this research (4.5.2). I will employ the tools provided by the argumentation theory to carry out the analysis (4.4.4.3; 4.4.4.3.1). Data shows the position that English currently has in the Chilean context, i.e. circumstance premise in bold, causes a claim of action (underlined). Both premises are shown in Extract 5.25 below:

Extract 5.25

Que, la creciente inserción de Chile en la economía mundial, materializada por los acuerdos comerciales recientemente logrados con Estados Unidos, la Unión Europea y Corea exige un esfuerzo significativamente mayor como país para

responder con éxito a las nuevas oportunidades de desarrollo social y económico²²⁶; (Chile Decreto N° 081, 2004²²⁷)

In order to meet the demands posed by the EODP, Chileans need to meet certain requirements. Those conditions are stated in the goal premise stated in Extract 5.26 below:

Extract 5.26

*Que, las personas que dominan un inglés básico e instrumental tendrán mejores posibilidades de acceder a un empleo, de obtener una mejor remuneración, de tener éxito en la universidad, de postular a becas, de iniciar un negocio exportador, de acceder a una nueva información a través de Internet, entre otras ventajas y oportunidades*²²⁸; (Chile Decreto N° 081, 2004²²⁹)

This extract uses words such as *mejores*²³⁰, *mejor*²³¹, *éxito*²³², *ventajas*²³³ and *oportunidades*²³⁴. This lexicon informs the reader that it is important to learn English as learning the language is associated with positive outcomes in the form of benefits. The benefits are connected with the requirements that have been asked from the Chilean citizens. This is the circumstance premise (Extract 5.25). But Chileans are given a language plan, i.e. EODP, to help them meet the goals of *El Programa* (Extracts 5.16²³⁵,

²²⁶ That, **the growing integration of Chile into the global economy, embodied by trade agreements recently signed with the United States, the European Union and Korea requires significantly more effort as a country to successfully respond to new social and economic opportunities of development** (Translation by author).

²²⁷ Regulations for strengthening English language learning program in the primary and secondary education of educational institutions ruled by the Decree with Force of Law No. 2 of 1998 of the Ministry of Education and by the Decree Law No. 3,166 of 1980 (Note by author).

²²⁸ That, people who have a basic and instrumental command of English will have **better** possibilities of getting a job, of getting **better** salaries, of being successful at university, of applying to scholarships, of starting an export business, to access new information through the internet, among other **advantages** and **opportunities** (Translation by author).

²²⁹ Regulations for strengthening English language learning program in the primary and secondary education of educational institutions ruled by the Decree with Force of Law No. 2 of 1998 of the Ministry of Education and by the Decree Law No. 3,166 of 1980 (Note by author).

²³⁰ Better (Translation by author).

²³¹ Better (Translation by author).

²³² Success (Translation by author).

²³³ Advantages (Translation by author).

²³⁴ Opportunities (Translation by author).

²³⁵ Extracts 5.16: Hiring the development, design, validation, application of instruments, diagnostic, experimental, and census tests to measure levels of English learning in elementary and secondary school students of the educational institutions mentioned above (Note by author).

5.21²³⁶, 5.22²³⁷, 5.23²³⁸ and 5.24²³⁹). This aid is represented by the means-end premise (Extracts 5.16, 5.21, 5.22, 5.23 and 5.24). The means-end premises will become the facilitators to turn the desired state of affairs into current state of affairs by achieving the goals of the programme. However, the argument put forward to justify the budget to cover the expenses of the programme is flawed and can be rebutted (4.4.4.3; 4.4.4.3.1). This reconstruction has exposed two types of fallacies. They are *argumentum ad consentiam*, i.e. appeal to consequences, and *petitio principii*, i.e. circular reasoning. Whereas one appeals to the positive economic outcomes which the English language policy would bring, the other makes a true argument which is not sound. Both arguments are based on the *topos* of usefulness or advantage as ‘common places’ (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001; Wodak and Meyer, 2009; van Emeeren and Grotendoorst, 2006) rather than a logical transition from premises that lead to a conclusion.

5.3.2.3 English as symbolic value

Drawing on Bourdieu (1986, 1991) notion of cultural capital, English performance can be associated with the capital that a learner may have after accumulating the skill for a period of time. The acquisition of cultural capital is influenced by social factors such as the period of time of exposure, the society and the social class (Bourdieu, 1986). In its embodied form, a learner who has been exposed to English language lessons since primary school may be regarded as a person who has accumulated the capital of the language and the *habitus* to learn it and use it. In its objectified form, English has been instrumentalised in the English language policy by the Centre-left Coalition authorities (section 5.3.1) and it has been transformed into cultural goods. In its institutionalised state, English becomes reified as a cultural capital and takes the form of academic qualifications. For example, the IELTS and the TOEFL Bridge examinations (Extract 5.16).

²³⁶ Extract 5.21: Scholarships destined to the stay of an academic semester abroad of students Art. № 1, outstanding of the courses of pedagogy in English of the Universities that have obtained the institutional accreditation granted by the National Commission of Accreditation of Undergraduate (Note by author).

²³⁷ Extract 5.22: These grants are governed by the provisions of Supreme Decree No. 358 of 2001, as amended by Supreme Decree No. 193 of 2006, both from the Ministry of Education. f) Hire all goods, services and supplies needed that requires the implementation and operation of the Programme (Note by author).

²³⁸ Extract 5.23: Studies for the assessment of compliance with the programme. d) Purchase, produce, edit, design, print, and distribute educational materials in all formats, to strengthen the learning of the English language in the educational institutions mentioned before (Note by author).

²³⁹ Extract 5.24: Design, implementation and evaluation of teacher training activities, English speaking volunteer programmes in educational institutions and courses and seminars of technical English for specialised environments (Note by author).

Cultural capital becomes symbolic capital by being unrecognised as capital and becoming recognised as verifiable skill (Bourdieu, 1986, 1991). English becomes symbolic capital that can be turned into a verifiable skill by the standardised examinations mentioned above and included in the language policy (Extract 5.16²⁴⁰). Its symbolic value has been acknowledged by the Chilean authorities and it has been promoted in the community. Former Ministry of Education, Joaquín Lavín (2010) stated that a national *Simce de inglés*²⁴¹ would be taken yearly and those learners who pass the test will be certified. This certificate ‘*los habilita en términos laborales*²⁴²’ (La Nación, 2010). However, academic qualifications have the capacity to differentiate between the capital of the offspring of strong cultural capital family from the one of an autodidact. TOEFL Bridge and ESOL examinations among Chilean learners may control the profits in the fluctuating value of the symbolic capital in the markets. The learner with strong cultural capital may profit more from the market of languages than those learners whose background has not enhanced the symbolic capital. Then, national evaluations of English performance and its certification separate the successful from the unsuccessful learner. These qualifications establish a crucial difference, the officially recognised and guaranteed capital and the simple autodidact competence. Whereas the national evaluation of 2004 which was taken by 11,000 learners nationwide and which was passed by only 5% of them (La Nación, 2010b), the evaluation of 2010 taken by 240,000 students was passed by 11% of the students. 65% of those who obtained the certification come from private education whereas only 0.3% come from municipal one (La Tercera, 2011).

The international language examination service providers, the Chilean learners who took the test and the State who not only pays for the service, but also certifies successful learners are evidence to support the argument that language qualifications possess performative powers (Searle, 2003) (chapter two) in the Chilean context. In order to have power in society, English examinations need to be recognised by the society. This recognition has been achieved by the number of learners who have taken the ESOL examination in 2004 and the TOEFL Bridge in 2010 (chapter two). The holder of the cultural capital, i.e. the learner, who possesses institutional recognition has the capacity to exchange it and correlate its cultural value with an economic one. A way to exchange the cultural capital with economic value is the certification of the skill. This certification is

²⁴⁰ Extract 5.16: Hiring the development, design, validation, application of instruments, diagnostic, experimental, and census tests to measure levels of English learning in elementary and secondary school students of the educational institutions mentioned above (Note by author).

²⁴¹ National evaluation of English competence (Note by author).

²⁴² It qualifies them in employability terms (Translation by author).

provided by the State and it can be included in the learners' CV (Educar Chile, 2010). The performative powers of these examinations and how, according to the results, they have managed to classify Chilean learners based on their linguistic skills has been contested by social actors who disagree with the evaluation and with those who profit from it (The Clinic, 2010).

5.4 The value of English in the English language policy

After discussing English as cultural value, as monetary value and as symbolic capital, I have noticed the following: First, language education policy documents, such as the school syllabi, are the ones that refer to English as cultural value whereas the main language policy document, i.e. Chile *Decreto 081/2004*, is the only one that refers to English as monetary value. This is the document that legitimises the budget since it is not only a law (4.4.4.1), but it is also signed by the Centre-Left Coalition authorities (4.4.4.2).

Conversely, the law that authorises updating the national curriculum for the teaching of English in Chile, i.e. *Acuerdo 028/2009*, refers to language only as an instrument and does neither mention nor grant any value to language. Secondly, economic jargon may be introduced to refer to the actors who participate in the language policy implementation. They are either consumers or service providers or both. While the students and teachers have been transformed into consumers of English as a commodity, the State, experts and English-speaking volunteers have become the service providers. In addition, the State is the actor who provides the budget to cover for the expenses that the policy implementation may have whereas the private such as international institutions provide the services and profit from the foreign language. This economic link between the State and the private may be the cause of ideological debates. I will expand on these topics in the next chapter.

Lastly, I may make an assumption regarding the reasons why the Centre-Left Coalition government has instrumentalised English and eventually has managed to commodify the foreign language. A hypothesis may be the skilled workforce transnationals investing in Chile may need. Evidence for this assumption may be provided by the following statements:

Centre-Left Coalition authorities such as Sergio Bitar and Michelle Bachelet have managed to connect English proficiency with economic prosperity. Bitar, on the one hand, stated that Chileans have to learn English 'to sell what [we] are doing, understand and learn from others' (2011). Bachelet (2009a), on the other hand, argued:

'[e]s evidente que las perspectivas de desarrollo de nuestro país dependen, en buena medida, de que podamos contar con una población bilingüe (...) [c]on esta

campana, lo que uno puede decir con mucha claridad es win-win project, o en buen chileno: todos ganamos con esta idea. Gana la empresa, que va a contar con personal capacitado y con habilidades idiomáticas. Ganan las personas, que podrán acceder a mejores empleos, con mejores remuneraciones’.

Sebastian Piñera was more explicit about the need of Spanish-English speaking workforce. According to the Center-Right National Renewal Party former Chilean president:

Por eso el idioma inglés en nuestro país, o la falta de dominio del idioma inglés, se está transformando en un serio obstáculo en nuestro camino al desarrollo. Hay muchas empresas internacionales que han desistido de instalarse en Chile precisamente por la falta de chilenos y chilenas que conozcan y dominen el idioma inglés²⁴³ (Piñera, 2011).

These statements depict the Chilean context of the time (chapter two). Centre-Left Coalition authorities have signed Free Trade Agreements with many countries (chapter two). Chile has the natural resources and Free Market economy regulations (chapter two). However, the drawback to fully benefit from the Agreements was caused by the limited unskilled labour. Chile has not had the required personnel to meet the transnational demands and this lack of a skilled workforce has discouraged some foreign companies to invest in Chile (Piñera, 2011). In order to counteract this disadvantage, two language programmes were implemented in 2003. One for professionals led by CORFO and one for school learners in the hands of the Ministry of Education, i.e. the EODP, (Universia, 2003). The 2004 national evaluation of professionals who speak English shows that only 3% of Chilean professionals speak the language fluently (Bitran, 2004). This evaluation also shows that there is a correlation between level of education and proficiency in English. Bitran (2004) provides some evidence for that claim and states that ‘*[d]e todos ellos, el 12,8% tiene formación técnica, el 59% son profesionales y el 25% cuenta con estudios de posgrado²⁴⁴.*’ The evaluation of English for secondary students shows the same tendency. The results on the 2004 evaluation show that only 5% of the secondary education students have command of English (Emol, 2005). Unsurprisingly, this exam also shows that the results correlate with socio-economic status (*ibid*).

Based on these statements, plans and results, I may hypothesise that the standardisation of competence in English allows certification of a skill which in turn creates a workforce of

²⁴³ So the English language in our country, or the lack of proficiency in English, is becoming a serious obstacle in our path to development. Many international companies have withdrawn from opening their branches in Chile precisely because of the lack of Chileans who know and master the English language (Translation by author).

²⁴⁴ Of all of them, 12,8% have technical training, 59% are professionals, 25% have postgraduate education (Translation by author).

skilled labour (see Extract 6.2²⁴⁵ in chapter six). The aim of this skilled workforce is to attract transnational organisation investments. Skilled labour with competence in English is what they require from the host countries. Chile, through the language policy launched in 2003, is currently investing and working on creating a skilled workforce to meet the demands of the contemporary global economy.

5.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have begun to question and analyse the data. In doing so, I have explored the discursive construction of the policy documents. I have focused on understanding how English has been first instrumentalised and then commodified by the Centre-Left Coalition policy makers. I have employed a critical analysis based on DHA and its analytical tools. This analysis has allowed me to expose the ideologies embedded in the language policy text. This design also has allowed me to understand the strategies employed to represent agents in the language policy. This is carried out by linguistic resources which help legitimate the instrumentalisation and commodification of English. The arguments put forward by the policy makers also attempt to justify the language policy implementation. The data analysis uncovers dominant ideologies in the texts. They are neoliberalism and English as a prestigious language. There is an ideological tension between these themes. While the texts, on the one hand, emphasise the value of competition and individualism. On the other hand, language policy makers make explicit, through the texts, the importance of the value of common good and equality. Both viewpoints represent complex contrasting political and ideological extremes which not only influence the policy implementation, but also promote them.

Analysis of the language policy discourses also expose tension in the linguistic context in which English is regarded as prestigious language. The Centre-Left Coalition government is aiming at Spanish-English bilingualism, disregarding Spanish-native language bilingualism. The government emphasises the spread of English in the Chilean context for economic development, but this premise contradicts with social equality since it values one language over another.

²⁴⁵ Extract 6.2: The demands *that society imposes on graduates of secondary education* are many and varied. They are required active participation either in the working world or in higher education. In this context, the purpose of the subdivision of foreign language in secondary education is to provide students with a tool that allows them access to information, knowledge and technologies and appreciate other lifestyles, traditions and ways of thinking. It has therefore training purposes and personal enrichment, as well as instrumental purposes for labour, academic, and professional purposes. To achieve them, it is required that the contents renewal and updating and linguistic skills development within a framework is consistent with our educational, social, geographic and economic reality (Note by author).

In addition, language policies are an arena of competing discourses. They are educational and economic ones. They are interwoven, but CDA helps to trace them and individualise them. The design uncovers, on the one hand, that instrumentalisation of English takes place in not only the language policy laws, but also in the language education policies. On the other hand, commodification of English only takes place in Chile *Decreto 081/2004*. While there is a lot of ‘cut and paste’ phenomenon going on in the policy documents, they show not only the possibility to trace them in time as well as expose the merge of voices participating in them. On the other, it is clear that the policy makers are trying to hegemonise and naturalise specific ideas. One of the strategies they employ to do so is repetition.

This investigation has also revealed that this language policy, as many other language policies, is a top-down one. This policy has been passed by some members of the government who signed them and who are individualised in the policies. However, the language policy was neither taken to the Senate, nor to the Chamber of Deputies to discuss its composition.

Regarding the instrumentalisation and commodification of English, the design allowed a multi-layer analysis. It has exposed fields of action, genres, mood, modality, lexicon and rhetoric strategies to carry out the instrumentalisation and commodification. Linguistic analysis of the data has provided a thorough reconstruction of the instrumentalisation of English. The analysis has also exposed the reasons that the policy makers provided for the instrumentalisation of the language. The analysis shows that English is commodified in two ways by the policy makers. English has not only a cultural value, but also a monetary one. While the former sees English as a reservoir of culture and tradition, the latter transforms reality it into a neoliberal construct. The analysis also exposed a third value given to English. It is the symbolic value. English is capital which becomes a verifiable skill through certification. This is a symbolic value which may be acknowledged by the Chilean society.

CHAPTER SIX:

ENGLISH LANGUAGE POLICY AND THE NEOLIBERAL IDEOLOGY

6.1 Introduction

After observing the results of the data analysis discussed in chapter five, which uncovers the notion of KBE, the commodification of English and a specific type of relationship among actors that participate in the English language policy documents, it seems to me that the neoliberal ideology implicit in all of them is a very important feature that needs to be looked at more coherently.

I am particularly interested in how neoliberal ideology and neoliberal discourse colonises relationships among actors participating the English language policy; how neoliberal discourse is enacted and inculcated in the Chilean educational system through the discourse of the policy and what roles KBE, English and technology composing the language policy text play as resources of the neoliberal agenda. I continue this chapter by observing the nature of the policy text. This seems to aim at naturalising the need to learn English as a hegemonic perspective. Hegemony as conceived by Gramsci (1971) leaves room for consent. The texts state that there is no other alternative to solve the economic problem Chileans are facing. However, whereas some stakeholders agree with this hegemonic vision of language learning, this chapter also accounts for the tension created by the grassroots' stance. I conclude this chapter by contesting neoliberal and language ideologies and bringing light into new ways of approaching English language learning and teaching.

Thus, the line of argument of this chapter states that even though the neoliberal ideology is the dominant discourse which is embedded in the language policy laws and language education policy documents, these texts are in fact a site of tension since other political, linguistic and educational ideologies are also the components of the policy and they are in constant debate with the dominant ideology.

6.2 Language policy, language teaching and neoliberalism

As I discussed extensively in chapter one, chapter two, chapter three, and chapter four, I have observed a link between political economy and language policy. More specifically, I have focused on exploring ideologies embedded in the foreign language policy launched in Chile. In the following section, I will expand on the neoliberal citizen; the construction of reality in neoliberal ideology; the conceptualisation of power in the English language policy; the role of discourse in the English language policy; and the role of English in the neoliberal agenda. I am aware that I cannot dismantle the influence of neoliberalism in the Chilean context in the course of this thesis, but I can surface the neoliberal components that compose the English language policy and question them in the sections that follow.

6.2.1 The neoliberal citizen

6.2.1.1 Relationships

Language has the capacity to mould social relationships (Massey, 2013). It is through language that social actors are characterised. This classification becomes naturalised by repetition which leads to hegemonic common sense (van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999). The analytical tools provided by the legitimation framework (4.4.4.1) and DHA (4.4.2; 4.4.3; 4.4.4) help us explore the the interaction actors have within the texts. Evidence of this phenomenon is shown in Extract 5.3²⁴⁶, Extract 5.10²⁴⁷, Extract 5.17²⁴⁸, Extract 5.19²⁴⁹,

²⁴⁶ Extract 5.3: The purpose of the subdivision foreign language in secondary education is to provide students with a tool that allows them access to information, knowledge and technologies, as well as appreciate other lifestyles, traditions and ways of thinking. It therefore has training purposes and personal enrichment as well as instrumental purposes for academic or professional goals (Note by author).

²⁴⁷ Extract 5.10: The subdivision of foreign language values, at the same time, the importance of learning a second language as an instance of training, proposing to turn the classroom into an environment that fosters the recreation of life in society, encouraging respect in-group activities and encouraging the learners to take responsibility for their own learning process. Thus, the use of encyclopaedias, dictionaries, grammars, software packages among other resources that promote independent learning and activities that allow recycling as well as updating knowledge through the foreign language will be encouraged (Note by author).

²⁴⁸ Extract 5.17: Article 4^o: The programme may pay all expenses necessary for the fulfilment of its objectives; including operating expenses, personnel expenses, rendering of service agreements with legal or artificial people, national or foreign, as well as expenses for accommodation, food and transportation of specialists and/ or participants in working sessions, workshops, seminar, and similar activities (Note by author)

¹²⁰ Article 6^o: The programme will be funded in 2008 under the item: 09.01.04.24.03.517, 10 of the Budget Law for the Public Sector (Translation by author).

²⁴⁹ Extract 5.19: c) Hire specialists, whether legal or artificial people, national or foreign, for performing: 1. Development of English language learning standards aligned with international standards (Note by author).

Extract 5.20²⁵⁰, Extract 5.21²⁵¹ and Extract 5.24²⁵². These extracts uncover the roles given to social actors involved in the language policy documents as in Extract 5.3. Here students receive instruction; they are not active actors in their learning processes. Students are placed in the object position of the sentence as uncovered by the DHA analysis.

Conversely, in Extract 5.10, learners are expected to become independent learners. The extract states: *responsabilizarse de su propio proceso de aprendizaje*²⁵³. Thus, we can observe a contradiction between one extract and the other. We may also argue that whereas one extract is in favour of passive actors, the other is enhancing individualism as none of those extracts talk about collaborative learning strategies to build knowledge.

Extract 5.17, Extract 5.19, Extract 5.20 and Extract 5.24 name two type of actors. They are the *expertos*²⁵⁴ and the *profesores*²⁵⁵. The last ones are also referred to as participants and *docentes*²⁵⁶. While the experts are in charge of creating and transmitting skills, i.e. *contratar con especialistas (...) elaboración (...) realizar (...) coordinar*²⁵⁷, the participants, which are the teachers, receive information and this is linguistically signalled by the object position this actor receives in the sentence. We may observe power differences in these extracts and in the whole Chile *Decreto No. 81/2004*. While the expert is understood to be in a position of power, in control of contents, organization and knowledge, the participants are expected to follow the instructions and may be characterised by being in a disadvantaged position. In Extract 5.21, we are introduced to the trainee teachers, i.e. *'alumnos destacados de la Carrera de pedagogía en inglés'*. In order for them to get a scholarship to receive training in an English-speaking country, they have to compete with their peers as signalled by the adjective *destacados*²⁵⁸. The best trainees will be able to travel abroad. In Extract 5.24, a new identity has been created, the English-speaking volunteers. They are native speakers of English who come from the inner circle of English

²⁵⁰ Extract 5.20: b) Conduct workshops, seminars and in classroom and long distance training courses for teachers, including development programmes abroad for professionals and community workshops, that will be organised in coordination with Improvement and Experimentation Centre and Pedagogical Investigations (Note by author).

²⁵¹ Extract 5.21: Scholarships destined to the stay of an academic semester abroad of students Art. N° 1, outstanding of the courses of pedagogy in English of the Universities that have obtained the institutional accreditation granted by the National Commission of Accreditation of Undergraduate (Note by author).

²⁵² Extract 5.24: Design, implementation and evaluation of teacher training activities, English speaking volunteer programmes in educational institutions and courses and seminars of technical English for specialised environments (Translation by author).

²⁵³ Responsible for his or her own learning processes (Translation by author).

²⁵⁴ Experts (Translation by author).

²⁵⁵ Teachers (Translation by author).

²⁵⁶ Teachers (Translation by author).

²⁵⁷ Hire specialists for the development (...) conduct (...) coordination (Translation by author).

²⁵⁸ Outstanding (Translation by author).

speaking countries (Kachru, 1985, 1997) whose nativeness places them in an advantageous position in relation to the teacher. This language ideology point of view displayed by the policy makers is extensively discussed by Lippi-Green (1993) and Duranti (2004). Besides, the volunteer becomes the person that learners not only look up to, but also the one that motivates them to learn (Byrd, 2013).

6.2.1.2 The construction of identities

The neoliberal traces we can observe in the construction of identities are as I discussed previously in chapter five (5.3.2.2). I state that there is a hint of a business relationship among actors. This relationship is built on clients, customers and service providers. Based on the data analysis, these relationships and these roles are implicit. They are not overtly named for what they are. Then, I argued that the policy makers prefer to avoid using the corresponding economic vocabulary that seems to have colonised educational environments. However, these relationships with implicit roles among actors have been naturalised by repetition in the media and policy documents and have become hegemonic. Massey (2013a:5) argues that:

vocabulary of customer, consumer, choice, markets and self-interest moulds both our conception of ourselves and our understanding of and relationship to the world.

Evidence of the understanding of the new context in which new type of relationships are built is shown in the policy text Extract 6.1. This extract, which is analysed by means of the DHA discipline (4.4.2), is taken from Chile Decreto N° 254, 2009 and it is categorised as language policy in the corpus (4.5.2):

Extract 6.1

*dadas las modificaciones en el mundo laboral, se ha considerado necesario actualizar los Objetivos Fundamentales Terminales de las especialidades de la Formación Diferenciada Técnico Profesional para adecuarlos a estas transformaciones*²⁵⁹ (Chile Decreto N° 254, 2009²⁶⁰)

The policy makers inform the readers that *dadas las modificaciones en el mundo laboral*²⁶¹, which is ‘our understanding of and relationship to the world’ (Massey, 2013a:5)

²⁵⁹ Given the changes in the workplace, it has been deemed necessary to update the Fundamental Extended Objectives of Vocational Technical Differentiated specialties to adapt them to these changes (Translation by author).

²⁶⁰ It modifies the Supreme Decree No. 220 of 1998 of the Ministry of Education establishing the fundamental objectives and mandatory minimum contents of secondary education and establishes the general rules for their application. (Note by author).

²⁶¹ Due to changes in the labour world (Translation by author).

due to economic reasons as stated in Extract 5.9²⁶², it is relevant to change objectives of the educational curricula which moulds our understanding of ourselves and of the world. The language policy also enhances values and attitudes as uncovered in chapter five (5.3.2.1). The evidence provided by Extract 5.10²⁶³ shows that learners are implicitly encouraged to be individualistic by using terms such as '*responsabilizarse de su propio proceso de aprendizaje (...) aprendizaje autonomo*²⁶⁴' whereas Extract 5.21²⁶⁵ overtly promotes competition. Both attitudes are regarded as values within the neoliberal ideology (Harvey, 2007; Peck 2012; Massey, 2013; Block et. al., 2012). These values, according to Massey (2013a:4), seem to be pursuing individualist ends.

Terms of collaborative work and team-work are missing in Decreto 081/2004. Conversely, language education policy documents such as Chile *Decreto N° 254/2009* use words such as *equidad*²⁶⁶ and *comunidad*²⁶⁷. This is evidenced in Extract 5.2 below:

Extract 5.2

*La necesidad de encuadrarse en los propósitos de las políticas educacionales de Estado que impulsa el Gobierno de Chile, en orden a mejorar la calidad de la educación, asegurar su **equidad** y comprometer en ello la participación de la **comunidad nacional***²⁶⁸ (Chile Decreto N° 254, 2009²⁶⁹)

This extract, which is analysed by DHA (4.4.2), shows that there are other possibilities and other alternatives to individualism. Thus, neoliberal hegemonic common sense is contested

²⁶² Extract 5.9: The increasing integration of Chile into the global economy, embodied by trade agreements recently reached with the United States, the European Union and Korea requires significantly more effort as a country to successfully respond to new opportunities for social and economic development (Note by author).

²⁶³ Extract 5.10: The subdivision of foreign language values, at the same time, the importance of learning a second language as an instance of training, proposing to turn the classroom into an environment that fosters the recreation of life in society, encouraging respect in-group activities and encouraging the learners to take responsibility for their own learning process. Thus, the use of encyclopaedias, dictionaries, grammars, software packages among other resources that promote independent learning and activities that allow recycling as well as updating knowledge through the foreign language will be encouraged (Note by author).

²⁶⁴ Be responsible of their own learning process (...) autonomous learning (Translation by author).

²⁶⁵ Extract 5.21: Scholarships destined to the stay of an academic semester abroad of students Art. N° 1, outstanding of the courses of pedagogy in English of the Universities that have obtained the institutional accreditation granted by the National Commission of Accreditation of Undergraduate (Note by author).

²⁶⁶ Equity (Translation by author).

²⁶⁷ Community (Translation by author).

²⁶⁸ The need to fit into the educational purposes of State policies promoted by the Government of Chile, in order to improve the quality of education, ensure equity and engage in its participation of the national community (Translation by author).

²⁶⁹ It modifies the Supreme Decree No. 220 of 1998 of the Ministry of Education establishing the fundamental objectives and mandatory minimum contents of secondary education and establishes the general rules for their application.

within the policy documents, and therefore, it may also be contested by the stakeholders. There was an economic model and ideology prior to General Pinochet's reforms as discussed in chapter two (2.3). Therefore, there must have been different types of interactions and relationships among actors involved in English language teaching at that time.

Competition is also another trait of the neoliberal citizen (Massey, 2013). Evidence of this behaviour is the introduction of teachers' assessment required and covered by the Ministry of Education. In 2011, Teachers underwent evaluation of their English proficiency as well. Even though it is not a compulsory evaluation, 5,000 teachers across the country voluntarily took the test. This test is a product of University of Cambridge and aims at measuring the command teachers have of the L2. According to the minister of education Harald Beyer (La Nación, 2012), those who obtain the best marks will be certified and will be granted an internship to be trained in an English-speaking country. This training will give them the skills to become better English teachers (La Nación, 2012).

This assessment is the outcome of years of teacher training planned by EODP. However, it has been argued that teachers of English lack the skills to teach the foreign language (La Tercera, 2004). Among the reasons for this drawback are the limited command local teachers have of the foreign language, lack of resources, limited number of teachers and lack of training to teach primary school learners (La Tercera, 2013). Thus, as part of the language policy, teacher training was also emphasised (Extract 5.20²⁷⁰). In 2004, 1,500 teachers of State-subsidised private schools were trained (Ramos, 2004). Also, the report of the evaluation of new educational programmes of 2009 gave account of the number of teachers trained from 2006-2009. See table below:

²⁷⁰ Extract 5.20: b) Conduct workshops, seminars and in classroom and long distance training courses for teachers, including development programmes abroad for professionals and community workshops, that will be organised in coordination with Improvement and Experimentation Centre and Pedagogical Investigations (Note by author).

Figure 6.1 Summary of teacher training 2006-2009 (DIPRES, 2009:2)

| Proyecto | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 |
|---|--------|---------|---------|---------|
| Profesores Cursos de Perfeccionamiento Docente | 870 | 1.036 | 1.287 | 1.538 |
| Profesores Redes Pedagógicas Locales de inglés | 1.039 | 1.573 | 1.890 | 2.336 |
| Profesores Talleres Comunales de inglés | 61 | 210 | 504 | 533 |
| Profesores English Summer Town | 273 | 177 | 155 | 41 |
| Estudiantes beneficiados con Voluntarios Angloparlantes | 51.840 | 114.700 | 130.300 | 200.000 |
| Voluntarios Angloparlantes | 216 | 470 | 532 | 643 |
| Estudiantes Torneo de Debates de Inglés | 1.134 | 1.662 | 2.148 | 2.500 |
| Estudiantes Public Speaking / Ex diálogos | 1.314 | 900 | 1.254 | 1.500 |
| Estudiantes Campamentos de Inglés | 0 | 0 | 1.634 | 2.000 |
| Estudiantes Beca Semestre en el Extranjero | 33 | 97 | 210 | 300 |

Fuente: PIAP

The table shows the number of teachers that have been trained by the EODP plan from 2006 to 2009.

Another instance of competition is shown in students' behaviour. Due to the introduction of the policy, EODP has promoted competitions such as the Spelling Bee and Public Debates. Figure 6.1 above shows the increasing number of participants in these competitions. This argument has also been echoed by La Tercera (2007) article. Its headline '*Torneos de oratoria en inglés son la nueva modalidad para reforzar la educación bilingüe*²⁷¹' highlights the motivating role competition has been given by the policy. Thus, the discourse used by newspapers to inform society of those events, such as the headline of La Tercera (2007) regarding a national competition among schools is '*[p]remian a alumnas ganadoras de concurso nacional de inglés*²⁷²', also enhances competition.

6.2.2 The construction of reality in neoliberal ideology

6.2.2.1 The KBE

According to the Ministry of Education, Sergio Bitar (La Tercera, 2003b), Chile 'needs to be a bilingual country to grow.' The minister stated this in an 'Americas Society' meeting held in Santiago that also welcomed an important guest, the American magnate David Rockefeller. Members of the Ministry of Finance and of Ministry of Education attended that event, too. The former Minister of Education stated that:

existe un gran atraso en materia tecnológica y educacional y que son algunos de los aspectos que hay que trabajar. Sostuvo que en esas áreas se inserta la necesidad que tiene el inglés, el cual, más que un idioma, es un código y, por lo

²⁷¹ Public speaking competition is the new method to reinforce bilingual education (Translation by author).

²⁷² Students rewarded for winning national English contest (Translation by author).

*tanto, algo imprescindible para el país, más aún pensando en el futuro Tratado de Libre Comercio (TLC) con Estados Unidos*²⁷³ (La Tercera, 2003b).

At the same time, Juan Claro (Chairman of the Federation of Chilean Industry Sofofa²⁷⁴) argued that:

*estamos en una situación donde es necesario hacer cosas para seguir siendo exitosos y nos hemos quedado estancados. Es imprescindible modernizar las instituciones, de manera de dar espacios de crecer y aumentar la productividad*²⁷⁵ (La Tercera, 2003b).

As I have already anticipated in chapter five, Extract 5.3²⁷⁶, the notion of KBE is also a component of the language policy texts. This concept is related to know-how and know-that, both carry semiotic meanings (Fairclough, 2002). While the teacher and learner act and interact in a certain way in the English classroom, the language policy documents through discourse inform Chileans that they have to know-that as is hinted in Extract 5,26²⁷⁷. Thus, by means of instrumentalisation, first, know-how in Extract 5,9²⁷⁸ and Extract 5,25²⁷⁹ and know-that have, then, become commodities as explained in chapter five (5.3.2). While English is sold in its many educational formats, i.e. know-that, language policy makers designed a policy that explains the steps to achieve the goal, i.e. know-how. Know-how is a product sold by privates and consumed by the government and the Ministry of Education.

²⁷³ There is a large backlog in technological and educational matters and those are some of the aspects that we have to work on. [He] argued that the need of English is relevant in those areas, which more than a language, it is a code and, therefore, vital for the country, even thinking of the future Free Trade Agreement (FTA) [signed] with the United States (Translation by author).

²⁷⁴ It was founded in 1983 and it is a non-profit trade association representing Chilean industry (Note by author).

²⁷⁵ We are in a situation where it is necessary to do things to keep being successful and we have been stagnant. It is imperative to modernize the institutions, so as to give space to grow and increase productivity (Translation by author).

²⁷⁶ Extract 5.3: The purpose of the subdivision foreign language in secondary education is to provide students with a tool that allows them access to information, knowledge and technologies, as well as appreciate other lifestyles, traditions and ways of thinking. It therefore has training purposes and personal enrichment as well as instrumental purposes for academic or professional goals (Note by author)

²⁷⁷ Extract 5.26: That, people who have a basic and instrumental command of English will have **better** possibilities of getting a job, of getting **better** salaries, of being successful at university, of applying to scholarships, of starting an export business, to access new information through the internet, among other **advantages** and **opportunities** (Note by author).

²⁷⁸ Extract 5.9: The increasing integration of Chile into the global economy, embodied by trade agreements recently reached with the United States, the European Union and Korea requires significantly more effort as a country to successfully respond to new opportunities for social and economic development (Note by author).

²⁷⁹ Extract 5,25: That, **the growing integration of Chile into the global economy, embodied by trade agreements recently signed with the United States, the European Union and Korea** requires significantly more effort as a country to successfully respond to new social and economic opportunities of development (Note by author).

Technologisation of discourse, which is ‘a widespread accompaniment of changes in workplaces, in industry as well as professions and services’ (Fairclough, 1996:71) has an impact in the workplace of experts, teachers and learners who participate as actors in the corpus of this research. Following Fairclough’s definition of technologisation of discourse, we may explore the corpus by using DHA analytical tools (4.4.2) and uncover how this type of discourse is expressed in the data. The workplaces referred to in the data are the current English language classrooms of primary and secondary schools in Chile. Extract 5.27²⁸⁰, which is taken from the main language policy, elucidates which teaching material will colonise English language classrooms. These learning environments are re-designed by the language policy experts, who aim at making lessons more effective. For that, experts suggest to include English language textbooks, dictionaries and media in the language classroom as was detailed in Extract 5.10²⁸¹. The language classrooms also require a specific type of distribution during the examination period. Based on the data (Extract 5.16²⁸²), Chilean students have to face many national English language proficiency evaluations. The furniture is organised in certain ways to meet the requirements of the evaluation; actors such as teachers and learners fulfil roles during the foreign language lesson and during the national evaluation periods. Finally, the language classrooms have been equipped with the pedagogical material dictated by the language policy.

These sorts of behaviour and the distribution of classroom material and furniture is coherent with Fairclough (2002) and Holborough’s (2012:19) arguments. They postulate that new capitalism, i.e. neoliberalism, re-structures and re-scales different fields of social life as well as the facilitation of a local and global dialectical interaction. We observe learners, teachers, and language volunteers acting and interacting as proposed by the English language policy that is coherent with the neoliberal ideology. This neoliberal ideology refers to the place the technology, information and competitiveness occupy in society. The ideology adapts to local as well as global environments in which Chilean

²⁸⁰ Extract 5.27: D) Acquire, produce, edit, design, print and distribute didactic material in all its formats with the purpose of strengthening the Learning of the English language in the educational institutions mentioned before (Chile Decreto N° 081, 2004) (Note by the author).

²⁸¹ Extract 5.10: The subdivision of foreign language values, at the same time, the importance of learning a second language as an instance of training, proposing to turn the classroom into an environment that fosters the recreation of life in society, encouraging respect in-group activities and encouraging the learners to take responsibility for their own learning process. Thus, the use of encyclopaedias, dictionaries, grammars, software packages among other resources that promote independent learning and activities that allow recycling as well as updating knowledge through the foreign language will be encouraged (Note by author).

²⁸² Extract 5.16: Hiring the development, design, validation, application of instruments, diagnostic, experimental, and census tests to measure levels of English learning in elementary and secondary school students of the educational institutions mentioned above (Note by author).

learners are trained locally to take internationally produce standardize language assessments. The inconsistency about the KBE notion and its implementation in the language classroom is the sophisticated level of monitoring standardised evaluations, as well as its preparation for the examination achieve. This control threatens democratic language classrooms and nears the Fordist notion of mass production (Bunting 2004; Holborow 2007; Holborow, 2012:21-22).

6.2.2.2 Inculcation

Inculcation refers to ways of being and new identities. It is materialised in gestures, postures and ways of moving (Fairclough, 2001:2). Inculcation of ways of being in the language classroom can be observed in Extract 5.10²⁸³ and Extract 5.20²⁸⁴ above. Here, learners are responsible for their learning processes (Extract 5.10) which has not only been designed by the experts hired by the government, but also teachers are trained to implement that curriculum (Extract 5.20). In those extracts, learners, teachers and experts take roles and behave according to the place they occupy in the policy. Society and the institutions, such as the school and the government, legitimise the role asignation. Legitimation is carried out by assigning names and roles (4.4.4.1). Besides, inculcation of an ideology is carried out through social practices (Fairclough, 2002) such as the will not only to promote, but to learn English rather than another foreign language or native language. This language ideology, i.e. English as a prestigious language, is consolidated in the Chilean society by the annual national *Simce de inglés* examination carried out by ETS²⁸⁵ using their product TESOL Bridge. In addition, inculcation is also achieved through prevailing names and descriptions such as *voluntarios de habla inglesa* and *especialistas* (Chile Decreto N° 081, 2004). These roles and practices, which have been uncovered by the representation of social actors analytical tool (4.4.4.2), are the ingredients of a managerial instruction. Once actors have been assigned a role which becomes their identity and identification, they lose their individualities. Social contexts begin to be

²⁸³ Extract 5.10: The subdivision of foreign language values, at the same time, the importance of learning a second language as an instance of training, proposing to turn the classroom into an environment that fosters the recreation of life in society, encouraging respect in-group activities and encouraging the learners to take responsibility for their own learning process. Thus, the use of encyclopaedias, dictionaries, grammars, software packages among other resources that promote independent learning and activities that allow recycling as well as updating knowledge through the foreign language will be encouraged (Note by author).

²⁸⁴ Extract 5.20: b) Conduct workshops, seminars and in classroom and long distance training courses for teachers, including development programmes abroad for professionals and community workshops, that will be organised in coordination with Improvement and Experimentation Centre and Pedagogical Investigations (Note by author).

²⁸⁵ Educational Testing Service. It is a non-profit American institution. It aims at equality and quality in education worldwide.

imagined in this way, i.e. students trained to take a test; classrooms and their standardised teaching materials; learners, teacher and examiners' roles during not only the national yearly *Simce de inglés* assessment, but also during the language lessons.

From all the actors that participate in the policy, *Voluntarios de habla inglesa* in Extract 5.24²⁸⁶ is one of the main identities introduced by Chile *Decreto 081/2004*. This is an interesting actor since it is a new identity and specially created for the policy. The role that the English-speaking volunteers play is crucial for the effectiveness of the policy. Volunteers' role within this programme is to give municipal and State-subsidised schoolchildren the opportunity to interact with native English speakers as well as support the teachers' work in the classroom. The aim is to enhance positive learning outcomes (PIAP, 2014). These volunteers are native speakers of English whose age ranges between 21 to 35 years old (PIAP, 2014). Volunteers pay their travel fare to come help Chilean students and receive a stipend of Chilean Peso \$60,000. Moreover, the host family will receive a monthly amount of Chilean Peso \$156,000 to cover the volunteers' expenses (Resolución Exenta, 2014). However, the English-speaking volunteer programme is a top-down measure which may not be welcomed by all teachers. Evidence of this is provided by Horacio Walker (2003). According to the coordinator of the EODP, in 20% of the schools, there have been coordination problems regarding the introduction of the volunteers into the educational system as some teachers felt 'not confident' of having a native English speaker in the classroom. The reasons for this lack of confidence from the teachers' side have neither been explored nor accounted for.

6.2.2.3 Enactment

Enactment refers to ways of acting and interacting. They become materialised in discourse in new genres such as team-meetings and ways of managing an organisation (Fairclough, 2001:2). Regarding enactment of the English language policy, Chile *Decreto 081/2004* delineates how the EODP is run in the educational system nationally. The policy document states types of evaluations in Extract 5.16²⁸⁷ and Extract 5.19²⁸⁸; training in Extract 5.17²⁸⁹,

²⁸⁶ Extract 5.24: Design, implementation and evaluation of teacher training activities, English speaking volunteer programmes in educational institutions and courses and seminars of technical English for specialised environments (Note by author).

²⁸⁷ Extract 5.16: Hiring the development, design, validation, and application of instruments and diagnostic, experimental and census tests to measure levels of English learning in elementary and secondary school students of the educational institutions mentioned above (Note by author).

²⁸⁸ Extract 5.19: c) Hire specialists, whether legal or artificial people, national or foreign, for performing: 1. Development of English language learning standards aligned with international standards (Note by author).

²⁸⁹ Extract 5.17: Article 4 °: The programme may pay all expenses necessary for the fulfilment of its objectives; including operating expenses, personnel expenses, rendering of service agreements with legal or

Extract 5.20²⁹⁰, and Extract 5.24²⁹¹; and teaching material in Extract 5.10²⁹² and Extract 5.23²⁹³ that will support the implementation of the policy. Besides, Table 6.1, below, evidences how the language policy of Chile *Decreto No. 081/2004* has successfully been enacted in the Chilean educational system.

Table 6.1: Examples of enactment of the language policy in Chile.

| | BUDGET EODP | ASSESSMENTS (STS ²⁹⁴) | TEACHER TRAINING | ENGLISH SPEAKING VOLUNTEERS | SCHOLARSHIPS TO TRAINEE TEACHERS |
|------|--------------------------------|---|----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 2003 | ²⁹⁵ US\$2.0 million | -- | | ²⁹⁶ 51 | |
| 2004 | | ²⁹⁷ ESOL 8B & 4M (²⁹⁸ 5,000 students) | ²⁹⁹ 1,550 | ³⁰⁰ 15 | |
| 2005 | | -- | ³⁰¹ 700 | | |
| 2006 | | -- | ³⁰² 870 | ³⁰³ 216 | ³⁰⁴ 33 |

artificial people, national or foreign, as well as expenses for accommodation, food and transportation of specialists and/ or participants in working sessions, workshops, seminars, and similar activities (Note by author)

²⁹⁰ Extract 5.20: b) Conduct workshops, seminars and in classroom and long distance training courses for teachers, including development programmes abroad for professionals and community workshops, that will be organised in coordination with Improvement and Experimentation Centre and Pedagogical Investigations (Note by author).

²⁹¹ Extract 5.24: Design, implementation and evaluation of teacher training activities, English speaking volunteer programmes in educational institutions and courses and seminars of technical English for specialised environments (Note by author).

²⁹² Extract 5.10: The subdivision of foreign language **values**, at the same time, the importance of learning a second language as an instance of training, proposing to turn the classroom into an environment that fosters the recreation of life in society, encouraging respect in-group activities and encouraging the learners to take responsibility for their own learning process. Thus, the use of encyclopaedias, dictionaries, grammars, software packages among other resources that promote independent learning and activities that allow recycling as well as updating knowledge through the foreign language will be encouraged (Note by author).

²⁹³ Extract 5.23: Studies for the assessment of compliance with the programme. d) Purchase, produce, edit, design, print, and distribute educational materials in all formats, to strengthen the learning of the English language in the educational institutions mentioned before (Note by author).

²⁹⁴ Students.

²⁹⁵ Oficina Nacional de Educación UNESCO, 2004.

²⁹⁶ La Tercera, 2003d

²⁹⁷ Educarchile, 2013

²⁹⁸ La Tercera, 2004c

²⁹⁹ La Tercera, 2004a

³⁰⁰ La Tercera, 2004b

³⁰¹ El Mercurio, 2005

³⁰² Evaluación de Programas Nuevos, 2009.

³⁰³ *ibid*

³⁰⁴ *ibid*

| | | | | | |
|-------------|---|--|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 2007 | | -- | ³⁰⁵ 1,036 | ³⁰⁶ 470 | ³⁰⁷ 97 |
| 2008 | ³⁰⁸ US\$2,78 million | -- | ³⁰⁹ 1,036 | ³¹⁰ 532 | ³¹¹ 210 |
| 2009 | ³¹² Chilean Peso \$4,680 million | -- | ³¹³ 1,538 | ³¹⁴ 643 | ³¹⁵ 300 |
| 2010 | ³¹⁶ Chilean Peso \$5.547.004 million | ³¹⁷ TOEIC Bridge 3M (³¹⁸ 20,000 students) | | | ³¹⁹ 52 |

The table shows the budget of EODP from 2003 to 2010, the evaluations taken by the learners within this period, the number of teachers that have been trained, the number of English-speaking volunteers and the scholarships that have been awarded from 2006 to 2010.

Enactment of the language policy is also supported by the media. La Tercera (2003a) informs society that the Ministry of Education delivers 635,000 English language learning textbooks for 5th and 6th year of primary education to State-subsidised schools. The ministry also provides other educational materials such as software to learn English and the support of English-speaking volunteers for high schools. In addition, Sergio Bitar, the Minister of Education, has been in touch with the owners of TV channels. The aim of this project is to transmit subtitled English spoken programmes for children on Saturday and Sunday mornings. The outcome of the conversations among the minister and the TV channels is a TV programme called BKN. This Chilean TV programme broadcasted 11 seasons from March 6, 2004 to November 11, 2012. The target audience was teenagers and it was shown every Saturday morning. The official language of BKN was Spanish, but the episodes were subtitled in English. Even though the show did not have pedagogical goals,

³⁰⁵ Evaluación de Programas Nuevos, 2009.

³⁰⁶ *ibid*

³⁰⁷ *ibid*

³⁰⁸ Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo, 2008.

³⁰⁹ Evaluación de Programas Nuevos, 2009.

³¹⁰ *ibid*

³¹¹ *ibid*

³¹² DIPRES, 2009.

³¹³ Evaluación de Programas Nuevos, 2009.

³¹⁴ *ibid*

³¹⁵ *bid*

³¹⁶ Ministerio de Hacienda, 2009.

³¹⁷ EducarChile, 2013.

³¹⁸ La Tercera (2011).

³¹⁹ Universia, 2010.

it was acknowledged by the Ministry of Education for having English subtitles which supported the goals of EODP (Terra, 2012).

6.2.2.4 Vocabulary

Vocabulary has reclassified roles, practices, places and institutions. Roles, places and institutions are enacted by social practices (Fairclough, 2002). These practices embody through the managerial instruction, the neoliberal ideology (Massey, 2013:6). The lexicon used by the language policy to talk about *El Programa* and its language management's (Spolsky, 2004) goals can be associated with the neoliberal mindset. See the cluster of wealth creation and growth, which has been taken from Chile *Decreto 081/2004* document, below:

*competencias*³²⁰, *laboral*³²¹, *empleo*³²², *remuneración*³²³, *negocio exportador*³²⁴, *información*³²⁵, *económica*³²⁶, *acuerdos comerciales*³²⁷, *desarrollo social y económico*³²⁸, *presupuesto*³²⁹, *sector público*³³⁰, *estándares nacionales*³³¹, *estrategia*³³², *contratar*³³³, *pruebas de medición*³³⁴, *perfeccionamiento*³³⁵, *adquirir*³³⁶, *producir*³³⁷, *distribuir*³³⁸, *evaluación*³³⁹, *cumplimiento de metas*³⁴⁰, *acreditación*³⁴¹, *gastos*³⁴², *bienes*³⁴³, *servicios*³⁴⁴, *insumos*³⁴⁵, *convenios*³⁴⁶, *capacitación*³⁴⁷, *financiera*³⁴⁸, *cargo*³⁴⁹, *ley de presupuesto*³⁵⁰. (Decreto 081/2004)

³²⁰ Competence (Translation by author).

³²¹ Labour (Translation by author).

³²² Employment (Translation by author).

³²³ Remuneration (Translation by author).

³²⁴ Export business (Translation by author).

³²⁵ Information (Translation by author).

³²⁶ Economic (Translation by author).

³²⁷ Trade agreements (Translation by author).

³²⁸ Social and economic development (Translation by author).

³²⁹ Budget (Translation by author).

³³⁰ Public sector (Translation by author).

³³¹ National standards (Translation by author).

³³² Strategy (Translation by author).

³³³ Hire (Translation by author).

³³⁴ Measurement test (Translation by author).

³³⁵ Training (Translation by author).

³³⁶ Purchase (Translation by author).

³³⁷ Produce (Translation by author).

³³⁸ Distribute (Translation by author).

³³⁹ Evaluation (Translation by author).

³⁴⁰ Goal compliance (Translation by author).

³⁴¹ Accreditation (Translation by author).

³⁴² Expenses (Translation by author).

³⁴³ Goods (Translation by author).

³⁴⁴ Services (Translation by author).

³⁴⁵ Consumable goods (Translation by author).

³⁴⁶ Agreements (Translation by author).

³⁴⁷ Training (Translation by author).

³⁴⁸ Fund (Future tense) (Translation by author).

³⁴⁹ Charge (Translation by author).

³⁵⁰ Budget law (Translation by author).

This vocabulary forms the main language policy document for the implementation of English in Chile and it is the basis of the EODP. While words such as *gastos* has a negative meaning and *sector público*, i.e. the State, will have to cover those costs through the *presupuesto* contained in *ley de presupuesto*. Words such as *adquirir*, *producir*, *distribuir*, *servicios* and *insumos* have a positive meaning since something is obtained from an economic exchange. This economic exchange involves two actors. One of them is the *sector público* and the other is described in Extract 5.19. This extract names national and international experts. They may be associated with ‘private’ institutions such as University of Cambridge, ETS and *Instituto Chileno Norteamericano de Cultura*³⁵¹.

We can observe the words *laboral*³⁵², *empleo* and *remuneración*³⁵³ as part of the text of the language policy. These words are associated with *estándares nacionales*³⁵⁴, *pruebas de medición*³⁵⁵, *perfeccionamiento*³⁵⁶, *evaluación*³⁵⁷, *cumplimiento de metas*³⁵⁸, *acreditación*³⁵⁹ and *capacitación*³⁶⁰. We may hypothesise that this lexicon is relevant to managerial instruction (Massey, 2013). This type of instruction may aim at training learners (and teachers) to focus on individualistic ends such as *empleo*³⁶¹ and *remuneración*³⁶² while they undergo frequent *evaluación* (TESOL Bridge, ESOL) that meet *estándares nacionales* and *cumplimiento de metas*³⁶³ after intensive *perfeccionamiento*³⁶⁴ and *capacitación*³⁶⁵. Based on this claim, I echo Massey (2013:10). She argues that work is linked with transaction for money and regarded as work. Unpaid labour such as help at home does not fit in the criteria of work implied in the cluster above. Interestingly, the term ‘volunteer’ is employed to name *voluntarios de habla inglesa*³⁶⁶ who are paid and support English teachers’ work due to an economic Agreement between the governments of Chile and the United States.

³⁵¹ Chilean-British centre for the promotion of English language learning founded in 1938 (Note by author).

³⁵² Employment (Translation by author).

³⁵³ Employment and wages (Translation by author).

³⁵⁴ National standards (Translation by author).

³⁵⁵ Testing (Translation by author).

³⁵⁶ Improvement (Translation by author).

³⁵⁷ Assessment (Translation by author).

³⁵⁸ Meeting targets (Translation by author).

³⁵⁹ Accreditation (Translation by author).

³⁶⁰ Training (Translation by author).

³⁶¹ Employment (Translation by author).

³⁶² Wages (Translation by author).

³⁶³ Meeting targets (Translation by author).

³⁶⁴ Improvement (Translation by author).

³⁶⁵ Training (Translation by author).

³⁶⁶ English-speaking volunteer (Translation by author).

The understanding that unpaid labour is not work as a transaction for money is also a representation of an ideology in social contexts. It reflects the way society thinks or understands the economy. According to this, Chilean family structure includes the notion of extended families. In this concept, grandparents still play an important role in decision making as well as in looking after their grandchildren while the parents work. Thus, unpaid jobs in the Chilean context contributes to the development and reproduction of the society (World Family Map, 2013). This example may be regarded as evidence of the possibility to contest the hegemonic *status quo* of the neoliberal ideology in Chile.

The word *gasto*, i.e. expenditure, in the cluster is money used for paying services required by *El Programa*. The two sides of expenditure have different connotations. Whereas expenditure carried out by private institutions suggests a profit-making intention behind and is regarded as a worthwhile investment. Conversely, expenditure carried out by the State is understood as deficit as it is taken from people's taxes. Hence, the connotation of the word in this context is negative as is considered a burden. This perception is due to people having a negative opinion of taxes and hating to pay them.

The naturalisation of this lexicon is the core element to establish a new hegemonic common sense. Naturalisation takes place through the use of the vocabulary of an economic activity, which decontextualises it from its economic cluster, i.e field of action, and then, recontextualises it in a different field of action such as education and law. The lexicon becomes natural and it appears to be all around us, not only part of the economic jargon, but also colonising other environments such as the educational one. Once the vocabulary becomes hegemonic, there seems to be a feeling of resignation and a belief that there is no other alternative, which is contradictory with one of the main principles of neoliberalism, i.e. choice. This freedom of choice gives room to consumerism. But at the same time, neoliberal discourses in texts such as the language policy imply that there is no choice. Whereas learners once had the opportunity to choose which foreign language to learn thanks to Chile *Decreto 4.002/1980*, Chile *Decreto 081/2004* only gives one option of foreign language to learn. The argument here is that there is a kind of imagining of how society is (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2001; Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012) (chapter five). This imagining is created by discourses, which once naturalised, become hegemonic (Massey, 2013a:17). If stakeholders aim at having a different type of language policy, the discourses that construct the current social context and social practices within the language policy laws and language education policy documents need to be challenged.

6.2.2.5 Globalisation

There are two ways of understanding globalisation. One is through the consequences that intensified global connections such as technology and the spread of English. The other is the use of an influential codeword in political speech. This codeword shapes policy-making through discourse use. Thus, this policy created under a specific codeword selection influences and shapes the way people live on a global scale (Sparke, 2013:2). There are three myths regarding globalisation as a dominant discourse. The first one is related to the newness of globalisation as a phenomenon. The second one refers to its inevitability which, according to Saltman (2009:55-56) has ‘infected education thought’, and the last one refers to the myth of levelling. Hegemonising these myths make the implementation of neoliberal policies possible. However, tension caused by dissident ideas contest the *status quo* of the inevitability of the neoliberal reforms (Sparke, 2013:2). Through the use of discourse, policy makers are shaping reality. According to them, Chile is facing a period of time in which citizens need to adjust to the requirements of the new context, i.e. the inevitability of globalisation. This argument is supported by Sergio Bitar (2003). He argues that *‘[n]o cabe ninguna duda que el inglés es una habilidad clave para pertenecer a un mundo globalizado, del cual Chile es parte y espera participar activamente³⁶⁷’*. Also, Rodrigo Fábrega (2006) leader of the EODP emphasises the importance of the foreign language stating that *‘[s]aber o no este idioma marcará crecientemente la diferente entre quienes podrán y quienes no podrán aprovechar las oportunidades de la globalización³⁶⁸’*. Newness of globalization as a process is observed in La Tercera (2003c), the editor states that:

[e]n un contexto de globalización como el actual, el dominio del inglés es determinante, tanto en la inserción internacional de la economía como en el desarrollo profesional³⁶⁹.

The column also exhibits a positive view of the use of international standards and assessment instruments such as the University of Cambridge product called KET³⁷⁰. The Extract 5.9, Extract 6.2, Extract 6.3, Extract 6.4, Extract 6.5, Extract 6.6, Extract 6.7, and Extract 6;8 show how the policy describes globalisation as a modern phenomenon (bold)

³⁶⁷ There is no doubt that English is a key skill to belong to a global world to which Chile belongs and aims at participating in it actively (Translation by author).

³⁶⁸ Command of English or lack of it will make an increasingly difference among those who will benefit from the opportunities of globalisation and those who won't. (Translation by author).

³⁶⁹ In a context of globalization as the current one, English proficiency is crucial, both for the international integration of the economy and for the professional development (Translation by author)

³⁷⁰ Key English Test. It is developed by university of Cambridge and it measures basic level of competence in English (Note by author).

when, as discussed in chapter five, it is not. These extracts also show the inevitability of the phenomenon (*italics*) and its levelling effects (underlined):

Extract 5.9

la creciente inserción de Chile en la economía mundial, materializada por los *acuerdos comerciales recientemente logrados con Estados Unidos, la Unión Europea y Corea exige un esfuerzo significativamente mayor como país para responder con éxito a **las nuevas oportunidades de desarrollo social y económico***³⁷¹ (Chile Decreto N° 081, 2004³⁷²).

Extract 6.2

Las demandas que *la sociedad actual impone a los egresados de la Enseñanza Media* son variadas y múltiples. Se requiere de su participación activa en el mundo laboral o en la educación superior. En este contexto, el propósito del subsector de idioma extranjero en la Educación Media es entregar a los estudiantes una herramienta que les permita acceder a **información, conocimiento y tecnologías**, así como apreciar otros estilos de vida, tradiciones y maneras de pensar. Tiene por tanto propósitos de formación y enriquecimiento personal, así como instrumentales para fines laborales, académicos o profesionales. Para alcanzarlos, se requiere de la renovación y actualización de los contenidos y del desarrollo de habilidades lingüísticas dentro de un marco de referencia acorde con nuestra realidad educacional, social, geográfica y económica³⁷³ (Curriculum Educación Media, 2005a³⁷⁴).

Extract 6.3

Las demandas que *la sociedad actual impone a los egresados* del sistema educacional son variadas y múltiples. **Los cambios que ha experimentado el país como resultado de su creciente inserción en el mundo globalizado** exigen que los alumnos y alumnas egresen con un manejo de un idioma extranjero que les permita enfrentar con éxito diversas situaciones comunicativas y que, al mismo tiempo, favorezca su participación activa en la educación superior o en el mundo laboral. En este contexto, la enseñanza del idioma inglés resulta particularmente importante dado su amplio uso a nivel internacional, en el ámbito de las

³⁷¹ The increasing integration of Chile into the global economy, embodied by trade agreements recently reached with the United States, the European Union and Korea requires significantly more effort as a country to successfully respond **to new opportunities for social and economic development** (Translation by author)

³⁷² Regulations for strengthening English language learning program in the primary and secondary education of educational institutions ruled by the Decree with Force of Law No. 2 of 1998 of the Ministry of Education and by the Decree Law No. 3,166 of 1980 (Note by author).

³⁷³ The demands *that society imposes on graduates of secondary education* are many and varied. They are required active participation either in the working world or in higher education. In this context, the purpose of the subdivision of foreign language in secondary education is to provide students with a tool that allows them access to **information, knowledge and technologies** and appreciate other lifestyles, traditions and ways of thinking. It has therefore training purposes and personal enrichment, as well as instrumental purposes for labour, academic, and professional purposes. To achieve them, it is required that the contents renewal and updating and linguistic skills development within a framework is consistent with our educational, social, geographic and economic reality (Translation by author).

³⁷⁴ Secondary education Curriculum. It establishes Fundamental Objectives and Mandatory Minimum Contents of education for the teaching of English as a foreign language in General education (Note by author).

comunicaciones en general, y en particular, en los ámbitos comercial, tecnológico y científico³⁷⁵ (Chile Decreto N° 254, 2009³⁷⁶).

Extract 6.4

Las necesidades de actualización, reorientación y enriquecimiento curriculares que se derivan de cambios acelerados en el conocimiento y en la sociedad, y del propósito de ofrecer a alumnos y alumnas unos conocimientos, unas habilidades y unas actitudes, relevantes para su vida como personas, ciudadanos y trabajadores, así como para el desarrollo económico, social y político del país³⁷⁷ (Chile Decreto N° 256, 2009³⁷⁸).

Extract 6.5

Las demandas que la sociedad actual impone a los egresados del sistema educacional son variadas y múltiples. Los cambios que ha experimentado el país como resultado de su creciente inserción en el mundo globalizado exigen que los alumnos y alumnas egresen con un manejo de un idioma extranjero que les permita enfrentar con éxito diversas situaciones comunicativas y que, al mismo tiempo, favorezca su participación activa en la educación superior o en el mundo laboral. En este contexto, la enseñanza del idioma inglés resulta particularmente importante dado su amplio uso a nivel internacional, en el ámbito de las comunicaciones en general, y en particular, en los ámbitos comercial, tecnológico y científico³⁷⁹ (Chile Decreto N° 256, 2009³⁸⁰).

³⁷⁵ The demands that society imposes on graduates of the educational system are many and varied. **The changes experienced by the country as a result of their increasing integration into the globalised world** require that students graduate with competence of a foreign language that allows them to successfully face different communicative situations and, at the same time favours their active participation in higher education or in the workplace. In this context, the teaching of English is particularly important given its widespread use internationally, in the field of communications in general, and particularly in the commercial, technological and scientific fields (Translation by author).

³⁷⁶ It modifies the Supreme Decree No. 220 of 1998 of the Ministry of Education establishing the fundamental objectives and mandatory minimum contents of secondary education and establishes the general rules for their application (Note by author).

³⁷⁷ **The need for updating, reorientation and curricular enrichment arising from rapid changes in knowledge and society, and the purpose of offering students some knowledge, some skills and attitudes relevant to their lives as individuals, citizens and workers as well as for economic, social and political development of the country** (Translation by author).

³⁷⁸ This Decree modifies Supreme Decree No. 40 of 1996 of the Ministry of Education. It establishes the fundamental objectives and minimum mandatory contents of primary education and establishes general rules for their application (Note by author).

³⁷⁹ *The demands that society imposes on graduates of the educational system are many and varied. The changes experienced by the country as a result of their increasing integration into the globalised world* require that students graduate with command of a foreign language that allows them to successfully face different communicative situations and, at the same time promote their active participation in higher education or in the workplace. In this context, the teaching of English is particularly important given its widespread use internationally, in the field of communications in general, and particularly in the commercial, technological and scientific fields (Translation by author).

³⁸⁰ This Decree modifies Supreme Decree No. 40 of 1996 of the Ministry of Education. It establishes the fundamental objectives and minimum mandatory contents of primary education and establishes general rules for their application (Note by author).

Extract 6.6

Esta actualización de los Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios para el aprendizaje del inglés como idioma extranjero, *obedece a la necesidad de responder a los requerimientos de la sociedad chilena de hoy*, que demanda que los y las estudiantes mejoren su nivel de inglés para enfrentar los **desafíos del mundo global**. Considerando este requerimiento los Objetivos Fundamentales están alineados con los parámetros internacionales del Marco Común Europeo para el Aprendizaje de Idiomas³⁸¹, CEF (36) (Chile Decreto N° 256, 2009³⁸²).

Extract 6.7

Las demandas que la sociedad actual impone a los egresados del sistema educacional son variadas y múltiples. Los cambios que ha experimentado el país como resultado de su creciente inserción en el mundo globalizado exigen que los alumnos y alumnas egresen con un manejo de un idioma extranjero que les permita enfrentar con éxito diversas situaciones comunicativas y que, al mismo tiempo, favorezca su participación activa en la educación superior o en el mundo laboral. En este contexto, la enseñanza del idioma inglés resulta particularmente importante dado su amplio uso a nivel internacional, en el ámbito de las comunicaciones en general, y en particular, en los ámbitos comercial, tecnológico y científico³⁸³ (Propuesta Ajuste Curricular, 2009³⁸⁴).

Extract 6.8

Esta actualización de los Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos obligatorios para el aprendizaje del inglés como idioma extranjero, *obedece a la necesidad de responder a los requerimientos de la sociedad chilena de hoy*, que demanda que los y las estudiantes mejoren su nivel de inglés para **enfrentar los desafíos del mundo global**. Considerando este requerimiento los Objetivos fundamentales están alineados con los parámetros internacionales del Marco

³⁸¹ This update of the Fundamental Objectives and Compulsory Minimum Contents for learning English as a foreign language, *complies with the need to respond to the requirements of Chilean society today*, which demands that students improve their English competence to meet **the challenges of the global world**. Considering this requirement Fundamental Objectives are aligned with international standards of the Common European Framework for Language Learning (Translation by author).

³⁸² This Decree modifies Supreme Decree No. 40 of 1996 of the Ministry of Education. It establishes the fundamental objectives and minimum mandatory contents of primary education and establishes general rules for their application (note by author).

³⁸³ *The demands that current society imposes on graduates of the educational system are many and varied. The changes experienced by the country as a result of their increasing integration into the globalised world require that students graduate with handling of a foreign language that allows them to successfully face different communicative situations* and at the same time, favour their active participation in higher education or in the workplace. In this context, the teaching of English is particularly important given its widespread use internationally, in the field of communications in general, and particularly in the commercial, technological and scientific fields (Translation by author).

³⁸⁴ Proposal for Curricular Adjustment. Fundamental Objectives and Minimum Obligatory Contents for the teaching of English as a Foreign Language (note by author).

While Extract 6.2, Extract 6.7, and Extract 6.8 are taken from documents categorised as language education policies, Extract 6.3, Extract 6.4, Extract 6.5, Extract 6.6 belong to the classification of language policy documents in the corpus (4.5.2). They have been examined under the light of DHA (4.4.2) which has uncovered that the discourse to talk about the newness of the globalisation phenomenon is composed of words such as *cambios*³⁸⁷, *conocimientos*³⁸⁸, *tecnología*³⁸⁹, *nuevas*³⁹⁰, *actualización*³⁹¹, and *actual*³⁹². These words talk about the changes that the country has experienced and the new opportunities for development.

Policy makers appeal to the argument of newness of globalisation as a circumstance in order to support the introduction of the new language policy. This reasoning, argues that it is because of the new global context, old policies have to be changed or ‘updated’. Neither policy makers nor authorities are responsible for the change. In addition, it is not only the English language the skill that has to be learned, the reasons to put the policy forward also talk about the global use of technology and information which are facilitated by the command of English. Therefore, the argument to implement the policy is not only supporting the introduction of the policy with the argument of newness, but also connecting the language with the new global order in which information and technology, i.e. the KBE (6.2.2.1), are crucial components for global competition.

The second myth surrounding globalisation is its inevitability. Whenever globalization is taking place, it is accepted as the only option. The Extract 5.9, Extract 6.2, Extract 6.3, Extract 6.4, Extract 6.5, Extract 6.6, Extract 6.7, and Extract 6.8 support this claim. Inevitability of the globalisation phenomenon has been discursively built by employing

³⁸⁵ This update of the Fundamental Objectives and Compulsory Minimum Contents for learning English as a foreign language, comply with the need to respond to the requirements of Chilean society today, which demands the students to improve their command of English to meet the challenges of the global world. Considering this requirement, Fundamental Objectives are aligned with international standards of the Common European Framework for Language Learning (Translation by author).

³⁸⁶ Proposal for Curricular Adjustment. Fundamental Objectives and Minimum Obligatory Contents for the teaching of English as a Foreign Language (Note by author).

³⁸⁷ Changes (translation by author).

³⁸⁸ Knowledge (translation by author).

³⁸⁹ Technology (translation by author).

³⁹⁰ New (translation by author).

³⁹¹ Update (translation by author).

³⁹² Current (translation by author).

words such as *impone*, *exige*³⁹³, *demandas*³⁹⁴, and *requerimiento*³⁹⁵. The texts talk about the requirements posed by the current social order and the skills required to succeed in the new global context. Thus, as the argument used to justify the implementation of the language policy, policy makers, authorities and stakeholders such as teachers, learners, experts and volunteers conclude that it is inevitable to accept the policy that has been introduced. As they are recommended by the globalising circumstances, stakeholders may feel they cannot argue against them. The fact that the policy implementation due to the strength of the policy discourse is inevitable voids or naturally excludes other language policy options.

There is a logical paradox in the argument posed by the policy makers to introduce the language policy. As it is worded, it is inevitable to introduce *Decreto* 081/2004 and changes in the syllabus since it is required by modernity. However, the Ministry of Education, The Ministry of Finance, Ministers and policy makers have carried out governmental adjustments to meet the goals of the *Decreto*. They have passed laws, modified the educational syllabus, allocated a budget for the implementation, contacted international experts on the ELT field, arranged national evaluations, trained teachers, bought educational materials, designed and distributed a Chilean textbook to teach English called ‘Go for Chile³⁹⁶’ (Elsworth, S., Rose, J. and Dake, O., 2000, 2003). To sum up, to become part of a globalised world as stated in *Decreto* 081/2004 has not been a natural process, but it has been a process that has required economic, educational, social and political organisation.

The last myth refers to levelling. Globalisation is a world view which is composed of time and space notions (Sparke, 2014). While space is shrunk, time is sped up in today’s global world due to technological advances. The current economic model is available to any country as long as they re-structure their economy to correspond with the global market requirements. The myth behind levelling has to do with equal opportunities of competition within the global economic environment and an opportunity for economic leveller. Examples of economic and academic opportunities, individual and national development and business opportunities to participate in the global world abound in the language policy

³⁹³ Require, demand (translation by author).

³⁹⁴ Demand, request (translation by author).

³⁹⁵ Requirement (translation by author). (translation by author).

³⁹⁶ Textbook for the teaching of English in Chile and Argentina. The textbook represented the local cultures immersed in a globalised world in which English was taught as an International language. It was first published in 2000 and re-printed in 2003 (Basabe, 2009) (Note by the author).

texts. Extract 5.9, Extract 6.2, Extract 6.3, Extract 6.4, Extract 6.5, Extract 6.6, Extract 6.7, and Extract 6.8 give evidence of the levelling myth. The discourse employed to talk about the levelling effect are *entregar una herramienta*³⁹⁷, *ofrecer conocimientos*³⁹⁸, *favorecer su participación*³⁹⁹. The economic bonanza promised by the myth of levelling brought by globalisation may not only be unjustified, but also commodifies the language (chapter five) and the goals of the stakeholders. Clearly, learning a foreign language brings personal and professional growth, but it may not be the key to turn the country into a developed one. In order to do that, major policy reforms are required to combat the outcomes of the 1975 reforms such as health, welfare and education introduced during the military regime (chapter two) which enhanced social segregation in Chile (Harvey, 2005, 2007).

6.2.3 The conceptualisation of power in the English language policy

This research has observed that there are two main ways of observing the discursive construction of power in the English language policy. They are the poststructuralist epistemological stance which has guided this study; and the neoliberal ideology which has colonised the Chilean context after the implementation of ‘The Brick⁴⁰⁰’ reforms discussed in chapter two (2.3). From the poststructuralist perspective, power is understood as an impersonal and subjectless element. The linguistic realisation of this discursive strategy has been explained in chapter five. Evidence of this phenomenon can be observed in Extract 5.8⁴⁰¹, Extract 5.15⁴⁰², and Extract 5.16⁴⁰³. These extracts talk about the steps to follow to achieve the bilingual goal. However, the top-down authority who gives the order to do so and puts forward the policy is missing.

From the neoliberal ideology viewpoint, data introduced in the previous paragraph shows a conflict of power between the government and language policy makers regarded as the top-

³⁹⁷ Give a tool (Translation by author).

³⁹⁸ Provide knowledge (Translation by author).

³⁹⁹ Favour their participation (Translation by author).

⁴⁰⁰ ‘The Brick’ also known as ‘*El Ladrillo*’ is a study carried out by the Chicago Boys. The study comprises reforms that were implemented in Chile during the military regime since 1975 (Note by author).

⁴⁰¹ Extract 5.8: Education in the twenty-first century has an inescapable responsibility to include in its curriculum and development training strategies new skills that are key to improving the cultural, social and working life of young people as it is the learning of a foreign language today (Note by author).

⁴⁰² Extract 5.15: It is also an important purpose to progressively promote the development of higher order cognitive skills and develop the ability to appreciate other lifestyles, traditions and ways of thinking. The learning of English as a foreign language has, therefore, purposes of formation and personal growth, as well as instrumental purposes for academic, labor and other purposes of the youth world (Note by author).

⁴⁰³ Extract 5.16: Hiring the development, design, validation, and application of instruments and diagnostic, experimental and census tests to measure levels of English learning in elementary and secondary school students of the educational institutions mentioned above (Note by author).

down notion of power and the teachers, students and members of the community which are considered as the bottom-up or grassroots stakeholders. This conflict can be summarised as tension between the individual and the institution. Data reveals an agentless top-down entity introducing changes in foreign language instruction as discussed in chapter five. This force is exercised on the grassroots stakeholders which may seem to be devoid of human agency as portrayed by the policy documents. However, observation of the context through the newspapers of the period reveals a different view of the grassroots stakeholders' stance.

Pedro Godoy, member of *Centro de Estudios Chilenos*⁴⁰⁴ (La Nación, 2004), is sceptical about the programme. According to him, the way some schools offer the product is close to misleading advertising and it does not reach municipal schools. He adds that even though many English teachers have graduated from universities, they do not speak English 'at the level of Bush and Blair'. He thirdly elaborates on the limited command of written and spoken native language among Chileans. He supports this argument with the PISA⁴⁰⁵ and SIMCE⁴⁰⁶ results which show a negative scenario among Chilean learners. He concludes his argument by suggesting to focus and enhance the local first, and then think about the foreign which, according to him, has to be free of the 'American' ideologies.

Mary Jane Abrahams (2013), leader of the English Teacher Association of Chile, has a critical view of the EODP plan implemented by the government. According to her:

Seguir perdiendo plata al bajar el inglés a pregrado o pre kínder, dar sugerencias curriculares y entregar una serie de libros, para que los alumnos aprendan, es una irresponsabilidad absoluta. Llamo al ministerio a reflexionar con seriedad para determinar qué está pasando en esta materia (...) Chile nunca va a ser bilingüe mientras sólo un 8% de los alumnos asiste a colegios privados, donde reciben 8 horas de inglés a la semana y cuentan con docentes de calidad, y el otro 92% asiste a escuelas públicas, con 3 horas de Inglés a la semana y con docentes que no manejan bien el idioma (...) Los pésimos resultados del Simce 2012 dan cuenta de esto. Si al 18% de alumnos que aprobaron el test se le resta los estudiantes de colegios particulares e ingleses, sólo un 2% de los jóvenes de III Medio tienen un dominio del idioma. Ese es el diagnóstico real⁴⁰⁷.

⁴⁰⁴ Centre of Chilean Studies. It is a centre that postulates a third way, neither 'Left' nor 'Right', to observe the Chilean context. Their main lines of research are economic development, social justice, sovereignty and the Chilean identity (Note by editor).

⁴⁰⁵ Programme for International Student Assessment (Note by editor).

⁴⁰⁶ Sistema de la Calidad de la Educación. Battery of tests to measure quality of education in Chile (Note by editor)

⁴⁰⁷ Keep wasting money by teaching English in earlier years at tertiary level or pre-school; make curricular suggestions and provide various textbooks series for students to learn is an absolute irresponsibility. I appeal to the minister to reflect seriously to determine what is going on in this matter (...) Chile will never be a bilingual country while only 8% of the students attend private schools where they have 8 hours of English a week and have quality teacher and the other 92% attend public schools, with 3 hours of English a

Abrahams thinks that the solution provided by the government to improve command of English among school learners is unsatisfactory and advises the government to be honest about the reality behind English language learning in Chile.

The neoliberal ideology also associates power with commodification. One of the ways in which the State exercises power in society is through the control of the English language policy, and in particular, the way in which the State controls English monetarily. Evidence of this sort of power is observed in Extract 5.16, Extract 5.17, Extract 5.18, Extract 5.19, Extract 5.21, and Extract 5.22. These extracts show that the State provides the budget for the implementation of the programme (Extract 5.16, Extract 5.18, and Extract 5.19) and the State hands over its execution to the hands of private institutions such as University of Cambridge (Extract 5.19, Extract 5.21, and Extract 5.22). The State empowers teachers and learners monetarily to learn English and to consume its products. However, there is a logical paradox in this practice. On the one hand, neoliberalism advocates freedom of choice, on the other hand, the Centre-Left Coalition authorities and policy makers limit the choice of foreign language instruction. Before the Centre-Left Coalition government took power (2003-2010), Chilean students had the option to learn English, German and French as established by Chile *Decreto 4.002/1980*. Since the English language policy was launched in 2003, the Ministry of Education encourages the learning of English only.

In order to account for the social segregation which is an outcome of the neoliberal policies implemented in Chile, the Centre-Left Coalition authorities and policy makers have appealed to the discourse of equality. This is another way top-down stakeholders have employed the power of influence over society. Argument reconstruction of the policy documents, which is one of the analytical tools of this research (4.4.4.3; 4.4.4.3.1), have uncovered the discursive strategies employed to influence power over society through the policy texts (van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 2004; Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012; Walton, 2006). Extract 6.9 and Extract 6.10, below, are taken from Chile *Decreto N° 254/2009* and Chile *Decreto N° 256/2009* which have been classified as language policy (4.5.2):

week and with teachers that do not have command of the language (...) the disastrous results of the 2012 Simce show this. If 18% of students who passed the test is subtracted students from private and English schools, only 2% of year 11 youth have a command of the language. That is the real diagnosis (Translation from author).

Extract 6.9

*La necesidad de encuadrarse en los propósitos de las políticas educacionales de Estado que impulsa el Gobierno de Chile, en orden a mejorar la calidad de la educación, asegurar su equidad y comprometer en ello la participación de la comunidad nacional*⁴⁰⁸. (Chile Decreto N° 254, 2009⁴⁰⁹)

Extract 6.10

*La necesidad de encuadrarse en los propósitos de las políticas educacionales de Estado que impulsa el Gobierno de Chile, en orden a mejorar la calidad de la educación, asegurar su equidad y comprometer en ello la participación de la comunidad nacional*⁴¹⁰. (Chile Decreto N° 256, 2009⁴¹¹)

Centre-Left Coalition authorities have relied on the value premise of the argument scheme in the form of a fallacy called *argumentum ad misericordiam*, i.e. appeal to pity. To care about the others is the right thing to do. The way that the policy makers justify the policy implementation is by not offering *mejorar la calidad de la educación, asegurar su equidad*⁴¹², but also including all society members in the endeavour as in *comprometer en ello la participación de la comunidad nacional*⁴¹³. Evidence of this discursive strategy is abundant in the newspapers. To illustrate, I will bring in what Horacio Walker (La Nación, 2003) leader of the EODP stated to support this claim:

*nos hemos propuesto alcanzar estándares internacionales. Aunque los detalles de la prueba de diagnóstico aún no se han decidido, es una muestra a nivel nacional y lo que sabemos, hasta ahora, es que los colegios particulares tienen un mejor nivel que el resto, pues algunos tienen el inglés como segunda lengua. Lo que nos preocupa son los colegios municipalizados y particulares subvencionados*⁴¹⁴.

Both stances, the agentless exercise of top-down authority represented by the policy documents over bottom-up stakeholders introduced by the media reveal tension within the

⁴⁰⁸ The need to fit into the educational purposes of state education policies promoted by the Government of Chile, in order to improve the quality of education, ensure equity and engage in it the participation of the national community (Translation by author).

⁴⁰⁹ It modifies the Supreme Decree No. 220 of 1998 of the Ministry of Education establishing the fundamental objectives and mandatory minimum contents of secondary education and establishes the general rules for their application (Note by author).

⁴¹⁰ The need to fit into the purposes of the State educational policies promoted by the Government of Chile, in order to improve the quality of education, ensure their equity and engage the participation of the national community (Translation by author).

⁴¹¹ This Decree modifies Supreme Decree No. 40 of 1996 of the Ministry of Education. It establishes the fundamental objectives and minimum mandatory contents of primary education and establishes general rules for their application (Note by author).

⁴¹² Improve the quality of the education and ensure equity (Translation by author).

⁴¹³ Engage the participation of the national community (Translation by author).

⁴¹⁴ We intend to achieve international standards. Although the details of the diagnostic test have not yet been decided, it is a nationwide sample and what we know so far is that private schools have a better level of English than the rest [of the schools], as some of them have English as a second language. What concerns us are the municipal schools and subsidized private ones (Translation by author).

policy documents. Even though bottom-up stakeholders' attitudes towards the policy have been silenced in the policy documents and their agencies have been ignored, their views regarding the English language policy have been made explicit through the newspapers and the media.

6.2.4 The role of discourse in the English language policy

6.2.4.1 Hegemonization of ideologies

Discourse has played a major role in aiding the implementation of the English language policy. It is through the use of discourse that language policy makers have legitimated the goals of the policy (4.4.4.2). Below, I elaborate on the discursive strategies which abound in the policy texts and which have influenced the success of the policy. These strategies are equality as persuasive rhetoric, the shift of responsibility, the KBE and the entrepreneurial citizen, the logic of cause and effect and the hegemonisation of the language ideology.

As discussed in the analysis chapters (chapter five and chapter six), some of the main topics of this study are instrumentalisation and commodification of English and the ideological debates embedded in the language policy texts. These topics have been used as discursive strategies to support the argument in favour of the need of implementing the English language policy in Chile. Within these topics, the discourse of equality has been used as a persuasive strategy by appealing to pity and to the morally right thing to do, i.e. the value premise, (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012). Thus, a persuasive normative argument, which is framed within the argumentation theory (4.4.4.3) and the Fairclough and Fairclough (2012:45) argument reconstruction scheme, has been linked with a socialist ideology, i.e. social equality.

Regarding the English language policy implemented in Chile, the absence of the State which hands the control of language training to private agencies (Extract 5.19⁴¹⁵), is a representation of the neoliberal ideology. Chapter five elaborates on the commodification of the foreign language and the marketisation of English language learning in the Chilean educational system (5.3). There is a shift of responsibility from the State to the private institutions. The government is absent in the policy texts as observed in Extract 5.9⁴¹⁶,

⁴¹⁵ Extract 5.19: c) Hire specialists, whether legal or artificial people, national or foreign, for performing: 1. Development of English language learning standards aligned with international standards (Note by author).

⁴¹⁶ Extract 5.9: The increasing integration of Chile into the global economy, embodied by trade agreements recently reached with the United States, the European Union and Korea requires significantly more effort as a country to successfully respond to new opportunities for social and economic development (Note by author).

Extract 5.16⁴¹⁷, and Extract 5.25⁴¹⁸. Conversely, the text points to the private agencies as the service providers. Evidence of this is in Extract 5.17⁴¹⁹, Extract 5.19⁴²⁰, and Extract 5.20⁴²¹. This absence of the State and empowerment of the private is also reflected in the role teachers and experts play in the policy texts. Whereas teachers are passive recipients of training, the experts who come from private institutions are placed in a leading position. This is linguistically realised by placing the former in object position or passivated, and locating the latter in the object one.

The notion of the KBE as well as the instrumentalisation and commodification of the language, both discussed in chapter five, are the basis on which the policy makers promote the conception of the individual as an entrepreneurial citizen. Extract 5.26⁴²² shows how the language policy employs the rhetoric of economic benefit promote English language learning. The misleading ideas of freedom of choice and economic benefit may lead students, trainee teachers and teachers to learn English and to compete for what they think the command of this language skill may offer. These individuals act as consumers in the market of languages. The benefits they may obtain range from better education and professional opportunities to scholarships. Those who obtain these benefits become successful individuals according to the data. However, Ricento (2012a, 2012b) has challenged success linked with this specific linguistic skill.

⁴¹⁷ Extract 5.16: Hiring the development, design, validation, and application of instruments and diagnostic, experimental and census tests to measure levels of English learning in elementary and secondary school students of the educational institutions mentioned above (Note by author).

⁴¹⁸ Extract 5.25: That, **the growing integration of Chile into the global economy, embodied by trade agreements recently signed with the United States, the European Union and Korea** requires significantly more effort as a country to successfully respond to new social and economic opportunities of development (Note by author).

⁴¹⁹ Extract 5.17: Article 4 °: The programme may pay all expenses necessary for the fulfilment of its objectives; including operating expenses, personnel expenses, rendering of service agreements with legal or artificial people, national or foreign, as well as expenses for accommodation, food and transportation of specialists and/ or participants in working sessions, workshops, seminar, and similar activities (Note by author)

⁴²⁰ Extract 5.19: c) Hire specialists, whether legal or artificial people, national or foreign, for performing: 1. Development of English language learning standards aligned with international standards (Note by author).

⁴²¹ Extract 5.20: b) Conduct workshops, seminars and in classroom and long distance training courses for teachers, including development programmes abroad for professionals and community workshops, that will be organised in coordination with Improvement and Experimentation Centre and Pedagogical Investigations (Note by author).

⁴²² Extract 5.26: That, people who have a basic and instrumental command of English will have **better** possibilities of getting a job, of getting **better** salaries, of being successful at university, of applying to scholarships, of starting an export business, to access new information through the internet, among other **advantages** and **opportunities** (Note by author).

In addition, Extract 6.3, Extract 6.5, Extract 6.11, and Extract 6.3, below, show how the language policy makers have made a policy that views language education as an instrument. This tool provides the skills required for global competitiveness and profit.

Extract 6.3

Las demandas que la sociedad actual impone a los egresados del sistema educacional son variadas y múltiples. Los cambios que ha experimentado el país como resultado de su creciente inserción en el mundo globalizado exigen que los alumnos y alumnas egresen con un manejo de un idioma extranjero que les permita enfrentar con éxito diversas situaciones comunicativas y que, al mismo tiempo, favorezca su participación activa en la educación superior o en el mundo laboral. En este contexto, la enseñanza del idioma inglés resulta particularmente importante dado su amplio uso a nivel internacional, en el ámbito de las comunicaciones en general, y en particular, en los ámbitos comercial, tecnológico y científico⁴²³ (Chile Decreto N° 254, 2009⁴²⁴).

Extract 6.5

Las demandas que la sociedad actual impone a los egresados del sistema educacional son variadas y múltiples. Los cambios que ha experimentado el país como resultado de su creciente inserción en el mundo globalizado exigen que los alumnos y alumnas egresen con un manejo de un idioma extranjero que les permita enfrentar con éxito diversas situaciones comunicativas y que, al mismo tiempo, favorezca su participación activa en la educación superior o en el mundo laboral. En este contexto, la enseñanza del idioma inglés resulta particularmente importante dado su amplio uso a nivel internacional, en el ámbito de las comunicaciones en general, y en particular, en los ámbitos comercial, tecnológico y científico⁴²⁵ (Chile Decreto N° 256, 2009⁴²⁶).

⁴²³ Extract 6.3: The demands that society imposes on graduates of the educational system are many and varied. **The changes experienced by the country as a result of their increasing integration into the globalised world** require that students graduate with competence of a foreign language that allows them to successfully face different communicative situations and, at the same time favours their active participation in higher education or in the workplace. In this context, the teaching of English is particularly important given its widespread use internationally, in the field of communications in general, and particularly in the commercial, technological and scientific fields (Note by author).

⁴²⁴ It modifies the Supreme Decree No. 220 of 1998 of the Ministry of Education establishing the fundamental objectives and mandatory minimum contents of secondary education and establishes the general rules for their application (Note by author)

⁴²⁵ Extract 6.5: *The demands that society imposes on graduates of the educational system are many and varied. **The changes experienced by the country as a result of their increasing integration into the globalised world** require that students graduate with command of a foreign language that allows them to successfully face different communicative situations and, at the same time promote their active participation in higher education or in the workplace. In this context, the teaching of English is particularly important given its widespread use internationally, in the field of communications in general, and particularly in the commercial, technological and scientific fields (Translation by author).*

⁴²⁶ This Decree modifies Supreme Decree No. 40 of 1996 of the Ministry of Education. It establishes the fundamental objectives and minimum mandatory contents of primary education and establishes general rules for their application (Note by author).

Extract 6.11

Esta actualización de los Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios para el aprendizaje del inglés como idioma extranjero, obedece a la necesidad de responder a los requerimientos de la sociedad chilena de hoy, que demanda que los y las estudiantes mejoren su nivel de inglés para enfrentar los desafíos del mundo global. Considerando este requerimiento los Objetivos Fundamentales están alineados con los parámetros internacionales del Marco Común Europeo para el Aprendizaje de Idiomas, CEF (36)⁴²⁷ (Chile Decreto N° 256, 2009⁴²⁸).

These extracts evidence that the neoliberal ideology is embedded in the policy texts. This discursive strategy has been uncovered by the rhetoric of the inevitability of globalisation (6.2.2.5). These extracts also reveal that language education and knowledge, which are the core elements of the KBE society (6.2.2.1), have been built in connection with the free market ideology and competition. This shift towards an economy-oriented type of education has been widely criticised not only by Bourdieu (1998), Harvey (2005) and Ricento (2012a), but also by the analysis chapters study (chapter five and chapter six).

Besides, the need to implement the foreign language policy in Chile and, hence, bring about social change has been discursively constructed by the logic of cause and effect and the support of the new planetary vulgate (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2001). The Centre-Left Coalition authorities such as Sergio Bitar (2013) and Michelle Bachelet (2009a, 2009b, 2009c) have stated that Chileans need to adjust to the globalising economy in order to succeed economically. Evidence of this is observed in Extract 5.26⁴²⁹. The extract uncovers how policy makers have linked economic success with globalisation and linguist skills. Thus, we may make assumptions regarding the criteria laid down by Bitar and Bachelet. They may have implicitly meant that Chileans have failed at being successful since the national language assessment of 2010 showed that 89% of Chilean school learners do not speak English (Baker, 2011). However, Centre-Left policy makers have given Chileans the tool to achieve success. According to the language policy and curricula

⁴²⁷ Extract 6.11: This update of the Fundamental Objectives and Mandatory Minimum Content for the learning of English as a foreign language, obeys the need to respond to the requirements of today's Chilean society, which demands that students improve their level of English to face the Challenges of the global world. In view of this requirement, the Core Objectives are aligned with the international parameters of the Common European Framework for Language Learning, CEF (36) (Translation by author).

⁴²⁸ This Decree modifies Supreme Decree No. 40 of 1996 of the Ministry of Education. It establishes the fundamental objectives and minimum mandatory contents of primary education and establishes general rules for their application (Note by author).

⁴²⁹ Extract 5.26: That, people who have a basic and instrumental command of English will have **better** possibilities of getting a job, of getting **better** salaries, of being successful at university, of applying to scholarships, of starting an export business, to access new information through the internet, among other **advantages** and **opportunities** (Note by author).

they have developed since 2004, they advise that it is through the imaginary of the KBE (6.2.2.1), and the need to adjust to the global economy (Chile Decreto N° 081, 2004) that Chileans will overcome failure.

Another interesting aspect shown by the data was the incorporation of the New Planetary Vulgate (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2001). Employing the DHA discipline (4.4.2), I have been able to categorise the lexicon. Words such as ‘globalization’, ‘employability’, ‘identity’, ‘multiculturalism’, ‘flexibility’ and ‘new economy’ abound in the policy texts. There are also some common binaries that can be observed. Chile *Decreto* 081/2005 includes the State and the private bodies, i.e. the market. Whereas the present conditions are coloured with a positive view, the past ways are regarded as outdated. Chile *Decretos* 254/2009 and 256/2009 employ the words of individualism as well as group work. Some of these words have their binary opposites which may have been silenced by the policy makers within the neoliberal context. These words may have been omitted because they may be regarded as non-pertinent since they are reminders of decades of social struggle (2.3; 2.3.1). The achievements gained by the 70s and 80s’ demonstrations may have been swept away by the current policy reforms discussed in chapter two. Evidence of this is represented by the equality vs. inequality binary opposites.

All these discursive strategies briefly discussed in this section have helped to hegemonise the English language policy since the discursive strategies have become commonplaces, i.e. *topoi* (4.4.4.3; 4.4.4.3.1). The imaginary of the KBE society in which Chileans are told they live has not been questioned by society. In addition, not only are school syllabi and textbooks filled with this NewSpeak (Orwell, 1949; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2001), but the media also bombards society with this message. Thus, they become undiscussed presuppositions that come from and legitimated by experts and authorities (4.4.4.1). Hence, these discourses have the power to convince the citizens, due to the prestige that surrounds them.

6.2.5 The role of English in the Chilean neoliberal context.

Chile *Decreto* 4,002/1980 is a decree issued by the Ministry of Education in May, 1980. It delineates the curriculum for primary education in Chile. This decree includes *Idioma Extranjero* (I) and *Idioma Extranjero* (II). According to Article 12 of this decree, *Idioma Extranjero* (I) refers to the teaching of English while *Idioma Extranjero* (II) suggests the teaching of French or other foreign language. Article No.15 establishes the teaching of foreign languages from Year 5 if the educational institutions have qualified teachers. Even

though this decree has been abolished, it demonstrates that there was a different way to approach English language teaching and learning in Chile. According to this Decree, primary school learners had a range of foreign language alternatives to choose from. The alternatives were German, French, Italian and English. See the extract taken from Chile *Decreto* 4,002/1980 below:

Artículo 12° El Plan de Estudio del Segundo Ciclo de Educación General Básica comprenderá las siguientes asignaturas y actividades

- Castellano⁴³⁰
- Historia y Geografía⁴³¹
- Idioma Extranjero 1 (1)⁴³²
- Idioma Extranjero 2 (7° y 8° año de Educación General Básica⁴³³) (1)
- Matemáticas⁴³⁴
- Ciencias Naturales⁴³⁵
- Artes Plásticas⁴³⁶
- Educación Técnico Manual⁴³⁷ (2)
- Educación Técnico Manual y Huertos Escolares⁴³⁸ (2)
- Educación Musical⁴³⁹
- Educación Física⁴⁴⁰
- Religión (optativa para el alumno y la familia)⁴⁴¹
- Consejo de Curso⁴⁴² (3)

(1) Los establecimientos educacionales ofrecerán como Idioma Extranjero 1 - Inglés- y como Idioma Extranjero 2 -Francés-. Sin embargo, estos idiomas podrán ser sustituidos por otros, como por ejemplo Alemán, Italiano, etc., en función de las particulares características del plantel o de la región⁴⁴³ (Chile Decreto, 4002, 1980).

What is interesting to highlight is that Chile *Decreto* 081/2004 does not provide these foreign language alternatives. The only foreign language included in the Decree is English whereas the other foreign languages have been taken out of the policy. Besides, Chile *Decreto* 256/2009 and Chile *Decreto* 254/2009 states that if any other foreign language is

⁴³⁰ Spanish (Translation by author).

⁴³¹ History and geography (Translation by author).

⁴³² Foreign language (Translation by author).

⁴³³ Foreign language, year 7 and 8, primary education (Translation by author).

⁴³⁴ Math (Translation by author).

⁴³⁵ Natural sciences (Translation by author).

⁴³⁶ Arts Vocational Technical Education and school orchards (Translation by author).

⁴³⁷ Vocational Technical Education (Translation by author).

⁴³⁸ Vocational Technical Education and school orchards (Translation by author).

⁴³⁹ Music (Translation by author).

⁴⁴⁰ Physical education (Translation by author).

⁴⁴¹ Religion (Translation by author).

⁴⁴² Course council (Translation by author).

⁴⁴³ Educational institutions offer as a Foreign Language 1 -English- and as a Foreign Language 2 -French-. However, these languages may be replaced by others, such as German, Italian, etc., depending on the particular characteristics of the institution or its region (Translation by author).

going to be taught in Chilean classrooms, they will have to follow the syllabus of English.

This statement is shown in Extract 6.13 and Extract 6.14 below:

Extract 6.13

Incorpórense Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios de la Formación General para el Sector de Idioma Extranjero: inglés. La enseñanza de otros idiomas se regirá por los Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios del Subsector de Idioma Extranjero, que pasa a denominarse “Sector de Idioma Extranjero”⁴⁴⁴. (Chile Decreto N° 256, 2009⁴⁴⁵)

Extract 6.14

Incorpórense, Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios de la Formación General para el Sector de Idioma Extranjero: inglés. La enseñanza de otros idiomas se regirá por los Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios del Subsector de Idioma Extranjero, que pasa a denominarse Sector de Idioma Extranjero⁴⁴⁶. (Chile Decreto N° 254, 2009⁴⁴⁷)

When questioned about this issue, Sergio Bitar (2013) said:

I received some surprise from the teachers of French. They saw something that was not true. That we were obliging people to stay [*sic*] English as a foreign language. No, we say, it is the same policy as always. Each one has to choose the language. If it is French or German, they choose. But anyhow, we think that we have to provide more emphasis on English.

The quotes informs us of ‘us vs. them’ debate. Bitar talks about us including the Ministry of Education and their language policy. Bitar describes teachers as ‘them’. This discursive strategy evidences distance among the stakeholders. The government and the Ministry of Education classify themselves into one group and place teachers as foreign entities of that group. However, teachers are the actors that will put the policy introduced by the government into practice in classrooms. It is also relevant that Bitar (*ibid*) states that the policy has not changed and that learners have still the possibility to choose what foreign language to learn when in fact based on the Chile *Decreto* 081/2004, there is no alternative

⁴⁴⁴ Incorporate Fundamental Objectives and Minimum Compulsory Contents of the General Training for the division of Foreign Language: English. The teaching of other languages shall be governed by the Fundamental Objectives and Minimum Compulsory Contents for the Subdivision Foreign Language, which is renamed ‘Foreign Language division’(Translation by the author).

⁴⁴⁵ This Decree modifies Supreme Decree No. 40 of 1996 of the Ministry of Education. It establishes the fundamental objectives and minimum mandatory contents of primary education and establishes general rules for their application (Note by the author).

⁴⁴⁶ Incorporate Fundamental Objectives and Minimum Compulsory Contents of the General Training for the division of Foreign Language: English. The teaching of other languages shall be governed by the Fundamental Objectives and Minimum Compulsory Contents for the Subdivision Foreign Language, which is renamed Foreign Language division (Translation by the author).

⁴⁴⁷ It modifies the Supreme Decree No. 220 of 1998 of the Ministry of Education establishing the fundamental objectives and mandatory minimum contents of secondary education and establishes the general rules for their application (Note by the author).

anymore. This claim is also implicitly supported by Bitar's (*ibid*) quote above. These discursive strategies have been uncovered employing the DHA approach (4.4.2; 4.4.3) on the extracts above which are both classified as language policy documents in the corpus (4.5.2)

6.2.5.1 English in the neoliberal ideology

The role of English in the neoliberal society has been mediating as the communication instrument for service industries and information outsourcing (Holborow, 2015:16-17). An evidence of this type of service is provided by Heller (1999, 2003) who elaborates on Indian call centres and the Canadian tourist industry. Commodification of English in these contexts not only facilitates interactions worldwide, but also makes knowledge and information widely available. This perspective has also been taken into account not only by the Centre left authorities, but also by the Chilean English language policy makers. To illustrate, the former Centre-Left Ministry of Education, Sergio Bitar (2011) stated:

that we have launched many Free Trade Agreements with other countries, that help us to export. (...) After that, what? You need people help us communicate with others, to travel, invent new products, sell what you are doing, understand, learn from others. (...) The next stage (...) if most of the people manages [sic] English, we are able to increase levels of quality of life. (...) Almost half of the material [information] you find in the internet are strictly in English. (...) I realised later that especially mothers from low income groups feel that if their sons would manage English and the same time computer science and connections that it would help them to be at the vanguard of new jobs for the future. Also, when we started analysing what was needed in the country to expand the work capacity, most of the interviews were telling us that technicians managing English. (...) Young people involved in games and Facebook, to show how they can expand their networks using English. (...) The possibility if you go to the university, to have a technical background to have the language that will help you to go around the world to find new jobs, to make more money, to build new businesses (Bitar, 2011).

The main language policy document, i.e. Chile *Decreto No. 081/2004*, also introduces this argument as one of the justification for implementing the English language policy. Extract 5.26 illustrates this:

Extract 5.26

Que, las personas que dominan un inglés básico e instrumental tendrán mejores posibilidades de acceder a un empleo, de obtener una mejor remuneración, de tener éxito en la universidad, de postular a becas, de iniciar un negocio exportador, de acceder a una nueva información a través de Internet, entre otras ventajas y oportunidades; (Chile Decreto 081, 2004)

Bitar (2011) and Extract 5.26 show that the role students may be called to fill in the current KBE society. They are expected to have command of two main skills, language and technology with the purpose of accessing information in the modern global society. This

type of discourse is in line with the discourse of Bitar (2004a, 2004b, 2011) and Bachelet (2009a, 2009b, 2009c). Both Centre-Left Coalition authorities associated English with economic prosperity. Furthermore, Lagos (2004), former Centre-Left Coalition President of Chile, also emphasised the importance of English for the economic development of the country and the need to build an English-speaking workforce. His goal was:

As a country, we want to be a bridge and a platform for flows of international trade and in the Asia-Pacific region (Lagos, 2004)

Piñera (2011), National Renewal former President of Chile, being aware of the drawbacks of the lack of linguistically qualified citizenry, stated:

Sabiendo que nuestra situación era precaria, débil, de hecho en Chile sólo el 8% de los profesionales habla inglés con fluidez. Sólo el 2% de la población adulta habla inglés con fluidez, es decir, de 50 chilenos adultos, solamente uno habla inglés, los otros 49 aún no lo han logrado. Ésta cifra es inferior a lo que debiera corresponder a un país con el nivel de desarrollo del nuestro. Por eso el idioma inglés en nuestro país, o la falta de dominio del idioma inglés, se está transformando en un serio obstáculo en nuestro camino al desarrollo. Hay muchas empresas internacionales que han desistido de instalarse en Chile precisamente por la falta de chilenas y chilenos que conozcan y dominen el idioma inglés⁴⁴⁸. (Piñera, 2011)

It may be argued that the quotes introduced above suggest the goal that the Centre-Left Coalition government may have had when they launched and implemented the foreign language policy in Chile. The country with the most open, market-friendly economy in Latin America may be aiming at a Spanish-English bilingual citizenry to participate in the service industries and information outsourcing. These type of industries may bring in the individual and national economic development the authorities and the policy makers are hoping to participate in and profit from. An English-speaking citizenry is the key for that.

6.2.5.2 Inevitability of social change

The language policy documents implicitly suggest that transforming the country into a Spanish-English speaking one is inevitable. This change is, according to the policy, something that must happen and a transition from one stage to the next that requires an

⁴⁴⁸ Knowing that our situation was precarious, weak, in fact in Chile only 8 % of professionals fluent in English. Only 2% of the adult population speaks English fluently, in 50 adult Chileans, only one speaks English, the other 49 have not yet achieved proficiency. This figure is lower than it should correspond to a country with our level of development. So the English language in our country, or lack of English proficiency, is becoming a serious obstacle in our path to development. There are many international companies who have abstained from opening their branches in Chile precisely because of the lack of Chileans who know and master the English language (Translation by author).

effort from everyone. Extract 6.2⁴⁴⁹, Extract 6.5⁴⁵⁰, Extract 6.6⁴⁵¹, Extract 6.7⁴⁵², Extract 6.8⁴⁵³, and Extract 6.11⁴⁵⁴ are evidence of how inevitability of learning English in Chile is discursively constructed by the policy makers in the language policy documents. In addition, Extract 6.18 and Extract 6.21, both categorised as language policy documents in the corpus (4.5.2), support this argument:

Extract 6.18

*la educación del siglo XXI tiene la responsabilidad ineludible de incluir en su currículum y estrategias formativas el desarrollo de nuevas competencias que hoy son claves para mejorar la vida cultural, social y laboral de los jóvenes como es el aprendizaje de un idioma extranjero*⁴⁵⁵ (Chile Decreto N° 081, 2004)

⁴⁴⁹ Extract 6.2: The demands *that society imposes on graduates of secondary education* are many and varied. They are required active participation either in the working world or in higher education. In this context, the purpose of the subdivision of foreign language in secondary education is to provide students with a tool that allows them access to **information, knowledge and technologies** and appreciate other lifestyles, traditions and ways of thinking. It has therefore training purposes and personal enrichment, as well as instrumental purposes for labour, academic, and professional purposes. To achieve them, it is required that the contents renewal and updating and linguistic skills development within a framework is consistent with our educational, social, geographic and economic reality (Note by author).

⁴⁵⁰ Extract 6.5: *The demands that society imposes on graduates of the educational system are many and varied. The changes experienced by the country as a result of their increasing integration into the globalised world* require that students graduate with command of a foreign language that allows them to successfully face different communicative situations and, at the same time promote their active participation in higher education or in the workplace. In this context, the teaching of English is particularly important given its widespread use internationally, in the field of communications in general, and particularly in the commercial, technological and scientific fields (Note by author).

⁴⁵¹ Extract 6.6: This update of the Fundamental Objectives and Compulsory Minimum Contents for learning English as a foreign language, *complies with the need to respond to the requirements of Chilean society today*, which demands that students improve their English competence to meet **the challenges of the global world**. Considering this requirement Fundamental Objectives are aligned with international standards of the Common European Framework for Language Learning (Note by author).

⁴⁵² Extract 6.7: *The demands that current society imposes on graduates of the educational system are many and varied. The changes experienced by the country as a result of their increasing integration into the globalised world require that students graduate with handling of a foreign language that allows them to successfully face different communicative situations* and at the same time, favour their active participation in higher education or in the workplace. In this context, the teaching of English is particularly important given its widespread use internationally, in the field of communications in general, and particularly in the commercial, technological and scientific fields (Note by author).

⁴⁵³ Extract 6.8: This update of the Fundamental Objectives and Compulsory Minimum Contents for learning English as a foreign language, *comply with the need to respond to the requirements of Chilean society today*, which demands the students to improve their command of English to meet the challenges of the global world. Considering this requirement, Fundamental Objectives are aligned with international standards of the Common European Framework for Language Learning (Note by author).

⁴⁵⁴ Extract 6.11: This update of the Fundamental Objectives and Compulsory Minimum Contents for learning English as a foreign language, *complies with the need to respond to the requirements of Chilean society today*, which demands that students improve their English competence to meet **the challenges of the global world**. Considering this requirement Fundamental Objectives are aligned with international standards of the Common European Framework for Language Learning (Note by author).

⁴⁵⁵ XXI century education has an unavoidable responsibility to include in its curriculum and training strategies the development of new skills that today are key to improving the cultural, social and working life of young people as it is learning a foreign language (Translation by author).

Extract 6.21

Que, después de varios años de aplicación, se ha considerado necesario ajustar los Objetivos Fundamentales y Contenidos Mínimos Obligatorios de los Subsectores de Lenguaje y Comunicación, Educación Matemática, Comprensión del Medio Natural, Social y Cultural, Estudio y Comprensión de la Naturaleza y Estudio y Comprensión de la Sociedad para adecuar el currículum nacional a las nuevas exigencias educacionales; e incluir un sector de Idioma Extranjero: Inglés⁴⁵⁶; (Chile Decreto N° 256, 2009)

On the one hand, the lexicon employed by the policy makers to express inevitability that is the following:

necesario⁴⁵⁷, responsabilidad⁴⁵⁸, ineludible, hoy⁴⁵⁹, clave⁴⁶⁰, ajustar⁴⁶¹, adecuar⁴⁶², nuevas⁴⁶³, exigencias⁴⁶⁴, mejorar⁴⁶⁵, impone⁴⁶⁶, requiere⁴⁶⁷, actualización⁴⁶⁸, demandas⁴⁶⁹, obedece⁴⁷⁰, requerimientos⁴⁷¹, global⁴⁷².

On the other hand, most of these extracts do not show the active ‘doer’ of the requirement. There is an agentless ‘doer’ imposing the inevitability of adjusting to the requirements of the current society. As stated in the extracts above, policy documents dictate that the efforts of all Chileans are required to achieve the goals of this language policy and that its implementation is inevitable. However, social change is never inevitable. According to Sparke (2015:2):

The fact that neoliberal policies are themselves either natural or inevitable [...] neoliberalism is never automatic either. The anti-state state requires all sorts of active pro-market state making and de-regulation.

⁴⁵⁶ That, after several years of implementation, it was considered necessary to adjust the fundamental objectives and minimum compulsory contents of the Language and Communication, Mathematics Education, Understanding of the Natural, Social and Cultural, study and understanding of nature and study and understanding of society subdivision to adapt the national curriculum to new educational requirements; and include a sector of Foreign Language: English (Translation by author).

⁴⁵⁷ Necessary (Translation by author).

⁴⁵⁸ Responsibility (Translation by author).

⁴⁵⁹ Today (Translation by author).

⁴⁶⁰ Key (Translation by author).

⁴⁶¹ Adjust (Translation by author).

⁴⁶² Adjust (Translation by author).

⁴⁶³ New (Translation by author).

⁴⁶⁴ Demands (Translation by author).

⁴⁶⁵ Improve (Translation by author).

⁴⁶⁶ Impose (Translation by author).

⁴⁶⁷ Require (Translation by author).

⁴⁶⁸ Update (Translation by author).

⁴⁶⁹ Demands (Translation by author).

⁴⁷⁰ Comply with (Translation by author).

⁴⁷¹ Requirements (Translation by author).

⁴⁷² Global (Translation by author).

Massey (2013b), also argues that transition from social democracy to the current neoliberal age has been neither natural nor fluid. On the contrary, installing the neoliberal ideology has been the result of violent events (2.3). The first of these events was the overthrow of President Allende in Chile. Neoliberalism in Chile was in fact introduced by the overthrow of the Marxist Allende's Popular Unity government and a violent Military Coup in 1973. Power was contested by two forces, those of the Elite supported by the US and that of the Popular Unity⁴⁷³. These violent events mark the transition to a global economy which starts with the implementation of the 1975 economic reforms. These reforms result not only in the introduction of a neoliberal economy, but also in the change of mind-set in the Chilean context. However, there was an alternative to the introduction of neoliberalism in Chile. Both this political power contestation between two opposing ideologies and the decrees 081/2004 and 4002/1980 show not only that there is room for choice, but are also evidence of the alternatives available to the Chilean citizenry. In order to bring about change, social actors that participate in the implementation of the policy need to challenge the hegemonising common-sense embedded in the language policy.

To conclude, even though this investigation is about a particular policy, I have placed it within its context to understand its composition and discuss its results. The extracts above give evidence of social crisis due to power conflict between two political ideologies which have ruled the country for the last 45 years. This is not a call to go back to the previous economic model, rather, it is an acknowledgement of the current crisis of the Chilean educational model, evidenced by English language policy, which might create or suggest something new.

6.3 Summary

Data analysis discussed in chapter five uncovered ideologies implicit not only in the relationships among actors that participate in the English language policy, but also in the KBE notion have motivated the topics to analyse in this chapter. I have explored how neoliberal ideologies realised through discourse colonise relationships among actors who participate in the English language policy documents; how neoliberal discourse is enacted and inculcated in the Chilean educational system; and how the English language policy has become hegemonic through the discursive strategy of naturalisation. The naturalisation of this policy has been contested by the grassroots stakeholders. This dispute has produced

⁴⁷³ It is a Chilean leftist political alliance that supported Allende's 1970 candidacy. Popular Unity comprises the Communist party, the Radical party, the Social Democrat party, and the Socialist party (Note by author).

tension in the implementation of the policy and has challenged the inevitability of the social change. The tension has demonstrated that even though neoliberal ideology is dominant in the English language policy documents, there is debate taking place as other ideologies such as the educational, linguistic, political and economic ones are also the components in the constitution of the data.

Discourse has played a major role in legitimating the goals of the language policy. Among the many discursive strategies employed for this goal are persuasive rhetorics; the logic of cause and effect; naturalisation of the neoliberal discourse in favour of the hegemonisation of the language ideology; and the KBE and the entrepreneurial citizen's shift of responsibility. Furthermore, the KBE is linked with globalisation which has been employed to support the naturalisation of the policy. It is through myths such as newness of the phenomenon, the inevitability of social change, and levelling effects of globalisation that Chileans may have been persuaded to learn English by the policy makers.

The outcomes of this analysis have unveiled the composition of the actors. Neoliberal ideology has moulded them by shaping how they relate to each other. On the one hand, the roles they play can be summarised into business relationships. On the other hand, there is a binary power vs submission present in those interactions.

Actors not only display a set of values that are coherent with the neoliberal ideology such as competition and individualism, but also they act and interact in a specific way. This phenomenon shows that discourse has been enacted and inculcated in society. As members of the KBE society, actors know that they need to learn English and Chile *Decreto* 081/2004 explains thoroughly how they will do it. Having command of English has become a commodity in the 'technologization of discourse'. This type of discourse re-scales and re-structures different fields of social life. Thus, enactment and inculcation has taken place through the use of discourse which first naturalises the language policy and then makes it hegemonic.

The naturalisation of lexicon is the core element to establish hegemonic common sense. Naturalisation takes place by taking vocabulary of an economic activity, decontextualising it and then recontextualising it in a different field of action such as education and law. The lexicon becomes natural and it appears all around us. Once the lexicon is naturalised, there seems to be a feeling of resignation which contradicts the neoliberal principle of freedom of choice.

Neoliberalism regards power as a commodity. The state provides the budget for the EODP and hands it to the private bodies such as the University of Cambridge. The state empowers teachers and learners to learn English and consume its products. The logical paradox is that neoliberalism advocates freedom of choice, but the Centre-Left Coalition authorities have limited the foreign language choice.

Generally, the role of the English language in the neoliberal agenda is to become a mediating instrument in the service industries and information outsourcing. Specifically, the role of English in Chile is hinted at by the language policies introduced by the Ministry of Education. Before the Centre-Left Coalition 2004 policy reform, the decree that had ruled the teaching of foreign languages in Chile was Chile *Decreto* 4002/1980. This decree allowed the instruction of two foreign languages such as German, Italian, or French. However, decree 082/2004 enhances the importance of English in the new global context and enforces only English as a foreign language. This role, due to the budget provided by the State and the position the language has been given in the Chilean context, turns English into a commodity.

Language policy documents suggest that transforming the country into a Spanish-English bilingual one is inevitable. The transition into bilingualism requires an effort from everyone as stated in the policy documents. This transition is not sudden. In 1975, the military regime introduced a set of reforms that led the destiny of the country in this neoliberal direction. The transformation is the outcome of the transition to become a participant of the global economy. However, grassroots have contested the inevitability of social change. Agents have challenged the educational reforms implemented in 1980. The Language policy, embodied in Chile *Decreto* 081/2004, is the outcome of those reforms which have caused social crisis and that is being contested today.

CHAPTER SEVEN:

CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I provide an overview of this research and a brief summary of the findings and arguments made in this investigation. This includes a problematisation of the monolithic nature of the English language policy that is inserted in an ideologically hegemonising context. I then elaborate on the contribution to the field of research made by this study. This investigation provides a deeper understanding of the construction of the English language policy launched in Chile, the political, economic, and social factors that have influenced that construction, its creation and its impact in that context. I conclude this chapter by outlining the limitations of this research that at the same time point to directions for further research. Due to my interests and the scope of this investigation, I have observed two main limits on my study. Firstly, although I have acknowledged the importance of the English teachers in the policy implementation, I have not explored how they interpret and implement the policy in their language classrooms. Lastly, I have not examined whether the linguistic contents introduced in the syllabi, as well as the methodological suggestions and the type of classrooms, may lead to meet the goals introduced by EODP in Chile *Decreto N° 081/2004*. These are the directions further research on this English language policy should take.

7.2 A Summary

This thesis has aimed at addressing five overarching objectives which have guided the investigation (chapter one). The first one attempts to understand the type of discourses employed by the actors involved in the implementation of the English language policy. This objective has led me to state research questions 1, 1.1 and 1.2 which uncover how the language policy is discursively constructed, how it is legitimated and the kind of roles actors play. In order to answer these questions, I have relied on the CDA framework to employ the analytical tools provided by the DHA (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, 2009). The working definitions that form the basis of this investigation are the following:

I draw on Halliday's (1978) language as social semiotics since he understands language as an edifice of meanings in which people construct meanings which help shape society. The

definition of language policy I use is informed by a Critical Approach to Language Policy introduced by Tollefson (1991, 2006, 2013) and echoed by Unger (2013). According to Tollefson (1991:32-35):

[L]anguage policy is viewed as one mechanism by which the interests of dominant sociopolitical groups are manifested and the seeds of transformation are developed [...] the historical-structural model presumes that plans that are successfully implemented will serve dominant class interests.

The definition of Critical Discourse Analysis I have employed to inform this research is introduced by Fairclough and Wodak (1997:258) Fairclough and Wodak (1997:258) in which they consider the context of language use as crucial for CDA as they understand ‘language as social practice.’

The second and third objectives of this research refer to understanding the political, economic and social factors that influence the discourses and the implementation of the English language policy. These objectives refer to the Chilean context (chapter two). The dominant political, economic and social ideology that composes that context is the neoliberal one. This ideology is observed throughout the context and analysis chapters (chapters two, five and six). The definition of neoliberal ideology that informs this research comes from Massey (2013). According to her, neoliberalism has the capacity to forge a new common-sense of human relations, of competition, of private gain as opposed to the public one (chapter six).

The fourth and fifth objectives which aim at uncovering the values embedded in the English language policy, as well as exploring the persuasive intentions behind the implementation of the policy, lead to research question 2. This question attempts to explore the reasons behind the language policy implementation in Chile. This research question has been answered by the analysis in chapters five and six.

I will next provide a summary of the findings. They will be divided into discursive strategies of legitimation, representation of social actors, and argumentation. The first one is legitimation. I have drawn on van Leuween (1996, 2007) and van Leuween and Wodak (1999) to uncover the discursive strategies of legitimation employed by the policy makers to justify the implementation of the English language policy in Chile. Table 7.1 below gives an overview of the findings in this category.

Table 7.1 Legitimation strategies in the English language policy (After van Leeuwen, 2007)

| Types of legitimation | Categories | Sub-categories | Examples |
|------------------------|--|--|--|
| Authority Legitimation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Authority - Commendations | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Personal - Impersonal - Experts | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Presidenta de la República, Ministro de Educacion - Laws, rules, regulations - Experts' credentials |
| Rationalization | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Instrumental Theoretical | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Goal oriented - Means oriented - Definition - Explanation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - English language learning is an instrument and a value - Optar a mejores trabajos, becas de estudio - Especialistas - Inserción de Chile y economía mundial |
| Moral legitimation | Evaluation | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mejor, mejores, ventajas |

The second classification of findings is the representation of social actors. I have employed the framework provided by van Leeuwen (1996, 2007) and van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) to uncover the roles that actors included in the language policy data play. I will first summarise the way in which actors have been discursively represented in the implementation of the English language policy in Chile (see Table 7.2 below). I will do so by classifying actors into analytical categories. Then, I will explain activation and passivation of actors and I will conclude this summary by explaining how actors have been discursively included or excluded.

Table 7.2: Classification of actors into analytical categories (After Reisigl and Wodak, 2001:48-52)

| Strategies | Linguistic means | Examples |
|--|--|---|
| Collectivisation | - Diectics - Collectives - Generalisation - Assimilation - Functionalisation | Nosotros, ellos Docentes, estudiantes, expertos, profesores, Docentes, estudiantes, expertos, profesores, Docentes, estudiantes, expertos, profesores, Docentes, estudiantes, expertos, profesores, técnicos, empresarios, profesionales |
| Nomination | Individualization | Michelle Bachelet, Sergio Bitar, |
| Professionalisation | Professionysm | Estudiantes, docentes, profesores, técnicos, empresarios, ministro, ministra, presidenta, profesionales |
| Culturisation - Linguification | Linguonysms | Personas de habla inglesa, voluntarios de lengua inglesa |
| Economisation - Professionalisation | Professionysms | Docente, especialistas, ministro |

Representation grants social actors with active or passive roles. While *El programa* is activated, the role and responsibility of authorities in the implementation of the policy is passivated. In addition, the representation may include or exclude social actors (van Leeuwen, 1996:38; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001:47). There are two types of exclusion observed in the data. They are suppression and backgrounding (van Leeuwen, 1996:39). The first one is linguistically realised by the use of passive voice. The last one refers to actors hidden in the background by de-emphasising their role, i.e. the policy makers.

The last strategy is argumentation. The reconstruction of the arguments (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012) put forward by policy makers and Centre-Left Coalition authorities to justify the implementation of the policy reveals the use of the following rhetorical strategies: fallacies and topoi. The use of *argumentum ad misericordiam*, i.e. appeal to pity, which violates rule for critical discussion 4 (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001:71; Walton, 2006:177). This fallacy appeals to citizens' compassion and empathy regarding the implementation of the language policy in order to win the support of the policy opponents.

One of the reasons given by the policy makers to support the implementation of the policy states that competence in English will facilitate educational and professional opportunities. This argument employs *Argumentum ad ignorantiam*, i.e. appealing to ignorance, as the argument violates rule 9 due to lack of evidence (*ibid*).

The use of the logical fallacy *post hoc ergo propter hoc*, i.e. after this therefore because of this, in the argument that links L2 skills with job opportunities violates rule 7 and reveals that the argumentation scheme is not properly applied (*ibid*). There is also an intention to legitimate the language policy by using the fallacy *argumentum ad verecundiam*, i.e. appeal to authority, as all decrees, Acuerdos and school syllabi modification have been signed by Centre-Left Coalition authorities.

The policy states that economic and social opportunities will be brought about by competence in English. There is an *argumentum ad consequentiam*, i.e. appeal to consequences, in this argument. There is a *non sequitur*, i.e. does not follow, that violates rule for critical discussion 7 (Walton, 2007:177). This rule states that an argument is valid as long as the argumentation scheme is properly applied. By this, we can conclude that the reasons given by the policy makers to learn English are not solid and may be rebutted if a counter-argument is put forward. The counter-argument may prove that the hypothesis is not valid or not sound. Finally, there is evidence of circular reasoning, i.e. *petitio principii*, in the justifications provided by the policy makers. This fallacy is based on the form of the argument structure that is not valid. Even though the argument put forward by the policy makers is true, it is not well-organised since it does not lead to the conclusion.

Topoi are ‘common places’ which, in rhetorics, work as rules of conclusion. That is, *topoi* connect arguments with conclusions. In the field of argumentation theory, *topos* belong to the explicit or inferable premise and link the argument with the conclusion (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001:75). Four *topoi* have been employed to support the arguments in favour of the implementation of the policy. Firstly, Chile *Decreto N° 081/2004* states that competence in English will enhance the possibilities to get better job opportunities. This leads to *topos* of advantage or usefulness *pro bono nobis*, i.e. to the advantage of us all. Secondly, the decree supports the idea that language policy implementation in Chile based on the premise that change is needed to meet the requirements of today’s global society. This argument is regarded as a *topos* of reality (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001:75). Thirdly, the implementation of the policy was carried out by the force of policy decrees, *Acuerdos*, and legal authorizations to modify the national school syllabi. This argument refers to *topos* of

law or right. Lastly, *topos* of humanitarianism takes place when the policy makers justify the policy implementation as a resource to bring in equality among school children.

I now move on to summarise the arguments put forward by this study. The main overarching argument that has led this study is concerned with the economic, political and social factors that have triggered the implementation of the English language policy in Chile in 2004. Some other arguments stem from this main one. Firstly, political, economic, and social factors are immersed in the context's dominant ideology which is neoliberalism. This context permeates the language policy and turns it into an arena in which ideological debates and struggles take place. Thus, this investigation argues that there are ideological debates embedded in the English language policy texts, which are uncovered by the analytical tools devised for this research (chapter four). These ideological debates range from political perspectives to linguistic ones. Data shows that English as a prestigious language is a dominant ideology. This ideology refers to the appreciation of one language over another. This view is contested by the main stakeholders impacted by the policy implementation such as French teachers (Bitar, 2011).

Secondly, another argument that stems from the main one is the rhetorical persuasive use of the globalization phenomenon as a justification to influence the language policy implementation. This strategy has the strength of re-organising the hierarchy of languages in the contexts it impacts. Chile *Decreto N° 081/2004* and Chile *Decreto 4,002/1980* are evidence of that. According to the policy text, English has been instrumentalized and turned into a tool to level the ground in order to provide equal academic and professional opportunities to school learners. As it is stated in the policy documents, it seems inevitable to escape from this language policy change even though political efforts had to be carried out in order to introduce social change. An instance of the social changes experienced by Chilean citizens is the implementation of the 1975 reforms introduced by General Pinochet's regime.

Thirdly, it is argued that Knowledge Based Economy is not only introduced to turn competence in English as a future state of affairs into a current one, but also to re-structure and re-scale different aspects of social life. This is achieved by the enactment and inculcation of certain behaviour within the context of the English language policy. Actors involved in this process act and interact in a certain way which is described as technologization of discourse (Fairclough, 1996). However, there is an inconsistency about the neoliberal KBE notion and its implementation in the language classroom. This

discrepancy refers to the similarity between the control over language assessment and the Fordist mass production process.

Fourthly, another argument I have made in this study is the instrumentalization and commodification of English due to the globalisation forces that have had impact on the Chilean scenario. English has been granted cultural, monetary and symbolic value within the language policy data. This status is facilitated by the use of economic jargon to discuss the language policy issues. The cluster below evidences how economic jargon has colonised the law making and educational fields of action and discourses.

competencias, laboral, empleo, remuneración, negocio exportador, información, económica, acuerdos comerciales, desarrollo social y económico, presupuesto, sector publico, estándares nacionales, estrategia, contratar, pruebas de medición, perfeccionamiento, adquirir, producir, distribuir, evaluación, cumplimiento de metas, acreditación, gastos, bienes, servicios, insumos, convenios, capacitación, financiera, cargo, ley de presupuesto. (Chile Decreto N° 081, 2004)

In addition, monetary commodification of the foreign language has allowed the creation of new roles, e.g. *voluntario de habla inglesa*⁴⁷⁴, as well as new interactions. The language policy, due to the economic jargon which is influenced by the neoliberal ideology, implicitly hints at new roles stakeholders perform. While students and teachers may be regarded as customers, experts and volunteers are regarded as service providers of the English language, software, teaching materials, and assessments as products. The costs of services and products are covered by the State as detailed in Chile *Decreto 081/2004*. However, there is an ideological contradiction at this stage. On the one hand, the policy is introduced by the State in the hands of the Centre-Left Coalition party, which advocates as one of their tenets that equality is promoted by the introduction of this policy. On the other hand, assessment, training and consultancy is in the hands of the private sector.

Fifthly, I have hypothesized that due to the demands of the global economy which is represented in the Chilean context through Free Trade Agreements, transnational companies and investors, the Centre-Left Coalition authorities launched the language policy in order to train a linguistically skilled and certified ‘wordforce’. The argument to support this claim is based on the justifications given by the policy makers. The decrees and syllabi state that this language policy will bring in both individual and national development. This neoliberal-oriented language education has been contested by various

⁴⁷⁴ English-speaking volunteer (Translation by author).

stake-holders. For instance, Sara Larrain (2004), who was the Leader of the Chilean Social Forum, states that "Chile's insertion ought to be into the world at large, not into the U.S. Empire. These are not Roman times, when Latin was the universal language."

Lastly, I have argued that the English language policy enhances neoliberal values. Due to the activities and benefits dictated by the policy, students compete with each other to win debates and spelling bee competitions; teachers and learners are assessed through international examinations in order to be certified; trainee teachers compete with each other to be awarded an exchange grant; learners are expected to become individualistic as observed in Extract 5.10 which implicitly states so. The inconsistency of this educational orientation is exposed by the argument introduced by the policy makers in favor of the language policy. Appealing to the *argumentum ad misericordiam*, they state that the policy will bring in national development as well as equality.

7.3 Contribution to the field of research

After completing this study, I return to my investigation and reflect on the gaps in this field of research as recognised by Ricento (2012a, 2012b). In line with the authors's work, I have shed light on the political economic and social factors brought about by the neoliberal forces that have motivated the implementation of the English language policy in Chile. In my research, I have identified how those factors have had an impact on the construction of the identities immersed in the language policy, and have influenced the construction of reality; have identified the role English language policy plays in the neoliberal agenda, and I have explained how English is instrumentalized and commodified in the language policy. Using DHA (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, 2009), legitimation (van Leeuwen, 1996, 2007) and argumentation theory (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992, 1994, 2004; Walton, 2006) as analytical tools, I have uncovered how actors are represented, how the policy is legitimated, and what sort of persuasive rhetoric strategies are used to justify the implementation. These tools have also been able to make political, language, and economic ideologies explicit. Research on the various aspects of the language policy from the newspapers' views can illuminate the construction of the English language policy even further. Thus, I suggest further study on the same aspects as represented in the newspapers. This study is necessary to the field of language policy research as a contribution not only to the ways that language ideologies, practices and management (Spolsky, 2004) behave in the unique neoliberal Chilean context, but also to the applied linguistics scholarship field in

which this research sits as an example of how language pedagogy is impacted by neoliberal forces.

The purpose of this study has not been to contest the English language policy implemented in Chile, but to problematize its monolithic nature and challenge its hegemonic influence in society and, as a result, propose the possibility of approaching language teaching and learning in a different way; away from the influences of neoliberalism or aware of them and its devastating effects such as social inequality within the educational environments in the Chilean context.

7.4 Limitations of this research

Reflecting on this study, the first limitation I have identified is the lack of connection between the English language policy legal documents and syllabi with the teachers' practice. I have discursively analysed the data, but I have not explored the teachers' stance and beliefs towards the policy, or how they interpret and implement the policy in their language classrooms. Secondly, I have also - due to the scope of this research, its objectives and research questions - left a huge amount of data unexplored. More specifically, I have not examined what sort of information the pedagogical data provides. Syllabi are filled with goals, contents, skills development and teaching methodology which may bring light into the results of the natural evaluations. Finally, as I have made decisions on what type of data I am going to observe based on the goals of the research and its objectives, this investigation is based on my interests. Thus, I acknowledge this research may be subjective in terms of research questions, scope, choice of data, data collection, and topic of research. However, I have attempted to use high standards of academic rigour with the support of the methodological and analytical framework. Also, I have drawn conclusions based on data analysis using a CDA approach over a specific context. This thesis is the product of one perspective of data analysis, so I leave this study open to new suggestions on the way to problematize this language policy and how to approach data analysis. Thus, this investigation is the representation of one approach to the analysis of the English language policy implemented in Chile which broadens the bulk of knowledge of the language policy field of research and opens the field for further research in the area.

7.5 Further research

Due to the fact that the 2003 language policy launched in Chile has not been thoroughly researched, it has become a vast unexplored field of investigation. Thus, I have numerous

suggestions for further research which emanate from this thesis and that I shall briefly state here.

As this investigation has focused on factors that influence policy implementation by uncovering the discursive construction of the language policy laws and syllabi, I have been unable to fully explore one of the main stake-holders', i.e. teachers, perceptions of the policy. There is a gap between what the policy states and what teachers do in the classroom. I think it is relevant to explore what teachers think of the policy, how they interpret it and how they implement it in the language classroom. I wonder whether what teachers do in the classroom is coherent with what the policy dictates and whether their practice has improved the learners' competence in the L2. In the same line, it looks interesting to explore what society thinks about the language policy. In this research, I have used newspapers such as *La Tercera*, *El Mercurio* and *La Nación* which have informed my investigation and provided a bulk of information which seems worthy of looking at more closely.

Newspapers have informed me of tensions in the relationship between teachers and *voluntarios de habla inglesa*. Hence, I would suggest research on the effectiveness of the English speaking support in the language classroom. Do *voluntarios de habla inglesa* really motivate learners? Is the volunteer's work in line with the teachers' methodology or is it interfering with the classroom work? Are the volunteers trained to work in the language classrooms?

I have also introduced the notion of nationalism and language learning in chapter five. More research on this notion in connection with English language learning needs to be carried out as the policy states that it is relevant to understand Chileans' own culture to appreciate that of others. I wonder how that is done and whether it is explained in the syllabi documents.

In addition, I have employed the results of the 2004 and 2010 national examinations to inform this study. They have been introduced in order to support arguments put forward in this investigation, but they have not been fully explored. I would suggest further research on what those results mean. Have the goals of the policy been met? Is there any improvement by social class, type of school, region? Is the syllabus proposing the right methodology to meet the goals of the policy? Is the EODP using the right assessment criteria for the methodology proposed by the syllabi and the goals of the policy?

Finally, regarding the Chilean linguistic environment, I would suggest an exploration on the impact of the policy on the life of the other foreign languages, i.e. French and German, and native languages. English has disturbed the Chilean linguistic environment, so I wonder what happened with the teachers of French and German who used to work in state schools, or what happened with the instruction of native languages in the educational system after the implementation of the foreign language policy. To conclude, I regard this research as opening the ground for further fruitful research within this fertile field.

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