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**Social representations underlying the motivation to learn English in
students of public vocational technical and private schools**

Tesis para optar al grado de Licenciada en Lengua y Literatura Inglesa

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Abstract

Motivation in language learning has been a topic of great relevance in the last decades, since it has been established as the reason why a person would invest in learning a language and success in doing so (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2012; Dörnyei, 2014). More recently, studies have devoted themselves to inquire the effect that socioeconomic factors have on language learning motivation (Gayton, 2010; Kormos & Kiddle, 2013). Nevertheless, they have failed to provide a thorough insight on the underlying socio-psychological phenomena that lead to such relationship.

Under the scope of Linguistic Anthropology and its approach to language as a contextually and culturally embedded phenomenon, this study draws on Social Representation (Moscovici, 1979) and L2 Motivational Self System Theory (Dörnyei 2005; 2009) to determine the ideologies and social representations that trigger two socio-economically different groups of students' motivation to learn English. In order to do so, data were qualitatively collected through focus groups among students from public vocational-technical schools and students from private schools, followed by personal semi-structured interviews.

Results showed how motivation to learn English is highly determined by a social representation based on its aspirational aspect; in the case of middle-low status students such representation implies upward mobility towards a higher socioeconomic status in Chile, whereas for high status students the aspiration implies living abroad. In addition, an idealization of the Anglo-American culture and language is identified. Therefore, implications for a more realistic approach towards English as a Foreign Language are discussed.

Key words: linguistic anthropology; social representations; language ideologies; motivation; English as Foreign Language

Abbreviations

EFL : English as a Foreign Language.

L2 : Second Language.

VT : Vocational-technical. Translation in English for these types of schools in Chile, “Técnico Profesionales”; abbreviated in Spanish as TP.

MINEDUC : Ministry of Education of Chile.

EODP : English Opens Doors Program.

NS/s : Native speaker/s.

NNS/s : Non-native speaker/s.

CHAPTER I: PRESENTATION OF THE STUDY

I.1. Introduction

The study on L2 learning motivation has been relevant in the last decades, especially since it has been established as the reason why a person would put effort into learning a language and would succeed in doing so (Dörnyei, 2014; Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2012). Recently, Dörnyei (2005) has formulated a theory based on theoretical advances in psychology, along with recent empirical studies in Second/Foreign Language learning motivation. Thus, the L2 Motivational Self System theory complements and widens previous perspectives in L2 motivation studies, as the concept of integrative motivation (Gardner & Lambert, 1959).

Since L2 learning motivation has been observed mainly quantitatively, being measured through constructs (Dörnyei & Ushioda 2011), a linguistic anthropology approach allows to make new connections between the learners and their social context; similarly, its multidisciplinary quality allows us to make use of psychosocial theories such as Moscovici's Social Representations theory (1979). These refer to the social knowledge that defines a group or individual, on the one hand, and on the other, it is the instrument by which this group or individual apprehends their environment (Herlich, 1979). Hence, the use of this theory helps to clarify the motivation to learn an L2, in the case of Chile, English as a Foreign Language.

The ongoing international expansion of English has implied its preponderance in Chile. Specifically, since 2004 the Ministry of Education has proposed programs such as English Opens Doors, which incentives English through summer camps and scholarships to English language teachers, while standardized tests such as English SIMCE measures the level of English in schools. Its results shed light on the gap between socioeconomic groups in relation to their scores (Agencia de Calidad de la Educación, 2012), translated by the test as English proficiency levels.

Considering the data provided by the Ministry of Education, along with the fact that motivation to learn a Foreign/Second Language is determined by an individual's context, the present study attempts to characterize the social representations underlying the motivation to learn English in two socioeconomically distinct groups, and then

compare them. To accomplish this, students from public vocational-technical schools and private schools participated in this qualitative research, groups which represent two extremes in the Chilean educational reality.

The present study is organized in five major chapters; in Chapter I, I provide the justification of the research problem, along with the questions and objectives that guided the inquiry; then, the methodology by which the study was carried out is described: its participants and their context, as well as the instruments, procedures and data management utilized. Subsequently, in Chapter II, the state of the art in addition to the main concepts and theory that are relevant for the study are reviewed. Later, in Chapter III the analysis of results is presented, which includes the categories established from the participants' discourse and the interpretation extracted from them. Consequently, in Chapter IV the conclusion section comprises the main aspects of the study, together with the discussion which emerges from the study; the chapter closes with the limitations and projections of the study.

I.2. Presentation and justification of the research problem

The Chilean linguistic environment includes a sign language, indigenous languages as Quechua or Mapudungun, foreign languages as Haitian Creole, heritage languages as German, Spanish as the de facto official language, and English as the mandatory Foreign Language of instruction. Regardless of the Chilean multilingual reality, English has been the preponderant foreign language taught in Chilean classrooms from 5th grade in primary school; although its well-known political and economic status has meant for it to be widely taught from earlier courses in primary school and even at the kindergarten level. The robust efforts made by the Ministry of Education to position English as a mandatory subject and a relevant language respond to linguistic ideologies towards it, which accentuate its utilitarian value. Despite the clear stance of the government regarding English, it becomes necessary to give voice and evaluate the viewpoint of those who are directly affected by its language education agenda: Chilean students.

It would be impossible to address Chilean students without considering the Chilean educational context at large. Chile has been marked by inequality, and it is expressed in different social spheres; education is no exception: the different types of schools that students can have access to are commonly determined by their socioeconomic status; most of the private schools are attended by higher socioeconomic groups, while middle and lower groups attend subsidized schools and public schools, respectively. Educational inequality is also made evident in scores of varied standardized tests, as the SIMCE of English (Quality of Education Measurement System, for the acronym in Spanish) has demonstrated. Moreover, secondary education in Chile can be divided into two groups: scientific-humanist and vocational-technical secondary schooling. As the former is considered the regular type of schooling, vocational-technical students have been segregated from measurement processes and consequently, from most research in English as a Foreign Language in our country. In sum, students' motivation to learn English has been disregarded in the process of carrying out initiatives in favor of English; furthermore, a particular group of students has been dismissed.

Therefore, this study intends to look at the motivation to learn English in students from distinct socioeconomic backgrounds, which is evidenced in the type of schools they are enrolled in: public vocational-technical and private; this as a means to characterize the social representations which underlie such motivations. Moreover, the study attempts to compare the emerging social representations and link them to the divergent realities of the school communities in relation to English learning.

I.2.1. Research Questions

The problem posed in the preceding section led to the following research questions:

Which are the social representations underlying the motivation to learn English in vocational-technical students of public schools that belong to a middle-low socioeconomic status?

Which are the social representations underlying the motivation to learn English in students of private schools that belong to a high socioeconomic status?

Which are the differences and similitudes in terms of social representations that emerge between the observed groups?

I.2.2. Research Objectives

I.2.2.1. General Objective

To characterize the social representations underlying the motivation to learn English in students of public vocational-technical and private schools

I.2.2.2. Specific Objectives

To characterize the social representations underlying the motivation to learn English in vocational-technical students of public schools that belong to a middle-low socioeconomic status.

To characterize the social representations underlying the motivation to learn English in students of private schools that belong to a high socioeconomic status.

To compare the differences and similitudes in terms of social representations that emerge between the observed groups.

I.3. Methodology

In the methodological section I present the character of the study, its participants and their context, as well as the instruments, procedures and data management by which the study could be carried out. Firstly, it is paramount to mention the qualitative nature and exploratory level of the study, which was carried out in a cross-sectional manner throughout the second semester of 2016. Moreover, the study's development consisted of the configuration of focus groups in a first instance, followed by semi-structured personal interviews sessions.

I.3.1. Participants and Context

The research was focused on students who live in Santiago, the capital city of Chile, and who are learning English as a Foreign Language (EFL) obligatorily in secondary school. To obtain a better grasp of the social representations underlying the motivations that Chilean students have towards learning EFL, participants from dissimilar social classes conformed this study's sample. Since Santiago is a highly stratified city in terms of geographic area correlating with income, two different schools –a private and a public one—from different districts were under scrutiny, in this case, Maipú and Colina.

Maipú is defined as a middle-low, C3 district (Novomerc, 2016); it is highly populated, its housing is characterized by semi-detached houses, and the schools available are in their majority public or subsidized schools. Colina, on the other hand, is a district that contains one of the wealthiest locations in Santiago, Chicureo. Chicureo is

defined as an upper-high, AB location: an exclusive, remote area that needs to be accessed by car; it has one of the most expensive housing markets and private schools in Santiago (Novomerc, 2016). The specific socioeconomic characteristics of the school and district ensures that its community is homogeneous: in Chile, a family of a middle-low socioeconomic stratum could not afford sending their children to a distant private school; in the same manner, a high socioeconomic stratum family would not admit sending their children to a public, low quality school located on a potentially perilous area of the city. Therefore, the sample obtained from the different school communities is representative of their sociocultural universe.

The school communities scrutinized were public vocational-technical (VT), and private scientific-humanist schools. VT schools are those which prepare students within a specific field, offering programs such as electricity, cuisine, construction, among others. In their majority, public VT schools are attended by students who were not accepted in other schools and who aspire to enter the working world directly instead of applying to a university (MINEDUC, 2012). On the other hand, scientific-humanist schools provide their students a foundation on traditional subjects such as history, language and communication, mathematics, chemistry, etc. Scientific-humanist schools are supposed to prepare students for the national standardized test, PSU, which enables them to enroll in a university. Furthermore, these schools are chosen by the bulk of the Chilean students, the reason why they are considered the regular type of schools.

Both types of school communities which participated in the study were non bilingual schools, although the importance they place on English classes varied: school authorities reported that the amount of hours intended for English language classes were four 45 minute modules of English per week, while private school authorities reported to have six 45 minute official modules per week, although students could also engage in extracurricular activities in English an indefinite amount of hours per week. Additionally, private schools required their 1st, 2nd, and 3rd grade secondary students to certify their English level with the standardized tests PET and FCE (Cambridge English Language Assessment, 2015); workshops to prepare the test were optional for students.

All of the participants were studying in the 3rd grade of a four-grade secondary education. The rationale behind choosing this grade was firstly determined by the self-awareness that secondary students —versus primary students—have; secondly, because according to the National Curricular Bases (MINEDUC, 2013), in the last two years of secondary schooling VT students are taught specific courses to their program —sanitary installations and culinary, in the case of the VT participants—. Although the official curriculum and study plan does not include the subject English language for VT schools, the fact that the students were in 3rd grade might have implied that their classes of English language were as specific as the rest of their courses, which would have resulted in a more involved stance towards English as compared to earlier years. Private school students also belonged to 3rd grade, the grade in which they choose their differential plan, with a higher emphasis on scientific or humanist courses, and with a specific curriculum for English in the differentiated years (MINEDUC, 2016). As in the case of VT students, this would have resulted in more involved stance towards English as compared to earlier years.

As aforementioned, the participants belonged to two distinct socioeconomic strata: on the one hand, public vocational-technical schools from a middle-low socioeconomic status, and on the other, private schools from a high socioeconomic status. Two different schools representative of each status were contacted, thus, four groups of 6 students each were under research. Finally, each of the 4 groups of 6 students had an equal number of female and male participants.

I.3.2. Instruments

The first step before conducting the research was to ask for the school authorities' permission to conduct research on their establishment, along with making the necessary requests from them to perform the study, and informing them of the overall procedure. As a means of legitimating the endorsement of the academic coordinators and/or teachers in charge, they had to sign an Informed Consent Form, which can be found in the Appendix section of the study. Their agreement to participate in the study involved that they authorized the 3rd grade secondary students to be taken out of class to

participate in a focus group, in a first instance, and then again in a second opportunity to be individually interviewed –except in the case of the pilot focus groups.

The instruments used whilst conducting the study were an empty classroom where the procedures of the study could take place, and two audio recorders to register the participants' conversations, the data of the research.

I.3.3. Procedures

As commented on the preceding subsection, before the research took place, permission to have access to the students had to be asked from the school authorities. During the second semester of 2016 I contacted 4 authorities from different schools, 2 per socioeconomic strata, among them academic coordinators and teachers in charge of the class. After having met with them and obtained their consent to interview the students using an empty classroom inside the school, I arranged with each of them a date when the focus group could take place, while the date for the subsequent personal interviews would be arranged afterwards, since both activities depended on the availability of the teacher in charge of the class; notwithstanding that, the personal interviews sessions were realized approximately a week after the preceding focus group session.

2.3.1. Focus Groups

The first focus groups conducted in schools from each socioeconomic group were designated as the study's pilots; hence, this study consists of Pilot VT School and Pilot Private School; Focus Group VT School and Focus Group Private School. Although essentially each focus group was carried out in a similar manner, the pilots were not followed by a personal interviews session.

Pilot VT School and Private School were conformed as follows: on the agreed date, I returned to one public VT school (pilot 1) and to one private school (pilot 2); after being introduced by the teacher in charge, I asked for 6 students, 3 females and 3

males to participate at an activity that I would explain later. The requirements were for them to skip the class with the teacher's consent, leave the classroom, and talk about a topic that would be audio-recorded. Randomly, among the students who offered themselves, the pilots were created.

Inside the previously requested empty classroom, 7 chairs were already set up by me in a relatively small circle, with two sound-recorders turned on and placed on a table on each extreme of its diameter. There, participants were informed about the general topic of the activity, the English language. Immediately, I asked the first out of the three questions that would guide their discussions. The questions were:

What does English language mean to you?

Do you consider it important? Why?

What would make you want to learn more English?

In approximately 30 minutes the session was completed.

After the pilots, two focus groups more were arranged at another public VT and another private school, Focus Group VT School and Focus Group Private School, respectively. The development of these focus groups resembled that of the pilots, although these were followed by a Personal Interviews session to each of the participants, individually.

2.3.2. Personal Interviews

Audio-recordings taken from Focus Groups VT School and Private School enabled me to identify the most commented topics, most recurrent notions among the students and their specific stances towards them; ultimately, they enabled me to identify the subtopics that needed further development.

A third visit to the schools allowed me to take the participants once again out of class and interview them. The questions of the semi structured interviews were based on this; for that reason, some questions were repeated to all of the 6 participants in each

group, while other spontaneous questions were related to specific comments uttered at the time of the personal interview. Finally, each interview lasted approximately 10 minutes.

I.3.4. Data Management

As a means to manage the data collected via focus groups and personal interviews, a rough transcription of the whole data was made by using the transcription software program Express Scribe. In the transcription of the Pilots, participants were coded as Female (F) 1 to 6 and Male (M) 1 to 6; while in the Focus Groups and subsequent Personal Interviews, participants were coded as Female (F) 7 to 12 and Male (M) 7 to 12.

The transcription allowed me to listen to the audio-file several times, and the subsequent step was to identify conceptual similarities throughout the data, which were designated as categories. This process helped me to elucidate how particular statements could be framed in the larger context, an interpretative endeavour (Geertz, 1973) though the student's discursive practice. As is later mentioned in the reasearch's state of the art, this modus operandi deviates from the ones commonly applied in Foreign/Second Language motivation studies, which usually measure motivation quantitatively in the form of established constructs. This reverse approach, where participants provide the relevant categories, is meant to grant a more organic insight on motivation in learning EFL and its underlying social representations.

In sum, the main information regarding the study's participants, the procedures they participated in and their school's information is comprised in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Description of the participants

Pilots				
Participant	Grade/Age	Type of School	Specialization	School information
Female 1	3rd, 17	Public VT	Sanitary instalations	Highschool El Llano. Maipú district
Female 2	3rd, 16	Public VT	Sanitary instalations	Highschool El Llano. Maipú district
Female 3	3rd, 16	Public VT	Sanitary instalations	Highschool El Llano. Maipú district
Male 1	3rd, 17	Public VT	Sanitary instalations	Highschool El Llano. Maipú district
Male 2	3rd, 17	Public VT	Sanitary instalations	Highschool El Llano. Maipú district
Male 3	3rd, 17	Public VT	Sanitary instalations	Highschool El Llano. Maipú district
Female 4	3rd, 17	Private	Scientific-humanist	Highschool Rayen Mahuida, Colina district, Chicureo
Female 5	3rd, 17	Private	Scientific-humanist	Highschool Rayen Mahuida, Colina district, Chicureo
Female 6	3rd, 17	Private	Scientific-humanist	Highschool Rayen Mahuida, Colina district, Chicureo
Male 4	3rd, 16	Private	Scientific-humanist	Highschool Rayen Mahuida, Colina district, Chicureo
Male 5	3rd, 17	Private	Scientific-humanist	Highschool Rayen Mahuida, Colina district, Chicureo
Male 6	3rd, 17	Private	Scientific-humanist	Highschool Rayen Mahuida, Colina district, Chicureo

Focus Groups and Personal Interviews				
Participant	Grade/Age	Type of School	Specialization	School information
Female 7	3rd, 16	Public VT	Cuisine	CETP Highschool. Maipú district
Female 8	3rd, 17	Public VT	Cuisine	CETP Highschool. Maipú district
Female 9	3rd, 17	Public VT	Cuisine	CETP Highschool. Maipú district
Male 7	3rd, 16	Public VT	Cuisine	CETP Highschool. Maipú district
Male 8	3rd, 17	Public VT	Cuisine	CETP Highschool. Maipú district
Male 9	3rd, 17	Public VT	Cuisine	CETP Highschool. Maipú district
Female 10	3rd, 17	Private	Scientific-humanist	San Nicolás Diácono Highschool. Colina district, Chicureo
Female 11	3rd, 17	Private	Scientific-humanist	San Nicolás Diácono Highschool. Colina district, Chicureo
Female 12	3rd, 17	Private	Scientific-humanist	San Nicolás Diácono Highschool. Colina district, Chicureo
Male 10	3rd, 17	Private	Scientific-humanist	San Nicolás Diácono Highschool. Colina district, Chicureo
Male 11	3rd, 17	Private	Scientific-humanist	San Nicolás Diácono Highschool. Colina district, Chicureo
Male 12	3rd, 17	Private	Scientific-humanist	San Nicolás Diácono Highschool. Colina district, Chicureo

CHAPTER II: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, I introduce the empirical and theoretical works that guide this study, thus, their different paradigms, precursors and main exponents are reviewed. On the one hand, the state of the art is provided. It accounts for the most recent examinations in terms of motivation to learn EFL and its correlation to socioeconomic factors. On the other hand, the structuring concepts that guide the study are presented: firstly, the sub discipline linguistic anthropology includes the description of main concepts it encloses such as culture, folk linguistics and English language learning notions. Secondly, I describe Social Representations theory and their emergence conditions, dynamics, determinations and different dimensions. Then, language ideologies about English are reviewed, followed by the theory around the relationship between language and power, which involves the hegemonic status of English and the symbolic power it enacts. Later, motivation theory in Foreign/Second Language learning contexts is introduced, which will later allow the accurate identification of the students' motivation. Finally, the specific context, treatment and status of English in Chile is brought forward.

II.1. State of the Art

During almost the last six decades the study on L2 learning motivation has been relevant, especially since it has been regarded as the reason why a person would put effort into learning a language and would succeed in doing so (Dörnyei, 2014; Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2012). Recently, Dörnyei (2005) has formulated a theory based on theoretical advances in psychology, along with recent empirical studies in Second/Foreign Language learning motivation. Thus, the L2 Motivational Self System theory complements and widens previous perspectives in L2 motivation studies, as the concept of integrative motivation (Gardner, 2001), which still is one of the most important criterions in L2 learning motivation (Taguchi, Magid & Papi, 2009: 67). Moreover, although integrativeness and instrumentality have been formulated as distinct motivational aspects, empirical studies have demonstrated that they are deeply connected (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005; Kormos & Csizér, 2008); which sustains their evaluation in the present study.

On the grounds that language learning motivation and its different aspects do not occur in a vacuum, but are determined by the learner's context, more recent studies have devoted themselves to inquire the effect that socioeconomic factors have on motivation in Foreign/Second Language learning (Kormos & Kiddle, 2013; Gayton, 2010). These pieces of research have accounted for a set of constructs that encompass the concept of motivation and have tested them on participants who represent different socioeconomic strata, ultimately correlating a higher degree of motivation with a higher socioeconomic status, and a lesser degree of motivation the lower the income. This has been associated to segregation between schools: teachers hired in private schools usually have higher levels of language training than those hired in public ones, also, teacher-student ratios are higher in public schools than in private ones (Kormos & Kiddle, 2013). Nonetheless, they have failed to provide a thorough insight on the underlying psychosocial phenomena that may trigger such apparently unchangeable situation.

Since L2 learning motivation has been observed mainly quantitatively, being measured through constructs, a call for more qualitative research in studies on

motivation (Dörnyei & Ushioda 2011) has been made. A linguistic anthropology approach allows making new connections between the learners and their social context; similarly, its multidisciplinary quality allows us to make use of psychosocial theories such as Moscovici's Social Representations theory (1979), which has been proven useful in uncovering the rationale behind certain social behaviors. In the case of Latin American countries, including Chile, it has served to demystify the students' behavior over problematic issues within educational settings (Aisenson et al, 2009; Garnham, 2016).

A problematic issue regarding language teaching and learning in our country nowadays, as postulated in the chapter above, is the status of English as the mandatory Foreign Language of instruction. Specifically, since 2004 the Ministry of Education has implemented English teaching official curricula and proposed programs such as English Opens Doors (MINEDUC Decree N° 081, 2004), which incentives English through summer camps, native speaking teacher assistants, and scholarships in foreign institutions (MINEDUC EOPD, n.d.). The rationalist ideology that constrains such curricula and programs imply considering English as a utilitarian global communication tool (Pérez de Arce, 2014) that can bestow us with national economic competitiveness (Matear, 2008), and personal competitiveness through study abroad experiences (Fernandez Robin et al, 2016). This is congruous with pragmatic ideologies around English found in other Latin American countries (Nielsen, 2003; Niño-Murcia, 2003), that conceive it as an aid in the search for opportunities.

Notwithstanding the effort the Chilean government places into teaching EFL, its perceived political and economic status, and thus its relevance at a national level, Social Representation theory has not yet been applied to the study of students' motivation in language learning. Consequently, the present study attempts at doing so, while complementing studies that have analyzed governmental programs' ideologies and the EFL phenomenon in Chile (Pérez de Arce, 2014), this time, depicting their effect on the students' motivation to learn English and the social representations behind such motivation.

II.2. Relevant Concepts

II.2.1. Linguistic Anthropology

Modern linguistics was marked by Ferdinand de Saussure's work, specifically by his dichotomy between *langue*, the abstract and decontextualized system by which every human is able to communicate, and *parole*, the contextualized use of such system. Saussure's heritage was made manifest in the Chomskyan dichotomy between competence and performance. The study of language, then, was mainly devoted to the study of the system, or our competence, leaving aside the context in the social world. In light of this, linguistic anthropology rose as an interdisciplinary approach between the humanities and social sciences which considers language as a contextually and culturally determined phenomenon (Ahearn, 2012; Duranti, 1997). Linguistic anthropology has not always had the same outlook or approaches; instead, it has suffered a process that has allowed it to become what it is today. As Duranti (2003) remarks, there have been three paradigms regarding this subfield in the US tradition.

At its onset, Boas' endeavor of collecting and describing US indigenous languages circumscribed the practice of Linguistic Anthropology; led by the conception that languages were an important tool for the study of culture, in 1911 he published the *Handbook of American Indian Languages*. Boasian practice continued with one of his students, Sapir. As the rest of linguist at that time, he mainly focused on grammatical, lexical, or phonological description of varied languages (Hymes, 1983). Hoijer's (1961:10) assertion of the subfield's devotion to "the languages of those who have no writing" portrays this.

The second paradigm tried to detach itself from the native speaker-centered linguistic competence description influenced by Chomsky. Consequently, the ethnography of communication was created; an approach meant to analyze communication beyond grammar, within the context of social and cultural events, acknowledging the beliefs of the members of a specific culture or speech community

(Hymes, 1964). Hymes' criticism of Chomskyan linguistic competence was at the core of this approach:

a normal child acquires knowledge of sentences, not only as grammatical, but also as appropriate. He or she acquires competence as to when to speak, when not, and as to what to talk about with whom, when, where, in what manner. In short, a child becomes able to accomplish a repertoire of speech acts, to take part in speech events, and to evaluate their accomplishment by others. (Hymes 1972: 277–8)

Based on the concern about how language should be studied, he provided a definition of linguistic anthropology: “it is the task of linguistics to coordinate knowledge about language from the viewpoint of language. It is anthropology’s task to coordinate knowledge about language from the viewpoint of man” (Hymes, 1964: xxiii); in sum, he conceived linguistic anthropology as “the study of language and speech in the context of anthropology” (Hymes, 1963: 59). These rather brief definitions find further explanation in the latest paradigm of the discipline.

Since actual language usage within a definite context was already in the interest of 2nd paradigm researchers, 3rd paradigm researchers focused on the relationship between language and the macro social context, its constructs and processes. This means that speakers are seen as social actors inserted in complex communities and social institutions, who share a network of expectations, beliefs, and moral values about the world. (Duranti, 1997: 3). Thus, language is conceived as an instrument for accessing complex social processes, and also a product of them. These social processes include the representation of the world, the legitimation of power, the cultural construction of the individual (or self), among others, (Duranti, 1997: 4). Also, speech communities are seen as a group of real people who make real uses of language, not homogeneous, but that represent the co-existence of variety as the norm, in other words, heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 1981). This is the reason why theoretical perspectives from different fields are reached out by linguistic anthropology, so as to have a better perspective of the sociocultural issues that affect speech communities and are expressed in different language ideologies.

II.2.1.1. Culture as theory

Culture then, becomes of central matter in any individual's speech, behavior, and configuration of society, as well as in linguistic anthropological studies which examine these elements' interrelationship; therefore, the concept of culture as theory must be here defined.

The dichotomy between nature and nurture suggests the first definition of culture. Different from the biological features a human being possesses, a groups' culture is transmitted through communication –through language—from individual to individual, in the process of socialization. Hence, culture in anthropology is seen as “the learned and shared behavior patterns characteristic of a group of people” (Oswalt 1986: 25) that are acquired, not born with. As culture is acquired by learning, it can also be perceived as social knowledge of the world beyond specific facts:

culture is not a material phenomenon; it does not consist of things, people, behavior, or emotions. It is rather an organization of these things. It is the forms of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relating, and otherwise interpreting them. (Goodenough, 1964: 36)

It must be noted, though, that knowledge is not equally distributed within a cultural group; people have different interpretations of fundamental beliefs and events, and different expertise in cultural practices (Duranti, 1997: 32). Within a cultural community, diversity is organized –not without internal conflicts— and varied viewpoints and representations can co-occur (Wallace, 1961: 28). These variations can be understood, according to Clifford Geertz, only by embracing the continuous interpretive process of cultures. His interpretative approach can be condensed in the following statement:

man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning. (Geertz 1973: 5)

These webs are certainly not created by one man, but by human interaction in communication; thus, culture is produced by us and can be interpreted by us via our language (Geertz 1973: 24), specifically by virtue of discursive practices description, as a means to grasp how members of a group conceptualize and operate within their world.

In addition, poststructuralist views on culture like Bourdieu's also focus on the dialogic character of interpretation. Practice theory asserts that objects of knowledge are constructed by the system of structured –and structuring dispositions, the *habitus*, which is constructed in practice (Bourdieu, 1990:52); these dispositions are reproduced by an individual's actions. In this view, language and culture are defined by sociopolitical and socioeconomic processes and the symbolic power they exert.

Geertz' theory of interpretation-mediated culture serves the purposes of the study inasmuch that, on the one hand, the participants perform an interpretation of the phenomenon of EFL together with the ideologies relative to it; on the other, can I elucidate the participants' interpretation because I share that culture. Bourdieu's theory of practice reinforces this dialogic interpretation and is utilized to identify expressions of symbolic power in the data.

II.2.1.2. Folk Linguistics

The interpretation or perception of non-experts about EFL fits within the realm of Folk Linguistics, since it can be broadly defined as the knowledge about language that non-linguist possess, as well as their attitudes or dispositions that give an account of the language ideologies of a community (Albury, 2014: 87). Folk Linguistics had been overlooked, but its relevance was demanded in "A proposal for the study of folk-linguistics" by Hoenisgswald (1966) since people's reaction to issues of language and their talk concerning language could not merely be dismissed as sources of error (Hoenisgswald 1966: 20), instead, they configure scientific study of culture. Popular beliefs about language have been historically conceived as misunderstandings about language or even prejudice about it that ultimately leads to social injustices; hence, linguists have tended to take an 'us vs them' stance (Niedzielski & Preston, 2000:1) concerning them.

According to Preston (1996), folk awareness of linguistic structure could be summarized in categories that indicate the facets of language that are available to the folk, some are suggestible or strictly unavaible (as phonological features of a variety), while other topics are commonly discussed, and this discussion might be accurate or inaccurate, described in detail or in general, about a variety they control or not (Preston,

1996: 41-42). Notably, Preston (2006) asserts that nonlinguists perceive as they do because they use prescription in description, thus, they associate language facts with social groups rejecting the cause-effect relationship (Preston, 2006: 524), so, shared presupposition plays an important role in inaccurate widespread beliefs about language.

Nevertheless, it can be said that scientific linguistics do not escape prescriptive or folk beliefs about language, since some folk linguistic fictions are legacy of Western culture's linguistic tradition, created and by the decontextualization of utterances made in the course of folk linguistic practice and perpetuated by "recontextualizing them within the intellectual practices of empirical justification" (Taylor, 2016: 10). Also, because some experts accept value judgements about a phenomenon without questioning them, and just "bow to the authority of their specialist colleagues" (Feyerabend, 1976:116). Thus, biases can be found both in the non-expert as well as in the expert world. Some supposedly strictly neutral views about language are revised below.

II.2.1.3. Notions about English language learning

Since the last decades English has been considered an international language, and most generally, the spread of English has erroneously considered to be somehow inevitable, "natural, neutral and beneficial" (Pennycook, 1994: 9). Also, various concepts have emerged to refer to this phenomenon: global language, lingua franca, World Englishes. This phenomenon has been approached differently, as Bolton (2004: 382) remarks, "popularizers, critical linguists and futurologists" express either triumphalist notions about English over colonized languages, a need for a paradigm shift in terms of the study of English as an international language (World Englishes), or anxiety over the future of English; Crystal's (2003: 185) "World Standard Spoken English" is an example of these predictions.

The expansion of English to an international level has been measured by the number of speakers that either speak it as mother tongue, have learnt it as a Second language, or as a Foreign language. Kachru's idea of the English Circles (1988: 5) depicts this; the inner, outer, and expanding circles represent, respectively, the countries traditionally

associated to English, countries where English has a relevant role as L2 in multilingual contexts, and countries that recognize its importance without having been colonized before by a country of the inner circle. Thus, although a great number of international exchanges in English are being made between non-native speakers, native speakers are still regarded as the norm of acceptable usage (Seidlhofer, 2005). Accordingly, the concept of internationality raises other issues for expanding circle countries as Chile, for example, in what type of transnational encounters does the use of English count as international: in what areas of the expanding circle countries are such uses made, in what type of instances and by which type of people.

The notion of English for Specific Purposes partially responds this, as it is the learning of English as a means to meet specific needs of a learner, related to particular disciplines, occupations or activities (Hyland, 2007; Strevens, 1988); these disciplines usually involve a profession, a touristic or an academic purpose, strictly speaking, English for Specific Purposes is commonly used by an educated population in the EFL world. In addition, English for Specific purposes tends to be seen as a neutral area, nevertheless Pennycook (1997) cautions that it should not just accept the demands of global business and the academia, but that should also question their status quo so that learners become aware of the institutional hierarchies surrounding them. This is made manifest in specific types of uses of English for Specific Purposes, as Business English or English for Academic Purposes, where there is an evident English divide (Nickerson 2005; Rogers, 1998), since the undisputable dominance of English over other languages will probably continue in these spheres. For example, in terms of international communication and scientific information access, English has become the gatekeeper language, benefiting those authors who belong to inner circle countries (Canagarajah, 2002; Tardy, 2004), and forcing authors who speak other languages to publish in English. In terms of academic purposes, English has become the normative language for having access to educational settings based on Anglo-American countries. English testing enterprises profit from this, promoting native-normative views of English (Jenkins and Leung, 2013; McNamara, 2011).

The native speaker model has commonly been applied in Foreign/Second Language learning contexts, this model assumes that

the language of the native speaker is superior and/or normative irrespective of the diverse contexts of communication, the corruption of the language can be arrested by the prescriptive role of the native speaker teacher, and that language acquisition is conditioned (in behaviorist terms) by the dialect of the teacher to which the student is exposed (Canagarajah, 1999a: 80)

notwithstanding the obsolete ideas that it represents, this native speaker model is predominant for further political and economic reasons. Particularly, Kirkpatrick (2006: 74) points out that advertising the native speaker model, apart from being of interest to certain groups as publishers or international language institutions, represents power: certain varieties are bestowed with the title of the norm, to which other varieties become inferior. In this paradigm, non-native teachers of English are perceived to have less aptitude to teach English than a person who not only was born into an English speaking country, but who also supposedly holds a pure variety (Rajagopalan, 1997; Braine 1999). This raises the issue of language ownership, since not any native speaker of any English speaking country is considered the norm. The native speaker model is at large dependant on hegemonic groups that are considered native speakers of standard English based on the political and economic power they personify (Norton, 1997; Widdowson, 1994), overlooking speakers that belong to outer circle countries who also claim ownership over English (Rubdy et al, 2008), for example. Thus, the idealized native speaker is connected to the standard language ideology, which will be reviewed in the language ideologies section.

Furthermore, English is conceived as a means of accessing a better lifestyle in English-speaking developed countries. The American dream, ethos of the United States—one of the countries associated to the ownership of English—represents for many immigrants an opportunity to thrive. It is the promise of economic success and prosperity through determination, hard work, and through courage (Hill & Torres, 2010). Mass media, in its central role to maintain and reproduce socio-economic systems and ideological conditionings (Durham & Kellner, 2006), has reproduced the idea of the American dream; particularly because the U.S. model of media products deeply influences non-U.S. media—or “Americanized mass media” (De la Garde, 2009: 35), the message of success through a lifestyle of consumption can be reproduced easily in other countries, as Chile.

II.2.2. Social Representations

The manifestation of the Social Representations theory by Moscovici (1979) is determined by the belief that world knowledge is constrained by the contexts in which reality takes place. Thereby, is a socio-psychological theory that meets the principles on which Linguistic Anthropology is based, and at the same time it provides further understanding of the linguistic phenomenon this study examines, from the enriching perspective of a corresponding discipline. Moscovici's theory, as we are informed by Mora (2002), was consequence of precursory influences which I will here review by means of grasping the varying paradigms that have constituted this theory as propitious: Wundt's Ethnopsychology, Mead's Symbolic Interactionism, and Durkheim's Collective Representations.

Wundt settled the basis of what it is known today as Social Psychology. Not only his installment of a psychology lab meant the beginning of experimental psychology, it also encouraged him to differentiate the experimental sphere from the social one; this ultimately lead him to proposing the *Völkerpsychologie*, which asserts that every phenomenon that could be psychically studied is product of the collective experience: human language, gesture communication, and turn their cultural products (Wundt, 1926). From all of Wundt's interests, Mead focused on communication, proposing that it is enabled by a social space which has a signifying system; thus, he named its unit of analysis social act. According to Mead, this interaction supposes intersubjectivity: the parties I, Me, and the Other have an interrelationship where I, the performer, am determined by Me, the identity that takes into consideration for its existence the Other, which represents the internalized collectivity where a person is embedded (Mead, 1967). Fundamentally, his proposal implies the social nature of language and the symbolic nature of society (Mora, 2002).

Mead was not the only sociologist influenced by Wundt, Durkheim seized Wundt's concept of collective experience and stated that it transcends individuals, these social facts according to this author are not necessarily bound to individuals, but coerce them (Durkheim, 1982). Influenced by these conceptualizations, Moscovici attained the social psychology theory named Social Representations.

II.2.2.1. Definition of Social Representations

This theory --or as Banchs (2000) would label, multidisciplinary approach, given the influence of different disciplines as anthropology, psychology, linguistics; and the combination of collection and analysis techniques—could be regarded as the knowledge that allows the interaction among individuals or groups, a knowledge that makes the social and physical reality understandable. In other words, it is expressed as a social thought that defines a group on the one hand, and on the other, it is the instrument through which an individual or group apprehends their environment (Herlizch, 1979); it is within a dialogue between the individual's cognitive processes and the interactional contextual processes that Social Representations take place. According to Jodelet (1986), social representations are concerned with how we apprehend our everyday lives, our environment and its information. It is knowledge constructed from our experiences, but also from information and thought models that we receive through social communication (Jodelet, 1986: 473). In addition, social representations refer to the process by which collective knowledge is created through discourse, and to the final product of such process, knowledge collectively distributed and individually accessible (Wagner & Elejabarrieta, 1994). Similarly, Farr (1986) claims that social representations are not merely an opinion, image, or an attitude towards a social object, but a branch of knowledge which organizes reality.

II.2.2.2. Conditions for the emergence of a Social Representation

Conditions for the emergence of a social representation have been declared by Moscovici; initially, an unfamiliar event or moment of crisis must take place so that a social group copes with it symbolically (Moscovici, 1979; Wagner, Valencia & Elejabarrieta, 1996), then, the unfamiliar phenomenon must be named and characteristics must be attributed to it so it could be talked about (Jovchelovitch, 2007). The information an individual/group has about a social object is insufficient and uneven in relation to other individuals/groups, that is why individuals/groups are focalized differently, meaning that they have different degrees of interest or implication with respect to social objects. Moreover, individuals/groups must be able to “respond”

(Moscovici, 1979: 178), to provide their opinion or stance towards such focalized social object at any time.

II.2.2.3. Dynamics of a Social Representation

Objectification and anchoring are the dynamics by which a social group's knowledge becomes a representation and, at the same time, by which the representation molds the social group. Objectification refers to the elaboration while anchoring implies the functioning of a Social Representation (Jodelet, 1986). Firstly, the abstract has to become concrete, which is why information correspondent to a group's culture is selected from a social object and later decontextualized from the field it belongs so it can be adopted by the group (Jodelet, 1984). Once information is selected, decontextualized and reshaped by the fostering group, it becomes the figurative nucleus of the Social Representation, which is characterized by being concrete and coherent (Herzlich, 1979). Later, the figurative information is naturalized, becoming common knowledges. As mentioned by Wagner & Elejabarrieta (1994), a concept ceases to be arbitrary and becomes reality through naturalization. Finally, through anchoring the Social Representation and its object are rooted into a social group, further orienting their interpretation of reality.

II.2.2.4. Determinations and Dimensions of a Social Representation

Social Representations are determined by social structure, hence, a central social determination can be linked to larger social characteristics of a group –like socioeconomic status-- whereas a lateral social determination is performed by the individual and his impact on the social group (Banchs, 2000), both being interdependent of the other. Moscovici also provides dimensions of empirical analysis for Social Representations, which are divided into information, attitude and representation field.

Information: is the total knowledge that a group receives about an event, incident or phenomenon

Attitude: is the dimension which indicates the positive or negative disposition a group has towards the object being represented

Representation field: it gives an account of the hierarchical organization of the representation's content, which varies among different groups and among the different individuals constituting the group

The shared knowledge of the world by a group of people made manifest in a social representation can be further specified in the language ideologies such group shares. This is the topic of the following subsection.

II.2.3. Language Ideologies

Language ideologies can be described as the manner in which human beings think about language, specially about “the nature, function, and symbolic value of language” (Seargeant, 2009: 346). According to Kroskrity (2004), language ideologies are the beliefs and feelings that the speakers have about their language structure and use. He highlights the importance of the speaker's consciousness about language and discourse as an important factor in shaping the evolution in the structure of language. Thus, this approach focuses on how beliefs about language, its variation and specific varieties, are manifested either explicitly or implicitly (in language policies or everyday practices, for example), in addition to focus on how such beliefs interact with social phenomena as group identity, political organization, economic development, or social mobility (Schieffelin et al., 1998).

Moreover, Kroskrity (2010) mentions how authors such as Boas and Saussure took the study of the sign as an isolated object of study. They also preferred a structural approach, leaving aside the importance of a cultural environment analysis within the study of language. It was Silverstein in 1979 the one who proposed a change, since he focused on the awareness of the use of language by the speaker inserted in a community. Additionally, Jakobson in 1957-60 and Hymes in 1964 made an inclusion of the term and it was from that point that this concept started to have a major importance within the field. Silverstein (1979) uses the concept of social reality to refer

to the importance of this aspect in the use of language. He settles the definition of linguistic ideologies as a set of beliefs that are articulated by the users considering their opinion about how they structure and use their own language. As these descriptions highlight the importance of the environment, language ideologies have been studied focusing on their relation with the linguistic practices. Razfar (2005) emphasizes such connection establishing that linguistic ideologies are not only ideas but also constructs, notions, and representations. In view of this assertion, it can be noticed how the linguistic ideologies are not abstracted from practices, but on the contrary, they are enacted by them.

Taking these definitions into account, it is possible to mention that language ideologies emerge to differentiate identity and values, since they represent the sociocultural of speakers and their connection with their own language. Language itself can be described as a result of an ideological construction, related to power, authority and control (Bloommaert, 2006). In that sense, this idea shows the importance of the culture in which the language is immersed. According to Bloommaert, language itself is “conceptualized as a transparent, structured and finite system of clear and non-contextual forms which characterizes groups of people” (Bloommaert, 2006: 511). However, according to Gal (1992;1998), they would not only be ideas, but also practices throughout these notions are consolidated according to the individual and collective interest. Taking these statements into account, language ideologies cannot be completely separate from the linguistic practices, because human beings use their language and are thinking about such use at the same time. This is the reason why the concept of linguistic ideologies has a fundamental importance within the analysis of language, since it is connected to the analysis of culture (Silverstein, 1976; 2004).

In relation to English, language ideologies become paramount in the understanding of the EFL phenomena in Chile. Certain theories and models help framing such ideologies; one of them is De Swaan’s (2001) global language system theory, which identifies a hierarchical pattern between languages in relation to a center and which characterizes language learning in relation to such hierarchy. At the core of the system, English --the hypercentral language-- can be found; following it, supercentral languages as Spanish or Chinese become a language learning reference point for peripheral language. Second/Foreign Language Learning depends highly on the perceived prestige

of the hierarchical languages; the position of English at the center of the system explains its prominence. The prestige of English also depends on the cultural models surrounding it. Geeraerts (2003) ascertains that English is associated to a post modern rationalist model that tends to maximize communicability and has a tendency towards universality; this model sees English as a tool for globalization. These general ideas about English imply that English is seen as an standard language, which is another language ideology on its own.

The phenomenon of standardization refers to the maintenance of fixed, explicitly valued linguistic practices that exert hegemony over a speech community's own norm (Silverstein, 1986); thus, the existence of a standard language presupposes that there are good or legitimate, and bad or illegitimate varieties, and by extension, that there are better and worst users. The formulation of a canonical variety is a form of social control, where dominant groups impose the belief that a standard occurs naturally, and so social divides are perpetuated through language (Fairclough, 1989). Therefore, the proposal of standard English as a means of international intelligibility fails in examining who decides which variety is the standard that must be learned, as noted by Widdowson (1994), the standard is "claimed by a minority who has the power to impose it". Holborow clarifies it and summarizes it:

In the nineteenth century, the ideology of Standard English was part of a wider ruling-class project to extend its hegemony over a growing working class and to meet the demands of mass education on its own terms. However, this ruling class ideology ran up against the narrowness of its social base, which, in the case of language, could be seen in the reality of the continued existence of nonstandard forms used by the vast majority of society. (Holborow, 1999: 185)

The coercive force of ideology has meant that it has influenced educational linguistic planning (Siegel, 2006) and has been legitimized not only by general consensus, but by linguists (Milroy, 2001), who feel compelled to adhere to canonical varieties themselves. The discussion about hegemonic forces over language and over ideologies about language is continued in the following subsection.

II.2.4. Language and Power

In order to elucidate the interrelationship between language and power, Bourdieu's (1979) symbolic theory must be reviewed. Symbolic power is understood as the invisible or unconscious power that is enacted by a social agent and received by other, within a symbolic system. Symbolic systems --such as art, religion, or language-- are "structuring structures", because they are internally structured and because reality is structured through them. Moreover, symbolic products function as instruments of domination, in the sense that they serve particular interests of the powerful group and its dominant culture; distinctions are legitimated when the rest of the cultures are defined in terms of their distance to the dominant one (Bourdieu, 1979: 77-80). In this manner, language is a symbolic system, and as such, its symbolic products --as quotidian linguistic exchanges-- are encounters between socially structured agents, thus, every linguistic interaction is determined by the social structure that it both expresses and helps to reproduce (Bourdieu, 1990).

Furthermore, a social spheres as the educational system is established as a power agency that propitiates symbolic power, because it "reproduces all the more perfectly the structure of the distribution of cultural capital among classes, in that the culture which it transmits is closer to the dominant culture" (Bourdieu, 1983: 57). Therefore, educational institutions, far from being neutral, impose certain beliefs as legitimate. This is allowed by the pedagogical authority they enjoy, by which socially approved and guaranteed sanctions can inculcate an idea (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977: 61), ultimately reproducing ideologies in accordance with the dominant class. In addition, mass media fulfills a similar role insomuch that they "show things and make people believe in what they show. This power to show is also a power to mobilize. It can give a life to ideas or images" Bourdieu (1996: 21). Thus, biased images and information reproduced in the mass media affect their viewers.

The symbolic power exerted by a group depends on its inherited symbolic capital, at the same time, symbolic capital is translated into cultural capital, which are cultural acquisitions that legitimate the power of a group or individual, such as language (Bourdieu, 1983). Linguistic capital, then, is accumulated by those who have the language hegemony.

Another author whose theory provides theoretical background for the purposes of this study is Antonio Gramsci. Gramsci was concerned with language as a political issue, from its policy, educational curricula to quotidian language practices, and also believed in its usefulness to analyze the role of culture in people's beliefs (Ives, 2004: 5); to explain this role he articulated it in the concept of hegemony. Cultural hegemony, in Gramscian terms (Gramsci, 1971; Lears 1985), is the intellectual or moral supremacy of a group over other without overt rule, through persuasion and, ultimately, through the dominated group's consent; in other words, the notion of hegemony refers to the control of a group of power in terms of economy, politics and social life. Language, being a cultural product can also be bestowed with a hegemonic status.

The concept of linguistic imperialism observes this, and as theoretical construct attempts "to account for linguistic hierarchization, to address issues of why some languages come to be used more and others less, what structures and ideologies facilitate such processes, and the role of language professionals" (Phillipson, 1997: 238). English is granted as one of the dominant languages that are being spoken more than others, and rather than being unproblematic, Phillipson asserts that if English --and the social values it transmits-- is relevant in a non-English speaking developing country, it is consequence of imperialism and modernization (Phillipson, 1992: 56) that started in the colonization process and has continued through the neoliberal empire.

Imperialist views of English, apart from being an embodiment of the theories related to power reviewed above, are deeply connected to notions and ideologies surrounding it, as the native speaker model fallacy in teaching and speaking English (Canagarajah, 1999b; Rubdy et al, 2008), and together with this, the standard English language ideology. Therefore, it serves as a background in explaining the symbolic power, hegemony, and cultural/linguistic capital exerted by English in particular.

II.2.5. Motivation in Second/Foreign Language Learning

Motivation, roughly understood as the reason why a person would want to do something, becomes an useful concept in the attempt to characterize the social representations that determine a group because it sheds light on the personal as well as social incentives to perform an activity, in the case of Chilean students, to learn EFL.

Motivation has been a relevant topic in the Second/Foreign Language field during almost the last six decades, since it has been established as the reason why a person would put effort into learning a language and would succeed in doing so (Dörnyei, 2014; Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2012); and because it could explain why some learners succeed more than others (Ellis, 1994: 526).

Since the 1960's L2 motivation has been theorized about in three main periods (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2011). Modern L2 motivation research started from social psychology being applied to bilingual social contexts, where the need to share with a Second Language speaking community, and affiliation to this community shaped the L2 motivation (Gardner & Lambert, 1959). Then, during the 1980's and 1990's the preponderance of the cognitive revolution in psychology re-guided motivational research away from ethnolinguistic communities into specific cases where it could be applied, as the classroom (Crookes & Schmidt, 1991); so, in this period most theorization had to do with the a learner-centered framework. More recently, the dynamics of motivational change to a micro or macro level (in a task, or during an individual's leaning process) have been analyzed (Dörney & Ushioda, 2011: 60), taking in consideration that contextual and social factors influence a learner's motivation. Under this socio-constructionist approach Dörney (2005) proposed the L2 Motivational Self System theory that will serve the analytical purposes of this study.

II.2.5.1. Background of the L2 Motivational Self System theory

Previous advances in psychology and in Second/Foreign Language learning motivation field sustent this theory, they must be briefly reviewed so as to inform the motivational concepts hereafter considered. Psychology's main contribution was the notion of the possible or future selves. Markus & Nurius (1986) undertake the description of how an individual's self guides action through notions of what she or he might become, would like and are afraid of becoming, in other words, future self states. Inside the notion of possible selves more components could be identified, as Higgins (1987; Higgins et al, 1985) noted, positive as well as negative guides regulate behavior; thus, he devised the concepts of ideal self and ought self, which point to the attributes an individual would like to have and the ones an individual believes must have, respectively. Still, these possible selves can impel action only if they are congruent with

the learner's social identity (Oyserman et al., 2006). Higgins also mentioned that both of these selves can be triggered by the individual's own perspective or someone else's (Higgins, 1987), which generated a discussion around the internal or external sources that guide possible selves. Deci & Ryan's (1985) self-determination theory described the different degrees of internalization of external motivational factors linked to the ideal and ought self, which has had a great impact even on current L2 motivational studies. Nevertheless, from a linguistic anthropology stance, a dichotomy between internal or external motivational factors becomes barren, since the relationship between individuals and their culture is so entrenched that even the most internal motive is determined by an individual's environment.

The L2 motivation field contributed to this theory not only through the different periods discussed above, but also through the dissatisfaction with the integrative motivation proposed by Gardner & Lambert (1959) as main and undisputed theory within the field. It conceives motivation being triggered by "willingness to be like valued members of the second language community" (Gardner & Lambert, 1959: 271). This notion's validity has been questioned in contexts of Foreign Language learning where there is no direct influence of an L2 group (Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2006; Lamb, 2004), for example. Since it still is one of the most important criteria in L2 learning motivation, Dörnyei (2009) has claimed for the reinterpretation of integrativeness, which is presented at the end of this subsection.

II.2.5.2. L2 Motivational Self System components

Based on the possible selves theory and by the desire to expand previous theories in L2 motivation, Dörnyei (2005) proposes the L2 Motivational Self System theory. It involves the ideal and ought self concepts inherited from psychology, in addition to a third component that deals with the influence of an individual's L2 learning environment. The three components are described (Dörnyei, 2005; 2009; 2014) as follows:

Ideal L2 self involves the L2 self that one would like to become, which has characteristics one would like to possess; it has to do with one's hopes,

aspirations and wishes. Also, it has a promotional focus, in the sense that the idealized self promotes certain characteristics.

Ought-to L2 self involves the L2 characteristics one believes ought to possess in order to avoid possible negative outcomes; it has to do with one's responsibilities or duties. It has a prevention focus, as it is meant to prevent such negative outcomes.

L2 learning experience concerns a learner's motives connected with her or his specific L2 learning environment and experience.

Also, certain conditions must be fulfilled for motivated action towards an L2 to occur (Dörnyei, 2014: 522), as the future self being sufficiently different from the current self, but it must not be absolutely discordant with the learner's social identity: the future self must be perceived as plausible.

II.2.5.3. Motivational aspects: Integrativeness and Instrumentality

Certain motivational aspects that further determine L2 motivated action are integrativeness and instrumentality. Integrativeness, on the one hand, implies respect and identification with an L2 community (Gardner, 2001), and it has been reformulated by Dörnyei as "attitudes towards members of the L2 community" (Dörnyei, 2009: 27). Although the integrativeness aspect has been questioned as the sole determinant for L2 motivation, it has been a salient L2 motivating force even in Foreign Language countries without salient L2 groups (Taguchi, Magid & Papi, 2009: 67). Since this concept is still compatible with the L2 Motivational Self System theory, it functions as a supplementary analytical aspect of EFL learning motivation. Instrumentality, on the other hand, refers to the instrumental or utilitarian aspect of learning an L2 that orients motivation, as proposed by Gardner (2001), thus, it dialogs with utilitarian ideologies surrounding English. Moreover, although integrativeness and instrumentality have been formulated as distinct motivational aspects, empirical studies have demonstrated that they are deeply related (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005; Kormos & Csizér, 2008), because the desire to integrate into an L2 community and the desire to obtain from their L2

instrumental benefits are not mutually exclusive factors, which sustains their application here.

II.2.6. EFL in Chile

The international relevance of English has had effect in Chile, more specifically, it has had an impact on the country's educational system. Since 2004 the Ministry of Education has implemented English teaching official curricula and proposed the English Opens Doors Program (MINEDUC Decree N° 081, 2004). This curricula encompasses from 1st grade in primary school to 4th grade in secondary school, and from 5th grade in primary school English is a mandatory subject (MINEDUC, 2012). Notwithstanding this, an specific English curriculum has not been created for the differential years of VT students (MINEDUC, 2016). The EODP incentives native speakers to work as teacher assistants in public and subsidized schools, on the one hand, and promotes English for students and teachers through summer and winter camps, debates in English, and scholarships to study abroad (MINEDUC EOPD, n.d.).

The language ideologies that constrain such curricula and programs imply considering English as a utilitarian global communication tool Pérez de Arce (2014) that can bestow us with national economic competitiveness (Matear, 2008), and personal competitiveness through study abroad experiences (Fernandez Robin et al, 2016). The increasing need to demonstrate English competence in the job market has targeted language testing enterprises to offer a variety of exams and exam preparation materials specifically for schools (Cambridge English Language Assesment, 2015). Not only has English became relevant in the job market, but also in higher education: two of the most prestigious Chilean universities, University of Chile and Pontifical Catholic University of Chile, require their undergraduate students to take an English diagnostic test after being admitted (Formación General UC, 2013; University of Chile, 2017).

Still, standardized tests such as English SIMCE, which measures the level of English in schools demonstrate the prevailing low levels of English of Chilean students: less than half of the students reached the lowest levels assigned by the CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages). Also, its results shed light on the

gap between socioeconomic groups in relation to their scores (Agencia de Calidad de la Educación, 2012), which justifies the present study.

CHAPTER III: PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

The analysis of results section comprises three major sub sections, each including a data analysis under the scope of every research objective. The first section attempts to fulfil the first objective, to characterize the social representations underlying the motivation to learn English in vocational-technical students of public schools who belong to a middle-low socioeconomic status. The second section focuses on the second objective, to characterize the social representations underlying the motivation to learn English in students of private schools that belong to a high socioeconomic status. Lastly, the third section is devoted to the third research objective, to compare the social representations that arise among the observed groups. The analytical process was carried out through an interpretation of the data in dialogue with theoretical and empirical notions discussed in the previous chapter. The data is represented by key excerpts in Spanish, which are translated for the purpose of this thesis.

II.1. Social Representations underlying public VT school students' motivation

Within this analytical section, recurrent themes throughout the vocational-technical students' data were established as categories, and were exemplified by key quotes extracted from the Pilot VT School, Focus Group VT School and Personal Interviews VT School. Afterwards, excerpts were analyzed in terms of theories and previous empirical research presented in the theoretical framework of this study. Finally, a recap table with the categories and their key quotes is provided.

III.1.1. Forced Motivation

So as to characterize the social representations underlying vocational-technical students' motivation to learn English, such motivation had to be outlined. By focusing on VT students' references to their English language classroom experience an initial delineation of their motivation to learn English could be obtained. The categories "Monotony in the English language classroom" and "Learning English as an obligation" reflected the students' boredom and lack of motivation, on the one hand, and on the other, their perception of English as a mandatory Foreign/Second Language; the rationale behind this perceived statutory status is later commented, and it explains the appearance of the subsequent categories.

III.1.1.1. Monotony in the English language classroom

When asked about what would increase their desire to learn English, the first factor students declared is that of their classes being more entertaining. The students' tedium emerges from the repetitive content of the English language class. Issue they complained about, because apart from the fact that the content limits the breadth of English they can actually learn, it heightens their frustration when confronted to all the aspects of English that they wish "there were" in class; strictly speaking, they were

aware that they cannot speak much English, and that their environment is not auspicious to learn it. The lack-of-interest issue proposed by F2 is also discussed by M3 in Pilot 1. He asserted that it would be ideal to have a teacher that would interact in English with them:

estar siempre con lo mismo [...] verbos, verbos, verbos y ya, pero si hubieran otras cosas (F2, Pilot VT School)

[dealing always with the same [...] verbs, verbs, verbs and that's it, but if there were other things]

una persona que interactúe contigo, que te apañe pa'l inglés todo el rato (M3, Pilot VT School)

[a person that interacts with you, to practice English with constantly]

This reflects on the fact that their demotivation may be partly triggered by a lack of interest of the English language teachers as well. The Ministry of Education has not formulated an English language curriculum for VT students (MINEDUC, 2015), and given that English language teachers of VT schools do not receive any type of guidance in terms of class content that suits the necessities of students who belong to a specific course, they might be tentatively planning their classes, instead of relying on official, well-supported curricula; this situation might hinder the class to a methodological level, and consequently it can determine the students' motivation. Furthermore, from examining the students' comments regarding their learning environment it became clear that they are confronted with demotivation to learn English. Explained by the L2 Motivational Self System theory (Dörnyei, 2005), a positive L2 learning experience has been demonstrated to become relevant in the students' capacity of perceiving themselves as proficient English users (Irie & Brewster, 2013); thus, in the case of these students, the inauspicious L2 learning environment they are inserted in dimmed their capacity to perceive themselves as successful English language users because it constitutes negative L2 learner experience.

III.1.1.2. English as an obligation

In conjunction with the reported lack of motivation, a student complained that she felt forced to learn English by her teacher. Later, in the Personal Interviews, two students from another VT school emphasized the mandatory aspect of English:

¡sí! Y que no te fuerce (F1, Pilot VT School).

[yes! And who doesn't force you]

el idioma obligatorio que tenís que saber es el inglés en tu país natal po'. Y como pa' comunicarte con la gente igual tenís que como saber el inglés no más po' (M8, Personal Interviews VT School).

[the obligatory language that you have to know in your native country is English. And to communicate with people you have to know only English]

cada país debe conocer el inglés. Y se los deben enseñar (M9, Personal Interviews VT School)

[every country must know English. And it must be taught]

Here, F1 could have been solely referring to her perception of the class dynamics, of being compelled by her teacher to participate in class in an intimidating manner, but it also alludes to the fact that English is obligatorily taught from 5th grade in primary school (MINEDUC, 2012), despite the fact that students like her do not necessarily want or find any immediate use or feel special need to learn English. In their study on Chilean students' motivation to learn English, Kormos & Kiddle (2013) found links between motivational factors and higher socio-economic status, which they associated to the "highly segregated nature of education and the deep socio-economic divide" (Kormos & Kiddle, 2013: 407) among the researched groups. Moreover, according to (Oyserman & Fryberg, 2006), the social identity of students from disadvantaged social backgrounds is in conflict with their possible selves in terms of academic achievement, in this case of English language learning achievement. The social identity of these VT students is not composed of activities which include the real use of English: leisure trips to foreign countries, or international business meetings; thus, their reality could not prioritize a language promoted as a future investment, but they are confronted to learn it anyhow. This circumstance configures the English-speaking Ought-to self (Dörnyei, 2014) of VT students.

While F1 mentioned English as an obligation on a micro-level, M8 and M9 acknowledged English as an international mandatory Foreign/Second Language at a large scale. Their main claim was that only English is necessary to communicate with an international audience –what M2 refers by “people”, since communicating with other Chileans does not require the use of English--. In other words, these students were justifying international communication in English by virtue that English is obligatory taught to them without doubting such status, or without questioning who that international audience is, reproducing the ideologies they receive as a vicious circle. It could be said, then, that these students’ biased discourse is a reflection of their teachers and school authorities’ discourse, which are at the same time reflection of the discourse made effective through the Ministry of Education’s official English curricula and programs. The rationalist ideology that constrains them, as Pérez de Arce (2014) ascertains, imply considering English as a global communication tool. Along with this ideology, imperialist and hegemonic notions about English also play a role in the students’ sense of obligation towards English. Phillipson (1992: 47) defines English linguistic imperialism as “the dominance of English asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages”. Unequal division of linguistic and cultural power finds further definition under Gramsci’s notion of cultural hegemony (Gramsci, 1971), which conceives the supremacy of a culture over another through persuasion and consent. VT students’ consent towards hegemonic English is disseminated in the following subsections.

III.1.2. Arguments supporting mandatory English Language Learning

In line with the internalized imperialist, hegemonic notion that English is mandatory on a national as well as international scope, students articulated arguments to justify its being taught obligatorily regardless of their evident lack of motivation to learn English. Categories “English as a universal language”, “English as the language of the future”, and “English as a language easier to learn than Spanish” delineate such arguments, evidencing the reasons why they conceived that they –and every student in every country—must learn English notwithstanding their personal motivation to do so.

III.1.2.1. English as the universal language

The universality of English is the first argument provided so as to justify the mandatory status of English learning in Chile, and supposedly, internationally. Most students claimed this almost instantly after being questioned “what does English mean to you?” the quotes below illustrate how automatized “English is a universal language” is, to the point that one student could finish another student’s sentence:

F7: pero si es el lenguaje F8: universal (F7 & F8, Focus Group VT School).

[F7: but if it’s the F8: universal F7: language]

siempre hay alguien que habla inglés, o que sabe inglés. Y si tu viajai al extranjero todos saben una cierta parte de inglés, cualquier país (M8, Personal Interviews VT School)

[there’s always someone who speaks English, or who knows English. And if you travel abroad everyone knows a certain part of English, in any country]

The universality of English can only be conceivable if the notion of English as an International Language is preposterously extended. The ongoing international broadening of the English language has reached what Kachru (1985) would categorize as expanding circle countries where it is used as a Foreign Language, as in Chile. English as an International Language, conceived as “the means of communication among people from different first language backgrounds, across linguacultural boundaries” (Seidlhofer, 2005: 339) implies the international presence of English.

Nevertheless, these types of definitions do not apply in EFL contexts, since they do not specify --nor question-- in which delimited areas of which countries and among which people English becomes international. Most Chileans who use English internationally fit better in the definition of uses of English for Specific Purposes as international tourism, business, and academics; people within these spheres are commonly educated, urban, and socioeconomically advantaged citizens. Assuming its universality goes in hand with the imposition of its global quality versus local languages. Seen from Gramsci’s cultural hegemony perspective (Lears, 1985) and from Phillipson’s English imperialism (1992), asserting the universal status (quo) of English is not a neutral issue, on the contrary, it undermines other languages while exalting the

one that wilds economic and political power. For instance, none of these students found it suspicious that only English was taught to them and that they did not have any other option, a Chilean indigenous language, for example; one that they would be more likely to use when engaging in communication with a Chilean, rather than a language that would be helpful in a possible trip to an English speaking country.

Afterwards, when personally interviewed, students who had referred to English as a universal language explained that they had heard the statement from their parents or teachers, the television or Facebook:

aquí, los chiquillos [laughs] ah, no sé, es por profesores que lo dijeron siempre cuando yo era más chica y cosas así (F8, Personal Interviews VT School)

[here, the guys [laughs] it is because teachers always said it when I was younger and stuff like that]

no me acuerdo, creo que me dijo mi papá...y creo que una vez lo vi en una noticia, me apareció en Facebook (F7, Personal Interviews VT School)

[I don't remember, I think my dad told me...and I think I once saw it in a piece of news, it appeared on Facebook]

Questioning the status which authoritative adult figures and mass media information sources have bestowed upon English was not an option for these students since both institutions enact the same level of knowledge authority. In Western culture, parents and --once children begin their formal education years-- the school encompass legitimate institutions in terms of knowledge and information. Far from being neutral, educational settings reproduce ideologies in accordance with the dominant class (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977), in this case the dominant class' language. On the other hand, being a cultural expression with an all-encompassing presence in their audience's lives, mass media is of central importance to maintain and reproduce specific socio-economic systems and ideological conditionings (Durham & Kellner, 2006). As Bourdieu (1996: 21) notes, mass media "show things and make people believe in what they show. This power to show is also a power to mobilize. It can give a life to ideas or images"; here, mass media and authoritative adult figures combined so as to proclaim the apparently undisputed universal status of English.

III.1.2.2. English as the language of the future

Consequently, based on English' supposed universality, students claimed that in the future English will be the only spoken language worldwide, replacing other languages, what they termed "the language of the future". After claiming this idea, students tried to explain their reason for such belief: everyone will have to learn English because the undetermined, larger, invisible "they" ask you to do so. Confronted with the impossibility to identify the institutions which require them to learn English, M7 enumerated instances where English can be found in quotidian life, identifying the visible actions that the government has carried out, like including an English translation in information signs that are placed in heavily populated spaces, as the subway, the malls, national parks, and so on. Additionally, he linked these quotidian propagations of English to the hypothesis that eventually English will be widely spoken, and will replace other languages; M8 remarks the same.

desde mi punto de vista yo creo que más adelante ya...todos van a tener que saber hablar bien inglés porque igual [...] pa' todo te piden eso. En todo, como que todo se está yendo pa' allá [...] por cualquier lado hay señalética, así como esa, y está el inglés abajo. Entonces, como que todo va pa' allá. Que al final en el futuro como que ya van a terminar hablando más inglés que español, yo creo. (M7, Personal Interviews VT School)

[to my mind, I think in the future...everyone will have to know how to speak well English because [...] they ask you to. In everything, like everything is moving that way [...] there are post signs everywhere, like that one, and there's English below. So, is like everything is going that way. At the end, in the future people will end up talking more English than Spanish, I think.]

toda la gente después va a hablar como puro inglés, va a dejar el español de lado, el chino y todo eso (M8, Personal Interviews VT School).

[everyone is going to talk like only English later, is going to leave Spanish behind, Chinese and all that]

Here, Chinese along with Spanish are mentioned among the languages that will be overshadowed by English. Both languages are widely spoken worldwide (Ethnologue, 2016), but still, according to these students' viewpoint, the strength of English being forced into every foreign country will displace them. Students displayed an extremist and harmful notion about English as an international language, reproducing

“futurologists” (Bolton, 2004: 386) discourses around it. Instead of conceiving English as “no longer linked to a single culture or nation but serving both global and local needs as a language of wider communication.” (McKay, 2002: 24) they assumed it would overthrow other languages –along with their speakers’ culture. But most importantly, they failed to criticize such possible state of affairs. This demonstrates the damage produced by hegemonic ideologies.

III.1.2.3. English as a language easier to learn than Spanish

Another argument that VT students articulate in support of widespread, mandatory English language teaching is that of English being inherently easier to learn than any other language, specifically Spanish, their own language:

[Spanish] tiene más letras [...] la “ñ”, la “ll” la “sh” (M8, Focus Group VT School)

[[Spanish] has more letters [...] “ñ”, “ll”, “sh”]

yo encuentro que es más fácil el inglés que el español [...] todos los que saben dicen eso (M2, Pilot VT School)

[I think that English is easier than Spanish [...] everyone who knows says that]

Although the source of this belief about English learning cannot be established, it could be said that, on the one hand, characteristics of Spanish (a larger alphabet) are posited as negative, having as consequence the inaccurate perception of Spanish being a language more difficult to learn. Inaccurate, because a specific characteristic of a L2 on its own does not explain the difficulty to learn it, there are many other socio-psychological variables involved in such process, among them, L2 learning motivation (Ellis, 1994). On the other, by expressing “everyone who knows says that”, M2 session proved that the belief of English being lexically easier in comparison to Spanish is adopted by them from an outer source which, once again, is the one that wields the power of knowledge, and it is their position as students to echo what teachers, parents or social media might say about English.

In light of L2 Motivational Self System theory (Dörnyei, 2005; 2014), VT students' articulation of arguments supporting English, together with their positioning towards the apparently unquestionable sources of information, configures the Ought-to self aspect of their future self. The attributes students believed they must have are regulated by institutions which exert power, which control information and which maintain the status-quo of English language and culture. These attributes are: belonging to a global community of English speakers, and to learn English because is even easier than their mother tongue. The Ought-to self prevents a negative outcome, in this case manifested by VT students' concern of not being able to grasp a language that is regarded as easy, and not being able to access a better lifestyle if they do not learn English, as shown later.

III.1.3. Aspirational aspect of English

VT students' forced motivation and directly related justification of mandatory English learning was sustained by the aspirational aspect of English that is made evident in the categories "English as a travel facilitator"; "English as access to pop culture elements"; and "English as economic success". Here, English is examined in terms of the instrumental value conferred by its learners and utilitarian ideologies surrounding it.

III.1.3.1. English as a travel facilitator

The connection between insufficient motivation to learn English and the utilitarian necessity of doing so is illustrated in F1's statement, where she conjoined her present lack of motivation and future obligation to learn with her desire to travel outside the country. On the one hand, she linked being older with having "another type of mind", one that is concerned with livelihood unlike her present self; on the other, she linked leaving the country as being "good", which connoted her rejection to her socioeconomic status and her belief that abroad she could belong to a higher status. Similarly, F7 explained in Personal Interviews session the reason why she had indicated that she

wanted to travel to cities like Las Vegas or Los Angeles, stating that it was because pictures showed her how beautiful things are over there.

no quiero aprender el inglés ahora, pero sí sé que en algún tiempo, ya cuando sea más grande y tenga otro tipo de mente [...] voy a tener que aprender porque sí quiero salir del país, y sí quiero...estar bien po', no podís llegar a un país sin aprender el idioma. (F1, Pilot VT School)

[I don't want to learn English now, but I do know that some day, when I'm older and have another type of mind [...] I'm going to have to learn because I do want to leave the country, and I do want to...be good, you can't arrive to a country without learning the language]

las ciudades que siempre veo como en fotos. Y muestran el lado bonito y todo (F7, Personal Interviews VT School)

[the cities that I always see in pictures. And show the beautiful side and everything]

Their desire to travel, specifically to cities in the United States, corresponds with the concept of the American Dream, “the premise that one can achieve success and prosperity through determination, hard work, and courage” (Hill & Torres, 2010: 95), a promise of mobility that can be accessed through learning English. That is the reason why F1 plans to invest in learning English in the future, so she can immigrate and live “good”—although research proves how the dream is unfulfilled for Latinos: school dropout and wage declines take place among their 3rd generation (Hill & Torres, 2010; Livingston & Kahn, 2002).

In addition to the promise of socioeconomic mobility through immigration, cities as Las Vegas and Los Angeles further suggest the American Dream. These are populated, touristic, “beautiful” areas that are commonly advertised on mass media, mainly in Hollywood movies, and their residents or visitants are usually depicted as successful people. Mass media’s impact on viewers has been proven energetic (Bourdieu, 1996); so, if mass media predicates that being successful nowadays entails traveling abroad, and having money to do so, English logically becomes the linguistic capital (Bourdieu 1991) that will assure students a niche among the socioeconomically advantaged group that can afford those luxuries. This comprises the integrativeness aspect in L2 learning motivation. Integrativeness, seen as the desire to learn another community’s language,

involves openness to, respect and even identification with such community (Gardner, 2001: 5); therefore, it is deeply connected with the students' future L2 speaking self, which in this case is related to the Ought-to self (Dörnyei, 2005): they have to integrate to a perceived better society to improve their lives. This integrativeness is determined by the amount of instrumental benefits that the L2 community has to offer, so the instrumental aspect of L2 motivation also plays a role here.

III.1.3.2. English as access to pop culture elements

In line with VT students' desire to travel abroad, particularly to the United States, a discussion took place in the Focus Group where they referred to activities they would do if they had the opportunity to travel to "The Big Apple"; these activities involved having access to pop culture elements associated to a consumist culture.

M8: ir a la Gran Manzana, a recorrer

M7: ah, yo ir a un Super Bowl

M8: o ir al Starbucks (Focus Group VT School)

[M8: visit the Big Apple, to walk around

M7: I'd go to a Super Bowl

M8: or to a Starbucks]

Primarily, their desire to consume brands hints at their desire to demonstrate that they have the income to do so; in the same way, their desire to display a high income is consequence of their present lack of income: Starbucks might be a common coffee place for many, but for them it represents the status they want to reach. Secondly, it reminds us that the choice of consumption is not random: The Big Apple, Starbucks and the Super Bowl are typical American pop culture elements propagated through the Americanized consumist mass media. Americanization does not solely refer to the invasion of media products "made in America", it also refers to "the apprehended menace of losing one's cultural identity by 'acting American', by adopting from the United States 'ways of doing things' – whether in the realms of politics, economics, or

social and cultural practices” (De la Garde, 2009:34). M8 was surely “acting American” when he stated that he wants to go to the Super Bowl: American football is not popular in Latin American countries, he certainly does not play American football at school or with friends; he most probably wants to go to the Super Bowl because this event has become a television show in the US, and in Chile.

Preference of American pop culture, in other words, eagerness to acquire American commodities, proves America’s hegemonic cultural capital. English language, consequently, becomes another power commodity that can be acquired; what Niño-Murcia (2003) wittily denominated in her study on Peruvian beliefs towards English, “English is like the dollar”. Also, English linguistic capital configures the instrumentality aspect in L2 learning motivation, which is closely linked to the desire of integrativeness to the L2 community (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005) – which is idealized.

III.1.3.3. English as economic success

The English-money analogy also seized the working world dimension. VT students indicated how learning English would imply more job options in the future, so English was conferred with a particular value associated to socioeconomic mobility. In the excerpt below, M8 did not literally mention a job, but referred to the “more or less high” socioeconomic level he wishes to attain, which can be reached through better payment:

si quiero ser alguien que...de un nivel más o menos alto tengo que saber, o sea, manejar idiomas” (M8, Personal Interviews VT School)

[if I want to be someone who...is from a more or less high level I have to know, I mean, handle languages]

English has been commonly advertised as a means of better job options, transliterated into sophistication, prestige and modernity –ultimately, higher social status; Latin American countries are acquainted with these ideas inherited from the hegemonic coercion of Anglo-American culture. (Friedrich, 2003; Nielsen, 2003; Velez-Rendón, 2003).

If learning English entails wider job opportunities that will supposedly lead to economic success, VT students still have only certain job opportunities. In a discussion that took place in the Pilot 1, a group of students were deciding on the English-speaking future of F1. To her classmates, the most obvious option was for her to become a flight attendant; a job that involves assisting people on international flights, which means making use of English to communicate with costumers.

F2: a ver, ¿y tú qué querís ser, después...de salir del colegio?

M1: azafata

M2: ¡azafata, sí!

F1: no

M3: sí, azafata

F2: ahí aprendís inglés po (Pilot VT School)

[F2: let's see, and what do you want to be, after...finishing school?

M1: flight assistant

M2: flight assistant, yes!

F1: no

M3: yes, flight assistant

F2: you can learn English then]

Interestingly, F1's male classmates did not consider the possibility of F1 becoming an entrepreneur that had to learn English in order to communicate at an international business meeting, for example. Her prospect –agreed by her male pairs-- is having another type of vocational-technical career. This sheds light on the fact that regardless of the linguistic capital of English, the socioeconomic structures are already settled in Chile, which means that social mobility would not be achieved even by learning English; in addition, English itself acts as “a gatekeeper to positions of wealth and prestige” (Matear, 2008: 143), only some succeed in learning it, the socioeconomically advantaged students. So, most VT students are unable to either learn the “language of opportunities” or to have tangible benefits once it is learnt: the opening doors slogan of the Ministry of Education program becomes unrealistic propaganda for them.

To sum up, this first objective's analyzed categories and its main quotes are provided in the table below.

Table 2: Vocational-technical Students Categories

Categories	Key quotes
Monotony in the English language classroom	<p>F2: verbos, verbos, verbos y ya, pero si hubieran otras cosas (Pilot)</p> <p>[dealing always with the same [...] verbs, verbs, verbs and that's it, but if there were other things]</p>
English as an obligation	<p>M8: que el idioma obligatorio que tenís que saber es el inglés en tu país natal po. Y como pa' comunicarte con la gente igual tenís que como saber el inglés no más po' (Personal Interviews)</p> <p>[the obligatory language that you have to know in your native country is English. And to communicate with people you have to know only English]</p>
English as a universal language	<p>F8: que es mundial po', si todos deberían aprender por lo menos algo de inglés (Personal Interviews)</p> <p>[it is universal, everyone should learn at least a bit of English]</p>
English as the language of the future	<p>M7: todo va a tener su parte que vaya pal inglés [...] por cualquier lado hay señalética así como esa, y está el inglés abajo. Entonces como que todo va pa' alla. Que al final en el futuro como que ya van a terminar hablando más inglés que español, yo creo. (Personal Interviews)</p>

	<p>In everything, like everything is moving that way [...] there are post signs everywhere, like that one, and there's English below. So, is like everything is going that way. At the end, in the future people will end up talking more English than Spanish, I think.]</p>
<p>English as easier than Spanish</p>	<p>M2: yo encuentro que es más fácil el inglés que el español [...] todos los que saben dicen eso (Pilot)</p> <p>[I think that English is easier than Spanish [...] everyone who knows says that]</p>
<p>English as a travel facilitator</p>	<p>F1: voy a tener que aprender porque sí quiero salir del país, y sí quiero...estar bien po, no podís llegar a un país sin aprender el idioma. (Pilot)</p> <p>[I'm going to have to learn because I do want to leave the country, and I do want to...be good, you can't arrive to a country without learning the language]</p>
<p>English as an access to pop culture elements</p>	<p>M1: ah, yo ir a un Super Bowl (Focus Group)</p> <p>[I'd go to a Super Bowl]</p>
<p>English as economic success</p>	<p>M8: si quiero ser alguien que...de un nivel más o menos alto tengo que saber o sea manejar idiomas (Personal Interviews)</p> <p>[if I want to be someone who...is from a more or less high level I have to know, I mean, handle languages]</p>

III.2. Social Representations underlying private school students' motivation

Herein, recurrent themes throughout the private school students' data are established as categories, and are exemplified by key quotes extracted from the Pilot Private School, Focus Group Private School, and Personal Interviews Private School. Afterwards, the excerpts are analyzed in terms of previous empirical work along with theories delineated in the theoretical framework of this study. Finally, a summary is presented in a table at the end of this section.

III.2.1. Need for further Motivation

Social representations underlying private students' motivation to learn English can only be established if their L2 motivation is firstly outlined; here, private students' references to their English language classroom experience provided a characterization of their motivation to learn English. The categories "English language classes are insufficient" and "Native speaker vs English teacher" shed light on the ideologies that constrain them, specifically, their belief that although their English language classes have been useful, there are more suitable English learning contexts and speakers.

III.2.1.1. English language classes are insufficient

The majority of the participants declared finding their English class entertaining, what allowed them to consider English even as a hobby. Regardless of already being inserted in an auspicious learning environment that makes them want to learn more English, they considered that practicing English in "real contexts" rather than in a classroom would be more beneficial. As M12 discussed in his Personal Interview, these real contexts involve traveling and speaking with people who "only speak English".

yo diría que es más como un hobby que como algo de trabajo porque, o sea sé que me ayudará después, pero ahora lo veo como algo entretenido. Me gusta

como...lectura en inglés, lo encuentro más entretenido que lectura en español (M6, Pilot Private School)

[I'd say is more like a hobby than something about work because, I mean I know it will help me later, but now I see it as something entertaining. I like like...reading in English, I find it more entertaining than reading in Spanish]

cuando uno está en un colegio y aprende inglés con libros, con textos, funciona muy bien pero no necesariamente es tan motivante como tener que usarlo en la práctica para comunicarse con alguien que solamente habla inglés, o poder lograr un proyecto para un viaje (M12, Personal Interviews Private School)

[when you are in school and learn with books, with texts, it works very well but it's not necessarily as motivating as having to use it in practice to communicate with someone who only speaks English, or achieve a projects for a trip]

Looking at the students' positive attitude towards English it can be said that their learning environment has given them the basis to perceive it positively. One of the factors determining the educational learning environment is the curricula enacted by the Ministry of Education. Particularly, it has formulated an official English language curriculum for secondary level students, in addition, it offers a second curriculum, specifying its use for the differentiated years of the secondary scientific-humanistic education (MINEDUC, 2016). The four differentiated modules involve English language breath: more topic options, more opportunities for them to find preference for the language.

Since motivation and ideas of the future self are guided by past experiences (Sampson, 2016: 73), in light of L2 Motivational Self System theory (Dörnyei, 2014), L2 Learning Experience is of paramount importance. Thus, in the case of these students, the auspicious L2 learning environment they are inserted in (namely, "entertaining" classes guided by an official curricula) allows them to perceive themselves as successful English language users. Apart from that, private school students enjoy the economic means to have access to English, by traveling to (mostly, inner circle) English speaking countries and by having plans of tertiary education abroad, for example. Consequently, their English-speaking ideal self has the actual chance of being fulfilled. It is their

awareness of their access to English in contexts outside the classroom what makes the classes insufficient for them, they aspire to –what they conceive as– more.

III.2.1.2. Native speaker vs English teacher

Contexts outside the classroom where private school students can use English imply traveling to North America or Europe –the United States and England, more specifically. It is in these countries where students can converse with native speakers, people they compared to their English teacher. Notably, students referred to the fact that native speakers can “truly speak”, because English is their mother tongue, in other words, because they live “in the country of English”; the reason for students to perceive that a native speaker is preferable than a non-native teacher of English, as theirs.

sí po', ahí todos podríamos practicar con alguien que de verdad habla inglés, que es su lengua. Porque ponte tú, yo vengo del X, y yo no tenía así nada, no sabía nada nada de inglés y llegué acá y avancé. Imagínate con un nativo (M4, Pilot Private School)

[yes, that way everybody could practice with someone who really speaks English, his language. Because, like, I come from X, and I didn't have like any, I knew nothing of English and I came here and I went forward. Imagine with a native]

es distinto un nativo a un profesor de inglés. Porque un nativo sabe dominar el idioma de una forma distinta, más como de hablar que un profesor que es más de pasar la clase (F12, Focus Group Private School)

[it's different with a native than with a teacher. Because a native knows how to dominate the language in a different way, more like talking than a teacher who is more like teaching the class]

entonces me motiva más que la clase normal si tengo que salir del país o aprender más cosas en el mismo país del inglés (F11, Personal Interviews Private School)

[so it motivates me more than the normal class if I have to leave the country or learn more things in the same country of English]

Here, students highlight the speaking abilities of NSs over NNSs, and assume that having contact with a NS inside or outside the classroom would ameliorate their English. Research on student's perceptions has proven both native and non-native

teachers to be equally qualified to teach English in pedagogical aspects, except from advanced English speaking competence (Walkinshaw & Duong, 2012), private school students' perceptions are also focused on the speaking skill. The native speaker model erroneously supposes that NSs of English are inherently better at teaching English than NNSs, which raises a discussion around the questionable historical preponderance that the English language teaching field within applied linguistics has given to the native speaker (Canagarajah, 1999a; Rajagopalan, 1997; Braine 1999), and how this has had evident impact on learners' ideologies about an L2.

Particularly, the native speaker model is predominant for further political and economic reasons (Kirkpatrick, 2006: 74), it represents power: certain varieties are bestowed with the title of the norm, to which other varieties become inferior. Prioritized varieties belong to what students perceive as “the country of English”, the United States or England, overlooking speakers that belong to outer circle countries who also claim ownership over English (Rubdy et al, 2008). Consequently, the choice for a variety over other is mainly ideological: the choice the field, educational institutions, and ultimately students have made “legitimizes linguistic and cultural hierarchization and imperialism” (Phillipson, 2002: 8).

Hereby, if I attempt to portray these students' L2 ideal self, I could claim that it is equated to NSs; not any NS –India was not mentioned in any opportunity by the participants, for example—but Anglo-American NSs. If their idealization is determined by such hegemonic ideologies, their Chilean learning context will undoubtedly appear as insufficient, regardless of its objective effectivity.

III.2.2. Arguments supporting the utility of English

I delineate here the most immediate notion private school students had about English, that of its utility. Categories “English as the universal language”; “English as a language easier to learn than Spanish”; and “English as a tool” demonstrate the students' favorable disposition towards English as a means of entering Anglo-American communities, their argument why English can be learned and utilized by everyone, and the granted utilitarian status that English has in their everyday lives, respectively.

III.2.2.1. English as the universal language

Contrary to expressed belief that English can only be found in certain countries, or that NSs can truly speak English in contrast to NNSs teachers of English, private school students paradoxically referred to the status of English as the universal language that unites us all. The extract below took place at the beginning of the Focus Group 2, when I asked them what does English mean to them. The quote illustrates how after M10 introduced the utilitarian aspect “opportunities in life”, F10 linked this to the alleged universality of English; thus, English being universal implies that it “unites us all”, but it also implies an opportunity to travel abroad and be in contact with others: a unity from which students want to obtain benefit.

M10: el idioma que nos ayuda a poder tener mejores oportunidades en la vida

F10: no sé, nunca me lo plantié eso. Sí, sería como una oportunidad, o sea, como poder ir a otro país y poder hablar con otras personas. Es que el inglés es un idioma común que nos une a todos

M10: podís viajar sin problemas

F10: es como un idioma universal (Focus Group Private School)

[M10: The language that helps us to have better opportunities in life

F10: I don't know, I never thought of that. Yes, I'd be like an opportunity, like, go abroad and talk with other people. English is a common language that unites us all

M10: you can travel without problems

F10: is like a universal language]

The universality claimed by the students responds to the wide usage of English in international contexts, which they have witnessed in their experiences abroad. It is of relevance to point out that their experiences abroad are comprised of leisure visits to countries where English is the de facto official language, as the United States or England; in addition, some of the Focus Group participants were part of a marketing competition project in England in 2015. Using English in tourism or business contexts is related to English for Specific Purposes, which “focuses on the specific communicative needs and practices of particular groups” (Hyland, 2007:391). By

assuming that the specific use they make of English is equivalent to the use that the whole international population makes, students are taking for granted their socio-economic status and their relationship with English. Seen from Gramsci's cultural hegemony perspective (Ives, 2004), these student's stance shed light on how internalized the hierarchy among advantaged and disadvantaged groups of power can be.

When they associated the proclaimed universality of English to opportunities, they were inevitably suggesting that the universal status is not devoid of meaning; instead, they are highlighting its utilitarian aspect. In line with the postmodern rationalist model (Geeraerts, 2003), "English unites us all" implies an opportunity for "us" –Chilean students who learn EFL—to permeate with "them" –foreign group of people to which the language we are learning belongs--.The aspiration to belong to a foreign, native speaker community is explained by the cultural capital bestowed on Anglo-American culture: the capital foreigners are benefited from could also belong to private school students if they assimilate to the English speaking group.

Students have apparently inherited the "universal language" advertisement and the favorable stance towards the dominant group from their parents. As F12 declared, adults from an high socioeconomic status have already noticed the benefits that learning English can bring to people from their social sphere: connections with international companies, projects abroad (as the marketing competition project some of the participants attended), a job promotion or better payment. If they "started to learn English when adults", surely they would want to ensure that their children can learn it and obtain its benefits from as early as possible:

Como que mi papá en el fondo siempre fue, siempre me apoyó en esto del inglés porque él empezó a estudiar inglés cuando era adulto, entonces él me decía que en el fondo el inglés era el idioma que todo el mundo hablaba, entonces ahí asumí que era universal (F12, Personal Interviews Private School)

[My dad always was, like, always supported me about English because he started to learn when he was an adult, so he told me that at the end of the day English was the language everyone spoke, so I then assumed that it was universal]

Parents' language choice is not random, it responds to the global language system (De Swaan, 2001), which sees English as a hypercentral language that people prefer to learn as Foreign/Second Language because of its prestige. Thus, the above discussed ideologies and ultimately social representations that are drawn from English are being reproduced from generation to generation through biased pieces of information such as "English is a universal language".

III.2.2.2. English as a language easier to learn than Spanish

Biased pieces of information determine the widespread belief among students that English is easier to learn than Spanish, the focus of this category. Private school students articulated this belief as an argument why English could be easily learned and utilized so as to ascribe to the hegemonic culture. From this initial belief others emerged: students perceived that English speakers find Spanish more difficult to learn than speakers of Spanish find English difficult, based on a grammatical and lexical simplicity of English that F12, for example, predicated.

sí po' si los que hablan inglés, es más difícil aprender español que pa' nosotros aprender inglés (F4, Pilot Private School)

[yes, for those who speak English, it is more difficult to learn Spanish than it is for us to learn English]

en el preu me enseñaron que el español tiene muchas conjugaciones pa' una sola palabra. Y el inglés usualmente tiene como 3 o 2. Además, por lo que tengo entendido, el inglés tiene más palabras que el español [...] como que el significado es más concreto, porque el español tiene muchas palabras y muchos significados para la misma palabra [...] el profe de lenguaje me dijo eso de las conjugaciones. Pero lo que es el idioma más difícil como que sale así en Facebook a veces. (F12, Personal Interviews Private School)

[In the pre-u they taught me that Spanish has many conjugations for only one word. And that English usually has like 3 or 2. Besides, as far as I know, English has more words than Spanish [...] like the meaning is more concrete, because Spanish has many words and many meanings for the same word.[...] The language teacher told me that thing about conjugations. But that thing about being most difficult appears like in Facebook sometimes]

On the grounds that particular, linguistically measurable characteristics alone do not make a language more difficult or easier to learn, but that a language's appeal comes from other realms too, as the socioeconomic benefits it poses, if we invert the roles of English and Spanish, and Spanish were granted with international status, students would have been formulating –or reproducing—arguments justifying the linguistic characteristics that make Spanish easier to learn. The belief that “English speakers find Spanish more difficult to learn than speakers of Spanish find English difficult”, therefore, evidences the hierarchy that private school students have internalized between Spanish and English –the languages and their speakers; a hierarchy that prioritizes the hegemonic Anglo-American culture and language.

F12's source of information comes from her language teacher in a pre-university institution she is enrolled in, and from Facebook. As asserted by (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977), educational settings reproduce ideologies that bring forward the hierarchy of some groups over others, in this case English over Spanish. In addition, social media play a significant role regarding information reproduction, since they function as virtual channels and applications that create content collectively, allowing an online discussion of the content (Westerman et al., 2013). Therefore, social media platforms exemplify the information dimension of the social representation (Moscovici, 1979) that determines private school students.

Moreover, another belief emerged from the “English is easier than Spanish” discussion, that of English as a language that is perfectly spoken in opposition to Spanish. In the Personal Interviews 2, M10 argued that English is easier than Spanish by saying that there are people who learn English and can speak it “perfectly” by developing an accent. Additionally, and contrary to the rest of his classmates, M11 stated that Spanish is not inherently difficult, but that its difficulty appears because it is “badly spoken”, while English is easy because it is properly spoken:

conozco gente que, no sé, ha estudiado inglés y hablan inglés perfecto, con el acento y todo. Y en vez, los que estudian español tienen problemas como de acento y de algunas palabras que dicen ‘la auto’ o cosas así (M10, Personal Interviews Private School)

[I know people who, I don't know, has studied English and speak it perfectly, with the accent and all. And the other way around, those who

study English have problems with the accent and some words like “la auto” or things like that]

es que yo creo que el español igual es fácil, la cosa es que los chilenos hablan mal, entonces es difícil de entender, por la modulación. En cambio los que hablan inglés en su país propio lo hablan bien, o sea es entendible (M11, Personal Interviews Private School)

[I think Spanish is easy too, the thing is that Chileans speak bad, so it’s difficult to understand, because of the modulation. But those who speak English in their own country speak it well, I mean is understandable]

Since the accent that supposedly bears perfection is not considered as a particular accent among many but more like “the accent”, it could be said that students believe there is a standard, perfect, consummated variety of English they could learn. This takes us to a deliberation similar to the one presented in the “Native speaker vs English language teacher” category. ‘Standard English’ implies that a particular group of native speakers hold the correct variety; as put by Widdowson, the standard “is claimed by a minority of people who have the power to impose it” (Widdowson, 1994: 379), in this case --from the students’ declared exposure to the United States and England-- American and British “standard” varieties: spoken by politically and economically powerful groups, as Hollywood or the BBC.

The notion of standard can be conceived as a symbolic production of power, in the sense that although this linguistic ideology is presented as serving universal interests --clear international communication through intelligibility, for example--, it is nevertheless related to the interests of the ruling class (Bourdieu, 1979: 80). The standard is supposed to unite, but it separates and legitimates distinctions by defining all varieties in terms of their distance to the dominant variety. Whereas English speakers comply to the standard, according to M2, Chilean Spanish speakers do not. Thus, for M11, Chileans do not ascribe to the desirable (the idealized, de-contextualized, unreal variety of Spanish, and make it difficult to learn instead.

III.2.2.3. English as a tool

Although in the previous categories, “English as a universal language” and “English as a language easier to learn than Spanish”, the students’ perspectives on English as a beneficial element were clarified, the present category English as a tool focuses on the instrumentality of English for specific purposes. Among them, the students enumerated its usefulness to develop international projects, to look for information on the internet, or to perform “basic” activities such as watching a movie:

F10: los trabajos también, cuando uno quiere hacer...tiene un gran proyecto hacia otros países, eso te beneficia, te ayuda mucho

F11: y uno puede buscar muchas cosas en internet en inglés, y te salen más resultados que en español

M11: sí, incluso te sirve pa’ cosas básicas como pa’ ver películas (Focus Group Private School)

[F10: in jobs too, when one want to do...has a great project to other countries, that benefits you, it helps you a lot

F11: and one can look for many things on the internet in English, and you have more results than in Spanish

M11: yes, it even works for basic stuff like watching movies]

The perceived universality of English directly affects its instrumentality regarding international projects, because it assures that the project could reach a wider, global audience. Research conducted on the phenomenon named Business English, indicates that English will continue to serve as the main international language for business transactions (Nickerson, 2005); specially because learners and teachers tend to consider it as valuable for the country’s and the individual’s economy (Hamel, 2008; Pan & Block, 2011), as these students.

Similar to the expansion of English in Business settings, English has taken over the internet, specifically in terms of information. For example, research papers are commonly published in English, apart from the fact that their gatekeepers are speakers of English (Canagarajah, 2002; Tardy, 2004); a similar phenomenon surely must happen with non-scientific information. These secondary students want to access both kinds of

information, and since online information predominates in English, they inevitably compare it to the lesser amount of information that can be obtained --in other words, the lesser amount of benefits that can be obtained-- from Spanish. Movies could also be conceived as a type of information, an entertaining and compelling type of information: movies are extensively advertised (the television reports outcoming movies, publicity can be found on the streets, etc) thanks to the influential role of movie industry (as Hollywood) on mass media.

The instrumentality of English becomes apparent when students discussed the specific and “basic” uses they could make of English. Instrumentality refers to the perceived pragmatic benefits of L2 proficiency, and is intricately related to L2 learning motivation (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005; Kormos et al, 2008); specifically, it is linked to private school students’ configuration of an Ideal L2 speaking self that can make use of English for his or her convenience. The benefits that these students perceive could obtain from English --participating in international projects, accessing information, or understanding a popular movie-- are therefore inevitably related to rationalist ideologies that emphasize the utilitarian aspect of English (Geeraerts, 2003).

III.2.3. Aspirational aspect of English

The instrumentality of English based on its utilitarian aspect is deeply associated to its aspirational aspect. In this subsection I examine the categories in which the desire to achieve the same status of an English speaking community is more evident; for example, students commented that they already have a high level of English, which served their purpose of applying to universities abroad. In the same manner, students constantly referred to their aspiration to be in closer contact with an English speaking community --certainly the stereotyped Anglo American, urban, wealthy and educated community--, what to their mind could only be achieved by studying and living abroad.

III.2.3.1. High level of English

Students were aware of their English language proficiency because their schools annually invest on standardized tests that measure their proficiency. These have catalogued them in an “established” “super good level”, high enough for them to pursue all the goods that English promises: tertiary education abroad and better job opportunities.

de hecho se supone que nosotros estamos a nivel del FCE, y con el FCE es si te...cómo se llama, podís ir a estudiar universidades gringas y todo [...] entonces nos ayuda, ¿cachai? se supone que nosotros ya tenemos un nivel establecido (M4, Pilot Private School)

[in fact we're supposedly at the FCE level, and with the FCE...you can go and study in gringo universities and all [...] then it helps us, you see?, we supposedly already have an established level]

de todas formas nosotros igual como que tenemos super buen nivel sin tener profes nativos, onda por ejemplo siempre estamos haciendo actividades en inglés y todo, entonces eso sirve para practicar para las pruebas [...] las de certificación de acá del colegio. Nos sirven después para postular a pegas y todo (F10, Personal Interviews Private School)

[in any ways we have like super good level of English without native teachers, like for example we're always in activities in English and all, so it helps to practice for the tests [...] the certification tests here at school. They help us later to apply for jobs and all]

Cambridge English Language Assessment is the institution that produces the assessment tests used by both private school communities that participated in the study. Cambridge English offers a variety of exams and exam preparation materials specifically for schools, among them, FCE (Cambridge English First) advertises to “show that a student has the language skills they need to communicate in an English-speaking environment” (Cambridge English English Assessment, 2017). The certification of English provided by this institution is also advertised to be accepted by over 20,000 organizations worldwide. Such a broad enterprise's endorsement is undoubtedly a guarantee for students that the opportunities that English has to offer could be claimed by them: access to tertiary education abroad and better job offers. Thus, English testing becomes a medium not only of measurement of language proficiency,

but it also measures the level of closeness to the target community; almost inevitably, the levels of English indicate the learner's status, and English is reduced to mere linguistic capital. Private school students' acknowledged "super good" or "established" level of English implies an awareness of their own status, higher in comparison to other students' status.

As ascertained by Jenkins and Leung (2013) these symbolically powerful transnational English language testing enterprises are grounded on language ideologies that shelter the notion of standard English, promoting native-normative views of English. Similarly, McNamara (2011: 5) states that, while the CEFR (Common European Framework for reference) was supposed to assess Second Language Learners' proficiency only in European languages, it is now the reference point in most of the continents. If students are being measured in reference to the native speaker model, they would undoubtedly accept the stereotypical English speaker as the target speaker they aspire to be. Indeed, the very act of being measured by an external institution positions them in hierarchical relation to the English speaking community.

III.2.3.2. English as success abroad

Related to the comfort that having a good level of English brings, students commented on their future goals that can be obtained by learning English. Those goals are applying to a job easily "anywhere" including Chile, but mainly, living and studying abroad.

si tuviera una cosa que me podría imaginar que motivaría mucho sería viajar a Estados Unidos o a otro país angloparlante por algún tiempo [...] Viajé a Inglaterra por la misma visita que contaron mis compañeras, pero me gustaría un intercambio, algo así [...] Así aprendo mejor y estoy más tiempo en esa cultura (M12, Personal Interviews Private School)

[if I had one thing that I could imagine that would motivate me a lot it would be traveling to the United States or some other English speaking country for a while [...] I went to England in the same visit as my classmates said, but I'd like an exchange, something like that [...] So I learn better and spend more time in that culture]

Research has demonstrated that for Chilean students a study abroad experience is perceived to enrich the *résumé* and enhance job opportunities, which is one of the determinant factors for students' mobility; moreover, the destination is mainly chosen based on life quality indicators (Fernandez Robin et al, 2016). As evidenced by the quote, private school students follow this trend. The quality of life concept of can be explained by constructs such as rates of education or employment, but one could further argue that such constructs are biased by the hegemonic culture which dictates the standards of quality. This would also explain M12's aspiration to "spend more time on that culture", an underspecified and idealized culture that apparently belongs to the countries named in the quotes: United States and England.

Ultimately, the aspirational aspect of English is devised as a metaphor in the Pilot: English is an "opening door" that leads to "more paths", not any paths certainly, only those which lead to success.

M5: ¿es como una puerta o no?

M4: claro, es como una puerta de entrada

M5: después tienes más caminos (Pilot Private School)

[M5: it's like a door, right?

M4: sure, like an entrance door

M5: then you have more paths]

Notably, the methapor here used is not haphazardly chosen, it is a reproduction of the name and slogan of the English Opens Doors Program, which promotes English teaching with the presence of native or near-native speakers as teacher assistants in English language classes (EODP MINEDUC, n.d.). Although EODP is intended for public and subsidized schools, its utilitarian discourse (Pérez de Arce, 2014) has evidently had an impact on the rest of the students. In the same manner as the program, students' –reproduced– conceptualization of English as an entrance door implies that they highlight its value as a tool that has the purpose of leading them into the successful group or culture they aspire to belong to. Most likely, they will succeed in doing so; considering that the socioeconomic status to which this students belong facilitates their

access to the idealized culture. As Matear (2008) remarked, English will only open doors for some students: they are the chosen ones.

From a motivational perspective, the instrumental benefits the target language and culture supposedly offer could result in higher levels of integrativeness (Gardner, 2001). Although these learners of EFL do not need to integrate into an English speaking community in their quotidian lives, as a Second Language Learning environment would compel them to, they certainly are constantly exposed to English because they use it as a tool for “basic” activities, as M11 said. Therefore, the utility that English poses, together with its status, triggers foreign learners’ desire to assimilate to the hegemonic culture.

In sum, the chart below comprises the analyzed categories and their representative quotes, which correspond to the second objective of the study.

Table 3: Private School Students Categories

Categories	Key Quotes
English language classes are insufficient	<p>M12: cuando uno está en un colegio y aprende inglés con libros funciona muy bien pero no necesariamente es tan motivante como tener que usarlo en la práctica para comunicarse con alguien que solamente habla inglés. (Personal Interviews)</p> <p>[when you are in school and learn with books, with texts, it works very well but it’s not necessarily as motivating as having to use it in practice to communicate with someone who only speaks English, or achieve a projects for a trip]</p>

<p>Native speaker vs English teacher</p>	<p>F12: es distinto un nativo a un profesor de inglés. Porque un nativo sabe dominar el idioma de una forma distinta, más como de hablar y pronunciar bien que un profesor que es más de pasar la clase (Focus Group)</p> <p>[it's different with a native than with a teacher. Because a native knows how to dominate the language in a different way, more like talking and pronouncing good than a teacher who is more like teaching the class]</p>
<p>English as the universal language</p>	<p>M10: podís viajar sin problemas</p> <p>F10: es como un idioma universal</p> <p>[M10: you can travel without problems F10: is like a universal language]</p>
<p>English a la language easier to learn than Spanish</p>	<p>M10: conozco gente que, no sé, ha estudiado inglés y hablan inglés perfecto, con acento y todo. Y en vez, los que estudian español tienen problemas como de acento y de algunas palabras que dicen 'la auto' o cosas así (Personal Interviews)</p> <p>[I know people who, I don't know, has studied English and speak it perfectly, with accent and all. And the other way around, those who study English have problems with the accent and some words like "la auto" or things like that]</p>
<p>English as a tool</p>	<p>M4: Toda la información normalmente está en inglés entonces igual nos ayuda para sacar algunas veces los trabajos que no están publicados en español, entonces es una herramienta más que nada (Pilot)</p> <p>[All the information is in English so it helps us to sometimes get the works that</p>

	<p>are not published in Spanish, so it's a tool more than anything]</p>
<p>High level of English</p>	<p>M4: de hecho se supone que nosotros estamos a nivel del FCE, y con el FCE es si te...cómo se llama, podís ir a estudiar universidades gringas y todo [...] entonces nos ayuda, ¿cachai? se supone que nosotros ya tenemos un nivel establecido (Pilot)</p> <p>[in fact we're supposedly at the FCE level, and with the FCE...you can go and study in gringo universities and all [...] then it helps us, you see?, we supposedly already have an established level]</p>
<p>English as success abroad</p>	<p>M12: Viajé a Inglaterra por la misma visita que contaron mis compañeras, pero me gustaría un intercambio, algo así [...] Así aprendo mejor y estoy más tiempo en esa cultura (Personal Interviews)</p> <p>[if I had one thing that I could imagine that would motivate me a lot it would be traveling to the United States or some other English speaking country fro a while [...] I went to England in the same visit as my classmates said, but I'd like an exchange, something like that [...] So I learn better and spend more time in that culture]</p>

III.3. Differences and similitudes in social representations between the observed groups

As a means of establishing a comparison between the social representations that underlie public VT school students and private school students' motivation to learn English, the present section analyzed both groups' categories in terms of their socioeconomic background. As laid out in the previous sections of this chapter, both groups' categories were comprised in three major categories each. In the case of public VT school students these major categories are "Forced motivation", "Arguments supporting mandatory English", and "Aspirational aspect of English". On the other hand, Private school students' major categories are "Need for further motivation", "Arguments supporting the utility of English"; and "Aspirational aspect of English".

III.3.1. Forced motivation vs Need for further motivation

Firstly, an evident difference between public VT and private school students' motivation has to do with the English learning environment in their school communities. On the one hand, public students reported that the repetitive content of their English language classes caused their boredom and reduced English learning. On the other hand, private school students expressed being motivated and entertained in class, together with perceiving that they were successfully learning English.

estar siempre con lo mismo [...] verbos, verbos, verbos y ya, pero si hubieran otras cosas (F2, Pilot VT School)

[dealing always with the same [...] verbs, verbs, verbs and that's it, but if there were other things]

yo diría que es más como un hobby que como algo de trabajo porque llegar a, o sea sé que me ayudará después, pero ahora lo veo como algo entretenido. Me gusta como...lectura en inglés, lo encuentro más entretenido que lectura en español (M6, Pilot Private School)

[I'd say is more like a hobby than something about work because, I mean I know it will help me later, but now I see it as something entertaining. I like

like...reading in English, I find it more entertaining than reading in Spanish

One explanation for these contrasting learning environments could be found in their socio-economic backgrounds. Private schools receive more funding than public schools do, this has impact on classroom resources: teachers hired in private schools usually have higher levels of language training than those hired in public ones, also, teacher-student ratios are higher in public schools than in private ones (Kormos & Kiddle, 2013), which might hinder the English class dynamics in public schools. Another factor that might determine the class dynamics, is that the English language curricula devised by the MINEDUC certainly favours scientific-humanist schools: apart from the English curriculum for secondary students, a second curriculum is offered for the differentiated years of scientific-humanist education but not for the differentiated years of vocational-technical programs (MINEDUC, 2016). This might imply that private school students are exposed to more topic in English whereas public VT students and their teachers do not receive English language guidance in relation to their specific courses. The motivation both groups report, thus, is closely related to their L2 Learning Experience (Dörnyei, 2014), which is auspicious in the case of private school students and inauspicious for VT students.

Such divergent L2 learning environments lead to distinct concerns: VT students focused on the mandatory status of English and private school students remarked that being exposed to NSs would be more motivating for them.

el idioma obligatorio que tenís que saber es el inglés en tu país natal po'. Y como pa' comunicarte con la gente igual tenís que como saber el inglés no más po' (M8, Personal Interviews VT School)

[the obligatory language that you have to know in your native country is English. And to communicate with people you have to know only English]

cuando uno está en un colegio y aprende inglés con libros, con textos, funciona muy bien pero no necesariamente es tan motivante como tener que usarlo en la práctica para comunicarse con alguien que solamente habla inglés, o poder lograr un proyecto para un viaje (M12, Personal Interviews Private School)

[when you are in school and learn with books, with texts, it works very well but it's not necessarily as motivating as having to use it in practice to

communicate with someone who only speaks English, or achieve a projects for a trip]

VT students focused on the mandatory status of English on a micro and then expanded it to a macro level. The reason for them to feel that English was being forced into them is explained by their social reality: people of a middle-low status do not make use of English in their quotidian lives in Chile, the large majority speak only Spanish, in addition, contexts of English for Specific Purposes (Business English, for example) are unfamiliar for VT students. Their own impression of English being mandatory, along with the evident impact of ideologies found in MINEDUC's curricula and programs that focus on English as a global communication tool (Pérez de Arce, 2014), directed them to highlight the mandatory status of English at a global scale. Private school students under no circumstances referred to English as an obligation, not in their school contexts neither to a larger context; this positive stance can be explained by the regular exposure to English they have, as opposed to VT students: they constantly travel, and even attended to a marketing project abroad, for example.

Private school students' concern was being exposed to NS teachers and "their" English for further motivation. Their visits to inner circle English speaking countries together with their being required to take standardized tests of English at school, sustain the biased native speaker model (Rajagopalan 1997; Kirkpatrick 2006) which influences them. In regards to VT students, they did not make any reference to the importance of a type of English speaker, nor compared their teachers to NSs as private school students did. The reason for this might be related to the lack of access to instances where they can share with native speakers: middle-low status people commonly have their vacations in the coastal regions near Santiago (Novomerc, 2016), not abroad as private school students. Although they are aware of the supposed necessity of learning English nowadays, they might not be informed about a certain idealized model that they have to follow, as private school students are informed about in their standard test workshop trainings. While one group desires to attain the "ideal" English, the other is mainly focused on learning the basics, in other words, private school students are guided by an L2 Ideal Self equated to NSs, whereas VT students are guided by an L2

Ought-to Self --brought forward by Chilean educational institutions-- that cannot be equated to a model they are not exposed to.

III.3.2. Arguments supporting mandatory English vs Arguments supporting the utility of English

In line with the inauspicious and auspicious L2 Learning Environment that VT students and private school respectively proclaimed, both groups articulated a set of arguments justifying EFL learning with dissimilar stances: the former group focusing predominantly on its obligatoriness and the latter on its utility.

Just as English language class is mandatory at school because “they ask you” to learn it, VT students considered English universality mandatory. Based on an English language hegemony outlook (Gramsci in Ives, 2004), they were led to the belief that one language is above the others, meaning that English will overthrow other languages and will become the language of the future. Private school students also reported the perceived universality of English, but distinctly, focusing on its utilitarian quality:

desde mi punto de vista yo creo que más adelante ya...todos van a tener que saber hablar bien inglés porque igual [...] pa’ todo te piden eso (M7, Personal Interviews VT School)

[to my mind, I think in the future...everyone will have to know how to speak well English because [...] they ask you to.]

F1: no sé, nunca me lo plantié eso. Sí, sería como una oportunidad, o sea, como poder ir a otro país y poder hablar con otras personas. Es que el inglés es un idioma común que nos une a todos (F10, Focus Group Private School)

[I don’t know, I never thought of that. Yes, I’d be like an opportunity, like, go abroad and talk with other people. English is a common language that unites us all]

Both groups of social actors are constrained by utilitarian, hegemonic and imperialist notions about English (Geeraerts, 2003; Phillipson 2002), but the difference between them emerges from their positionality towards the group of power that exerts this views. VT students’ terrible future scenario where English replaces by force every

other language is not shared by private school students because the latter group conceives it as a future unifying mechanism, which can only be caused by their own experience when trying to communicate in a foreign country. But they fail to recognize that the specific uses they make of English (tourism or business) is not shared by the rest of the country's or the world's population. Confronted to the supposed universal status of English, socioeconomically advantaged students could perceive it as beneficial because they have speaking competence in English, whereas VT students feel compelled to follow the trend imposed by the ruling class. From an L2 motivational perspective, both groups of students demonstrated a level of integrativeness (Gardner, 2001) towards the hegemonic culture, only that VT students were driven by an Ought-to-self notion, while private school students by an Ideal possible self (Dörnyei, 2014).

A similitude found in both groups' arguments to justify EFL learning (from an obligatory or utilitarian focus) was the belief that Spanish is more difficult to learn than English, based on the larger alphabet of Spanish or on its complicated verb conjugations. Also, the information sources for the arguments reported by the totality of the students were social media (Facebook, principally), their teachers and parents. Following the dichotomy of perceived obligation, and willingness towards the utility of English, VT students position themselves differently towards the information sources in comparison to private school students:

yo encuentro que es más fácil en inglés que el español [...] todos los que saben dicen eso (M2, Pilot VT School)

[I think that English is easier than Spanish [...] everyone who knows says that]

además, por lo que tengo entendido, el inglés tiene más palabras que el español (F12, Personal Interviews Private School)

[also, as far as I know, English has more words than Spanish]

By saying “everybody who knows says that”, it becomes evident that VT students identify themselves as passive reproducers of information enacted by their knowledge authorities: educational settings and mass media that enact ideologies in accordance with the dominant class (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Bourdieu, 1996). Private school students, on the other hand, by saying “as far as I know”, have made the reproduced

information their own. The latter group's entitlement of the information is caused by their closeness towards the groups of power that enact it, in comparison to VT students. This might be consequence of a wider social phenomenon that constrains individuals from lower social classes: they have been systematically taught not to question authorities, whereas higher class individuals have historically conformed the authority. Proof of this are the students' prospect careers: private school students are supposed to enter university, receive higher salaries and become authorities in their specific fields. VT students are expected to enter the technical working world immediately.

Furthermore, private school students considered Spanish as a difficult language based on the belief that English is perfectible, and that Spanish' difficulty is caused by its being 'badly spoken':

es que yo creo que el español igual es fácil, la cosa es que los chilenos hablan mal, entonces es difícil de entender, por la modulación. En cambio los que hablan inglés en su país propio lo hablan bien, o sea es entendible (M11, Personal Interviews Private School)

[I think Spanish is easy too, the thing is that Chileans speak bad, so it's difficult to understand, because of the modulation. But those who speak English in their own country speak it well, I mean is understandable]

VT students never linked the supposed difficulty of Spanish with the negative performance M11 claims, probably because they ascribe to a variety of Chilean Spanish that is considered "bad" by people from higher socio-economic groups.

A contrast found between both groups' major categories was the perceived usefulness of English for Specific Purposes: private school students' category "English as a tool". Certainly, and as I demonstrate in the following subsection, English is conceived under an utilitarian lens by both private and public school students; nevertheless, the concept of English as a particular "tool" to carry out projects abroad, to look for information on the internet or watching movies never appeared VT students' categories.

F10: los trabajos también, cuando uno quiere hacer...tiene un gran proyecto hacia otros países, eso te beneficia, te ayuda mucho

F11: y uno puede buscar muchas cosas en internet, en inglés y te salen más resultados que en español

M11: sí, incluso te sirve pa' cosas básicas como pa' ver películas (Focus Group Private School)

[F10: in jobs too, when one want to do...has a great project to other countries, that benefits you, it helps you a lot

F11: and one can look for many things on the internet in English, and you have more results than in Spanish

M11: yes, it even works for basic stuff like watching movies]

Economic resources of the middle-low social class once again play a role in the access to such activities. For the most part, VT students plan to enter the working world in a field related to their specialization, a lesser percentage plans to continue studying in tertiary education (MINEDUC, 2012); a reality of this kind does not correlate to participating in a marketing project in an English speaking country, as some of the private school participants did. Even most “basic” uses of English, as looking for information on the internet to or watching a movie, are restricted for socioeconomically disadvantaged students, who for the most part cannot read in English (Agencia de Calidad de la Educación, 2012). The instrumentality of English is a motivating factor for private school students, but in the case of public school students it reveals their segregation.

III.3.3. Aspirational aspect of English for public and private school students.

The aspirational aspect of English can be found in VT students as well as in private school students, but their aspirations were expressed differently in relation to their socioeconomic background. VT students' immediate ambition was to travel to famous places in the United States and consume popular brands that index a high status. For private school students their aspiration was mostly linked to living abroad and ratifying their high level of English proficiency as demonstrated by standardized tests:

M2: ir a la Gran Manzana, a recorrer

M1: ah, yo ir a un Super Bowl

M2: o ir al Starbucks (Focus Group VT School)

[M8: visit the Big Apple, to walk

M7: I'd go to a Super Bowl

M8: or to a Starbucks]

de hecho se supone que nosotros estamos a nivel del FCE, y con el FCE es si te...cómo se llama, podís ir a estudiar universidades gringas y todo [...] entonces nos ayuda, ¿cachai? se supone que nosotros ya tenemos un nivel establecido (M1, Pilot Private School)

[in fact we're supposedly at the FCE level, and with the FCE...you can go and study in gringo universities and all [...] then it helps us, you see?, we supposedly already have an established level]

Congruent with the obligatory aspect identified in the above subsections, VT students are forced to learn English because of the benefits it poses, which they do not want to miss. Some of them are expressed in the opportunity to travel to renowned touristic venues they have seen advertised on the television or social media, and the acquisition of popular American brands. The idealized America, better explained by the concept of the American dream supposes to them an opportunity to integrate into the socioeconomically advantaged group that has the acquisition power, and ultimately, an opportunity for social mobility (Hill & Torres, 2010; Niño-Murcia, 2003). In the case of private school students, the awareness of their English proficiency is mainly determined by powerful transnational English testing enterprises that reproduce detrimental language ideologies related to standardization and native-normative views (Jenkins & Leung, 2013). Although private school students do not focus on pop culture brands – because they probably have access to them more regularly than middle-low class students–, these institutions become brands that represent the world they aspire to belong to.

Access to better job opportunities was another use for English that both groups of students found. Nonetheless, their future opportunities are constrained by their present socioeconomic status:

F2: a ver, ¿y tú qué querís ser, después...de salir del colegio?

M1: azafata

M2: ¡azafata, sí!

F1: no

M3: sí, azafata

F2: ahí aprendís inglés po (Pilot VT School)

[F2: let's see, and what do you want to be, after...finishing school?

M1: flight assistant

M2: flight assistant, yes!

F1: no

M3: yes, flight assistant

F2: you can learn English then]

después de lo de Inglaterra todos quedamos con ganas de quedarnos allá. Igual la educación es mejor afuera y me encantaría vivir un tiempo allá, además después puedo trabajar en cualquier parte, incluso aquí (F11, Personal Interviews Private School)

[after going to England everyone wanted to stay there. Education is better abroad and I'd love to live there for a while, also, I can work anywhere, even here]

It becomes apparent that both groups share the same concept about English but to different levels, since the type of job students can apply to, as shown in the quotes, depends on their segregated educational background: While most of the VT students declared that they planned to use English as a tool to obtain better jobs here in Chile, the majority of private school students declared using it as a tool to establish themselves abroad. Private school students are not necessarily focusing on an economic success when planning on using their English skills to have access to a foreign country, mainly

because they already have a secured economic status, but the economic aspect is nevertheless intrinsic to the modern concept of quality of life they wish to attain abroad.

This configures the instrumental and integrative aspect of their motivation to learn English (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005; Kormos et al 2008), associated to their idealization of the hegemonic culture and language. Notably, VT students' L2 future self is determined by a sense of the Ought-to Self, as the instrumentality of English could be used by them to avoid a future unpleasant situation, such as continue belonging to a socioeconomically low status. For private school students, the idealization of the Anglo American culture reinforces their L2 Ideal Self instead. As Dörnyei (2014: 521) states, the learner's future self-image must be perceived as plausible, that is, "to be realistic within the person's individual circumstances"; this is the reason why VT students conceive being a flight assistant a plausible job option, whereas private school students plan to study at an university abroad and design international projects. Therefore, their socioeconomic backgrounds become the social structures that express and reproduce inequality, the social agents' positionality towards English is just another example of this hopefully modifiable reality.

A summary of the major categories this 3rd objective analyzed can be found below. It includes the key contrasting quotes between public VT and private school students which appeared in the two previous objectives of this analytical chapter, but that were revisited here so as to shed light on the distinct ideologies and social representations triggered by the socioeconomic status of the social agents.

Table 4: Comparison between VT and Private School Students' Major Categories

Public VT School Students	Private School Students
Forced motivation vs Need for further motivation	
<p>el idioma obligatorio que tenís que saber es el inglés en tu país natal po'. Y como pa' comunicarte con la gente igual tenís que como saber el inglés no más po' (M2, Personal Interviews VT School)</p> <p>[the obligatory language that you have to know in your native country is English. And to communicate with people you have to know only English]</p>	<p>cuando uno está en un colegio y aprende inglés con libros, con textos, funciona muy bien pero no necesariamente es tan motivante como tener que usarlo en la práctica para comunicarse con alguien que solamente habla inglés, o poder lograr un proyecto para un viaje (M6, Personal Interviews Private School)</p> <p>[when you are in school and learn with books, with texts, it works very well but it's not necessarily as motivating as having to use it in practice to communicate with someone who only speaks English, or achieve a projects for a trip]</p>
Arguments supporting mandatory English vs Arguments supporting the utility of English	
<p>desde mi punto de vista yo creo que más adelante ya...todos van a tener que saber hablar bien inglés porque igual [...] pa' todo te piden eso (M7, Personal Interviews VT School)</p> <p>[to my mind, I think in the future...everyone will have to know how to speak well English because [...] they ask you to.]</p>	<p>no sé, nunca me lo plantié eso. Sí, sería como una oportunidad, o sea, como poder ir a otro país y poder hablar con otras personas. Es que el inglés es un idioma común que nos une a todos (F10, Focus Group Private School)</p> <p>[I don't know, I never thought of that. Yes, I'd be like an opportunity, like, go abroad and talk with other people. English is a common language that unites us all]</p>

Aspirational aspect of English	
<p>F2: a ver, ¿y tú qué querís ser, después...de salir del colegio?. M1: azafata. M2: ¡azafata, sí!. F1: no. M3: sí, azafata. F2: ahí aprendís inglés po (Pilot VT School)</p> <p>[F2: let's see, and what do you want to be, after...finishing school? M1: flight assistant M2: flight assistant, yes! F1: no M3: yes, flight assistant F2: you can learn English then]</p>	<p>de hecho se supone que nosotros estamos a nivel del FCE, y con el FCE es si te...cómo se llama, podís ir a estudiar universidades gringas y todo [...] entonces nos ayuda, ¿cachai? se supone que nosotros ya tenemos un nivel establecido (M4, Pilot Private School)</p> <p>[in fact we're supposedly at the FCE level, and with the FCE...you can go and study in gringo universities and all [...] then it helps us, you see?, we supposedly already have an established level]</p>

CHAPTER IV: PRESENTATION OF CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION; LIMITATIONS AND PROJECTIONS

In this final chapter the main results are comprised into the conclusions section, which is structured following the three objectives of the previous analytical chapter. Later, a discussion of the results is provided. The final section of this chapter reviews the limitations and gaps of the study, and proposes new contexts in which the study could be replicated.

IV.1. Conclusions

In sum, this study's analytical chapter characterized the social representations behind the motivating factors to learn EFL in students. As part of the first research objective, public VT school students' categories were analyzed, followed by the analysis of private school students' categories, which belonged to the second research objective; finally, the third research objective implied comparing the similitudes and differences enacted by both groups of social actors.

VT students demonstrated feeling demotivated but still compelled to learn English in the classroom, as well as outside the classroom. This was explained by the absence of an English official curriculum to guide their mandatory English language classes, by their conflicting social identity in relation to English usage, and by the inauspicious L2 learning experience that the previous factors promotes. Nonetheless, the obligatory status of English was defended based on information reproduced from authoritative and trustworthy sources as teachers, parents and social media. These beliefs pointed to the universality of English, its future overreaching presence, and the lack of difficulty to learn English in comparison to Spanish, which are based on the detrimental and extremist views on the international presence of English lead by hegemonic and imperialist notions about it. Reasons targeting the utilitarian benefits of English were also articulated so as to justify its mandatory learning, linked to them was the idealization of the United States as a country that represents success through its stereotypical brands and the promise of the American dream; thus, English was conceived as a linguistic capital, a means to obtain better job options and higher salaries in Chile, which could ultimately allow their socioeconomic mobility. This sheds light on the instrumental and integrative motivations led by an L2 Ought-to self that wants to avoid a negative outcome: staying in the same socioeconomic status; the extent to which this is achievable is nevertheless questionable.

Private school students, on the other hand, reported being entertained and motivated in English language classes, but that exposure to a native speaker would motivate them more. The variety of topics offered in the official English curricula for scientific-

humanist secondary schools, together with their travels abroad accounted for their successful L2 Learning Experience, in addition, their comparison between the teacher of English and native speakers responded to the preponderant native speaker model in Second/Foreign Language learning that gives priority to Anglo-american natives over others. Furthermore, English learning was justified based on its utilitarian aspect: the perceived universality of English was posed as an opportunity to travel and assimilate with an English speaking group; the belief that English is useful because it is easier to learn than Spanish demonstrated that English was seen as a standardized language whereas Chilean Spanish was seen as inaccurate; also, English was linked to specific beneficial purposes such as access to a wider range of information. The instrumentality of English perceived by private school students was additionally connected to an integrative stance towards the Anglo-american idealized culture. Their aspiration to obtain such cultural capital was evidenced in their manifest desire to study and live abroad. From an L2 motivational perspective, their L2 Ideal-self is reinforced by the closeness to the target language and culture.

From a comparison between both groups' categories, an initial conclusion would hint at the distinct L2 learning environments and experience, caused by segregation within the educational system (uneven curricula and classroom resources) and by their own previous exposure to English determined by the lifestyle associated to contrasting socioeconomic classes. A different motivational stance was also established, since VT students were guided by the English speaking Ought-to selves they supposedly have to become to avoid staying in the same socioeconomic group. Private school students identified English with their Ideal-self, this positive stance was caused by the auspicious experience they have had with English. Ultimately, both groups demonstrated to share the same aspirational social representations about English, directed by hegemonist, imperialist and utilitarian ideologies about it. Nevertheless, distinctions were born out of the specific positionality these social actors had towards English; this depends on their access and actual uses of English in their every day lives, which is highly determined by their socioeconomic reality.

IV.2. Discussion

As reviewed in the conclusion section above, the analysis of results has demonstrated that a social representation linked to the aspirational aspect of English underlies both groups of students' motivations to learn it. Nevertheless, the different motivational stances Ought-to self and Ideal self identified in VT and private school students, respectively, shed light on the compatibility this social representation has with each of their social environments. Moreover, these representations are consequence of the impact on students that MINEDUC's curricula, programs and authorities has had; a language planning constrained by ideologies regarding the imperialist and utilitarian symbolic power of English –and by extension, its speakers.

An initial discussion must focus on the differing L2 motivational stances observed in the students. It could be expected from a study to describe the methodological mechanisms by which a promotional instead of a preventional approach towards learning an L2 could be achieved. The most common mechanisms would imply increasing the hours of English classes, hiring better trained teachers, or reducing the teacher-students ratios in the classroom. Nevertheless, the classroom is not the sole social environment of the students, and even if the variables that play a role within classroom contexts are modified, their macro context would still guide their motivation towards the English speaking Ought-to self they are systematically told they should be in order to reach social mobility. The promotion of English in terms of its proclaimed economic benefits is what triggers the preventive disposition in economically disadvantaged students.

I would further discuss the actual utility that obligatory instructed English has for Chilean students from different social backgrounds. Socioeconomically disadvantaged students do not and would not use English as the global communication/market tool that is promoted, but high status students would. EFL language planning and language policy has been made regardless of the social context of every Chilean student, instead, it correlates to the necessities higher class people have: communicating with foreigners in leisure or business trips, or watching movies on Netflix without subtitles. EFL planning and policy fits socioeconomic groups of power because it is devised and

enacted by individuals who belong to such groups of power. Thus, if language planning does not adapt to, or even disesteems some groups of students, not every Chilean student should be subject to the same policies regarding EFL; not if it is conceived as it has been.

Language ideologies that conceive English as this beneficial global communication/market tool have demonstrated to lead students into believing that stereotype English speaking countries of the inner circle are the ideal model they aspire to become. In the same manner, native speakers of these countries are regarded by private school students as the ideal speaker model. English is taught under the illusory native speaker standard norm in different educational institutions, including the university. Thus, it becomes necessary to discuss the extent to which we as experts have been constrained by this model during our English instruction years: if we know as linguists that the native model is faulty, then why we as teachers of English would continue using it? We should question how we contribute to the reproduction of harmful beliefs when teaching English in private tutoring, teaching at school or even by working at a testing enterprise.

The preventional motivational stance and the reproduction of harmful ideologies could be evaded if a more realistic approach towards English was taken. A Chilean variety of English does not exist, so when we teach it we are prompted to choose a foreign variety. This choice is regulated by the vast amounts of teaching resources in the alleged standard varieties of Anglo-american countries, and by their overarching presence in the mass media. Nevertheless, we still have the option to vary and expose our students to different varieties, and validate them as equally teachable than any other variety. Moreover, it is crucial to deconstruct the idealized aspirational social reproductions about English on a larger scale, the Ministry of Education must assume this role through the action of its language planning and policies: curricula and programs. The first step towards a realistic approach would be to refrain from associating English with an economic-centered goal, and teach it as an optional foreign language among the many others that belong to the Chilean linguistic environment.

IV.3. Limitations and Projections

Mainly, the study was limited by the different groups of students that could be reached. The VT school communities available belonged to a middle low social group that although do not use much English in their everyday lives, still have exposure to English through the internet, for example. Many students in Santiago do not have access to the internet, or even to the most basic commodities, their motivations and social representations also need to be identified. Thus, a more extremist sample of the Chilean educational reality would have included students from traditional English-Spanish bilingual schools and students from the lowest social class, or, moving the focus away from urban-only settings, students from urban schools and from rural schools.

A limitation in terms of analysis was caused by assuming that an official English curriculum that could guide the class content is beneficial, and that its absence hinders the class dynamics. This was my stance regarding the inexistent English language curricula for the differentiated years of VT education. Nevertheless, I cannot measure the real influence the curricula have on the class contents, and on the students' and teachers' motivation. This could only be achieved by conducting an ethnography within classroom settings, with similar research objectives that this study has had. It might be possible that the curricula have no noticeable effect on the class contents in some schools, or in any school, regardless of its socioeconomic background.

Also, I could not make direct correlations between some specific English language class factors that took place in the different school communities, and the students' motivation. For example, although students that participated in the Focus Group VT School complained about the small number of English classes hours, I did not consider that increasing the amount hours would motivate them more or distinctly per se, so I disregarded this factor. Another factor that I was unable to acutely relate to students' motivation was the teachers' motivation. Teachers were not included as participants in this study; this gap can lead to future research in terms of micro context learner L2 motivation related with their socioeconomic macro context.

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VI. Appendices

VI.1. Informed Consent Form for Academic coordinators/teachers in charge

Carta de Consentimiento Informado

En el marco del programa de pregrado Licenciatura en Lengua y Literatura Inglesas de la Universidad de Chile, este estudio forma parte de la tesis de la investigadora, Valentina Ubillo. Esta carta tiene como propósito informarle sobre el proceso de dicho estudio, para que pueda voluntariamente dar cuenta de la participación de los estudiantes a su cargo.

El principal objetivo de este estudio es definir la motivación de estudiantes a aprender Inglés. Para esto, 6 estudiantes deberán participar en un grupo focal y entrevistas personales en otra fecha, dentro del colegio y sacados de horario de clases. Los datos personales de los participantes, como nombre, edad y nivel educacional, serán requeridos al inicio del estudio, para poder identificar la recolección de datos. Sin embargo, no se revelará su identidad. La información recolectada sólo será utilizada y analizada por la investigadora responsable.

La participación en esta investigación es voluntaria. No habrá beneficio directo, no obstante, la participación de estudiantes a su cargo será una contribución a este estudio. Agradezco desde ya su autorización.

Firma investigadora

Firma autoridad escolar

Informed Consent Form

As part of the B.A. program English Language and Literature of the University of Chile, this study belongs to the thesis of the researcher Valentina Ubillo. This form has a purpose informing you about such study, so you can voluntarily agree to the participation of your students.

The main objective of the study is to define the motivation of students to learn English. For this, 6 students have to participate in a focus group and personal interviews in another date, inside the school and during class hours. Personal data of the participants as name, age and grade will be required at the beginning of the study, so as to identify the data collection. However, their identity will no be revealed. The information collected is going to be analyzed only by the researcher.

Participation is voluntary. There will be no direct benefit, nevertheless, your students' participation will be a contribution to this study. Thank you in advance for your authorization.

Researcher's signature

Authority's signature

VI.2. Pilot Focus Group Public School: Transcription

Pilot Public VT School: Transcription

The participants of this pilot at a public school were 3 females, F1, F2, F3; and 3 males, M1, M2, M3. The interviewer appears as V.

V: pero, entonces... ¿qué es pa' ustedes el inglés? No de la profe, el inglés en general, la lengua

F2: no creo que sea tan difícil para alguien que lo escucha todos los días, porque como nosotros tenemos clases dos veces por semana y no practicamos el inglés entonces nos va mal. Pero yo creo que si estuviera, no sé, me diera el tiempo de todos los días ver una película yo ya podría entender algo

F1: me cuesta

F2: es que te cuesta donde no escuchas ni hablas. No lo ponís en práctica, por eso

F1: sé que sirve, sirve harto, en todas partes

M1: sí porque es un idioma universal, en todas partes te sirve

F1: pero... igual lo encuentro complicado

M2: yo encuentro que es más fácil el inglés que el español

F2: no sé porque yo hablo puro español así que no podría decir [laughs]

M2: pero eso todos los que saben dicen eso, los que saben más

F2: si po', por eso po', tu sabí po'

M2: no, yo no se

F2: pero ¿por qué te cuesta a ti?

F1: porque no sé, como que... en algún momento quiero llegar a aprenderlo, ¿cachai?
Pero... ahora como que realmente no me importa

M2: yo creo que si alguien lo practicara todos los días ahí si se iría aprendiendo poco a poco porque mi abuelo hace eso, pesca su diccionario todos los días y se mete al inglés, entonces ahora igual sabe harto, pero todos los días, es un compromiso que hizo

V: ¿y creen que es importante o no aprenderlo?

F1: sí, porque para ir a trabajar por ejemplo a otro país necesito aprender po' y es el idioma que todos conocen po'

F2: es así universal

F1: en todos los países, aunque no hablen inglés igual se habla

M1: igual en la mayoría de los trabajos se habla el inglés acá en Chile

F1: si... en hartas, en todas partes hay algo escrito en español y algo aparte escrito en inglés. A todo le tienen que poner nombre en inglés

M1: por eso, el inglés es como el idioma universal

M3: igual con los países donde hablan inglés se enseña el español

M1: ¿algo que decir, M3?

F2: me gusta el coreano [laughs]

F3: yo se hablar coreano [laughs] es que no me gusta la materia, pero sí me gusta el inglés [laughs]. Es que la materia es fome

M3: yo creo que la clase de la profe es fome

F3: sí, es que si fuera más divertida, como que enseñara

F2: estar siempre con lo mismo, o sea que nos hace leer en inglés pero no comprendemos, porque no sabemos, entonces

F1: como que no nos enseña a...

F2: verbos, verbos, verbos y ya, pero si hubieran otras cosas...

V: ¿cómo creís que aprenderíais más...o estaríais más motivado pa aprender el idioma?

F3: sí, si las clases fueran más entretenidas

F2: ¿cómo? ¿Pero qué? ¿Qué te gustaría que hicieran? No sé, una canción

M1: yo creo que sería mejor que fuera más hablar que escribir

F3: sí, sí, eso

M3: yo creo que sea más de interactuar con las personas...

M1: sí, eso, eso

M3: como tener una persona que interactúe contigo, si tu querís aprender solo, una persona que interactúe contigo, que te apañe pa'l inglés todo el rato

F1: ¡sí! Y que no te fuerce

F3: haciendo guías todo el rato en la pizarra igual, entonces no aprendís nada porque ahí buscai las palabras en el diccionario, al final terminai enredao'

F2: sí, es que uno no puede aprender inglés solo, tiene que, tiene que...

F3: solo, tiene que ser una persona que te ayude

M3: el profe siempre hacía los diálogos así po'

M2: sí

M1: pero eran más diálogos, nunca hace diálogos la profe

F2: ¡eso podría ser po!, más diálogos

M1: porque uno cuando está solo como que dice 'pucha, no entiendo Inglés'

F2: yo he pensao' en decirle a la profe pero como que nos puede joder si le digo con diálogos

M1: y estando el otro se...se ayudan

M3: puede ser que antes el profe por último te hacía leer los diálogos con él

F2: sí

M3: así con una persona o con él, él era el 1 o el 2

F2: sí y te corregía

M3: sí, y si te equivocabai igual te...te enseñaba

F1: de repente igual es bueno porque los profes, tu estai aprendiendo y si hací algo malo los profes de repente dicen que ellos no te van a retar si hacís algo mal pero de repente como que sí los profes te dicen que, 'que son tontos, que les cuesta' y la cuestión. A mí me pasa de repente con los profes que como que te ponen caras así cuando no aprendís. Cuando no sabís enchufarte bien en la materia así te ponen caras de que 'uy qué difícil es enseñar'

F2: que es distinto porque o sea igual cuesta explicar, porque uno conversa y todo po', entonces es difícil porque... yo, o sea, tú no te has parado al frente a explicarle a alguien algo, entonces no sabes lo que enfrenta el profesor todos los días. Yo soy la tesorera...cuesta. Cuesta hablarle al curso, entonces...se estresan

M2: sí, sobre todo porque...no faltan los, los alumnos que tienen...tú por ejemplo si tenís una duda, no va a faltar alguien que tenga otro tipo de duda, entonces estar explicando eso a cada rato, sin concentración en el curso

F2: mientras los otros hablan y sí, es difícil

F1: es que esa es la idea po', si uno tiene que, tiene que preguntar, si uno no sabe tiene que preguntar

M3: a mi igual me gustaría aprender

F2: ¿sí? ¿Por qué?

M3: podría hablarle en inglés a otra persona

V: como pa' hacerlo no más? O como...

M3: si po', así como pa'...

F2: como pa' entender la letra de las canciones, ¿sí o no? [laughs] porque uno no cacha

M1: yo quiero viajar, yo quiero viajar a hartas partes, por eso quiero aprender harto

F1: yo igual...eso es lo que pasa po', no quiero aprender el inglés ahora, pero sí sé que en algún tiempo, ya cuando sea más grande y tenga otro tipo de mente, no sé, voy a tener que...yo sé que ahí lo tengo, voy a tener que aprender porque sí quiero salir del país, y sí quiero...estar bien po, no podís llegar a un país sin aprender el idioma

F2: a ver, ¿y tú qué querís ser, después...de salir del colegio?

M1: azafata

M2: ¡azafata, sí!

F1: no...

M3: sí, azafata

F2: ahí aprendís inglés po

F1: no, pero yo sí me iría, sí me iría a...trabajar a otro país en cualquier cosa... pero sí me iría de Chile realmente

M2: No, pero igual... nosotros que somos chilenos

M1: estaríaí...

M2: pa' irse a Estados Unidos

F2: es difícil

M2: es difícil igual porque... es un entorno todo distinto, es más desarrollado que nosotros, entonces tanto pa' la mentalidad...es muy distinta de que...Allá la gente no piensa en...la mayoría no piensa en pelear, vivir en el peligro

F1: ah, tú no sabís eso, no podís decir que en otro país no piensan en pelear

M2: la mayoría, la mayoría, porque yo conozco gente de Estados Unidos

M1: terrible pitiá, los pacos

F2: los mormones [laughs]

M2: aparte de eso

M1: allá te agarran al tiro

M2: no es la misma mentalidad que acá po, allá los que no tienen plata tienen plata, o sea...

F3: ¿cómo?

M2: estamos hablando de otra cosa

F2: los que no tienen plata tienen plata

M2: los pobres, sí. Los pobres

F3: ¿cómo es eso?

F2: [laughs] es una manera de explicarlo

M2: los pobres tienen mucha más plata que acá

F3: ah, sí

F2: son como la clase media de acá

M2: sí

F2: porque realmente

F1: se vive bien allá

VI.3. Pilot Focus Group Private School: Transcription

Pilot Private School: Transcription

The participants of this pilot at a private highschool were 3 females, F4, F5, F6 and 3 males, M4, M5, and M6. The interviewer appears as V.

V: eh, ¿qué es para ustedes el Inglés?

M4: eh... yo encuentro de que es una herramienta que nos... al final nos va a ayudar a futuro en lo que es estudio, trabajo, en todo eso; porque ahora algo fundamental es el inglés

F5: sí

M4: para poder...

M5: ¿es como una puerta o no?

M4: claro, es como una puerta de entrada

M5: después tienes más caminos

F4: yo también creo que es como, no sé, como el idioma más central que... es más fácil comunicarse entre todos, onda un chino aprende inglés, los de español aprende inglés, después ahí como que entre todos se... como la, se pueden...

M6: es como un idioma universal, entonces

F6: es, es el idioma universal

M4: sí y después va a ser el chino

F6: [laughs]

M6: onda por ejemplo yo diría que es más como un hobby que como algo de trabajo porque llegar a, o sea sé que me ayudará después, pero ahora lo veo como algo entretenido. Me gusta como...

F6: sí, yo igual

M6: lectura en inglés, lo encuentro más entretenido que lectura en español

M4: los diálogos también

F6: sí eso sí es entretenido

M6: entonces lo encuentro más como algo, más como un hobby que

M5: lo que pasa es que las cosas en inglés salen antes y uno las quiere tener antes

Everyone: [laughs]

M6: pa eso enseñan Inglés, pa tener cosas antes de tiempo

F6: sí es verdad. Aparte, no, sí es mejor, ayuda mucho

M5: esa es una de las principales cosas por el inglés.

V: ya, entonces creen que es importante, ¿cierto?

M4, F6, M5: sí

V: ¿por qué es importante?

F5: porque es una herramienta que te va a servir mucho, no sé, ya sea en un trabajo, o viajís, o no se

F4: pa' distintas partes

F5: pa' viajes de trabajo

M4: y de hecho, claro, de hecho ahora nos sirve para cuando nosotros hacemos investigación y todo. Toda la información normalmente está en inglés entonces igual nos ayuda para sacar algunas veces los trabajos que no están publicados en español, entonces es una herramienta más que nada

F5: por entretenición, si o sea si uno viaja a otra parte no todos hablan español

M6: te sirve como método de comunicación

F6: de hecho, el español no es muy hablado mundialmente

F5: de hecho, si, entonces...

M6: o sea en comparación con el inglés

V: ah? Es que no escuché, sorry

M6: que el español es un idioma como...

F6: considerado mundialmente, el español es considerado más complejo que otros idiomas

M6: que el inglés

F4: si po' si los que hablan inglés, es más difícil aprender español

M4: sí

F4: que pa' nosotros aprender inglés

V: ya, y... ¿Cómo creen que ustedes pudieran estar más motivados a aprender inglés?

Bueno, primero ¿están motivados a aprender inglés?

M4, M5, F6, M6: sí, sí

M4: o sea, por lo menos es que igual a nosotros se nos divide en dos el inglés y como que el inglés en el alto, que se llama avanzado, se le pone mucho énfasis a lo que es hablar

F4: está el avanzado y el intermedio, nosotras somos intermedio

M5: nosotros somos avanzado

M4: claro, es más tirado para el habla, entonces es un poco más entretenido y más didáctico también

F6: es mejor que...es mucho mejor que andar con un texto porque así no se aprende el inglés, si al final el inglés se aprende hablando

F5: hablando, escuchando

V: y ustedes chiquillas que están como en el otro curso, igual se sienten como motivadas para aprender inglés o no?

F4: motivación personal

M4, M5, M6: [laughs]

F5: no tanto escolar

F4: sí, es que si tu no estai motivado, si tu no, a ti no te interesa, no sé si...si.. No hay nadie así como que te...

F4: sabemos que eso es personal más que como ah, el colegio que, que...no, ¿cachai?

F5: o sea pa' mi es más personal. Onda, yo no he tomado medidas como para aprender inglés bien, pero el interés está

F4: la miss es buena, no estamos diciendo nada en contra de su trabajo

V: No, si entiendo. Entonces, ¿qué creen que necesitan para estar más motivados para aprender inglés?

F6: no se me ocurre nada

F4: no sé qué nos motivaría más, pero

M5: debe haber algo, en este momento no se me ocurre absolutamente nada

M4: debería ser que pa' la gira de estudios en vez de ir a Isla de Pascua podríamos ir a no sé po, a Estados Unidos

M6: risas no...

F6: no...te fuiste en la volá

M4: pero si sale casi lo mismo

F5: yo creo que viajando es como más fácil aprender inglés, donde tenís que comunicarte, donde tienes la real necesidad

F6: lo otro más interesante sería como... cosas en inglés, así clases, un poco de clases normales en ingles

F4: ya, pero es que no es un colegio bilingüe

F6: a mí, a mí me motivaría así como totalmente

M5: a mí me gustaría tener como clases de matemáticas en inglés

F6: claro, en inglés, yo amaría eso. Costaría, pero sería mucho más entretenido

F4: ya, pero ahí te tenís que ir a un colegio bilingüe, o sea la única cosa en español que tenís ahí es lenguaje

F5: yo digo que si ya no partiste de chiquitito con un colegio así bilingüe, ya pesa

M4: no necesariamente. Imagínate tener un profe nativo

F5: ya, es que pucha eso es diferente po'

M4: sipo, ahí todos podríamos practicar con alguien que de verdad habla inglés, que es su lengua. Porque ponte tú, yo vengo del X, y yo no tenía así nada, no sabía nada nada de inglés y llegué acá y avancé. Imagínate con un nativo

F5: y tú fuiste a una... ¿cómo se llama?

M4: sí po, fue por nivelación po', pero los que están aquí, la Naty, ella habla inglés y ella, es porque ella estaba acá po' ¿cachai? Entonces yo igual encuentro de que no sería mucho el cambio.

F5: pucha sí, tal vez si trajeran a un nativo gringo yo me nivelaría más rápido que con los profes de acá

M4: De hecho se supone que nosotros estamos a nivel del FCE, y con el FCE es si te... cómo se llama, podís ir a estudiar universidades gringas y todo

M5: yo di pena en el FCE

M4: entonces nos ayuda, ¿cachai? se supone que nosotros ya tenemos un nivel establecido

F4: o sea, sí po, no somos...se supone que en el colegio no somos algo básico básico, se supone

VI.4. Focus Group Public School: Transcription

Focus Group Public VT School: Transcription

The participants of this focus group carried out at a public school were 3 females, F7, F8, F9; and 3 males, M7, M8, M9. The interviewer appears as V.

V: ya, quería preguntarles qué es el inglés pa' ustedes

F7: Ah, a mí me encanta el inglés

V: [to M3] ¿qué cosa?

M9: la vida

V: la vida

M8: el idioma del futuro

F7: es de pana

M7: un cacho

Everyone: [laughs]

M7: un cacho pa' mi el inglés, no entiendo, no me entra

M8: hace como que la gente se comunique más adelante

F7: pero si es el lenguaje

F8: universal

F7: universal

F8: sí

F7: es el lenguaje más fácil

F8: encuentro que debería ser el español

F7: es que es muy difícil el español

M9: pero el español es el lenguaje más difícil

F8: sí, pero el español se habla mucho más a lo largo de todo el país, de todo el mundo más que el inglés

F7: pero es que no se divide por cuánta gente habla, sino por la facilidad del lenguaje

F8: por puro que en todas partes se dicen cosas distintas

M8: sí porque, porque a un gringo no lo vai a enseñar a hablar tan rápido el español como en español a inglés. Porque el español tiene mucho más palabras que el...

F7: y también el español tiene más letras

V: ¿y también qué?

M8: tiene más letras

V: ah

M8: sí, la “ñ”, la “ll” la “sh”

F7: y la “ch”

V: ¿y tú qué pensai?

F9: no entiendo inglés. Me gusta pero no...

M7: vale verga el inglés

M8: [laughs]

V: pero cuando te dicen “inglés”, ¿qué pensai? Así como...

F9: complicado

V: y, ¿y creen que es importante?

M9,M8,M7,F8: sí

F7: obvio

F9: ahora en estos momentos, sí. Me gusta, me gustaría aprender pero...

F8: es muy complicado

F9: sí, soy muy cabeza dura

V: ¿crees que es importante?

M7: igual es importante, porque igual, como dicen los chiquillos es, cómo se llama, el “lenguaje del futuro”, al final vamos a tener que saber aprender todos inglés. Yo también quiero ir pa’ otros lados

F9: yo una vez viajé, iba en el avión, iba llorando porque me iba pa’, pa’ mi casa y me quería quedar allá en Punta Arenas, y justo al lado mío iban unos como unos gringos que hablaban en inglés y me decían que no llorara pero en su idioma, pero yo no entendía nada

F7: [laughs]

F9: seguía llorando

M9: ¿cómo sabís que te decían eso?

M7: yo he viajado en bus no más

M8, M9:[laughs]

M9: a Cartagena

F7: yo todavía no, pero está en mis planes

M71: sí, en los míos igual

M8: ir a la Gran Manzana

F7: no, esa ciudad es terrible, hay mucho ruido todo el día, yo prefiero irme a Los Ángeles

M8: ir a la Gran Manzana, a recorrer

M7: ah, yo ir a un Super Bowl

M8: o ir al Starbucks

F7: o no sé, ir de vacaciones a Miami

F8: yo me iría a otro país, no a esa... a Estados Unidos

F7: tú te irías a España, yo sé que si

F8: no, a Italia

M9: a Roma

F8: no, yo me iría a Venecia

V: ya y... como... qué podría pasar o hacer el colegio ponte tú para que a ustedes les den más ganas de aprender inglés

M7: como un taller

M9: poner una buena profe

F9, F7:[laughs]

M9: con clases más entretenidas

M8: que nos hagan, que no nos traten como niños chicos, porque nos enseñan como inglés muy básico y ese inglés no sirve de nada

F7: que... sea más adelantado que sólo el verbo to be

M9: que hagan más clases porque igual tenemos

M8: dos horas

M9: dos horas

F7: dos bloques

M8: dos horas de Inglés a la semana, en eso no aprendís nada literalmente

M9: se me olvida

M8: aprendís como I y you [laughs]

V: (to F8) ¿qué ibas a decir?

F8: se me olvidó. [laughs] En serio

F7: no, se, yo siento que aprendo harto escuchando música en inglés más que en clases con la profe, porque es super poco rato

VI.5. Focus Group Private School: Transcription

Focus Group Private School: Transcription

The participants of this focus group carried out at a private school were 3 females, F10, F11 and F12; and 3 males M10, M11, and M12. The interviewer appears as V

V: quería preguntarles qué es el inglés para ustedes

M10: el idioma que nos ayuda a poder tener mejores oportunidades en la vida

F10: no sé, nunca me lo plantié eso. Sí, sería como una oportunidad, o sea, como poder ir a otro país y poder hablar con otras personas. Es que el inglés es un idioma común que nos une a todos

M10: podís viajar sin problemas

F10: es como un idioma universal

F10: sí, el inglés es como un idioma universal

M11: mundial

F12: universal, mundial...del universo [laughs]

F10: es como el idioma en que nos podemos conectar todos, aunque hablemos diferentes idiomas, es el que nos une a todos

M12: como que uno puede hablar casi con cualquier persona en inglés

F12: es muy básico, entonces es muy fácil aprenderlo, porque el español es más difícil, pero el inglés es más fácil, entonces por eso todo el mundo lo habla

F11: es que eso, es como un idioma mundial, que todos usan y sirve para comunicarse mucho, si vas a viajar a un país, es el idioma por descarte

V: entonces, consideran que el inglés es importante?

Everyone: sí

F12: muy importante

F10: antes, no era tan importante, pero ahora al viajar obviamente tienes que saber inglés si no obviamente vas a estar perdido en el mundo

M11: además que es mucho más accesible ahora

F10: los trabajos también, cuando uno quiere hacer...tiene un gran proyecto hacia otros países, eso te beneficia, te ayuda mucho

F11: y uno puede buscar muchas cosas en internet, en inglés y te salen más resultados que en español

M11: sí, incluso te sirve pa' cosas básicas como pa' ver películas

M10: como pa' tener sietes más fácil

M11: pa' subir el promedio [laughs]

Everyone: [laughs]

V: y a ustedes ¿les dan ganas de aprender inglés?

Everyone: sí

M11: es que igual es entretenido

F10: tenís que decirlo porque están grabando [laughs]

M12: sí. Personaje cuatro asiente con la cabeza [laughs]

Everyone: [laughs]

V: y ¿qué creen que podría pasar para que ustedes tuvieran más ganas de aprender más inglés?

F12: no sé, por ejemplo

F10: proyectos

F12: el viaje que hicimos nosotras, o sea nosotros, perdón M3, igual como que

F10: proyectos, es que nosotros hicimos un proyecto que fue

M11: actividades

F10: lo mismo. El proyecto fue ir a Inglaterra a un concurso de marketing que era en inglés

F12: sí, y ahí como que igual uno se motiva un poquito, aunque no hablamos mucho inglés con los que estaban ahí porque casi todos eran de Latinoamérica, igual era motivante estar como en Inglaterra, incluso en Francia entonces

F10: también tomar clases en inglés

F11: sí, nos hacían todas las clases en inglés

M12: claro, como en general, viajar a un lugar donde hablan en inglés u otro país sirve

F11: te motiva también

M12: y querís hablarlo mejor para comunicarte más fácil

F11: ver un proyecto que involucre el inglés y que tú quieras aprenderlo también como que te incentiva

F10: serían los proyectos, eso es lo que incentivaría

F12: por ejemplo, la gente del extranjero también como que incentiva. O sea, que llegue alguien que habla inglés y, obviamente si viene a Chile quiere aprender español pero es...tratar de hablar inglés también porque a uno igual le interesa saber cómo es la persona que es nativa en inglés, porque es distinto un nativo a un profesor de inglés. Porque un nativo sabe dominar el idioma de una forma distinta, más como de hablar que un profesor que es más de pasar la clase

V: ¿y qué crees tú?

M11: eso, todo lo que han dicho. No sé, que sea más accesible, porque el proyecto del año pasado igual era bastante caro entonces si pueden hacer algo más chico acá, trayendo nativos de otros países a hacer clases

F10: también el saber de otros países, por ejemplo muchas veces me interesan noticias de Estados Unidos, noticias que son en Inglés y también incentiva, por lo menos a mí el inglés para tratar de conocer qué es lo que está pasando en otros países. Porque ya que todas las noticias son en inglés y todo eso

M10: los payasos, para ver si vienen a Chile

Everyone: [laughs]

VI.6. Personal Interviews Public VT School: Transcription

Personal Interviews Public VT School: Transcription

These are the 6 follow-up interviews that were individually made to the public school students who participated in the 1st Focus Group: F7, F8, F9; and M7, M8, M9. The interviewer appears as V.

F7

V: F1, ¿te acordai que cuando estábamos conversando se comentó la idea de que el inglés es la lengua del futuro?

F7: [nods]

V: ¿y por qué crees que podría llamarse así?

F7: porque he visto en muchas partes que usualmente la mayoría de la gente que intenta aprender el inglés es porque ahora que se ha declarado el idioma universal, entonces como para que la gente se aprenda a comunicar mejor a pesar de ser de otros países, teniendo otros lenguajes y culturas. Entonces como por eso es el lenguaje del futuro

V: ¿cómo cachaste que se declaró idioma universal?

F7: no me acuerdo, creo que me dijo mi papá...y creo que una vez lo vi en una noticia, me apareció en Facebook

V: y, tú dijiste que te gusta el inglés

F7: caleta

V: caleta. ¿qué podría pasar para que tuvieras más ganas de aprender inglés?

F7: no sé, que a mí de por sí ya me gusta, entonces no creo que sea tanto empuje, pero me gustaría que igual que fuera más entretenido, que hubieran más talleres, que quizás

igual se pusieran las pilas en el colegio con la muni y nos hicieran alguna gira de estudio así como a lugares donde se use harto inglés aquí en Chile

V: ¿te gustaría viajar?

F7: yo por mí, espero después de terminar aquí...si...no puedo ir a un preu o la u igual me gustaría mucho viajar porque tengo igual como paletía pa' trabajar en Las Vegas, en un hotel de Las Vegas, ¿cachai?. Ahí la hago po'_Y después de eso, no sé, estar un tiempo igual y después irme a California a vivir, trabajar allá. Mi sueño es vivir en Los Angeles.

V: ¿y por qué ahí?

F7: no sé, es como...las ciudades que siempre veo...como en fotos y muestran el lado bonito y todo

V: ¿y dónde hay visto esas fotos y todo eso?

F7: no sé po' en Facebook, en google se me aparece...o no sé, a mí me gusta leer entonces a veces vienen con fotos y aparecen lugares

V: piola

F8

V: ya...oye, ¿te acordai cuando hablamos con los chiquillos?

F8: [nods]

V: y que se comentó que el inglés es el lenguaje del futuro

F8: sí

V: ¿qué creís de eso?

F8: bueno, yo no lo dije, pero...porque se supone que es e idioma universal y que todos lo deberían estar aprendiendo ya que les sirve pal trabajo y pa' todo tipo de cosas

V: y... ¿a qué te referís por idioma universal?

F8: que...del universo [laughs]

V: [laughs]

F8: no sé, que es mundial po', si todos deberían aprender por lo menos algo de inglés porque ejemplo si va una persona a otro país, es como el idioma que se debe hablar...

V: ¿y dónde cachaste eso de universal? ¿Lo leíste, te lo dijo alguien?

F8: aquí, los chiquillos [laughs] ah, no sé, es por profesores que lo dijeron siempre cuando yo era más chica y cosas así

V: dale, em... ¿tú dijiste que te gustaba o no el inglés?

F8: no me gusta pero tengo que aprenderlo ya por el trabajo y cosas así. Pa' seguir estudiando y tener un trabajo mejor, ya que me serviría hartito

V: ah...y si no te gusta, ¿qué creís que podría pasar pa' que a ti te dieran más ganas de aprender inglés?

F8: no sé, es que pa' mi por ejemplo yo hablo, yo estoy en un país en el cual se habla español, así que a mí no me interesa por ejemplo otro idioma que no se hable en mi país, por eso...tengo que aprender por trabajo pero no me gusta

F9

V: oye, te acordai que conversamos con los chiquillos del inglés, y salió todo el tema que el inglés es como la lengua del futuro, eso se dijo en algún momento. ¿Estai de acuerdo con eso?

F9: si, yo encuentro que el inglés es super importante, me gustaría aprenderlo, pero que fueran más horas de clases si y que fuera más entretenido igual pa que los chiquillos tomen atención, porque hay hartos que nos toca inglés y es como "ay ya, inglés, ya, lo pasamos" y...no hacemos nada

V: ¿pero por qué creís que se comentó que era como del futuro? ¿a qué se referirá eso?

F9: a que vienen muchos extranjeros po, entonces nosotros que estamos estudiando alimentación, eh, nos va a servir porque una persona puede llegar a la mesa a pedir su pedido y no, no vamos a entender. O sea no tenemos el inglés tan malo tampoco, pero...como que no entendemos mucho

V: oye, y tú dijiste que te gustaba pero que te costaba, ¿cierto?

F9: sí, por eso me gustaría tener clases más entretenidas, como actividades, así como si fuera “ya, tienen que dar las noticias, pero en inglés”, igual sería bacán

V: si po’...¿y qué podría pasar para que a ti te dieran más ganas de aprender inglés?, no sólo en el colegio, en toda tu vida

F9: hacer actividades como cantar en inglés, una canción en inglés...o sea es que en el colegio porque es más en el colegio donde uno está...eh...que dieran más horas de inglés. Porque sirve pa’ después, o sea pa’ lo que estoy estudiando sí...y llegan muchos extranjeros, entonces, ya todos hablan inglés. Cuando yo voy a Fantasilandia veo atrás y están hablando en inglés y entre mi digo “pucha, qué dirán...no entiendo” [laughs]

M7

V: Oye, respecto a lo que hablamos en...el círculo

M7: ¿del inglés?

V: sí, todo eso. Eh...tu dijiste que el inglés era la lengua del futuro, ¿a qué te referís con que es lengua del futuro?

M7: o sea es que yo, desde mi punto de vista yo creo que más adelante ya...todos van a tener que saber hablar bien inglés porque igual, si uno quiere viajar ahora, no sé, pa’ todo te piden eso. En todo, como que todo se está yendo pa’ allá

V: ¿a qué te referís con todos te piden?

M7: no sé, así...ah, no sé. Como que ese es mi punto de vista como ya que más adelante...como que todo sea...va a estar no sé po’, todo va a tener su parte que vaya

pal inglés, nosotros cuando, en este caso por cualquier lado hay señalética así como esa, y está el inglés abajo...entonces como que todo va pa' allá. Que al final en el futuro como que ya van a terminar hablando más inglés que español, yo creo. Como eso

V: También dijiste que es como la lengua universal, ¿alguien te contó eso, lo leíste...?

M7: o sea, no, fue de lo, lo que dijeron los chiquillos...que como yo no sé mucho, me basé en lo que dijeron ellos

V: ah, ya. Y... ¿tú dijiste que te gustaba?...¿o no te gustaba?

M7: o sea, me gusta el inglés, pero...pa' mi es difícil de aprender. Me, me ha costado mucho aprender, de todos los que me han hecho clases de inglés eh, me ha costado aprender, escuchando música en inglés tampoco, entonces como que me cuesta

V: y qué podría pasar para que te dieran más ganas de...no sólo en el colegio, sino que en cualquier área de tu vida, qué podría pasar para que te dieran más ganas de aprender inglés

M7: que...que le tomara yo el...el que me pusiera como aplicado con el inglés, en yo, de mi parte aprender, porque yo encuentro que de mi parte no...no está la, como la motivación

V: y de dónde creés que puede como crearse esa motivación?

M7: no sé, es que yo creo que el día de mañana yo no sé po, como dije, vaya a no sé, porque yo tengo tíos en Estados Unidos, y llegara pa' allá y veo que allá no me puedo comunicar con nadie, voy a tener que...ahí me va a nacer la de...voy a tener que aprender pa' comunicarme allá

V: ¿y te irías allá donde tus tíos en Estados Unidos?

M7: sí, sí me gustaría irme

V: ¿de vacaciones o a vivir?

M7: no, de vacaciones. Sí, no no deo Chile por ningún motivo. No, porque me gustaría irme a vivir pa' otros lados, pero el idioma es muy distinto, o no sé si se hablará inglés

ahí. Quiero ir pa' allá pa' Emiratos Árabes. Entonces si voy a Estados Unidos sería así pa' ver no sé, el Super Bowl, partidos así

V: dale, oka. Vamos a buscar a otro compañero

M8

V: oye, tú en un momento de la entrevista dijiste que el inglés era el idioma del futuro

M8: sipo

V: ¿a qué te referís con eso?

M8: es que es como el inglés es el idioma más universal es como que toda la gente después va a hablar como puro inglés, va a dejar el español de lado, el chino y todo eso. Porque como en todos los países como que el idioma obligatorio que tenís que saber es el inglés en tu país natal po. Y como pa' comunicarte con la gente igual tenís que como saber el inglés no más po. Por eso es que, yo creo que se van a olvidar de su idioma y van a empezar como a hablar todo en inglés, porque es como el más simple de todos los idiomas y el que más se usa ahora, en la actualidad

V: Y, dijiste que era como un idioma universal, ¿Cómo te enteraste de eso, lo leíste...?

M8: no, pero es que... donde va, siempre hay alguien que habla inglés, o que sabe inglés. Y si tu viajai al extranjero todos saben una cierta parte de inglés, cualquier país. Hasta en los países de Centro America, hablan inglés y latino. Si hasta Norteamerica, todo inglés, en Europa, todo inglés... español, o italiano inglés

V: oye y...tú dijiste que te gusta...

M8: sí...me interesa, es que me interesa po', porque me va a servir pa un futuro, si es que quiero viajar al extranjero, o...si quiero ser alguien que...sabe como...de un nivel más o menos alto tengo que saber o sea manejar idiomas. Y el inglés es como uno de los principales idiomas que hay que saber

V: ¿cómo más menos alto?

M8: de plata, po'

V: Y... ¿dónde te gustaría viajar?

M8: a...Inglaterra

V: ¿por qué?

M8: no sé, porque me llama la atención ese país. O si no a Estados Unidos, pero Estados Unidos no...no mucho, Inglaterra es como el que más me llama la atención

V: ¿hay algo por qué te llame más la atención?

M8: sólo me llama la atención

V: ¿cómo cachaste Inglaterra?

M8: por el fútbol, el Manchester City

V: buena. Ya, voy a ir a buscar a otro compañero

M9

V: oye M9, en la conversación que tuvimos con los chiquillos salió el tema de que el inglés es como la lengua del futuro, ¿te acordai?

M9: sí

V: ¿y qué creís?

M9: yo creo que sí es...yo creo que...es un idioma universal...yo creo que...en todos los idiomas se tiene que saber algo de inglés. Eso

V: tu decís universal, ¿a qué te referís con universal?

M9: eso po', que cada país debe conocer el inglés...y se los deben enseñar. Es importante, mucho

V: dale. Y a ti te gustaría aprender más?

M9: si, si me gustaría...porque en realidad me gusta

V: ya te gusta?

M9: sí

V: y qué podría pasar para que tuvierai más ganas de...

M9: ¿aprender?

V: [nods]

M9: motivarme, pero no sé de qué forma...tal vez viajar, pero cuando sepa más inglés

V: y tenís alguna parte en mente?

M9: no, todavía no

V: ah, dale

VI.7. Personal Interviews Private School: Transcription

Personal Interviews Private School: Transcription

These are the 6 follow-up interviews that were individually made to the private school students who participated in the Focus Group Private School. The participants are 3 females, F10, F11, F12; and 3 males, M10, M11, M12 The interviewer appears as V.

F10

V: y, te acordai cuando hablamos y que se comentó caleta que el inglés es un idioma universal

F10: sí

V: ¿estás de acuerdo con eso?

F10: o sea, lo que dijimos todos ahí es verdad, yo siento que el inglés es un idioma que nos une. Se podría decir que el español une todo lo que es Latinoamérica, por ejemplo Italia con su país natal, Francia, todo eso... Pero el inglés incluye a todos, porque en verdad, si yo quiero viajar a, no sé, Noruega, siento que no sé el idioma de los Noruegos, pero los Noruegos también saben inglés, sería un idioma en el que yo me podría comunicar en verdad con todo el mundo, eso es lo que yo siento. Que, la posibilidad de viajar e ir al país y no saber el idioma, el inglés te lo hace más fácil

V: oye, y ¿dónde cachaste como la palabra universal?

F10: las veces que yo he viajado he sentido eso, el inglés es lo que nos une. Por ejemplo cuando fui a Francia en ese proyecto que estábamos en el colegio, no sabía nada de francés y para pedir comida, para necesitar el baño, todo eso, no sabía el idioma pero lo pedía en inglés y las personas también. Allá conocen todo el inglés y todo eso y por eso me manejaba

V: pero entonces y cómo cachaste la palabra? La viste en alguna parte

F10: ahí, como que vi todo eso y se me vino a la cabeza como “oh, universal” [laughs]

V: dale, dale. Oye, y se dijo también respecto al inglés que aparte de ser universal era fácil de aprender

F10: sí, todos lo hablan porque es muy básico. Como un verbo para todos como el I, you y esos

V: tú decís como en comparación al español

F10: sipo, o sea nosotros

tenemos un montón de verbos y cosas así. Entonces el inglés es como ideal de aprender porque como en la gramática es más fácil y en todos lados se habla

V: y cuando contaste tu experiencia personal, que a ti te motiva aprender inglés y que también dijeron entre todos que lo que más motiva es como tener un proyecto

F10: sí, porque últimamente todos sabemos que las clases muy normales como estar sentado en una mesa, prestando atención al profe, ya se están haciendo muy aburridas como, mucha gente no presta atención a esas cosas, y más si es algo muy importante que te va a servir para la vida, que te va a servir para la vida cotidiana, para el futuro, para todo. Sería que te van enseñando otros proyectos como los motivadores para aprender el inglés. Por ejemplo el proyecto que hicimos, o podrían hacer también el día del inglés, o no sé cosas así, porque ya el sentarse en una silla y prestar atención a un profesor que te está pasando la materia como así... muchas personas no entienden así. Cuando fui allá también aprendí el inglés sin necesidad de estar sentada en una mesa

V:¿ no te gusta aprender teniendo clases?

F10: o sea yo sí, pero hablaba como en general de que las clases son aburridas y todo eso

V: una de las chiquillas dijo que también le incentivaría que viniera un nativo

F10: ah, sipo obvio. Por lo mismo que te decía, así te comunicas fuera de la sala y como que lo usai más. De todas formas igual como que tenemos super buen nivel sin tener

profes nativos, onda por ejemplo siempre estamos haciendo actividades en inglés y todo, entonces eso sirve para practicar para las pruebas

V: ¿qué pruebas?

F10: las de certificación de acá del colegio. Nos sirven después para postular a pegas y todo

V: dale, dale

F11

V: oye, cuando estuvimos conversando con los chiquillos se habló mucho que el inglés es un idioma universal. Estai de acuerdo con eso?

F11: sí, la verdad es que según yo se usa harto, porque por ejemplo pa' los viajes si necesitai comunicarte con la gente ya sea un país que no sea como su idioma el inglés, lo más fácil es que usis ese idioma. O cuando es trabajo... también si tenís otro proyecto tú como irte a otros países y todas esas cosas

V: ¿y tú tienes ese proyecto de irte?

F11: si po', después de lo de Inglaterra todos quedamos con ganas de quedarnos allá. Igual la educación es mejor afuera y me encantaría vivir un tiempo allá, además como es universal después puedo trabajar en cualquier parte, incluso aquí

V: oye y ¿cómo cachaste la palabra universal?

F11: eh, no sé si la vi en alguna parte o me la explicaron, no sé. ¿Cómo se dice? como que uno lo asume

V: y si te lo explicaron quién creís que lo hizo?

F11: no sé, mis papás o el colegio, los profesores

V: dale. Y también, una de las chiquillas dijo así como que el español era más fácil que el inglés, ¿qué opinai de eso?

F11: ¿más fácil que el inglés? No creo, porque según yo en el inglés tienen como por ejemplo... aquí tenemos por ejemplo el tomé, vas a tomar, ellos toman. Todo eso

V: ah, espera, lo dije al revés. El inglés que es más fácil que el español

F11: ah, entonces ahí sí estoy de acuerdo. Porque sí, por eso mismo, porque el español tienen como muchas palabras, muchas conjugaciones por decirle así y el inglés es súper fácil

V: oye, y cuando hablamos de lo que da ganas de aprender inglés, y salió como el tema de los proyectos, estai de acuerdo con eso?

F11: también. Porque por ejemplo si uno tiene un proyecto, por ejemplo en mi caso ser profesora de inglés o traductora, porque me motiva el inglés. Entonces me motiva más que la clase normal si tengo que salir del país o aprender más cosas en el mismo país del inglés

V: dónde por ejemplo?

F11: Estados Unidos o Inglaterra

V: dale. Y has viajado a alguna parte?

F11: sí, ahora en julio fui a Suiza. Hice escala en Atlanta y ahí practiqué hartoo el inglés porque estuvimos como 12 horas en escala y estuvimos paseando. Mi papá no entendía mucho. Es bacán hablar con alguien que es del país

V: sí?

F11: sí, y entenderle se siente bacán

V: Lo preferís a hablar como con tu profe ponte tú?

F11: sí, porque es como él es de ahí de ese país, es su idioma y tú le estás entendiendo todo

V: dale.

F12

V: cuando estábamos conversando en el círculo se comentó que el inglés es un idioma universal

F12: sí

V: tú estai de acuerdo con eso?

F12: sí. ¿Por qué? [laughs] Eh, porque encuentro que el inglés es un idioma muy fácil de aprender. Hay actualmente muchas formas como de poder aprenderlo, además del colegio hay muchos cursos y están todos estos intercambios que se pueden hacer a todos estos lugares. Además hay muchos países donde se habla inglés, Estados Unidos, Inglaterra y otros que no me acuerdo. En el fondo es como fácil, rápido y tienes muchas posibilidades. Se supone que se creó un idioma para que fuera el idioma universal, el esperanto, pero yo nunca he visto un curso de esperanto. El inglés es más asequible

V: oye y dónde cachaste esa palabra, universal?

F12: ah, no sé, es que yo siempre lo he tenido así como planteado. Así como que yo sé que el inglés es universal desde que empecé a estudiar inglés. Como que mi papá en el fondo siempre fue, siempre me apoyo en esto del inglés porque él empezó a estudiar inglés cuando era adulto entonces él me decía que en el fondo el inglés era el idioma que todo el mundo hablaba, entonces ahí asumí que era universal

V: dale. Oye y también dijiste recién que el inglés te parecía fácil. Y en el círculo dijiste que te parecía más fácil que el español

F12: sí

V: por qué?

F12: bueno, porque en el preu me enseñaron que el español tiene muchas conjugaciones pa' una sola palabra. Y el inglés usualmente tiene como 3 o 2. Además, por lo que tengo entendido, el inglés tiene más palabras que el español, pero son menos complicadas, como que el significado es más concreto, porque el español tiene muchas palabras y

muchos significados para la misma palabra, además dicen que el español es una de las lenguas más difíciles de aprender

V: como ¿quién dice?

F12: Facebook. O sea, el profe de lenguaje me dijo eso de las conjugaciones. Pero lo que es el idioma más difícil como que sale así en Facebook a veces. Como no sé po', 'página X dice que los idiomas más difíciles son el español, el tailandés, el chino'. Eso

V: y, ¿te acuerdas que se comentó que los proyectos son lo que más motivaba a aprender inglés?

F12: sí, o sea, yo fui a ese proyecto en Inglaterra y Francia, y pucha era como adrenalínico hablar en inglés, ir a comprar y no cachar la libra y tener que pagar con tarjeta entonces esas situaciones más normales como que te ayudan más que ir a una clase de inglés y que te hagan hablar de un tema específico. Con un nativo tenís que improvisar y ahí sabís si realmente sabís inglés, porque un profe corrige y un nativo aunque hable perfecto va a entender que eres extranjero, por eso me quiero ir a vivir allá un tiempo

V: ¿dónde?

F12: a Inglaterra me gustaría

M10

V: cachai que cuando estábamos conversando en grupo se tocó el tema que el inglés es un idioma universal

M10: sí

V: qué creís de eso?

M10: sí, porque al final en todos los países o en casi todos se da el inglés, entonces donde vayai hay gente que habla inglés

V: Y cómo cachabai la palabra universal antes?

M10: no sé, del colegio

V: y cuando hablamos... ponte tú una compañera nombró que el inglés era más fácil que el español. Qué creís?

M10: sí porque conozco gente que no sé, ha estudiado inglés y hablan inglés perfecto, con el acento y todo. Y en vez, los que estudian español tienen problemas como de acento y de algunas palabras que dicen "la auto" o cosas así

V: ah, dale. Te acordai también cuando estábamos conversando con los chiquillos, que se dijo como que lo que más motivaba a aprender más inglés era como tener proyectos. Es así pa' ti?

M10: o sea que a mí también me gusta viajar y hacer amigos, entonces me gusta hablar inglés porque puedo comunicarme mejor y tener más amigos también

V: y dónde hai viajado?

M10: a Estados Unidos, Florida

V: fuiste a Miami?

M10: a Miami, y a Orlando. Es que viví allá, un año y medio, con mi familia nos fuimos todos juntos

M11

V: eh, cuando estuvimos en el grupo hablando, se comentó que el inglés es un idioma universal.

M11: sí

V: Qué pensai de eso?

M11: que es verdad porque la mayoría de los proyectos hoy en día, o sea, siempre los proyectos son internacionales entonces si yo quiero no sé, importar algo de otro país, lo más probable es que voy a tener que hablar con alguien en inglés, porque todos hablan en inglés

V: y cómo cachaste la palabra universal?

M11: no sé, yo creo que la vi en la tele

V: oye, y también se comentó, o una de las niñas dijo que el inglés es más fácil que no sé, que el español. Qué creís de eso?

M11: es que yo creo que el español igual es fácil, la cosa es que los chilenos hablan mal, entonces es difícil de entender, por la modulación. En cambio los que hablan inglés en su país propio lo hablan bien, o sea es entendible

V: ah. Y volviendo a los proyectos, lo que la mayoría dijo que la mayor motivación pa' aprender inglés era como tener proyectos. ¿Es pa' ti esa la mayor motivación?

M11: sí, porque si el proyecto me gusta y yo voy a ir y si es inglés tengo que aprender para trabajar y aportar

V: y alguna otra cosa que te haga tener ganas de aprender más?

M11: yo creo que seguir viajando

V: has ido a alguna parte?

M11: sí, a Estados Unidos, a Francia, a Italia, y Grecia, por ahí

M12

V: te acordai cuando estábamos hablando y que se comentó que el inglés es un lenguaje universal

M12: sí

V: ¿qué crees tú?

M12: efectivamente lo es, yo creo que el inglés es un lenguaje universal, aunque no significa que absolutamente todas las personas del mundo lo hablen, de hecho incluso acá en nuestro país hay muchos que no lo hacen. Pero de todos los idiomas del mundo, pese a que el español, el chino y algunos otros son hablados por muchas personas, es el

único idioma que un número tan grande de personas tienen como idioma secundario, entonces, casi sin importar el país que uno vaya siempre uno va a poder encontrar algunas personas que lo hablen y siempre vas a poder tener la opción de comunicarse con un gran número de personas

V: y por qué crees que el inglés es el idioma secundario que dices y no los otros?

M12: o sea, eso siempre dice la profesora

V: pero por qué el inglés sí y los otros no? Onda, por qué el español no o el chino no son la segunda lengua más hablada

M12: porque no sé, porque el inglés es mucho más fácil. Imagínate estar aprendiendo chino o que un chino intente aprender español, o sea muchos chilenos lo intentan pero no lo pueden aprender bien como el inglés. El inglés se aprende rápido porque es fácil y porque uno va muy seguido donde hablan inglés

V: y por qué crees que el inglés es más fácil? Cómo cachaste eso?

M12: es como obvio, hay menos palabras y todo. Además la profe nos explicó lo de los verbos en español, que son muchos. Y en inglés las palabras son fáciles de aprender porque están en todas partes

V: dale. Y tú dijiste que tenías ganas de aprender inglés en general, y se comentó mientras estábamos conversando que una buena manera de motivar a aprender más inglés es como tener proyectos en inglés. Estoy de acuerdo con eso?

M12: sí, absolutamente, cuando uno está en un colegio y aprende inglés con libros, con textos, funciona muy bien pero no necesariamente es tan motivante como tener que usarlo en la práctica para comunicarse con alguien que solamente habla inglés, o poder lograr un proyecto para un viaje

V: y pa' ti particularmente, cuál sería como lo que más te motiva?

M12: no sé cuál sería mi motivante actualmente, pero si tuviera una cosa que me podría imaginar que motivaría mucho sería viajar a Estados Unidos o a otro país angloparlante por algún tiempo

V: y ya lo hai hecho?

M12: viajé a Inglaterra por la misma visita que contaron mis compañeras, pero me gustaría un intercambio, algo así

V: y por qué un intercambio?

M12: así aprendo mejor y estoy más tiempo en esa cultura

V: ya, y una de las chiquillas habló que otra cosa que incentiva habla inglés es como compartir con nativos

M12: ah, sí, a mi me da un poco lo mismo, porque con los dos practico, pero entiendo igual, porque con un nativo podís hablar más cosas

V: como qué?

M12: del super, de las calles, de las clases...de todo po', si es el idioma de ellos, ellos nacieron allá