Initial English language teacher education: Processes and tensions towards a unifying curriculum in an Argentinian province

DARIO LUIS BANEGAS University of Warwick

ABSTRACT: In this reflective piece I discuss the process of developing a new unifying initial English language teacher education curriculum in the province of Chubut (Argentina). Trainers and trainees from different institutions were called to work on it with the aim of democratising curriculum development and enhancing involvement among agents. In the process, tensions emerged in the following areas: the cultural and ideological representations of English and the incorporation of interculturality; the integration of fields in the knowledge base; and the role of subject matter in teacher education. The article concludes by stating that while attempts to include trainers' voices were achieved, the curriculum was still conceptualised as compartmentalised knowledge.

KEYWORDS: Curriculum development, curriculum policy, English language teacher education, English as a foreign language, teacher education knowledge base, teacher training.

INTRODUCTION

In this reflective article I discuss the process of developing a new initial English language teacher education (IELTE) curriculum in the province of Chubut, Argentina. Graduates from this curriculum and programme are expected to teach English as a foreign language in kindergarten, primary and secondary education.

I approach this reflective piece from my interrelated identities of teacher educator, coordinator and editor of the new IELTE curriculum. I joined an IELTE programme in Chubut in 2007 as a tutor of Syntax. In 2013 I became programme coordinator and was commissioned to co-develop the English-as-a-foreign-language curriculum for secondary education in Chubut. In addition, I was selected to represent my programme in the process. Later, I applied and was accepted for the position of editor of the IELTE curriculum I discuss below.

I am interested in exploring the tensions behind the process of developing a new curriculum in this context, because it was the first time that the Ministry of Education invited tutors and trainees to become part of this democratic undertaking. To my knowledge, it is the first time in Argentina and in Latin America that a curriculum for initial teacher education was developed through an open and democratic process which included the participation of experts and students and which appointed editors through a recruitment process. In this sense, Argentina could be seen as an example of participatory and democratic curriculum development. This change in curriculum policy started in 2006 with the passing of a new education law and was perceived as a reaction to the neoliberal agenda Argentina had during the 1990s. I return to these matters in the section below.

I contextualise this experience by moving from the national context to the provincial context. Based on this setting, I discuss the process of developing a new curriculum through three stages. Personally, I conceive of curriculum development as a dynamic and democratic process always in dialogue with implementation. I believe that curriculum development should be characterised by bottom-up processes, which incorporate negotiated views and include an integrated and interdisciplinary conception of knowledge and teaching.

The content of the account below come from the following sources: my own personal memory, field notes, internal minutes of meetings produced by the Ministry of Education, and forum exchanges in the virtual platform designed for trainers to develop the curriculum collaboratively. That said, this reflective contribution is therefore mainly the product of my own subjective interpretation of these sources (see Dörnyei, 2007).

CONTEXT

Externally managed curriculum design, and an obsession with standards (Burgess, 2000) and tests (Slomp, 2005), seem to have become common discourse practices in some educational contexts. The underlying neo-liberal philosophy of education in terms of accountability, competence, and decentralisation (see Meade & Gershberg, 2008) brings about tensions between politically driven policies, teacher professionalism and roles in curriculum reform and implementation. These have been noted in the literature in relation to teachers' and trainers' participation, conception and aims of curriculum development in initial teacher education (Graves, 2008; Harris & Burn, 2011; Schwartz, 2006).

At the level of initial teacher education, curriculum reforms operate within policy constraints and divergent epistemological positions, because policy-makers debate between, among other options, essentialist views of knowledge, and instrumentality in relation to the levels for which future teachers are to be trained (see Elgström & Hellstenius, 2011) and the budget assigned to state initial teacher education (Terigi, 2010). In addition, innovation in curriculum reform is now associated with digital technologies for teacher autonomy (Bullock, 2013), diversity and interculturality (Corbett, 2003; Lee, 2012; Milner IV, 2010), a move from top-down policies (Atai & Mazlum, 2013), change based on classrooms' actors and culturally-responsive pedagogies (Villegas & Lucas, 2002; Wedell, 2009; Wedell & Malderez, 2013), and interdisciplinarity or integrated teaching (Hultén, 2013).

Initial teacher education in Argentina

The 1990s in Argentina were characterised by neoliberal politics and forms of decentralisation such as provincialisation (Gorostiaga Derqui, 2001). Decentralisation permeated all levels of citizen life including education. Educational reforms and curricula ceased to be orchestrated by the National Ministry of Education and thus each jurisdiction introduced reforms according to their own budgets. Filmus and Kaplan (2012) note that the result was a dramatic fragmentation of formal education, particularly at secondary and higher education levels.

In 2006, a new government passed the *Law of National Education* (Law n° 26,206). This law led to the transformation of pre-service teacher education at tertiary and university levels (see Banfi, 2013). In 2007, the National Council of Education and the Ministry of Education released the *National Curriculum Guidelines* and established the *National Institute of Teacher Development* (INFD in Spanish). The guidelines were conceived as a regulating framework of reference for the design of pre-service teacher education programmes in each province. They had the consensus of all the provinces and therefore the new curricula needed to respond to them so that teaching degrees could hold national validity. Provinces were expected to implement the new curricula by 2015 at the latest.

In terms of the knowledge base of teacher education, all curricula should be structured around three macro fields with the following relative course load (Table 1) over the four years of each teacher education programme. These macro-fields draw on Shulman's (1987) knowledge base. While the Subject-Specific field is different in each programme, the other two fields are usually similar.

Subject-Specific field (SSF)	50% - 60%
General Knowledge field (GKF)	25% - 35%
Professional Practice field (PPF)	15% - 25%

Table 1. Formation fields and their relative course load

In addition to these national guidelines, INFD made an open call for specialists based at higher education institutions to participate in the production of an official document called *Project for the Improvement of Initial Teacher Education for Secondary Education*. This was a democratic undertaking which allowed federal participation and trainer voices to discuss the SSF. According to Banegas (2009a), this field needed to be prioritised because teachers of English believe that their professional identity is initially shaped by a deep understanding of the knowledge they have of the subject they are expected teach.

As regards foreign languages, the document suggests that IELTE should rest on four learning foci: learning, citizenship, interculturality and discursive practices. The document also highlights the importance of teacher reflection, future teachers' school trajectories, alterity, mediation, cultural studies, research and academic writing, and the use of digital technologies across the curriculum. However, in a comparative examination of seven new IELTE curricula already implemented in Argentina, Ibáñez and Lothringer (2013) observed that there was little correlation between what the federal team proposed and the new curricula. The authors make a plea for deeper reforms at the level of content and attendant trainers' practices.

In light of these new demands and opportunities, Bonadeo and Ibáñez (2013) suggest that higher education curriculum development should incorporate trainees' lived trajectories, imagined trajectories, and narrative identities. The authors emphasise that it is necessary to listen to trainees' experiences as learners of English, personal theories of language learning, and future professional selves so that their perceptions become the basis of pedagogical knowledge in their education. In so doing, the authors hoped that the dialogue between theory and practice would be strengthened. In relation to this national framework of official documents and agreements, I will explain below the nature of the work carried out in my professional context.

THE CURRICULUM REFORM IN CHUBUT

In the past, each tertiary institution in the province of Chubut developed its own teacher education curricula. Therefore, the issue of fragmentation was perceived as a threat to inclusion, equity and mobility of trainees. We felt that having different curricula created differences between trainees and graduates as their degrees responded to programmes more specialised in Literature or Didactics, to name a few, but they wished to have a degree which responded to a unified programme (see Banegas, 2009b). In addition, fragmentation of programmes did not allow trainees to continue with their studies at another institution, if they moved from one city to another in the province.

It was only in 2013 that the Ministry of Education of Chubut started to develop a unified initial teacher education curriculum. First, it promoted meetings with former curriculum designers, heads of teacher education programmes, trainers and policy-makers to evaluate past programmes and analyse the new federal agreements. As a result of those meetings, the Ministry of Education produced a set of guidelines to serve as the basis for the new curriculum development through which they encouraged democratic practices, a focus on learning trajectories (see Harper, 2007), and systematic bridges between teaching and learning. In addition, curriculum developers had to revitalise the SSF, the incorporation of ICT across the fields, the discussion of new teacher roles beyond the transmission of a subject, the development of a graduate profile anchored in the demands of formal education, teenagers, and their cultures, identities and sex education. Along these lines, it was agreed that regardless of the subject, all teachers had to be educated for diversity (see Angus & Olivera, 2012).

The subject-specific field was envisioned as an innovative space for knowledge integration. To this effect, curricula would be expected to have subjects which drew on different areas within the content field, and feature two-term subjects as opposed to one-term subjects. I should clarify that the Argentinian academic year is organised around two terms: March—July and August—December. These changes entailed the participation of all actors so as to ensure systemic changes operationalised horizontally with the aim of reducing tensions between curriculum development and curriculum implementation (see Díaz-Barriga Arceo, 2012). Through such a democratic process it was believed that calling experienced trainers to act as curriculum developers could enhance co-responsibility for the success of the new programmes and bridge the gap between policy and practice. In other words, these trainers had the responsibility of designing a curriculum meant to guide their own practices and those of their colleagues.

Therefore, each institution sent experienced trainers from different courses and also two trainees from each course to participate in a two-day meeting in August 2013. I was one of those trainers and was subsequently appointed coordinator and editor of the IELTE curriculum write-up. At this meeting we agreed on a graduate profile common to all courses. It was expected that by the end of the four-year pre-service course, teachers had the following features: knowledge about the subject and practice, flexibility, autonomy, socio-ethic-political responsibility, collaborative practices, interest in continuing professional development, understanding of assessment as an in-built component of teaching and learning, and ability to incorporate digital technologies. With regard to this latter feature, we adhered to Bullock's (2013) suggestion of providing trainees with an opportunity to engage with digital technologies towards the development of sustained, self-directed learning.

Based on this profile, each group of specialists continued working together. I shall divide my account in stages to capture and reflect on the lived experiences in my role as one of those trainers and editor of the final document.

DEVELOPING THE IELTE CURRICULUM

Stage 1

Trainers and trainees discussed the organisation of the SSF around three interdependent axes: (1) language as situated practice; (2) language, learners and learning; and (3) language as an object.

We conceptualised the first axis as language in use, in a dynamic context, with different participants, intentions, ideologies and identities. The aim was to explore language as open and reflective practice, which mediates among cultural representations and their historical and geographical contexts. The second axis referred to theories of first and foreign language learning, educational psychology, and learner trajectories. In the third axis we maintained a more traditional view, as it were, for we included here syntax, morphology and phonology. Overall, the three axes positioned language as communication. Therefore, our practices as trainers, we believed, had to be congruent with making trainees experience theory and practice in their initial professional development as discussed in Shawer (2010).

Stage 2

Based on our three axes, we moved on to propose content, subjects and pedagogical formats in that order. The aim behind that bottom-up process of curriculum development was to allow ourselves to "think outside the box" and attempt to integrate content in interdisciplinary subjects. We carried out this activity through an online platform through which we created wikis, forums and email-based discussions.

First, this process proved to be a challenge because we suggested content such as English syntax, morphology and phonetics, sociolinguistics, or specific didactics, but such content was the mere repetition of well-established subjects in IELTE. In other words, when we thought of contents, we thought of English grammar, and English grammar as a subject. As we realised about this repetition of practices, we worked towards the brainstorming of contents and then possible subjects which may contain them. Table 2 illustrates this stage by showing axis 2: language, learners, and learning:

Axis: Language, learners, and learning				
Suggested contents	ted contents Possible subjects			
Learners at each level of the educational system.	Specific Didactics for Very Young Learners (VYL)			
Learner trajectories.	Specific Didactics for Young Learners (YL)			
Teachers as mentors and other roles in	Child Psychology			
today's school.	Teenage Psychology			
Second language acquisition.	Educational Psychology			
Pedagogic valency and didactic transposition.	Second Language Acquisition			
School contents: selection and sequencing.	Psycholinguistics			
Metalinguistic awareness.	Research in English Language Teaching			
Teacher development through teacher research based in the classroom.				
Action research.				
Education and research.				
L2 literacy.				
Approaches in English language teaching.				
Context-responsive pedagogies.				
Materials development.				
Project work.				

Table 2. Possible contents and subjects for one axis

In relation to pedagogical formats we agreed on two-term subjects, seminars, webinars, workshops, elective modules, cross-curricular projects, trainee-led conferences, talks and exchanges among institutions, and an allocation of 30% of the total course load to online learning, thus combining face-to-face subjects with blended learning opportunities.

Table 3 shows the subjects for each year of the course at Stage 2 of the process together with the weekly contact hours allocated (see numbers in brackets). In our system, one contact hour equals forty minutes.

Table 3 also shows that we managed to incorporate suggestions such as the prevalence of two-term subjects, more subjects delivered in English, integration, specific didactics, and selection of subjects from a whole array of options.

Stage 3

This stage comprised new face-to-face meetings with colleagues from the other fields (GKF and PPF).

After negotiations and discussions among the ELT trainers, we agreed on the following complete programme for IELTE (Table 4) in the province. In total, trainees needed to pass 36 subjects to graduate as teachers of English.

	Two-term subjects (32 weeks)	One term-subjects (1st term, 16 weeks)	One term-subjects (2nd term, 16 weeks)
Year 1	English Language & Interculturality I (8) English Grammar I (6) English Phonetics I (6)		
Year 2	English Language & Interculturality II (6) English Grammar I (5) English Phonetics I (4)	Learners & Diversity I (3)	Introduction to Linguistics (3) Specific Didactics for VYL (6)
Year 3	English Language & Interculturality III (6) English Literature (4) English Diction (3)	Psycholinguistics (4) Learners & Diversity II (3)	Sociolinguistics (4) Specific Didactics for YL (6)
Year 4	English Language & Interculturality IV (6) English Literature (4) Research in ELT (4) Text & Discourse (4)		

Table 3. Subject-specific field for IELTE

When we saw the complete programme, we voiced our concerns about the number of hours allocated but also acknowledged the need to offer learners quality and quantity in terms of exposure. It was confirmed that 30% of each subject could be delivered online, thus opening avenues to explore blended learning. In so doing, we felt we managed to incorporate authors' calls for digital technologies (e.g. Bullock, 2013).

SSF remains the strongest in the programme and it represents more than 57% of the total course load. In addition, subjects from other fields could be delivered in English provided ELT trainers had the necessary credentials. In this respect, we succeeded in revitalising English and including our colleagues' and trainees' demands.

By comparing Tables 3 and 4, readers will notice that some subjects now appear earlier in the course (e.g. Introduction to Linguistics), others have been grouped in Year 2 (e.g. Specific Didactics and Learners & Diversity), while others have been expanded (e.g. English Phonetics, Phonology & Diction). In Years 3 and 4, English Literature has been replaced by Literary & Cultural Studies, which includes literature, literary studies and history. Similarly, a new subject emerged in Year 4, English Language and Discourse Analysis, with the aim of integrating discourse analysis and pragmatics in language improvement, particularly in the area of academic writing. Overall, the changes introduced complied with official guidelines as interculturality, diversity, discourse practices and learning were all included in the unified curriculum.

While this section has been a description of the process of developing a new curriculum, I will now discuss the tensions which emerged throughout the process in the section below.

	Field	Two-term subjects (32 weeks)	One term-subjects (1st term, 16 weeks)	One term-subjects (2nd term, 16 weeks)
	GKF	Reading & Academic Writing (3) Educational Psychology (3)	Pedagogy & Contemporary Issues (6)	General Didactics (6)
Year 1	SSF	English Language and Interculturality I (8) English Grammar I (6) English Phonetics, Phonology & Diction I (5) Introduction to Linguistics (2)		
5	PPF GKF	Professional Practice I (4) History & Politics of Argentine Education (4)	Education & ICT (3)	Sex Education (3)
Year 2	SSF	English Language & Interculturality II (6) English Grammar II (4) English Phonetics, Phonology & Diction II (4)	Learners & Diversity I (4) Specific Didactics for VYL (6)	Learners &Diversity II (4) Specific Didactics for YL (6)
	PPF	Professional Practice II (6)		
	GKF	Research in Education (3)	Sociology of Education (3)	Optional module (3)
Year 3	SSF	English Language & Interculturality III (6) Literary & Cultural Studies I (5) English Phonetics, Phonology & Diction III (4)	Psycholinguistics (5)	Sociolinguistics (4)
	PPF	Professional Practice III (8)		
	GKF	Philosophy of Education (3)	Optional module (4)	Optional module (4)
Year 4	SSF	English Language & Discourse Analysis (6) Literary & Cultural Studies (5) Research in ELT (4)		
	PPF	Professional Practice (10)		

Table 4. Structure of IELTE programmes in Chubut, Argentina

TENSIONS IN CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

I organise the tensions and reflections in the process of developing a unifying IELTE curriculum under three topics:

- English: cultural ideological representations;
- Integration of fields in the teaching knowledge base;
- Subject-matter in teacher education.

These tensions in teacher education prompted reflections about, as explored in Elgström and Hellstenius (2011), the what, the how, and to what end in IELTE.

English: Cultural ideological representations

Two trainers from other programmes suggested that the IELTE rationale had to be more developed and supported than the rationales of other curricula. In their view, English meant imperialism and that we should be learning Portuguese or Chinese, for example. Such a reaction generated tensions around the status and representation of our subject matter. We felt that we had to defend our own professional and transportable identities (see Ushioda, 2011).

This tension illustrates that foreign language teacher education may be associated with certain ideological and cultural representations. In this sense, I observed that our colleagues' demands seemed to be rooted in an essentialist, reductive and monolithic view of culture (see Holliday, Hyde & Kullman, 2010) represented by only one aspect of a British political agenda. Their views acted as an opportunity to deconstruct given and established curriculum practices and conceptions.

In this regard, we conceptualised English as a language spoken by different cultural groups and with different varieties or Englishes (see Jenkins, 2003). In this respect, there was total agreement between trainers and trainees and my write-up of this aspect in the curriculum was legimitised through my colleagues' support. Therefore, the unified curriculum envisions English as a means of international communication, which goes beyond English-speaking countries such as the UK or the USA. Our position is to work towards the identity of an intercultural and multilingual subject/learner in future teachers of English as discussed in the literature (see Corbett, 2003; Holliday, 2013; Kramsch, 2009; Porto, 2013).

IELTE does not or should not position English as a high-status language or approach cultural representations from ideologies with portray certain cultural groups as more advanced than others. Although this last characteristic may be found in global coursebooks (for a discussion see Gray, 2010), the role of the IELTE curriculum is to provide spaces to discuss and contest these representations.

Integration of fields in the teaching knowledge base

With the aim of offering a systematic space for the discussion of cultures, we agreed on developing the subject called *English Language and Interculturality*. The aim of this subject delivered in English is to integrate language development together with notions of culture and identity. In addition, this subject becomes an integrative space in each year of the programme, as it includes aspects of the language as a system (grammar and phonetics) and language as situated practice.

However, the integration of language and interculturality was not unanimously accepted by the trainers involved. Some, myself included, advocated for the revitalisation of language development through the integration of content and language qua CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) in higher education as discussed in Fortanet-Gómez (2013). Yet, some colleagues argued that based on experiences in their own institutions, integration is rarely beneficial since trainers will favour language over interculturality and that there is the assumption that "someone else" will take care of it. As one trainer put it, "Interculturality will be everybody's job in theory and nobody's job in practice."

Such a stance seems to show the limits of a curriculum. While a curriculum may delineate and suggest how to integrate content in the knowledge base, it cannot ensure that trainers' practices will enact and implement the curriculum as prescribed. Trainers' practices and decisions at the level of specific syllabus exceed the scope and reach of a curriculum and it is the role of administrators to work towards quality and coherence between curriculum development and curriculum implementation. In addition, a move towards integration needs the creation of common spaces for trainers. These need to be developed together with the curriculum, so that what the curriculum suggests becomes tangible at the level of administration and institutional organisation.

At the level of decision-making, this tension may reveal that even when trainers endorse integrated teaching (Hultén, 2013) and a bottom-up approach to curriculum development, this view may clash with their own views on implementation as noted in Díaz-Barriga Arceo (2012). In other words, while some trainers claim for bottom-up and negotiated curriculum development, they may then hope for its implementation to be top-down and prescriptive to some extent, since they wish that their views, when incorporated, to be embraced by others.

Subject matter in teacher education

The integration of fields in other subjects in the knowledge base, particularly in the SSF, resulted in tensions similar to those generated by *English Language & Interculturality*.

Initially, we suggested more than 25 subjects. Among these we included Literary Theory, History of English-speaking countries, Pragmatics, Second Language Acquisition, and Systemic Functional Grammar among others. This situation forced us to reconsider the aims of the course and to realise that we were expected to train future teachers of English rather than linguists. We concluded that we had to find a balance in the knowledge base between subject-specific knowledge and pedagogical knowledge and practice, and a balance between external theories and trainees' personal theories based on their trajectories and needs (Bonadeo & Ibáñez, 2013). We also agreed that this was an initial teacher education programme, not a postgraduate course. We therefore reduced the number of subjects and worked on integration.

This caused tensions, as some colleagues would end up having fewer teaching hours and that meant a lower salary. Those who had postgraduate degrees in one particular area or had taught one subject, for example, Cultural Studies, for many years, were against the integration of content/subjects, particularly when the integration affected their main professional interests, post stability or specialism.

In addition, colleagues from one institution suggested that rather than developing a new curriculum, we should take theirs and reproduce it in other institutions with minimal changes. This was firmly opposed by colleagues and myself as the editor. Although I believed that we had to base the new curriculum on past experiences, we needed to allow ourselves to become creative and respond to a different scenario.

Another point of tension within the knowledge base was ignited by the inclusion of teacher research across fields both as content within subjects and as a self-contained

subject. While some colleagues argued that action research was "something of the past", others, myself included, maintained that action research was "alive and kicking" and that it had to be in the hands of trainers with experience in researching and publishing.

The tensions around the integration of subject matter in the knowledge base may indicate that even when we attempt to foster curriculum innovation, trainers' comfort zones and a compartmentalisation of the knowledge base are still difficult to challenge. Thus, in the process of curriculum development, trainers' internal theories and ideologies need to be considered extensively and therefore the process of development may demand more time. I observed that trainers needed to be reminded that the curriculum would indicate paths to follow, but that real and sustainable innovation will take place in the classroom when trainers make room for creativity and context-responsive pedagogies (Wedell & Malderez, 2013).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

As a result of a neoliberal agenda, previous curricula had been developed and implemented following a top-down approach signalled by accountability, competence and decentralisation.

Our unified curriculum emerged as a reaction to those policies. We moved from fragmentation to unification through negotiated participation. In this process, externally enforced accountability was replaced by co-responsibility, since trainers' and trainees' lived trajectories and personal theories were incorporated into the curriculum. In this sense, accountability was not imposed on implementers who had never been consulted. Co-responsibility was expected because the curriculum was based on trainees' and trainers' contributions. Therefore their active engagement in curriculum development was seen as hopefully generating commitment to ensure that implementation reflected the democratic and participatory nature of this new policy.

In my conceptual framework I referred to knowledge in initial teacher education from two general views: essentialist and instrumentalist. In addition, I discussed the need to introduce innovation through the inclusion of diversity, interculturality, culturally responsive pedagogies, and integrated teaching. In relation to this framework of reference, our experience revealed that we navigated a zone where essentialist and instrumentalist views of knowledge coexisted. On the one hand, departing from well-established subjects and content in IELTE proved challenging. On the other hand, we disregarded certain content as we tried to align with the instrumental aim of the programme – to train future teachers for English as a foreign language in secondary education in Chubut.

To some extent, there remained a focus on competence, probably associated with a view of the teacher as a mere implementer. Nevertheless, a critical stance was incorporated through the promotion of context-responsive pedagogies, a call for congruent practices, and the incorporation of ICT, not only as content but also as a mode of delivery. More importantly, a critical view was reflected in the process of curriculum development through the discussion of emerging tensions. For example, I believe that the issue of cultural ideological representation challenged the neoliberal

agenda at a conceptual level and allowed us to acknowledge the need of deconstruct notions of culture by having an intercultural subject in mind. A focus on interculturality and critical pedagogies extended to subject matter and pedagogical knowledge.

Tensions around the integration of fields and subject matter in IELTE revealed different conceptual positions ranging from compartmentalisation to integration and more personal issues around job stability. The result was the high number of subjects and hours allocated to the overall programme. The SSF remained the Southern Cross of the curriculum, but this time illuminated by our own experiences and past trainees' learning trajectories (Harper, 2007). In this regard, we materialised Graves' (2008) plea for an enacted curriculum.

Overall, I noted that curriculum development which reacted to a neoliberal agenda was highly influenced by our roles and power. Trainers may have tended to adopt a bottom-up approach as developers but wished to see top-down, yet informed by context, curriculum implementation. Despite these tensions, this was an opportunity to develop a unifying IELTE curriculum based on the expertise and experience of different trainers and institutions. The prospect of calling trainers to develop a new curriculum illustrates a move towards less imposing policies and a need to involve those who will make educational change possible. Once this new curriculum is implemented, it will be our job to work towards equity, contextualisation and evaluation, so that the plurality of voices represented in paper is ensured in practice.

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