ANALYSIS OF THE EDUCATIONAL AIMS OF LANGUAGE TEACHING IN CHILE: THE IDEOLOGY BEHIND CURRICULAR ADJUSTMENTS

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Abstract: *This research aims to present the social, political, epistemological and pedagogical foundations of past three language curriculum's adjustments in Chile, and the methodology used for this purpose. We assume that the study of didactic of language can not be limited tto a technical analysis of its teaching. By analyzing the requirements of the Chile's curriculum of language, we discovered its educational purposes and the ideology that inspires them.*

Key words: *Language curriculum in Chile; teaching language; curriculum and ideology.*

CONTEXTUALIZATION

The curriculum is a concept which, over the past years, has found itself at the heart of the political debate about education. This is likely because, generally speaking, it supposes a concrete expression of the social and cultural objectives assigned to education at a given social and historical moment.

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Indeed, behind the concept of curriculum lies a series of ideological, political, economic, social, and values-based hypotheses that make this a complex term to study and analyze.

In Chile, starting with the 1990 reform, the curriculum has been used as a tool to ensure educational equity and quality, as well as the country's economic development. This reform has undergone two curriculum adjustments, which have supported the idea that changing or modifying the curriculum can offer a way to adequately address the educational aims of education in Chile as well as the socioeconomic and educational issues associated with these aims (Tedesco, 1996).

Our research interest is focused on the discipline of the language of instruction, and more concretely on reading. This choice is justified by the importance that educational systems, and in particular that of Chile, give to language learning. Indeed, the curriculum for the language of instruction in Chile indicates that mastering this discipline "is one of the fundamental goals of the school" (Gouvernement du Chili, 2012, p. 1), since it allows human beings to construct and understand the world around them as well as enter into dialogue with others. In addition, the Chilean government has indicated that language proficiency is related to reading, which plays "a preponderant role in economic development" (*Ibid*., p.14) and contributes to the individual and social development of intellectual competencies.

II. THE ISSUE

The curriculum for the language of instruction in Chile has constituted not only a political tool, but also a philosophical and technical one aimed at providing explicit and implicit indicators that serve as a basis for the aims of the educational system. As a result, in this country, "language teaching is subject to very strong pressure from the media, public opinion and government, given the political and cultural importance of the national lan-

guage in the functioning of the state" (Pérez-Gómez, 1997.p.485). In a very short period of time (between 2009 and 2013), two different adjustments have been made to this curriculum. These modifications are presented as continuities stemming from the same underlying aims and epistemological foundations. Following on Lemaitre (2009), we take as a starting point the idea that the knowledge proposed in this curriculum must be seen as a series of representations directed at educational aims, and which are subject to internal mediation. This mediation takes shape through a vertical and horizontal discourse on "the world" (p.19) that grants the members of a school system "the means to construct their own relationship to the world, far from being a social given" (Bkouche, 2000.p.24).

The fact that Chile has experienced a number of curriculum changes in a relatively short time suggests that the interpretation of the current curriculum for language teaching by those in charge of implementing it may be a complex issue, which may explain why the aims of this language teaching have remained in the shadows. Some studies such as those of Chan (2006); Demeuse & Strauven (2006); Doyle &Ponder (1977); Fullan (1982, 2001); Fullan & Pomfret (1977); Giroux (1988); Hall, Loucks, Rutherford and Newlove (1975); Kennedy, Patterson and Williamson (1984); Lee, Abd-Ei-Khalick & Choi (2006); Legendre (2004); Reid (2003); Snyder, Bolin and Zumwalt (1992); and Turner, Christensen & Meyer (2009) have emphasized the role played by teachers. According to these authors, it is teachers who constitute the crucial factor in implementing curriculum changes, and it is teachers who are the principal intermediaries for the curriculum. Accordingly, these authors suggest that teachers' perceptions of curricular aims are decisive in implementing social changes. Fullan & Pomfret (1977) and Waught & Punch (1987) have advanced that one of the important elements in implementing proposed changes has to do with the explicit nature and the complexity of the innovation that is proposed.

Other research has suggested factors that can prevent or hinder the implementation of curriculum changes (Acevedo-Díaz, 2009; Cheung &Wong, 2012; Duke, 2004; Lederman, 1999; Vanderlinde & Van Braak, 2011; Waught & Punch, 1987), one of these being teachers' insufficient understanding of the objectives involved in such adjustments. The authors also show that a better understanding of the suggested innovation leads to a better understanding and adoption of suggested changes. Vanderlinde & Van Braak (2011) and Acevedo-Díaz (2009) have similarly mentioned that teachers' lack of knowledge about the proposed aims for a given teaching discipline constitutes an obstacle to interpreting and implementing social changes.

Curriculum transformations are believed to have repercussions on the way individuals approach the world, construct reality, and establish relationships with one another. Moreover, transformations in the language curriculum and more particularly in reading instruction are directly connected with the construction of social reality. As De Koninck (2000) has mentioned, "access to written text is an irreplaceable way to awaken and enrich language, thought, willpower, and life itself in its best and most intimate dimension" (p.179). In the words of Hegel, this lack of transparency about the aims of language teaching also fails to contribute to teachers' mastery of the *theoretical consciousness* specific to language. Our interest therefore lies in presenting an analysis of the curriculum for the language of instruction in Chile and especially for reading, an analysis goes beyond the technical or techno-instrumental dimension of curriculum compliance that has been predominant in recent years (Young, 2008). To do this, we will analyze the explicit educational aims assigned to the language of instruction in Chile, on which the curriculum has been built (Gohier, 2002). This analysis is based on a reference framework that will be briefly presented below.

III. REFERENCE FRAMEWORK

3.1 Our definition of the curriculum

Eisner and Vallance, 1974; Lundgren, 1992; Jackson, 1992; McNeil, 1983; Pinar 1975; Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery and Taubman, 1995; Reid, 1978, 1981; Schiro, 1978; Sacristan, 2002; and Tanner and Tanner, 1980, all show that curriculum modifications stem from the evolution of social practices as well as from social issues relative to the educational system, and that they adapt to the aims that are chosen. Indeed, before they are associated with "didactic" (instructional) or pedagogical factors, educational issues are marked by political factors (Gutek, 1988). According to Elliot (1996), the educational aims bestowed on the school are also inseparable from teachers' reflections on the teaching methods that should be promoted, and the means by which to promote them, which are operationalized in the prescribed curriculum. One might say that the curriculum is a political and social text that acts as a formal recipient in which governments, influenced by the dominant ideology, reflect the specific set of interests and beliefs that constitutes the society's educational aims (Young, 2008), which are interpreted and implemented by teachers.

3.2 Definition of aims and their characteristics

The discussion generated by educational aims touches on the very meaning of being educated (Barrow, 2002) as well as the orientations that guide educational systems (Fernández Enguita, 1986; Pérez-Gómez, 1997; Lenoir and Tupin, 2012) and their evolution (Nohra, 2010). These philosophical orientations (Peters, 1959; Legendre, 1993; White, 1997), as well as the concept of education, are modified depending on the historical and sociopolitical context (Marples, 2002) and establish the param-

eters by which a society's members think about founding their practices and guiding their social system (Pérez-Gómez, 1997; Cardús, 2007; Barrow, 2002). As a result, they are central to educational policy and educational practice, as well as relationships between the two (Harris, 2002 ; Billard, 2002). In addition, according to (2002), aims serve as foundations for the construction of new curricula. For Sheneuwly (2004), aims nourish the construction and modification of school disciplines. Educational aims are conceived as philosophical principles (Legendre, 1993; Snik & Van Haaften, 2001; Noddings, 2003) that are implied by the values and intentions which guide educational actions (Brezinka, 1994). These orientations that manifest themselves in the formulation of educational policy are both normative and dynamic in nature, and as a result they are constantly brought into question (Harris, 2002).

3.3 Types of aims

The aims of education shift between two types of conceptions, namely conservative and revolutionary (Cardús, 2007). The more conservative dimension is associated with the theory of reproduction, which holds that the aim of education is to reproduce the status quo of common (Durkheim, 1966) and dominant values (Parsons 1959) in order to shape students' attitudes to prepare them for their role in society (Duru-Bellat et Van Zanten, 2002). In this conception, the aims of the school act as a tool for social control (*Ibid.*, 2002 : Apple, 2008). The other conception aims to give individuals emancipatory tools to allow them to achieve fulfillment (*Ibid.*). In this regard, Lenoir, Maubant, Hasni, *et al.* (2007) point out that societies which strive to promote a socio-educational process centered on emancipatory aims (p. 14) are opposed to social, economic and cultural policies based on utilitarian and technical principles that serve economic ends, policies "that dismantle and dehumanize the

social relationships and practices that (re)produce society, and that 'naturalize' and instrumentalize reason consistent with a calculating and utilitarian logic" (p. 14). For Barnett (1990), the key elements for emancipation are self-understanding and the building of autonomy; and it is the role of education, and more specifically of the teacher, to supply the student with tools to be able to construct this intellectual independence (*Ibid*.). Emancipation promotes critical reflection (Habermas, 1999), which is believed to allow human beings to mark a break and become independent from the discreetly concealed ideas proposed by the system. This is why one of the aims of education should be to strive for rational freedom and autonomy (Kemmis, 2006).

Lenoir et al. (2013) make a more elaborate distinction between aims: the aim of education can be seen as a) self-realization, which strives to develop the dimension of individual socialization and is associated with therapeutic education (Lenoir, 2008); b) an economic investment, based on an individualistic vision that seeks to train the labor force needed by certain industries and enterprises, in which case "aims must be formulated consistent with the free market model serving the economy (marketization) in behavioral and utilitarian terms" (Wexler, 1990) (p.19); c) a repression of desire that strives to develop cognitive and moral aspects enabling the subject to access the cultural heritage; and d) as a form of resistance to the system. Finally, Lenoir et al. (2013) identify a new category by distinguishing between educational aims as an investment and as what they call preparation for the world of work. The difference is that, as opposed to an investment, the latter is independent from the weight of neoliberal ideology. This form of education "is characterized by education founded on the development of competencies judged to be useful to meet the needs and expectations of society" (p.6).

In order to clarify our definition of aims, it appears necessary to establish a distinction between certain terms that can

be considered synonymous, but which in fact are not. This is the case for the terms "goal," "objective," and "function." To distinguish between the three, we will draw on Lenoir et al. (2013), which, consistent with Not (1984), suggest that goals are clearly understandable and show specific points of arrival, while objectives establish precise results that can be observed and measured. As for the concept of functions, our literature review on the aims of the school identified a number of authors who have expressed their views on the subject of the school and its functions, without necessarily referring to the aims of the school. When they address functions, they raise the issues and responsibilities bestowed on the school in different societies. These functions do not necessarily correspond to the aims declared by society, but rather to the representations held by certain groups of people regarding what the roles of the school should be. The role of the curriculum is to operationalize these aims and make them accessible and explicit to society, and of course to teachers and members of the educational system. The diagram below illustrates the relationship between the concepts of goal, functions, aims and curriculum.

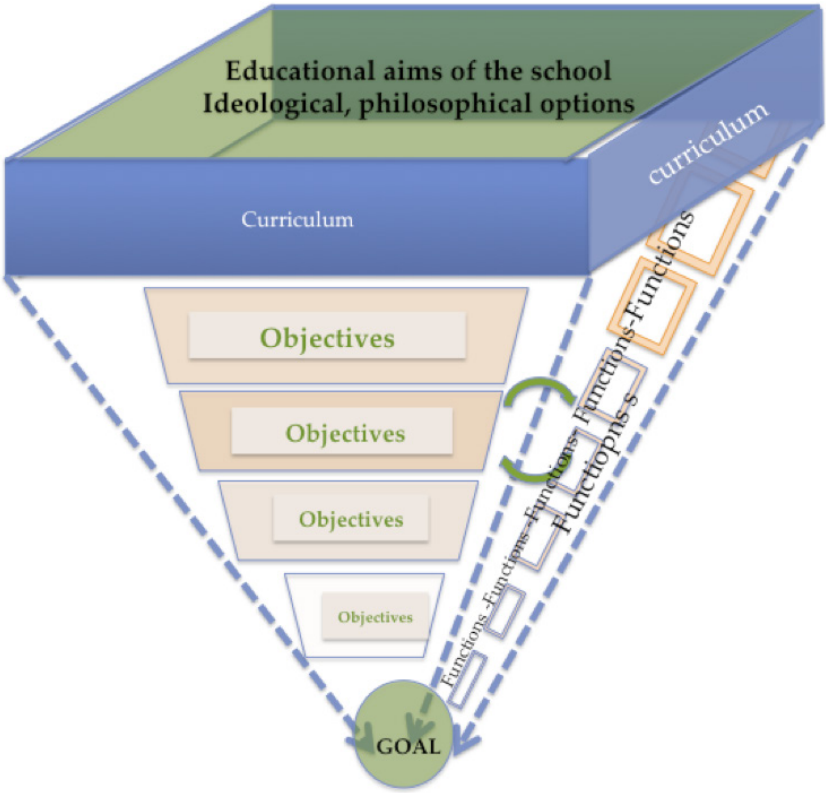

Figure 1: Relations between the concepts of Aim, Function, Objective and Goal

3.4 The language instruction curriculum and its aims

For Sheneuwly (2004), the school as an institution has constructed the school disciplines as the main tool by which to address the broad aims of the school. These ideas agree with those of Reuter, Cohen- Azria, Daunay, Delcambre, & Lahannier-Reuter, (2007) for whom the school disciplines are "a social construction that organizes a set of content, methods, practices and tools in alignment with educational aims, with a view to

their teaching and learning in school" (p. 85). In the case of the language of instruction, these educational aims must

"go beyond narrow utilitarianism to promote a genuine humanism that proceeds from a global vision of human beings and their participation in the community [to do so, language teaching must] take into account the set of language-related needs on the economic as well as civic and cultural levels" (Simard, 2010, p 82).

Educational aims and notably language-related aims are associated with knowledge concepts, which can be grouped into three broad divisions, namely the transmission of knowledge (to instruct), personal skills (to socialize), and know-how (qualification). All three play a part in the education of human beings. The conception of educational aims is closely related to each society's conception of education (Barrow, 2002). A number of definitions of education have been put forward since the appearance of the school, and this is why the task of arriving at a consensus on what the aims are or should be will always remain unfinished. The most commonly used definitions of education are those of Condorcet (Cahen 1971)) and Durkheim (1966). Both share the idea of offering the human species the necessary means by which to prepare for the adult world. Indeed, in the definition of education there is always an implicit wish to transform human beings so that they will be well adapted and correspond to the principles established by society (Maturana, 2004; 2005). In this context, educational aims delimit actions to implement in order to reach this goal. Based on Brezinka (1994), one might say that the concept of education is more greatly focused on "aims-oriented action" (p. 78). This conception corresponds to a curriculum that shows a close relationship between theory and empirical aspects. The aims set out in the curriculum are seen as orientations that strive for the liberation and emancipation of human beings so that they can live in society both actively and democratically.

3.4.1 *Knowledge*

According to Lenoir et al. (2013), knowledge "designates a social, recognized and approved product" (p. 13). In the case of the language curriculum, knowledge is grouped and organized within school disciplines. As Kliebard (1992) has mentioned, the fundamental question on which the curriculum is based concerns access to different forms of knowledge. To whom is the education addressed? What is taught? And how? The relationship to this knowledge can be examined based on the following dimensions: a) the social dimension, which has to do with taking into account social contexts and challenges as well as cultural processes; b) the epistemological dimension, which concerns the relationship to knowledge and how it can be accessed; c) the psycho-pedagogical dimension, which involves the roles of teacher and student, and which is related to learning theories, socio-affective dimensions and pedagogical strategies; and d) the axiological dimension, i.e., the attention given to aims (values, norms, etc.), which raises the question of ethics. As regards the language curriculum, these dimensions and this knowledge are directly related to the aims of education and reading (access to written text) and the "didactic" (instructional) models that should be favored (Simard, 1994).

The transmission of knowledge (to instruct)

Lenoir and Tupin (2012) define instruction as "the engine and the vehicle for cultural transmission [...] which is aimed at producing autonomous human beings who are capable of critical reflection" (p.11). Language and reading instruction are associated with the function of developing thought (Simard, 1994) and of educating a citizen of the world who is emancipated and capable of critical reflection.

Personal skills (to socialize)

As Leliévre (1999) has underlined, instruction cannot be detached from socialization. Lenoir and Tupin (2012) identify four types of socialization-related dimensions, which are in turn associated with different aims; a) socialization as a facilitator for the development of psycho-affective aspects that seek to promote learning; b) socialization as the student's role of following and adapting to school rules and norms; c) socialization as civic education; and d) socialization as the transmission of the cultural heritage.

Know-how (qualification)

Qualification relates to the school-market-work triad (Parietti and Rodriguez, 2004), which is informed by the competition specific to globalization (Audigier, 2010). Education is seen as an economic issue. The acquisition of skills and competencies in line with language teaching is therefore closely linked to the concept of developing "human capital" (OCDE, 2010). The preoccupation of fulfilling this aim of the school leads to developing competencies that yield performance, competitiveness and efficiency (Lenoir, Larose, Biron, Roy and Spallanzani, 1999).

For Lenoir (2013), the concept of instruction can be interpreted in several ways, which can shift between cultural transmission and techno-instrumental learning. On the subject of cultural transmission, Lenoir (2009), based on the categorization of educational aims proposed by Bourdieu (1967), discusses a) internal functions and b) external functions. For Lenoir, Esquivel, Froelich and Jean. (2013), internal functions geared toward cultural preservation call on teachers as agents to preserve and protect conventions and cultural fundamentalism. These functions come under a techno-instrumental vision of education that strives to instrumentalize and condition the student.

Hameline (1999) support these statements when they say that a technocrat is "someone who does not understand, even though everything seems to indicate that they dominate the matter at hand" (p. 232). These internal functions of education lead to promoting obedience and respect for pre-existing norms in society, and correspond to an education system directed more toward conditioning than emancipation. External functions, according to Lenoir (2009), instead have to do with two types of external adaptation-related functions, namely a) integration into society—a function that is opposed to social groups' attainment of autonomy and allows the establishment and preservation of a culture's dominant norms and values, leading to the establishment of uniform thinking in society—and b) preparation for work, which relates to qualification.

3.5 Research objectives

Our research strives to meet two objectives.

The first is to analyze the curriculum and the program for the language of instruction at the primary level in Chile in terms of its knowledge-related aims.

The second, based on the results of this analysis, is to determine elements of differentiation and continuity with respect to past curriculum modifications in this language program.

IV. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Our research is theoretical (Van der Maren, 1996), as the intent is to theorize the educational aims that are implicit in the official curriculum in Chile. To do so, following on Gagné, Lazure, Spenger-Charoles and Ropé (1989), we have adopted a descriptive and explanatory approach.

4.1 Data collection

Our analytical corpus is the prescribed curriculum for the language of instruction along with the two curriculum adjustments carried out in 2009 and 2012.

4.2 Analytical procedure

Our analysis of the educational aims pertaining to the prescribed curriculum for the language of instruction in Chile is focused on three areas: a) the transmission of knowledge, which is related to epistemological dimensions); b) personal skills (socialization); and c) know-how (qualification). These three areas are associated with the types of educational aims presented in our conceptual framework: a) an emancipatory aim for the human being and b) an aim consistent with the theory of reproduction. Finally, using the analytical grid set forth by Lenoir (2009), we determine the tendencies of the language curriculum and the aforementioned adjustments.

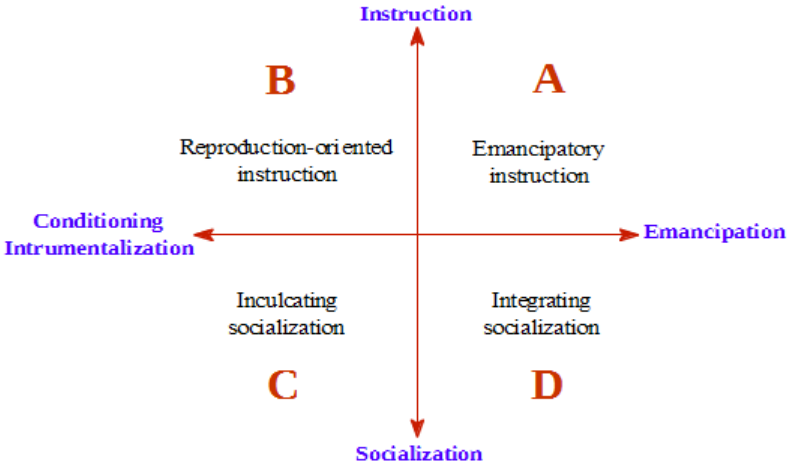

Figure 2: Tension between parameters associated with the conception of instruction and socialization (Lenoir, 2009).

We performed a thematic content analysis. To do so, we have adhered to the definition of Bardin (2001) for whom content analysis is a "series of techniques for analyzing communications" (p. 31) that enables a second reading of the discourse one wishes to analyze. This technique sets itself apart by the fact that it is a) objective, since it uses verifiable analytical procedures; b) systematic, because it uses sequential steps; and c) quantifiable, since it can measure the frequency of certain content-related characteristics. Bardin (*Ibid*.) identifies three broad steps that are foundational to content analysis, namely a) preanalysis; b) coding; and c) the processing of results. Each of these steps is subdivided. The diagram below presents the sub-steps involved.

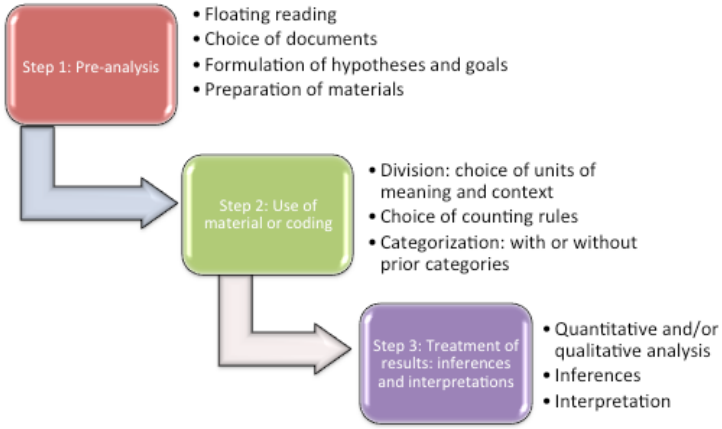

Figure 3: Category Analysis of Content according to Bardin (2001)

Following on Berelson, 1952; L'Écurey, 1990; Mayer and Ouellet (1991) and Bardin (2001), we began the process of constructing categories. In order to address the characteristics that need to be met by the categories—namely, being coherent, exhaustive, representative, relevant and unequivocal (Mayer and

Ouellet, 1991 and Bardin, 2001)—we used the categories of the dimensions of knowledge presented in our reference framework.

Dimensions	**Indicators**
Epistemological	- Modes that favor access to knowledge. "Didactic" models of reading instruction. - The structuring of language-related knowledge. - The knowledge that is taught. - Didactic characteristics.

However, this analysis cannot be performed without establishing a relationship with the socio-educational context in which the curriculum and its changes are situated. This is why we complement this analysis with the Lenoir (2009) analytical grid, which enables us to identify the educational aims of language teaching in Chile.

V. ANALYSIS

Following is a summary table of the results obtained in our content analysis.

Epistemological dimensions:		
1990	**2009**	**2012**
Modes that favor access to knowledge		
- The influence of a cognitivist-constructivist approach. - The introduction of the concept of competencies. This is the concept based on which know-how and personal skills have been structured in the proposed curriculum. - No mention of components of communicational competencies. - Competencies defined as a grouping of content-related concepts, capacities and learning situations, with content being the disciplinary knowledge belonging to the curriculum.	- The influence of a cognitivist-constructivist as well as socio-constructivist approach. - Explicit formulation of the components of communicational competencies: a) grammatical competency b) discursive competency c) pragmatic competency - Reorganization of fundamental objectives in accordance with the progression of learning.	- A focus on the cognitive approach (the construction of knowledge is personal and progressive, and links are established with acquired concepts throughout the development of skills and thinking). - Explicit mention of types of thinking: critical, reflective and creative. - Mention of communicational competencies. No mention of grammatical, discursive and pragmatic competencies. - Replacement of fundamental objectives and minimal learning content with learning objectives. - Definition of learning objectives as skills, attitudes and knowledge. - Absence of a progression of learning as conceived in the previous curriculum.
Structuring of language-related knowledge		

- Integrated units of learning (UDA), or pedagogical mechanisms intended to link together the different areas proposed in the program of studies. - Language teaching organized into four areas; a) reading; b) writing; c) oral communication; knowledge of the language (grammar).	- No mention of UDA. - Strong focus on the use of different types of texts, both oral and written. - Language teaching organized into four areas: a) reading: b) writing and c) oral communication. - Progression of learning that guides the structuring of knowledge.	- No mention of UDA. - Incorporation of new knowledge dimensions for each of the following: <u>The area of reading</u> a) phonological awareness and decoding, b) fluidity, c) vocabulary, d) prior knowledge, e) motivation to read, and f) strategies for reading comprehension. <u>The area of writing</u> Includes the dimensions of a) free and guided writing; b) writing as a process; and c) command of the language. <u>Oral communication</u> a) comprehension; b) interaction; c) oral expression; and d) use of information technologies (ICT).
The knowledge that is taught		
- Reading: the concept of "literacy" which relates to competencies rather than skills. - Writing: production of written texts. - Oral: development of language awareness. - Grammar and knowledge of language: knowledge of the language as a system that enables understanding and self-expression.	- No explicit presence of grammar and literature in the learning objectives. - Knowledge subdivided in accordance with the progression of learning.	- Explicit formulation of grammatical content. - A preponderant place given to decoding skills in the curriculum.

"Didactic" (instructional) characteristics		
- Use of the balanced model of language instruction. This model is focused more on whole language: the educational texts that are used must have a link with the student, either through a need or a theme, to "soften" the instruction of decoding.	- Use of the balanced model of language teaching.	- No mention of the use of the balanced model. - Strong tendency to incorporate dimensions focused on decoding.

5.1 Elements in the interpretation of results

As we have already mentioned, the curriculum is situated in the field of education, but it responds to the political, economic and social interests that determine educational aims. From a social point of view, the 2002 curriculum for the language of instruction was developed to meet a need to establish democratic values that were neglected during 17 years of military dictatorship (1973-1990). The 2002 curriculum sought to "develop a critical, reflective, creative human being who demonstrates moral and responsible behavior" (Gouvernement du Chili, 2002, p. 2), implying an appreciation of the principles of liberty, equality, personal self-affirmation, and a search for transcendence. This is why the curriculum raises the question of awareness of liberty, dignity, rights and feelings as well as the values of love, solidarity, tolerance, truth, justice, beauty, civic sense, and the desire for personal transcendence. The content and objectives chosen for the curriculum as well as the way they are organized must respond to national interests, which include the development of a more active citizenship, the promotion and exercise of human rights and democratic values, and "the attainment of

competencies needed to facilitate young people's integration into the world of work, production and services, which will in turn facilitate and improve the country's integration into world markets" (Gouvernement du Chili, 2002, p. 5). If this is indeed a curriculum that strives for qualification, it tends strongly toward socialization. The following are a few tensions noted during our analysis based on various points of view:

a) From an epistemological point of view

From an epistemological viewpoint, we identified elements that allow us to deduce contradictions and tensions between the 2002 curriculum and the two subsequent adjustments. The 2002 curriculum and the changes made in 2009 are inspired by a cognitivist approach, but the constant explicit formulation that language-related knowledge is constructed by the subject in a determined social context leads us to identify the strong presence of a socio-constructivist and constructivist approach, insofar as it firmly bases itself on student's prior learning and knowledge to construct meaning. This direct reference to context and the integration of different types of language specific to a constructivist approach is consistent with an aim of language teaching that considers that one of the most important missions of the school is to extend language proficiency so that students can integrate properly into society in general, and into civic life in particular (Lenoir and Tupin, 2012). Socialization is therefore central to the curriculum. However, the latest curriculum changes of 2012 show a strong focus on the development of mental processes and eliminate components of learning content (knowledge) pertaining to the language of instruction. This is a curriculum strongly marked by cognitive psychology that conceives knowledge as an object to be gradually acquired. It is the teacher who mobilizes student knowledge by implementing strategies and leading activities. As a result, it is the teacher who

confers on the curriculum the role of identifying activities and who establishes them as objectives to meet: "Education which prepares for life is one that prepares definitely and adequately for these specific activities" (Stenhouse, 1975 p. 52). Knowledge is constructed through a series of repetitions of actions and behaviors. The human being becomes a part of the management process in which quality is measured by the correspondence between the proposed curricular objectives and performance in various tests of quality. The curriculum, in this conception, holds an important place in the educational and economic system as an element that is aimed at educating citizens who will meet the needs established by the labor market (Reid, 1978, 1981; Apple, 2004). Consequently, language learning is conceived as a product that strives to respond to a production system, and which has an educational aim focused more on an instrumentalization of education (Lenoir, 2009).

Regarding the organization of knowledge, the 2002 curriculum and the 2009 changes advocate the implementation of integrated learning units, which are defined as "didactic" mechanisms that organize knowledge into the areas of the language program (reading, writing, oral communication and grammar). However, there is a central difference in the organization of knowledge in the 2009 adjustment. Knowledge is organized based on content and success standards that describe the learning to be achieved over the course of schooling. This organization aims to establish control mechanisms to assess student learning (Lenoir, 2009). As a result, the aim of language instruction is strongly focused on qualification. This is not coherent with the communicational approach of the 2002 curriculum, which is anchored in a sociolinguistic approach advocating that all social groups have different ways of speaking, but none have precedence over any other, so that language should not be standardized. In the latest curriculum changes in 2012, this organization of knowledge has been replaced by new and more numerous objectives that do

not target the integration of language learning with other school disciplines. Among other things, this implies a very functionalist outlook on language learning (Freire, 1974; Not ; 1984, Lenoir *et al*., 2013).

The new modifications mention that it is impossible to determine a progression of learning, which leads to a new curricular architecture. Indeed, the learning objectives of the 2012 curriculum are not presented based on the organization of the progression set out in the 2009 curriculum. The new organization implies significant changes in terms of curricular knowledge: the new learning objectives are more explicit and more numerous than those of the 2009 curriculum.

b) From a psycho-pedagogical standpoint

The 2009 curriculum, like the 2002 curriculum, mentions the use of a balanced model. It raises the importance of developing reading and writing skills (such as proficiency in decoding) in situations that are contextualized and significant for the student. It is consistent with an aim geared toward social integration and focused on emancipation. However, the 2012 curriculum adjustment shows another orientation that puts strong emphasis on the learning of the code, and raises explicit dimensions such as phonological awareness, decoding, and fluidity in reading. The goal is the mechanical learning of code, and more particularly phonological components and the graphical-phonetic correspondence, in order to later arrive at the teaching of knowledge specific to the discipline. The structuring of reading instruction therefore becomes vital for success. The teacher must transmit knowledge related to the discipline of language once the students have mastered the code, and the role of the student is to learn this knowledge (Bertrand, 1998). This educational model is consistent with a more cognitivist conception of the curriculum that is focused on the individual, and responds to an educational

aim that is more greatly centered on an instrumentalization of education which comes under an external function of education (Lenoir, 2009).

VI. CONCLUSION

Using the grid of Lenoir (2009), we present below the tendencies of aims associated with language instruction that are implicit in the 2002 prescribed curriculum and the two adjustments.

We can therefore conclude that the aims proposed for each curriculum are very much concealed and are not consistent with the same epistemological foundations. The discourse associated with the two curriculum adjustments accentuates that students must be qualified in order to work, while the 2002 curriculum is, in the official discourse, more focused on socialization and instruction. This leads us to pose new questions, beginning with the following: Why does the Chilean government not clarify the underlying aims of the language curriculum?

ANÁLISE DOS OBJETIVOS EDUCACIONAIS DO ENSINO DE LINGUAGEM NO CHILE: A IDEOLOGIA POR TRÁS DOS AJUSTES CURRICULARES

Resumo: *Esta pesquisa tem como objetivo apresentar os fundamentos sociais, políticos, epistemológicos e pedagógicos de três ajustes do currículo de língua no Chile e a metodologia utilizada para essa finalidade. Supomos que o estudo da didática da linguagem não pode ser limitado a uma análise técnica de seu ensino. Analisando os requisitos do currículo da linguagem do Chile, descobrimos seus fins educacionais e a ideologia que os inspira.*

Palavras-chave: *Currículo de Linguagem no Chile; ensino de linguagem; currículo e ideologia.*

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