

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES IN THE FORMULATION AND APPROPRIATION OF A
LANGUAGE POLICY FOR THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF HIGHER
EDUCATION IN COLOMBIA: A CASE STUDY
IN A PUBLIC UNIVERSITY

A Thesis Presented by
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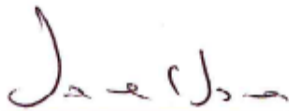
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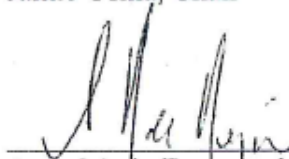
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DEDICATION

To my mother and family, my thesis director, and classmates, who in their own ways accompanied me in the joys and lessons of this academic endeavor.

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ABSTRACT

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Drawing on a critical sociocultural approach, this paper inquires how language ideologies influence the formulation and appropriation processes of a foreign language policy for the internationalization of a Colombian public university. Universities around the Country have intensified their efforts to internationalize in response to national policies that aim at accelerating the participation of the Country in the global economy. This endeavor has pressured these institutions to adopt English. Under such conditions, one recognized Colombian public university produced a foreign language policy to improve its undergraduate students' English proficiency, meet academic quality indicators, gain international visibility, and strengthen research. This policymaking process occurred in the midst of ideological crosscurrents. In such scenario, competing ideologies conditioned the policy stakeholders' opinions, decisions and behaviors leading to divergences in the policymaking process. The data analysis revealed that stakeholders perceived English as a

quality concern in times of accountability, as a gatekeeper in times of globalization and internationalization, as a dominant language, and as a social responsibility. The findings suggest that instead of becoming a hindrance, competing and crashing ideologies motivated stakeholders to appropriate the policy according to their interests, needs, and concerns opening ideological spaces for negotiation and actively challenging the ideological assumptions behind the policy. As a result, the policy would transform in multiple ways in respond to stakeholders' agency changing its original goals. Because this last consideration, studies like this one become pertinent given that they can inform policy practitioners and the research field of language policies about the ways in which the negotiation and opening of ideological spaces influence the success of foreign language policies.

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Introduction

The internationalization of higher education responds to global pressures on universities to produce employees for the global market (Killick, 2011). However, this process may also prepare students to face the challenges that globalization poses on today's world such as homogenization and standardization of structures and norms, terrorism, and knowledge-based economies (ASCUN, 2003; Killick, 2011). To confront these challenges, universities must restructure their curricula to foster new learning and teaching strategies including the adoption of English as their common language (Hughes, 2008; Khan, 2009; Preisler, Klitgård, & Fabricius, 2011; Sharifian, 2009).

However, the mere presence of English in university curricula does not constitute the backbone of the process of internationalization. This process requires universities to understand the complex relations between language, identity, and culture of speakers (Hughes, 2008; Killick, 2011; Preisler, Klitgård, Fabricius, 2011; Sharifian, 2009). Consequently, universities need to reflect upon practical and ideological considerations of adopting English in terms of available resources, connection with secondary education, possible divergences in stakeholders' academic expectations, whose values and culture are promoted within the institutions, and the local market and industry (Hughes, 2008, p. 6). These reflections result unavoidable because teaching English and the power of this language over others have become a global phenomenon in Europe, Africa, and Asia. Reflecting on this phenomenon unfolds opportunities to challenge the domination of Anglo-American countries through the construction of a plurilingual and multicultural global community (Sharifian, 2009, pp. 76-77).

As a global phenomenon, Colombia also embraces the internationalization of higher education. The Colombian University Association (ASCUN in Spanish) stated during its

CX National council of university presidents that the Association aimed at cooperating with international organizations to create networks of knowledge and exchange resources and services . ASCUN (2003) also fosters the internationalization as a key strategy to move from exclusion to equity in terms of students' access to and permanence in higher education. Additionally, the Colombian Network for the Internationalization of Higher Education (RCI in Spanish), in 2009, invited the university foreign affairs offices to promote and foster a culture of internationalization within the institutions.

In pursuing internationalization, English has become a central issue for the country at the higher education level as a general national effort and as a particular strategy. First, national language education policies have promoted the adoption of English in higher education. Since 2005 the National Program of Bilingualism (PNB) included English in the National test for future professionals *Pruebas ECAES*, nowadays called *Pruebas SaberPro*, and intervened seventeen tertiary education institutions to improve the English proficiency of their teachers (MEN, 2009). These actions have continued through later policies such as the Program for Strengthening the Development of Competencies in Foreign Languages (PFDCLE in Spanish) that also established language proficiency indicators for all professionals.

In 2014, the National Program of English *Colombia Very Well* promoted the learning of English at the higher education level for the internationalization of higher education institutions (MEN, 2014b). Moreover, the national program *Colombia Bilingüe 2014-2018* increased the demand on English in tertiary education programs by making it a requisite to obtain the governmental accreditation and emphasize its importance for international cooperation (MEN, 2014a).

Second, the National Council of Higher Education (CESU in Spanish) in its public policy document, *Acuerdo por lo superior 2034*, identifies low English proficiency as a hindrance to the internationalization of Colombian universities (CESU, 2014, p. 118). In addition, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the World Bank 2012 report not only recommends the inclusion of a second language in Colombian academic programs as a key strategy to guarantee that undergraduate students learn a second language, but also highlights the need for that second language to be English. Briefly, English has become the recommended language to offer and include in Colombian tertiary education programs.

Responding to this national focus on the internationalization of higher education, a Colombian public university decided to incorporate English in its undergraduate programs. Accordingly, the institution produced a new foreign language education policy (Hereinafter referred to as AA, 2014) that mandates all the University departments to teach English in their undergraduate programs. The policy also assigns credits to English courses and states proficiency descriptors in alignment with national foreign language policies to attend to the accomplishment of institutional objectives. These objectives include improving students' academic performance and professional competitiveness, facilitating cooperation with the international scientific community, and improving students' opportunities to access the job market. Besides, the policy promotes the recognition of diversity, ethnicity and pluralism (AA, 2014, clause 3). These objectives appear as well in the University's General Statute and the institutional Development Plan 2006-2016.

Although the policy seemed to support the University stated mission and objectives, the norm may also contrast several ideological positions in the institution in two manners. First, given that the policy mandates English to be taught in all undergraduate programs,

and the policy language descriptors correspond to the B1 descriptors in the Common European Framework of Language Reference (CEFR) for homologation and certification purposes, the norm opposes the University historical manifestations and contesting culture against colonialism and imperialism from northern powers like the CEFR.

Second, the emphasis on English and the mandated implementation of courses with credits may undermine the variety of language needs and interests existing across the schools despite the policy's open recognition of other languages' role in the institution. Although the policy was the result of negotiations among different University schools, does not ban other languages, and states that the implementation of English courses would match each school's capacity, the focus on English limits the autonomy and diversity of University schools on setting and investing on their own particular priorities and goals regarding foreign languages.

These differing positions present in the language policy illustrate the existing debate in regards to which higher education model the University must embrace. Two models have become the center of the discussion. One responds to a research-oriented university that "focuses on scientific knowledge, innovation, profit, and economic growth" (Cortés, 2014, p. 44). Cortes (2014) denounces that "the Country's dominant trend, heavily weighing on [this University], is the increasing participation of business owners in education policy" (p. 129). As a consequence, this language policy, as others in the country, suits the "international expectations of global knowledge economy" (Usma, 2009, p. 30). On the contrary, the other university model embodies a humanistic university that considers social sciences, humanities, and arts as the base to serve local needs because they support "human wisdom" (Cortés, 2014, p. 10).

The university models and the language values and beliefs present in the policy constitute the ideologies informing the norm. Ideologies include the values and beliefs that dictate the functioning of social, economic and political systems (Heck, 2004) becoming stakeholders' world views (Canagarajah, 1999, p. 207). These world views constitute language ideologies when they influence policy stakeholders' perceptions about the purpose of a language (Spolsky, 2004). In the case of the research-oriented model, stakeholders' ideology comprehends a vision of language serving, what Mejía (2009) calls "an instrumental and technical rationality of academic knowledge" (p. 236). Under this model, English serves as a compulsory tool for higher education institutions to become competitive and visible within a globalized market and an international academic world (Ayala, 2012, pp. 155–156; Miranda, Berdugo, & Tejada, 2016, p. 7). In respect to the humanistic model, policy stakeholders consider language to support the objectives of social sciences that Mejía (2009) identifies as the understanding of cultural, political and economic global realities (p. 241). Within the humanistic model, multicultural views towards language learning, as the ones De Mejía (2006) and Ayala (2012) defend, are embraced since they open possibilities for recognition and participation (Miranda et al., 2016, p. 16).

Therefore, the coexistence of these two university models and related stakeholder's language values and beliefs show how "hegemonic and counter-hegemonic ideologies influence language policies" (Ricento, 2000, p. 6). Consequently, attempting to achieve objectives of internationalization and English learning as well as to protect the University principles, the language policy falls in what Shohamy (2006) denotes "the midst of a battle between competing ideologies" (p. 23).

Although the ideological clash between stakeholders' language assumptions has been already identified, the details of its influence on the policymaking process has remained unknown, hiding the possible policy outcomes. Given this gap in knowledge and this public university representativeness in Colombia, this research study aims at helping policy practitioners and researchers to make sense of policymaking in public universities pursuing their internationalization and, hopefully, to better plan "language policies to respond to students' professional objectives and the institution objectives" (Restrepo, 2012, p. 43). Additionally, this research project bridges the gap in Colombian literature on language policies in higher education because most Colombian "work on language education policies addresses Elementary and Secondary levels" (Granados, 2013, p. 48).

Regarding Colombian university settings, four studies focus on language policies but they disregard either ideologies or policy actors' role in the policymaking process. One, Granados's (2013) analyzes the implementation of national foreign language policies in a university. However, he does not discuss language hegemony or ideology. Two, Restrepo (2012) denounces how hegemonic ideologies make exclusionary practices acceptable for the sake of internationalization. As Escobar (2012), González (2012), Usma (2009), and Valencia (2013) do, Restrepo criticizes the overemphasis on English testing for accountability purposes because, as González (2007) argues, testing fulfill "imposed foreign agendas" (p. 79). However, Restrepo's (2012) analysis does not recognize how policy actors make sense of the ideologies that influence the norm by questioning and transforming them (N. Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Levinson & Sutton, 2001).

Three, Ramirez (2015) recognizes policy actors' agency in making sense of national language policies as they adopt these in their university. However, her work focuses on the contextual factors and not on the ideologies that influenced the policymaking process. Four,

Miranda, Berdugo, and Tejada (2016) draw on Johnson's (2009) heuristics of language policy analysis to delve policy agents' conflicting views in policy making at higher education level. On the one hand, Miranda et al. (2016) denounce the external pressures for internationalization as Restrepo (2012) stresses. On the other hand, the authors highlight policy stakeholders' agency in creating and planning policy, as Ramirez (2015) accentuates. Nonetheless, Miranda et al. (2016) do not elaborate on the concept of agents' views as these merely represent the actions and decisions in policy planning (p.2-3).

To fill the gap in language policy research at the tertiary level from an approach that recognizes the active role of stakeholders in the policymaking process, this research study inquires the influence of competing ideologies on a foreign language policy in a public university from a critical sociocultural approach (N. Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Levinson & Sutton, 2001). Hence, this research study attempts at answering the question how language ideologies associated to English in the internationalization of higher education influenced the foreign language policy formulation and appropriation processes in a Colombian public university?

To answer this question, the author studied the foreign language policy and external and internal documental referents to the policy. Then, the author selected and interviewed several policy actors that participated in policy formulation, as well as others that participated in the appropriation process. He also observed some meetings in which various actors presented the policy. Then, using the qualitative data analysis software NVivo 11, the author coded, analyzed and triangulated the data collected. Finally, he compared the findings to the national and international language policy literature.

In the following sessions of this paper, the author defines critical sociocultural approach as the conceptual lenses through which he analyzed this language policy problem.

Additionally, the author focuses on defining the concepts of language education policy, appropriation, agency, ideology, and ideological spaces. Then, the author presents the setting where he conducted the study. Subsequently, he describes the methods used in the data collection and analysis. Next, he presents the main findings of the study and discusses their implications in the light of theory and research. Finally, the author states the remaining gap in the field of language policy research.

Theoretical Framework

This research study aimed at exploring how language ideologies associated to English in the internationalization of higher education influenced the foreign language policy formulation and appropriation processes in a Colombian public university. Understanding how stakeholders transfer their ideologies about English to the policy leads to a critical analysis of the language values, beliefs and assumptions constituting these ideologies and their effect on stakeholders' thoughts and behaviors (Pennycook, 2000, pp. 107–108). Knowing the effects of stakeholders' ideologies on the policy can also provide policy practitioners and researchers with insights about the language policy outcomes when international visibility and research strengthening are at stake. To guide this inquiry, the author draws on Levinson and Sutton's (2001) critical sociocultural approach to language policy (p. 2), Colombian studies under this approach, and the concepts of language education policy, appropriation, agency, ideology, and ideological spaces.

This research study assumes that policy functions as an ideology that represents a discourse of power (Levinson, Sutton, & Winstead, 2009). However, this study also recognizes that the University educational actors can question and transform that ideology by making sense of and reenacting the norm (Canagarajah, 1999; N. Hornberger & Johnson, 2007). Accordingly, this research study draws on Levinson and Sutton's (2001) critical sociocultural approach to language policies. Their approach utilizes the analysis of ideology to understand the ways in which the individuals and institutions influenced by the policy adopt and adapt the norm in their everyday practices (Levinson & Sutton, 2001, pp. 9–10).

Putting on the lenses of this approach requires researchers to investigate how policy actors claim the right to create their own policies through interpretation, negotiation, modification, and mixing of the official policy (Levinson & Sutton, 2001). Under this approach, researchers must recognize that the policy undergoes transformations, which result because of stakeholders' active role in the policymaking process, even if the final outcome is their rejection to the norm (Canagarajah, 1999; Shohamy, 2006, 2009).

Uncovering the complex and multiple ways in which local actors produce policies requires to unveil stakeholders' ideologies informing the policy by identifying the patterns in their social interaction and discourse regarding the norm (Levinson & Sutton, 2001, pp. 9–10).

In addition to recognizing stakeholders' capacity to shape the policymaking process, researchers following this approach must explore how policy practitioners interpret each other's ideologies (Levinson & Sutton, 2001, pp. 9–10). Stakeholders must investigate these plural interpretations because the study of policy requires to understand the interplay of multiple international and national agencies, capital sources, and historical contexts influencing the institution that produces the policy (Levinson & Sutton, 2001, pp. 9–10). Therefore, behind the lenses of a critical sociocultural approach, the researcher should see the policy as more than one unique document that one individual or group defines as a law (Levinson & Sutton, 2001, pp. 9–10). On the contrary, a researcher following this approach to policy study should see the policy as the sum of the judgments that most influential documents and policy practitioners build of "one another and their ideologies" (Levinson & Sutton, 2001, p. 10).

Drawing on this approach, various Colombian scholars have both researched and analyzed language education policy in specific contexts. In respect to research work, scholars have investigated what local actors at the school and higher education levels, in

rural and urban areas of the country, actually expect from and do with national policies in their institutions and classrooms. Bonilla and Cruz (2013) and Correa, Usma, and Montoya (2014) voice school teachers' requests for government actions to consider their teaching expertise and the social and economic conditions of their region. Furthermore, Bonilla and Cruz (2014) delve the existing tensions between global pressures and idealizations in English teaching and local critical sociocultural factors in rural areas. Intricate factors that English teachers must overcome to respond to the national language goals that overall neglect students' local culture, social needs, economic situation, and historical heritage.

A similar claim emerges from Moya's (2014) study of the sociolinguistic situation of Creole people in San Andres Island. Moya (2014) unveils the uniqueness of each bilingual context and the contradictions among Creole speakers' attitudes and perceptions towards the identity and prestige associated to Creole, Spanish, and English. As the author urges, an enriching coexistence of these languages demands intercultural language education policies. Such policies must acknowledge the linguistic history, cultural heritage, specific context, and political interests determining the relation among the languages to reduce the cultural gaps among the different groups in the island.

In agreement with teachers and other educational actors' petitions, Correa and Usma (2013) propose a critical sociocultural model for policymaking based on "five pillars: democratization, real strengthening, contextualization, articulation, and monitoring" (p. 239). Otherwise, teachers would continue trusting their own beliefs and experiences to meet the policy requirements imposed on them instead of following official guidelines as Valencia's (2006) critical analysis based on a sociocultural view of policy practice reveals.

In like fashion, Usma (2015) shows that a sociocultural approach to the study of policy can reveal how stakeholders reenact imposed foreign language policies from nourishing

academic perspectives to make language education just, equal, and human. Initially, the author unveils the inequity and unfair practices that the transnational adoption of foreign language education policy reforms hides behind seemingly neutral discourses of education quality and international competitiveness. Afterwards, he analyzes how local school principals and teachers in the city of Medellin negotiate these discourses present at the macro level of the policy enactment to appropriate the national policies at the micro level of their schools and classrooms realities to accomplish their own objectives.

In the same line, Pelaez and Usma (2015) and Ramirez (2015) accentuate the concept of policy appropriation as central in a critical sociocultural approach to the study of policy. Drawing on this concept, Pelaez and Usma (2015) urge policy makers to conceive policymaking as a linked chain, which would allow local actors to permeate and participate in the official policy formulation and dissemination. Otherwise, local actors would just adopt apathetic attitudes towards the policy. Ramírez (2015) reveals how the policy appropriation of the National Program of Bilingualism 2004-2019 at the higher education level unfolds not only in organized ways but also in disorganized, disarticulated manners. In her study, actors showed their agency to enhance a more formative approach to English. Their actions attempted to connect English learning to their curricular objectives instead of letting the norm reduce English to a disconnected matter of language proficiency certification.

As Ramírez (2015) does, Miranda, Berdugo, and Tejada (2016) focus on stakeholders' agency as they investigate discourses around English at the higher education level. Miranda et al. (2016) contend that although all policy agents share the dominant urge of current language and education policies to gain more visibility and achieve a higher position in the national and international arena through English, they assume a critical stance to approach

such external policies and instrumental purposes. The authors draw on Johnson's (2009) multilayered approach to illustrate the complexity of the policy creation as policy agents at the meso and micro-context react to macro-context discourses of international competitiveness and mobility. The authors also use Johnson's (2009) approach to advocate for inclusive policymaking processes to legitimize and enrich its creation.

Complementing the Colombian bulk of research presented above, other authors have worn critical sociocultural lenses to approach their analysis of language policies. For instance, De Mejía (2004) advocates bilingual programs that protect the cultural identity of speakers of both majority and minority languages. In this case, De Mejía campaigns for language programs to recognize the implications of cultural contact, prioritize first language development, and cultivate positive attitudes towards various different and diverse linguistic groups. De Mejía (2006) expands on the purpose of clear guidelines for language programs to adopt a cultural perspective. Adopting this perspective aims at consolidating a tolerant, comprehensive, and respectful bilingual society. However, as she explains, educative language policies in the country rather emphasize on the prestige and instrumental value of bilingualism in becoming competitive within the global market. As result, this approach makes students culturally disoriented and endangers their esteem for their culture.

These and other scholastic analyses nurture Ayala's (2012) reflection on the possibilities that policy actors could open to transform the official language policy. The author urges the academic community at Universidad de la Salle to plan for a suitable institutional language policy. He invites his colleagues to learn from the previous experiences of accredited universities, private bilingual high schools, and national language policy in Bogotá to defend additive bilingualism in language education policy.

In regards to official language education policies, as these Colombian studies and analysis demonstrate, policy practitioners find alternatives to negotiate power in the creation of local policies because they are rarely consulted (Canagarajah, 1999, p. 211; Shohamy, 2006, p. 141). Negotiating ways to participate in the policymaking process embodies appropriation (Levinson & Sutton, 2001, p. 2). Appropriation encloses the creative and dynamic process of policymaking locally in unauthorized or informal ways happening at different moments of the policy development (Levinson & Sutton, 2001; Levinson et al., 2009; Menken & García, 2010). Studying policy appropriation implies recognizing the formulation of the policy as the moment when the negotiations between institutional actors holding power at various levels provisionally transform in a text (Levinson & Sutton, 2001; p. 3). Appropriation occurs because the policy process involves multiple actors who interpret the official discourse that the policy embodies (Levinson & Sutton, 2001; Levinson et al., 2009; Menken & García, 2010). The official discourse passes through the stakeholders' sieve of ideologies before they incorporate this discourse in their everyday practice and context, creating alternatives to the official policy (Johnson & Freeman, 2010; Levinson & Sutton, 2001; Levinson et al., 2009).

Unofficial and informal language policies result from multiple participants' active role in the policymaking process (Menken & García, 2010, p. 1). Their role in transforming the official policy into everyday practice constitutes the policy actors' agency (Menken & García, 2010, p. 1). While policy actors exercise their agency, the outcomes of the policy appropriation become unpredictable because no clear cause/effect relation between the policy main ideology and actor's ideology can be described (Menken & García, 2010, p. 2). In conclusion, educational actors find multiple ways to alter the policy main ideology and make the norm elastic as they enact it in their real world (Canagarajah, 2005, p. 185).

While appropriating the official language education policy, stakeholders discretely make sense of education ideologies and language ideologies as both constitute the official policy (Shohamy, 2006, pp. 76–77). First, language policy influences and manages behaviors and uses of language in society (Schiffman, 2006; Shohamy, 2009; Spolsky, 2008; Tollefson, 1991). Second, education policy legitimizes the knowledge to be taught and the people to be educated (Levinson & Sutton, 2001; Shohamy, 2009). Therefore, as “language education is language management” (Spolsky, 2008, p. 3455), language education policy legitimizes and manages language practices in education. For instance, language education policy determines whether the resources allocated for learning English are higher or lower than those allocated for learning other languages or whether only English is required for graduation purposes.

The criteria to legitimize and manage a language respond to the ideologies behind the language education policy (Shohamy, 2006). On the one hand, ideologies include the values and beliefs that dictate the functioning of social, economic and political systems (Heck, 2004). The functioning of these systems always serve in hidden ways some sort of social domination dynamic that dominant groups justify through a logical rationalization of real circumstances (Zizek, 1994, p. 8).

Consequently, an ideology embodies the distorted relation between consciousness and reality to serve those in a dominant position (Hawkes, 2003). Nonetheless, ideologies are inconsistent and amorphous and compete against themselves as Sonntag (2000) and Canagarajah (2000) discuss. Being this the case, studying ideologies means to interrogate how symbolic forms such as accountability measurements, quality indicators, and English proficiency tests construct and spread meaning to favor those who hold positions of power

and help them to maintain their dominance, as Thompson (1990) argues, but such study also investigates how counter-discourses contest dominant ideologies (Ricento, 2000).

In this sense, ideologies inform policies and policies respond to ideologies (Canagarajah, 2000; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). Accordingly, ideologies and policies cannot be separated (Shohamy, 2006). Ideologies behind language policies determine what natural language is, who the speakers are, and who result marginalized (Shohamy, 2006). Nevertheless, ideologies are not static and consistent, which opens space for a policy to respond to different ideologies and not to the hegemonic one (Ricento, 2000).

Hence, a foreign language policy like the one studied here does not necessarily respond to English linguisticism, even though the policy mainly promotes English learning over learning other languages. Thus, this research study assumes that the policy stakeholders not only respond to hegemonic ideologies about English as language instrumentalization but also to counter ideologies like language ecology while they try to accomplish their own goals (Ricento, 2000; Shohamy, 2006).

As stakeholders negotiate between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic ideologies to achieve their own goals, they open up ideological spaces for the transformation of the policy (Hornberger, 2000). Ideological spaces open when stakeholders find how to enact their ideologies through negotiating and resisting the official discourse by finding fissures in the limits that the official policy sets out (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Menken & García, 2010). When stakeholders break through the limits that the official language policy states, they expose possibilities for the defense of their rights (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007).

In the case of this public University, stakeholders could open ideological spaces within the policy to defend their plurality and autonomy in terms of their language values, interest,

and beliefs. Therefore, this research study draws on a critical sociocultural approach to language policy and explores how competing and crashing ideologies influence the policymaking process to investigate and report the ideological spaces that stakeholders are opening, as Menken and Garcia (2010, p. 14) suggest.

In the following sections, the author presents the setting where the study was conducted. Then, he describes the methods used in the data collection and analysis. Next, he presents the main findings of the study and discusses their implications in the light of theory and research. Finally, the author states the remaining gap in the field of language policy research.

Setting

This research project sets out in one of the most important universities of Colombia. This institution was the first public university in the City and in the Department. According to the 2015 University Management Report, the institution offers 237 undergraduate programs, and 37.036 undergraduate students attend the institution in its different branches. Undergraduate programs admitted 11.765 candidates in the second semester for that year, and 8.227 registered their first course. In addition, Sapiens Research Group (2015) ranked the institution in the top three research universities in the national context. Finally, all the academic programs belong to one of the six research areas: Veterinarian Sciences, Health Sciences, Natural Sciences, Social Sciences, Humanities, and Engineering and Technology Sciences.

To heighten achievements in research, teaching and outreach programs, the University attempts to respond to global demands for building international relations as the institution General Statute and the Development Plan state. Accordingly, the University founded the program *Alrededor del Mundo* (Around the World), the International Affairs Office and the foreign language program: Interlingua. Particularly, the Interlingua program serves five-level communicative language courses in seven different languages to outstanding undergraduate students. The two programs and the International Affairs Office promote foreign languages under the institutional principles of excellency, knowledge generation, and teaching to successfully achieve internationalization goals stated in the General Statute (1994) and Development Plan (2006).

In accordance to the institutional efforts to adopt foreign languages, the University has issued language education policies for two decades to support international demands to teach foreign languages. The last foreign language policy promoted the learning of reading

skills in French and English or the learning of any of the five foreign languages offered through the Interlingua program. If students considered they did not need to take any course at all because they had already acquired a good language level, the University offered them the possibility to certify their language proficiency through two different procedures. One, the student could take the institutional reading test in English, French, Portuguese, Italian, or German. Two, the student could ask the institution to homologate a proficiency test such as the TOELF or IELTS for English or the DELF for French, etc. In brief, the University offered two-level reading courses, five-level language courses in five foreign languages, and a language test to certify their reading competence in a foreign language.

Although the last foreign language policy has targeted the adoption of foreign languages in the University, it disarticulates in various ways from the national trend in foreign language education. While Colombia has focused on English since 2004, the University policy focused on the learning of a foreign language without specifically emphasizing on English. Additionally, a salient characteristic of national policies since the PNB implied the alignment with the CEFR and the setting of national objectives in terms of its scale descriptors, but this University foreign language policies omitted the CEFR scale descriptors in all language syllabuses. The only reference to the CEFR descriptors regarded homologation procedures.

In addition to the disarticulation from national foreign language policies, the University previous policy achievements failed in accounting for governmental indicators and meeting educational actors' expectations in terms of English proficiency. Firstly, the University fell behind in English indicators nationally as Usma et al. (2013) and Usma (2013) alarmed. An analysis of students' results in the national test *Pruebas Saber Pro* 2011, 2012 showed that only 11% of University students met the national goals stated for

higher education, while 47% did not even achieve the goals stated for elementary school (Usma et al., 2013). Secondly, University educational actors expected students to be able to communicate in English instead of only read as Quinchía, Muñoz, and Sierra (2015) found. For University stakeholders, this was a primary concern as they consider the real academic demands require students to produce various texts (Usma et al., 2013). In conclusion, the last institutional foreign language policy did not actually align with national language policies, neither did it achieve the goals expected by University stakeholders and the national government.

The administration and evaluation of this language policy, the reading courses, the Interlingua program, the reading test, and the homologation process, have been mainly the responsibility of, what in this paper is called, the School of Languages. Nevertheless, this is not the only responsibility the School of Languages bears. The School of Languages also serves three undergraduate programs and numerous continuous education programs for the external community. The School of Languages supports the teaching and learning of languages throughout the University and, along with the University central administration, the school is in charge of planning, implementing and coordinating the institutional language policy.

However, there were other initiatives in the University regarding foreign language teaching and learning. Initially, three schools started successfully their own English Programs, which have five or six levels and focus on developing communication instead of reading skills. One more started a fourth English program but abandoned the project, and other two schools opened elective language courses and supported complementary activities. Nevertheless, not all the actions addressed exclusively English teaching and learning. One school offered its students two foreign languages in addition to English;

another school opened an elective course for learning French; and one of the schools, with a solid English program, decided to offer Italian as well. These schools took the very first actions to meet what they considered students' language needs. Over all these initiatives, the most notorious tendency was to create five or six-level programs to teach English inside the schools. These programs simulated the very first three English programs that were successful and are referred in this paper as four-skill English Courses.

All these initiatives caused the University cost overruns because each school administered each program separately. Consequently, students registered in multiple programs, making English programs very expensive for the institution. Having identified the problem, and based on the studies that the School of Languages had set out by 2013, the University President commissioned members from the School of Languages, the vice chancellor and some vice deans to formulate a new foreign language policy. They integrated the Policy Formulation Commission in charge of negotiating with the University school councils the characteristics of foreign language policy here studied. In addition, they presented the proposal to the Academic Council, which approved the Academic Agreement that stated the foreign language policy after three debates, in December 4, 2014.

At last, the policymaking process studied here happens within a University community in constant political conflict. Recognizing this reality allows understanding the political culture surrounding the actors in this policymaking process. This university as many other public universities in the Country has fallen in the middle of a permanent conflict between the students' movements, teachers' associations, workers' unions, and university governments. In the particular case of this university, two authors have described the political conflicts and possible triggers of the confrontations occurring in the institution. According to Montoya (2013) and Muñoz (2014), the conflict has arisen when students

perceived social, economic, or political unbalance, broken communication between the University government and the academic community, or authoritarianism and unilateralism in official decisions.

In the coming sections, the author defines the data collection and analysis methods. Next, he presents the main findings of the study and discusses them in the light of the literature. Finally, the author suggests the remaining gaps in field of language policy research.

Research Methodology

Because this research study aimed at making sense of how language ideologies associated to English in the context of the internationalization of higher education influenced the policymaking in a Colombian public university, it falls within a qualitative paradigm inscribed in a cultural perspective on policy (Heck, 2004, p. 82). To conduct this inquiry, the study draws on a qualitative instrumental single case study design (Heck, 2004, p. 218; Richards, 2003). In the following paragraphs, the author explains the qualitative and cultural nature of this research and rationale to consider this research as belonging to a case study design.

In regards to the paradigm and perspective, this research falls within a qualitative paradigm inscribed in a cultural perspective for two reasons. First, studies said to belong to this paradigm aim at facilitating a depth comprehension of a complex social phenomenon in a natural everyday setting (Heck, 2004, pp. 214–215). In this research, the complex phenomenon under study represents a foreign language policy, and the natural everyday setting is a Colombian public university.

Second, this inquiry embraces a cultural perspective as a lens to the analysis of policy by investigating how ideologies influencing language education policy evolve along with the historical, social, and cultural conditions that contribute to policymaking development (Heck, 2004, pp. 82, 325). Historically, this study analyzes the ideas that originated the foreign language policy. Socially, this analysis articulates the ideas that resulted in the policymaking process to those present in international and national policies influencing the institution. Culturally, study inquires how the multiple stakeholders' ideologies influencing this policymaking process evolve from the policy formulation to the policy appropriation.

To gain insights into the evolution of the policy process, this analysis recognizes stakeholders' intersubjectivity in understanding these three conditions (Heck, 2004, p. 325).

In respect to the design chosen, three characteristics of this study fits those of a case study. First, this study enables making sense of a complex social process of a contemporary phenomenon within a defined context (Heck, 2004, pp. 192–195; Yin, 2011). Second, the analysis of case studies rely on multiple sources of information to achieve a profound realistic comprehension of the case (Heck, 2004, p. 217; Richards, 2003, p. 21; Yin, 2011). In this study, the sources of data include documents, archival records, and interviews aiming at a detailed understanding of the policy. Another source included observations of four meetings aiming at understanding the context in which the policymaking process occurred. In this manner, this design focuses on a profound “description of the context and behaviors in which the policy takes place” (Heck, 2004, p. 208).

Finally, this study matches an instrumental design because the inquiry of this foreign language policy set out to investigate an issue rather than purely understanding this particular case (Stake, 1995, p. 3,16). This design allows the case study to illustrate a broader issue (Richards, 2003; Yin, 2011). Consequently, the author expects the study of this foreign language policy to provide a clear, deep and intimal understanding of some of the supports, barriers, and dilemmas present in language policymaking at higher education. Achieving this purpose, the results of this study could help to illuminate the analysis of language policymaking in higher education within the internationalization process that the Country has embraced.

Data Collection

Because the research design draws on a case study, the analysis relies on various sources of evidence (Heck, 2004, p. 218; Richards, 2003, p. 21; Yin, 2011). Three sources

were collected. First, documents including national and institutional education policies illustrated the policy activity and development of official trends in policymaking (Heck, 2004, p. 117). Second, non-participant observations gathered the information of four meetings where the policy was presented to understand the context in which it was produced and what discrepancies or congruencies began to emerge (Heck, 2004, p. 203). Third, thirteen interviews and one focus group were conducted to inquire participants' language assumptions, beliefs, and values, as well as their opinions and insights about the policy (Heck, 2004, p. 203).

The documents collected included external and institutional official papers and served as source of information (Prior, 2008). External documents encompassed the PFDCLE guidelines, the Law 30, and the Agreement 2034. Internal documents encompassed the academic agreement containing the policy (AA, 2014). In addition, the University General Statute (GS, 1994) and the University Development Plan 2006-2016 (DP, 2006) served the analysis of the policy formulation because the policy makes a direct reference to them.

Additionally, three meeting minutes recording the University Academic Council's debates and approval of the foreign language policy were collected, as well as two internal reports on the National English test *Pruebas Saberpro* and a journal article reporting the evaluation of the University Reading Comprehension Program, since they were frequently mentioned in the minutes. The documents were collected during the first semester of 2015 and were all chosen because the academic agreement containing the policy referred to them. The initial document analysis guided the description of the setting and the design of the interview protocols (See Appendices A, B, C, and D).

Regarding the observations, four structured open observations were conducted (Richards, 2003). Three of them were language teachers' meetings in the School of

Languages in which the Language Policy studied here was presented to teachers members of this school. A fourth meeting took place between coordinators and student representatives of postgraduate programs, two members of the School of Languages, and the commission formulating the foreign language policy for postgraduate programs. This meeting focused on the participants' concerns and proposals regarding the postgraduate programs.

Nevertheless, the various aspects of the undergraduate policy were presented during the meeting. The observations took place between October 5, 2015 and December 2, 2015, and the field notes taken in these meetings were transcribed but were only used to understand the context in which the policymaking process occurred.

Finally, thirteen interviews and one focus group with deans, professors, and department coordinators from the University took place. Both the interviews and the focus group were structured, open, and depth-probing (Glesne, 2006). They took place between September 11, 2015 and January 27, 2016. In the following subsection, the author explains the criteria applied in the selection of the participants.

Participants

To select the participants, the author chose a "stratified purposeful sampling" (Patton, 2002, p. 182). In this sampling, the author selected participants from particular group affiliation. As Patton (2002) suggests, this type of sampling intended to facilitate comparisons among the participants' perspectives. The comparisons made in this study regard participants' roles in the policy formulation or appropriation processes. The author presents table 1 to summarize the sampling.

Table 1

Participants

Policy Process Stage	Group		Conventions
Formulation	Members of the Formulation Team		FM1
			FM2
Appropriation	Members of the Planning team		FG
	English Program Coordinators		PC1
			PC2
			PC3
	Area Representatives	Social Sciences	AR_Sotomayor
			AR_Habermas
		Humanities	AR_Kundera
			AR_Rockwell
		Health Sciences	AR_Onie
			AR_Jinnah
			AR_Whitman
Natural Sciences	AR_Kepler		

Accordingly, participants were selected from four groups to illustrate the language ideologies informing the policymaking process. The first group of participants included two stakeholders who participated in the formulation of the policy. They are referred to as members of the policy Formulation Team (FM1 and FM2) and were chosen because they could inform about the rationale, story, and the policy actors in the Policy Formulation Committee. The data they provided revealed policy actors' language ideologies in the policy formulation process. The second group corresponded to educational actors from the School of Languages, specifically, the Planning Team. They are in charge of designing the

English program syllabus, of administrating and applying the placement and validation tests, of the English courses in municipalities different from Medellín, of English teachers' professional development, and the employees' English program among other aspects of the policy. They are referred to as the Planning Team (FG), and the information they gave represented the policy official ideologies informing the policy appropriation.

The third group gathered three program coordinators (PC1, PC2, and PC3) from three schools that had already implemented five- or six-level communicative English courses in their academic programs previously to the policy formulation. Their testimony and their experience shed light on the possible trends the appropriation of the policy would take in those schools. The fourth group corresponded to the area representatives (AR), which gathered eight members from different University areas, which were Social Sciences, Humanities, Health Sciences, and Natural Sciences. This group included school deans, vice deans, academic program coordinators, and research representatives. The data they provided allowed appreciating the ideologies informing the policy appropriation process. As the author will argue and discuss in the findings and discussion sections respectively, these four groups of participants share ideological agreements and disagreements.

Ethical Considerations

To obtain the consent of the School of Languages, the author respectfully requested their approval to carry out the research (See Appendix E) on July 26, 2015. Additionally, before starting the data collection, the author formally requested the School of Languages their support (See Appendix F). The School of Languages responded to the request on October 1, 2105. They presented their concerns regarding the original title of the project, *the foreign language policy in the midst of ideological battle in Colombian higher education: A case study in a public university*. They did not consider themselves immersed

in the midst of an ideological battle, the policy was just in the planning stage, and the concept of appropriation was not clear. Nevertheless, they offered the author the meeting minutes that were in the public domain but not the English program documents as they were in construction. Furthermore, they accepted to have a focus group with the author (Appendix G).

To protect participants from harm, the author obtained their consent to participate in this research project through an informed consent form (Appendix H). The informed consent form aimed at ensuring participants' understanding of the purpose, methods and the demands of the study (Drew, Hardman, & Hosp, 2008). The author also granted protection to their privacy through anonymity and use of fictional names when quoting directly (Drew et al., 2008). The author carefully implemented password-protected access for storing, transporting, and transferring the collected data in electronic mediums such as computers, flash drivers, Nvivo11, Microsoft World, Google Drive and email accounts (Dicks & Mason, 2008; Hewson, 2008). Finally, the author translated all evidence presented in this paper from Spanish.

Data Analysis

For the data analysis, the author drew on grounded theory methods (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Following these methods, data analysis and data collection occurred simultaneously (Charmaz, 2006, p. 191). As documents and interviews were collected, the data obtained were coded, and codes were compared among them several times to generate rich data (Charmaz, 2006, p. 38). As the author compared the data, focused the analysis and selected codes, new documents were gathered and interviews protocols changed (Charmaz, 2006, p. 70). Constant comparison of the codes generated initial categories, which again were compared among them and to literature until theoretical categories were generated

(Charmaz, 2006, p. 47). Finally, the author discussed the findings in the light of the literature and validated them with educational actors to enhance credibility and usefulness (Charmaz, 2006, p. 166). In the paragraphs below, the author expands on this approach to data analysis.

The first step implied coding the data collected. In this process, the author used the software for qualitative data analysis NVivo11. Firstly, all the documents were imported into the software and broke into initial codes (Charmaz, 2006, p. 67). Multiple in vivo codes addressing themes of internationalization, research, English learning and adoption, evaluation, excellence, and quality served as a point of departure. Secondly, all the interviews and observations were transcribed using the speech recognition software Dragon NaturallySpeaking 12.0 into Microsoft Word documents as they took place and immediately imported to and coded in Nvivo11 to maintain parallel processes between collecting and analyzing data as Charmaz (2006, p. 191) recommends.

The second step comprehended comparing the original coding as documents and interviews were analyzed. Codes names were changed and grouped to articulate axial codes that later led to the initial categories (Charmaz, 2006, p. 163). In addition, as the author reflected upon educational actors' testimonies and their relationship to official documents, he found other official documents, policies, and studies, and modified the original interview protocols to probe stakeholders' specific perceptions regarding emerging topics in the analysis to "obtain further selective data and refine categories" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 25).

The third step enclosed comparing the codes to the theory. After having coding all the data, all codes were compared and reorganized drawing on theory regarding ideology in Zizeck (1994) and Hawkes (2003) and language ideology in Ricento (2000) which were explained in the theoretical framework. Hence, twelve categories emerged originating the

first “coherent texture of categories” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 75). Then, codes were compared and selected again as in ground theory constant comparison and recoding generate categories (Bryman, 2012; Charmaz, 2006). Four major categories emerged, *English as a quality concern in times of accountability*, *English as the gatekeeper in times of globalization and internationalization*, *English as the dominant language*, and *English as a social responsibility*.

Finally, each category was discussed in the light of the literature and the findings and discussion shared with educational actors. First, comparing the findings to research and theory aimed at strengthening the authors’ arguments and guaranteeing the study credibility (Charmaz, 2006, p. 166). Comparing the findings to literature also allowed the analysis to offer further research ideas to guarantee the usefulness of the analysis for researches in the area of language education policy in Colombia (Charmaz, 2006, p. 166). Second, the author shared the findings with policy actors, so they could validate the results in accordance to their perceptions (Charmaz, 2006, p. 27).

After having collected and analyzed the data, the author continued writing the findings derived from this study, which are presented in the following section.

Findings

This research set out to explore how language ideologies influence the formulation and appropriation of a foreign language policy for the internationalization of higher education in Colombia. The data analyzed reveals how four language ideologies have informed the policy formulation and appropriation processes. This section presents the four stakeholders' ideologies influencing this policy as it follows; one, English as a quality concern in times of accountability; two, English as the gatekeeper in times of globalization and internationalization; three, English as the dominant language and; four, English as a social responsibility. As these four ideologies are presented, the analysis illustrates the ways in which they influence the different stakeholders' opinions, interpretations, and decisions while revealing congruities and incongruities in stakeholders' behaviors along the policy making process.

English as a Quality Concern in Times of Accountability

Regarding the first ideology, English may symbolize a promise of or a threat to academic quality for stakeholders participating in different moments of the policymaking process. Attempts to increase accountability indicators and, therefore, account for academic excellence led University administrators, deans, and the School of Languages to plan the general inclusion of English in all the University programs. This strategy should result in assuring the government accreditation for the University and the state resources that come along with this official recognition of the institution quality. However, various University deans and English program coordinators also fear that the mechanisms used to adopt English will actually cause detriment to the quality of their programs because they might have to sacrifice time for disciplinary content and overwhelm students with extra work.

Being English a promise of quality, policy makers formulated the foreign language policy convinced of the equivalence between good English scores and academic excellence. For stakeholders, education quality included good performance in English tests because quality indicators in accountability procedures comprised English test scores. For instance, the national English test *Pruebas Saber Pro* 2011, 2012, and 2013 scores represented an indicator of the University achievements in adopting English. These scores allowed the institution to compare itself to other universities in the Country and the institution academic departments to one another in terms of English proficiency. Subsequently, stakeholders trusted the test results, even though they did not fully rely on the test procedures:

“The Professor recognizes that *Las pruebas Saber Pro* are questionable; they are heavily criticized but measure universities nationally. The report gathers the analysis of the test results in 2012 and 2013 ... These results ... reveal somehow what happens in the University” (Minutes, Academic Council, November 6, 2014).

This confidence in test scores and other accountability procedures directly influenced the Academic Council and the Formulation Team to formulate the policy to improve the undergraduate students’ English proficiency and the University quality.

The results showed the low position that the institution occupied at the national level in terms of English proficiency. This finding worried the University stakeholders during the debates leading to the policy approval because they realized that the most important and recognized public and private higher education institutions in the Country surpassed the University as the analysis of the test scores revealed:

“If we compare the University scores to those of universities at the national level, we see that we are behind all the most representative public and private universities in the Country” (Usma, 2013).

Hence, the Academic Council and the Formulation Team concluded that the institutional quality was at stake after falling behind the top higher education institutions in the Country.

These tests results not only proved that the University previous efforts to adopt English did not meet the indicators but also revealed that the independent five or six-level communicative English did much better. In the debates that led to the policy approval, one stakeholder announced that the three University schools that had already incorporated integrated-skill English courses in their programs had obtained better results in the test as the analysis of the scores unveiled:

“The University has improved its indicators in the *Pruebas Saber Pro*, especially in the Medicine, Financial Sciences, and Engineering schools” (Minutes, Academic Council, October 23, 2014).

Although the three schools performed well in the tests, some other departments with no integrated-skill English courses also obtained comparable good results in this test as the same analysis report concluded:

"University Programs that stand out for their high score in the English test were Medicine, Electronic Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, Communication Studies, Philosophy, Physics, Bioengineering and Dramatic Arts” (Usma, 2013).

Philosophy, Physics, and Theater did not have six-level English courses. The department of Philosophy had a three-level English program, and English was not mandatory because students could choose to learn from any of three modern foreign languages this school offered. Regarding Physics and Theater, they had not implemented any mandatory English course apart from the reading comprehension courses served to all the University.

Conversely, the school of Financial Sciences had a six level English program but did not do better than the other three departments reaching the fifteenth best score in the University

(Usma, 2013). The mismatch between the announcement assuring the success of the independent English courses and the results analysis report showed that stakeholders favored the emerging English programs model because these were more accountable than other initiatives.

Aware of the University's position in the tests, the limited achievements of the previous policies and the accountability of the emerging English programs, University actors concluded that all academic programs needed English courses in the curriculum to reach the test top ranking. For stakeholders, achieving high results in the tests by incorporating English in every curriculum in the institution became a clear option to improve the low English test results, as one of the members of the University Academic Council stated:

“All programs at the University should see the usefulness of including English in their curriculum; so in five or ten years we would be occupying the top positions in these tests” (Minutes, Academic Council, November 6, 2014).

The analysis of the tests also suggested that the University should take English instruction seriously in all schools to increase indicators in the next few years as the analysis reported:

“The foreign language should be a matter of all academic programs and not only of a few interested ones... So, in this way, in a few years, we can show better indicators” (Usma, 2013).

Responding to these two recommendations, the Academic Council and the Formulation Team decided that the best policy should be to promote English instruction in all the programs of the University. This decision showed the influence of English as an indicator in quality measurements on policy makers' judgments.

The influence of English as an accountability indicator of quality on the policy

formulation exposed the power that evaluation symbolized for the Academic Council and the Formulation Team. They expected to reach the top ranking positions in the tests results despite their distrust on the tests reliability as they discussed in the Academic Council's debates:

“The expectation at the University is to reach the first positions, despite the criticism the tests receive” (Minutes, Academic Council, November 6, 2014).

In addition, the institution actually set evaluation as one of its objectives stated in the University General Statute, so the language policy formulation took place within a culture of evaluation existent in the University and evident in stakeholders' discourse sustained in the Academic Council's meetings:

“This [policy] is not about foreign language courses but about how that language is being used... The evaluation of the process is important to see the obstacles and to overcome difficulties” (Minutes, Academic Council, October 23, 2014).

The University emphasis on evaluation responds to a national faith on quality control and accreditation. Evaluation influences the nation to the point that the Academic Council and the Formulation Team considered it an essential step for program improvement as the authors of the study that evaluated the Reading Comprehension Program documented:

In the Colombian context, the culture of educational institutions and programs evaluation has been strengthening in recent years. All this has resulted in a boom for institutional accreditation and quality control. Thus, program evaluation becomes a key process to identify the quality and effectiveness of teaching and learning. Besides thinking evaluation as essential process or mechanism for improvement. (Quinchía et al., 2015, p. 295)

Furthermore, evaluation determines whether the government guarantees or denies accreditation to higher education institutions and whether they receive national resources as mandated in the Public Agreement for Higher Education 2034 and the National Law 30:

“The national government will allocate budget resources for the promotion of scientific and technological research of state or official and private universities and other higher education institutions, which will be assigned according to criteria of ... academic excellence” (MEN, 1992, art. 126).

Because of the weight that English has gradually gained in evaluative procedures and the consequences of failing in evaluation, the adoption of English involved high stakes for the Academic Council. On the one hand, they fear the future power of the national English test in determining the University accreditation. For instance, members of the National Accreditation Commission (CNA in Spanish) usually show interest in knowing the English test results during the accreditation process, as stakeholders discussed in one meeting before the policy approval:

“The results of these tests are not considered for accreditation. However, during the peer visits from the National Accreditation Council, the Council members always ask about the results” (Minutes, Academic Council, November 6, 2014).

On the other hand, the University Alumni Employability Report affected the accreditation process directly and the analysis of this report demonstrated few achievements from the institution in the adoption of English. In conclusion, the Academic Council’s concerns regarding the consequences of failing at future evaluations became another reason for them to see English as an indicator of excellence.

Contrary to the firm conviction on good English indicators representing academic excellence that drove the Academic Council and the Formulation Team during the policy

formulation, a fear that English would actually hinder academic quality influenced area representatives for two reasons. Firstly, time for disciplinary instruction was already quite limited because the decree 1295 of 2010 pushed some academic programs to reduce the number of credits of their syllabus. The limited number of credits worried deans, vice deans, and academic program coordinators because assigning credits for English courses implied sacrificing instruction time for disciplinary contents. Consequently, the administrative challenge of redistributing credits became an academic threat for many area representatives, which was evident in the following testimony:

“The disciplinary content in [this program] is quite broad and demanding, and now it is going to be reduced. That is our concern” (AR_Rockwell, interview).

For deans, vice deans, and academic program coordinators, sacrificing hours of disciplinary content to accommodate the English courses endangered the students’ professional education. Stakeholders believed that students’ education would lose rigor as they might not study all the content they should making their education shallow instruction, as a participant denounced:

“So, students are going to graduate with shallow knowledge of other areas, knowing a little about various topics, but what about their major discipline? I insist, not only for [this program], but for biology, for economy, for everybody” (AR_Kundera, interview).

Secondly, area representatives feared that students might leave aside their professional priorities to focus on English learning. Because the English courses would compete with other subject matters for the students’ time and dedication, students might experience a higher demand in coping with their curricular responsibilities. Therefore, area representatives considered English might cause detriment in students’ academic

performance as learning the language might become a disturbance for them as this informant discussed:

“[English] may become a torture for students, and they may leave aside their major priorities to privilege English, which may cause issues or dropping out, or other problems” (AR_Sotomayor, interview).

In like fashion, the completion of the courses as the policy proposes might endanger students’ academic success. The policy mandates students to complete the English program before reaching the 70% of their major. This condition to finish the courses might result in students’ stagnation or dropping out, as one stakeholder alerted:

If a student does not complete the five English levels proposed in the policy before completing the 70% of her major, would she be allowed to only register the two credits the English course weighs? Were the implications for the University retention rate analyzed? (AR_Sotomayor, interview)

To respond to their fears of English risking the quality of their programs, some area representatives and English programs coordinators negotiated three alternatives to mold the policy to serve their best interests. One, to protect the credits and time assigned to their academic content, three schools drafted various proposals of possible new curriculum versions while they accommodated credits as if they were solving a jigsaw puzzle. In completing this task, stakeholders reallocated credits for all curricular activities. For instance, credits assigned to elective courses and students’ independent work were redistributed to incorporate the ten-credit English program. In addition to relocating credits, educational actors designed curriculums that encouraged students to research outside class more than relying on in-class information, as one program

coordinators and two area representatives explained (PC3, AR_Rockwell, AR_Sotomayor).

Two, another alternative some deans considered implied making the learning of English a priority within their schools' action plans to take advantage of the policy. Hence, from academic program coordinators to teachers to students, everybody in these schools focused on finding strategies to teach and learn English. These schools encouraged content teachers to incorporate English in their content-based classes through planning class presentations, biography, and tasks in English (AR_Whitman).

Three, some other deans started piloting English courses wherever incorporating these courses did not cause much conflict. As an area representative informed (AR_Sotomayor), some regional programs were already implementing new syllabi, so they became an opportunity for schools to test how to include English courses without exceeding the credit limit stated in the Decree 1295. In some cases, schools implemented the four-skill English courses mentioned in the setting section. They were not the English courses the School of Languages was designing to support the policy. These four-skill English courses rather served as transition between the traditional two-level reading comprehension courses and the new integrated-skills English courses the policy mandated. In some other cases, schools assigned two credits to English courses they already had in their programs.

In brief, the institution deals with a twofold effect in adopting English and including the language in all programs. The Academic Council and the Formulation Team embraced the growing culture of program evaluation. Furthermore, the institution itself believes in measuring processes as a key to guarantee academic excellence. In a like manner, the area representatives made decisions to guarantee the enactment of the

norm. However, they worried about the adverse effects of allocating credits to the English courses for academic quality given the constraints the decree 1259 imposed on them. This concern leads area representatives to plan and try alternative actions to find ways to deal with the incorporation of English in the undergraduate programs and their academic quality.

English as the Gatekeeper in times of Globalization and Internationalization

In respect to the second ideology, beyond dealing with the twofold effect of English instruction on the University academic quality, the Academic Council, the Formulation Team, the Planning Team, and area representatives felt the pressure to teach English for students to respond to the demands of today's global labor market. At the University level, the discourse of globalization and competitiveness also drove English program coordinators' and area representatives' decisions even before the policy formulation. However, all of the participants found their ideas confronted on how focused on specific areas the language should be to influence effectively the professional life of students. In brief, all stakeholders assumed English was essential in times of globalization but demanded specific attention to their particular language needs.

According to members of the Academic Council, two area representatives, the Formulation Team and the English program coordinators globalization demanded graduates to know at least English to compete in the professional world. For that reason, the institution had attempted at responding to globalization with different programs before. The University experience in the previous programs informed policy makers who tried to unify the knowledge acquired in those initiatives in one single policy and program. Unifying the experience from those programs, the Formulation Team adopted the motives behind the

Reading Comprehension program, Interlingua, and the independent four-skill English courses as the ideological support for the current foreign language policy.

Following this logic, the first step in the formulation of the policy regarded the evaluation of the Reading Comprehension Program. The evaluation report revealed that although the Reading Comprehension Program aimed at preparing students to be more competitive in the labor market, it had little success (Quinchía et al., 2015). The alerting results of this study supported the decision of formulating the foreign language policy as stated in the policy document:

“Studies carried out by the School of Languages had showed that students’ low proficiency level is, in part, due to the current reading program aimed at developing only reading comprehension” (AA, 2014, clause 12).

Confirming the finding of this study, the Formulation Team, English program coordinators, and area representatives agreed on considering the Reading Comprehension Program as insufficient for graduates to compete. They agreed on considering that the previous policy rather made English one more requisite to fulfill before graduation than an integral instrument for students to perform academically and professionally, which worried the Academic Council (Minutes, Academic Council, October 23, 2014). For instance, during the meetings before the policy approval, members of the Academic Council commented how students avoided the reading courses or any appropriate language instruction and focused on passing the reading comprehension tests (Minutes, Academic Council, October 23, 2014). In conclusion, the University Academic Council regarded the reading comprehension courses as obsolete to meet the labor market demands, as the policy considerations identified:

Given the current students' foreign language needs, and to respond to institutional academic life... [and] since the certification of reading comprehension... In practice, it hinders access to the job market, even more, it became just a graduation requirement failing at developing and integrating all basic communicative skills of a foreign language (AA, 2014, clause 11).

The schools that had already implemented English programs believed they needed English for their students' professional development. One English program coordinator explained that the school directives originally created the English program for that particular school to strengthen the professional performance of their students:

“Graduates from this school should know a second language as part of their profile, and obviously that language is English because it is the language used in this area, obviously in international and global communication” (PC1)

Alluding similar arguments, members of the Academic Council backed the formulation of the policy because they believe the norm is pertinent in times of globalization to face the challenges of today's market (Minutes, Academic Council, , October 23, 2014).

As the Formulation Team studied the Reading Comprehension program experience, they also gathered the expectations and motives of other initiatives that took place in the University. As a member of the Formulation Team explained, the concerns about language were already present in the institution and the foreign language policy only unified those along with the derived actions different stakeholders had taken until that moment:

“The policy did not attempt to change some habits, practices. On the contrary, the changes took place first and, after analyzing those changes, we tried to formulate a feasible policy” (Formulation Team Member2, interview).

As a result, the policy adopted the common assumption that English would allow the University graduates to compete in the globalized world, as one of the considerations for the policy formulation states:

Knowing a foreign language is considered fundamental for the University since it represents a competitive advantage for professionals and, in higher education, it is desirable that professors and graduates can understand texts in their area of knowledge, communicate fluently, produce texts about diverse topics, and defend their point of view in other languages. (AA, 2014, clause 9)

Students, teachers, former administrators from the Reading Comprehension Program, and University vice-deans participating in Quinchía et al.'s (2015) study agreed that they wanted English in their undergraduate programs, but they claimed that English instruction should articulate with their academic programs (Quinchía et al, 2015, p. 306). Similarly, Educational actors in different schools want English courses for academic purposes not for tourism or conversational purposes as the commission in charge of the formulation found:

They [educational actors in various schools] knew that we did not have much time, and it [English] would not have much room in the syllabus. But they wished students could communicate, we learned that it was not English for tourism. What the schools wanted was to transmit that knowledge. Then, in that moment, the academic component appeared with the academic purposes. (Formulation Team Member2, interview)

In addition, the study that evaluated the Reading Comprehension Program found that focusing on academy had been crucial in two manners. One, the reading comprehension courses tended to include academic material to develop students' reading skills (Quinchía et al., 2015, p. 312). Two, Quinchía et al.'s (2015) participants considered the learning of English to be worthy as long as the English courses connected to their disciplinary content

(Quinchía et al., 2015, p. 312). To respond to the general demand for linking English instruction to academic needs, the policy mandates to articulate the language instruction to the disciplinary contents of the departments:

“Articulate English as a transversal axis to disciplinary courses in the undergraduate programs. With the School of Languages support, each academic unit will define the approaches to implement” (AA, 2014, art. 7).

Although the Academic Council, the Formulation Team, the Planning Team, English program Coordinators, and area representatives agreed on the instrumental role of English in all professions, they disagreed on how specific the language instruction should be for English to support students’ professional growth. Accepting the need of English to compete in today’s labor market, English program coordinators and area representatives aim at influencing students’ professional future through purposeful English instruction. With this aim in mind, these stakeholders believed that English learning should respond to the demands of the market because it favored proficient English speakers facilitating their professional development. This trust in English became a general truth even for schools that had not traditionally promoted English. One of the area representatives illustrated this point:

“Globalization has deviated Laws and Social Sciences focus away from here [The national context]. They [Laws and Social Sciences] focus on commercial and trading relationships instead. All kinds of political relationships have linked us to other languages” (AR_Sotomayor, interview).

To answer to the University concerns and goals, the team in charge of the programs design believed that a general approach should be enough for students to cope with general academic tasks. In addition, the policy aimed at responding to the academic diversity

existing in the University, which called for the development of general skills pertinent to the academic life as the Planning Team defended their proposal:

“Taking into account the vast diversity of disciplines present in the University, [the English program] is not for specific academic purposes because we are not going to respond to the specific necessities of each specific area of knowledge” (Planning Team, focus group).

Although area representatives and English program coordinators understood that this general approach answered to the foreign language policy essence of serving the University as a whole, they did not totally agree with this general approach. Many area representatives and the three English program coordinators also considered that the language instruction should specifically relate to their content areas to guarantee students capacity to perform professionally in English. Stakeholders participating in the policy appropriation debated that the policy did not acknowledge the particular needs of each department:

“The philosophical conceptualization and discussion did not draw on each academic department needs but rather on a general context” (English program coordinator3, interview).

For them, having ignored their specific needs obstructed the possibility to teach disciplinary content in the English courses because this decision endangered the pertinence of English instruction in students’ education. In consequence, they expected the courses to relate somehow to their contents.

Relating English instruction to the specific academic content responded to educational actors’ worries about how to respond to students’ academic needs. Two area representatives considered that content teachers should incorporate English in regular classes for the new policy to be successful:

Thinking about how a little part, a session, some material or a chapter of a disciplinary course [can be presented in English] must take place. That is a challenge because it also implies for teachers to prepare material in another language. (AR_Onie, interview)

Some area representatives consider that, otherwise, teaching English to students would have no relevant effect on students' education. Therefore, integration of disciplinary content and English instruction became for them the right path to take because learning about content would motivate students to learn the language as a participant argued:

“Teaching English for the sake of English is already overrated. People need motivating issues.... If language learning is not focused on content, students demotivate” (English program coordinator 2, interview).

However, stakeholders' attitudes and possibilities to approach the language varied from school to school as the team in charge of the policy planning recognized:

“We also noticed that different dependencies have different interests and conditions, including the different kind of students they serve” (Planning Team, focus group).

Consequently, educational actors argued that the language instruction they needed should vary among departments because their academic purposes vary, as another informant believed:

“A technical language fits a specific knowledge. It is not the same to read a news report, an editorial, or a short story. I mean, the syntax is deconstructed. All these genres imply the appropriate language education” (RA-Heraclito, interview).

To respond to their beliefs and worries about the specificity of the language instruction, stakeholders searched for alternatives in the policy to integrate both the language and their disciplinary content. They found two alternatives. First, educational actors recognized that the policy promoted cross-curricular instruction in English and believed this policy

characteristic might open possibilities to address specific content in the English courses. Second, the English program also offered opportunities for stakeholders to try to introduce specific content from their fields because of the tasks and projects that constituted the courses, as well as the possibility to add a sixth level to the program.

Based on the perceived opportunities in the language policy and English program, educational actors planned actions according to their capacities. Those schools with the experience to teach English for specific purposes planned to offer elective English courses focused on the content area, which one program coordinator explained:

“Once the proposal is implemented, when they eliminate the sixth level, and the fifth level stops focusing on specific content but approaches general topics, we plan to offer two more English levels as elective courses” (English program coordinator3, interview).

Besides English courses, other area representatives planned to take complementary actions like hosting events for English learners to gather and practice the language and teaching content courses in English, although they disagreed such alternatives could strengthen students’ professional training (RA_Rockwell). Nevertheless, they tried to take advantage of their own conditions to integrate the language and the content as some actors had already started to do:

“[Content] teachers who are proficient in English already have dialogues with students in English, conversations within the same classes; a topic is developed in English” (AR_Whitman, interview).

If University stakeholders considered English to be the minimum requirement to compete in the global market, when they referred to the internationalization of the University, stakeholders beheld that English was vital for the institution to gain

international visibility and strengthen research. Since strengthening research had become the University priority, the internationalization of the institution represented access to resources for research that local supporters lacked. Hence, the Academic Council and the School of Languages formulated the policy aiming to prepare not only students but also teachers and researchers in the end, so they join the international academic and scientific community in the international arena. Subsequently, educational actors embrace this ideal in the appropriation of the policy convinced that positioning the University internationally would grant the resources needed to strengthen their scientific productivity.

The internationalization of the University and consequent strengthening of research as stated in the institutional development plan 2006-2016 constituted another primary reason for policy makers to formulate a foreign language policy focused on English. One member of the policy formulation commission explained that these goals were a priority for the University when the formulation started:

“At that moment [2012], the University had two targets, two strategic objectives that led the Development Plan. Let’s say they were the priority. They aimed at developing research and internationalization” (AR_Whitman, interview).

Being the internationalization a priority as stated in the Development Plan, the University needed to teach English to the academic community as this participant explained. Hence, preparing the University community to integrate with international peers in international venues comprehended the promotion of English among the University academic community. Moreover, research had become the support of the University academic life at undergraduate and postgraduate levels according to the Development Plan (2005, p. 59). In addition, the University aimed at becoming one of the most important research centers in the continent as the institution stated in its Development Plan (2005, p. 17). This purpose

required the University to keep open channels of communication with countries around the world to learn from their scientific advances and power the University academic programs as policy makers considered for the policy formulation:

The article 8 of the General Statute states that the University is permeable by all thinking manifestations, it is open to all scientific knowledge and cultural manifestations of thought, and promotes communication among all peoples of the world to incorporate in their academic programs the latest advancements in research. (AA, 2014, cons4)

To achieve these goals, the University must prepare to communicate in English over all other languages as the University policy makers alerted. According to the University Academic Council, the discussion in the academic world took place in English and universities tended to incorporate English in their syllabi and no other languages (Minutes, Academic Council, , October 23, 2014). Stakeholders argued that most of the important journals published in English. Even countries where English was not the official language published mainly in English. To publish in these journals, students and researchers need to know how to write in English because the scientific community communicates in English today. Consistently, professors in different departments told the commission in charge of the formulation that they needed students to learn English to publish as one member of the Formulation Team recounted:

“The conversations occurred during the schools councils, and professors were present...what all teachers unanimously claimed: ‘No, writing! Writing is very important to publish’ (Formulation Team member2, interview).

However, students came into the university with such a bad level that they could not even read, as another stakeholder lamented:

“[Students’ English level] does not even allow them to read literature in English, which is so necessary for their education in the University” (English program coordinator3, interview).

Dealing with printed communication represents only one of the many skills the University needs to cultivate among its academic community. Stakeholders expect students and researchers to attend international events as well, and they knew that only English could help them to meet the international requirements to participate in international venues as a member of the Formulation Team explained:

“[Teachers needed] to go to congresses here and there were congress held in English, but [Teachers] learned Portuguese all of their life. [Learning English] is an international pressure, not even that, it goes beyond national borders” (Formulation Team member2, interview).

Furthermore, English allows students, professors, and researchers to apply to scholarships and internships in English speaking Universities. However, a participant exposed that University students preferred Universities in Spanish speaking countries for their internships because they lacked foreign language skills, which closed the doors on opportunities different that the ones these Spanish-speaking institutions could offer:

“Most [students] are choosing Spanish speaking countries, which is not wrong, I think it is very positive, but knowing a foreign language opens other doors as well” (Formulation Team member2, interview).

Additionally, lacking English proficiency has affected the agreements that University departments had maintained with important Universities of the United States. Not having the language competence would block students’ mobility disregarding students’ academic

capacities as one of the informants from a school with solid international agreements denounced:

“Harvard demands TOEFL scores of 100 points, but students do not reach those scores. Then, a student may be quite good academically but if he does not know a second language, he cannot rotate abroad... taking into account what means clinical clerkship in Harvard” (English program coordinator³, interview).

To sum up, during the policy formulation, school councils and the Academic Council wanted to adopt English to reinforce the internationalization process of the institution. This enterprise was a University goal since the formulation of its General Statute in 1994 as the policy document considered (AA, 2014, clause 5). To succeed in this process, the institution accepted the importance of a second language to interact with the international academic community. For these stakeholders, this second language had to be English because of its importance in the academic world as the policy document states:

“English has become the most used language in the academic and scientific modern world and, consequently, choosing it as the base of the Foreign Language Policy for undergraduate students its justifiable” (AA, 2014, clause 15).

While the Academic Council considered that English was necessary to enter the international scientific discussion, deans, academic department coordinators, and research representatives appropriating the policy believed that the internationalization process would grant the resources needed for strengthening research. Area representatives claimed that research growth required a sponsorship that the Colombian state could not support. Hence, the internationalization of the University became a crucial strategy for the University to find the resources they needed through collaborative work with institutions around the

world. In this scenario, English became the gatekeeper to the resources that stakeholders needed to strengthen research.

Strengthening research required resources that the University lacked. The institution needed resources to develop research agendas instead of disconnected research projects, as an informant urged:

“In this moment, we are scratching a living here. We are proposing research projects instead of long term research programs, I believe, which is common in the departments” (AR_Habermas, interview).

According to area representatives, the University lacks extra resources to sponsor students’ research training, which again affects the capacity the University has for maintaining long-term research agendas, as the informant claimed:

“We do not have resources to grant scholarships to doctoral and masters’ students, who basically guarantee the constitution of long-term research programs” (AR_Habermas, interview).

In conclusion, area representatives believe that strengthening research implies resources that the University does not have, even though the institution owns more resources than other universities in the country as an informant revealed:

This year, the University offered \$ 1.110.000.000 to the Social and Human Sciences. For instance, COLCIENCIAS offered \$ 800.000.000 to the research groups in the area. It means that we have more money than the money the government endows. However, it is not enough. (AR_Habermas, interview)

To overcome the insufficient resources for research, the University needs to find sponsorship outside the country through the internationalization of the institution. Area representatives see in the internationalization of the University the opportunity to access

resources that foreign Universities could offer them through collaborative research work and institutional agreements:

“What must be done in times of crisis when the government does not want to sponsor research, especially in social sciences? We must find the resources abroad through international calls to work with other research groups” (AR_Habermans, interview).

Hence, area representatives trust that international mobility could open and consolidate agreements with foreign universities. In this way, the institution could access foreign resources from collaborative research projects, as a participant explained:

Let’s suppose that one student ends up studying in Harvard. Then, this student graduates and gets a teaching position in an American University. He and I carry out a research project together sponsored by the American government. The project has US\$ 100.000 to train students. US\$ 100.000, for students! I am talking about an ideal case. (AR_Kepler, interview)

Therefore, area representatives believe the University must invest in internationalization because the investment will return in recourses for the University. For them, investing in the internationalization of the University requires investment in English as the institution opens many international agreements in English, which a stakeholder made clear:

“The international agreements that we have in this moment are all in English. We have one with Holland, another with the Texas Tech University There is one recently opened with a University in South Africa” (AR_Habermas, interview).

Given the type of agreements the University holds and the importance of consolidating them, area representatives claimed that the future of the University greatly depended on English. For them, adopting the language has become a matter of academic survival for the University as a stakeholder argued:

“In this case, I consider it [English] important because, for us, it is a matter of life or death, academic life or death” (AR_Kepler, interview).

Therefore, regardless of the particularities among departments and their agreements with institutions in foreign countries, the University needs to adopt English because science is written in this language.

To conclude, the foreign language policy feeds the Academic Council, academic program coordinators, and research representatives’ hopes of strengthening the internationalization and research of the University in three fronts. One, the policy would help students to publish in English. Two, the policy would strengthen students’ ability to network with scholars from other Universities, so they could make the academic contacts needed to open possibilities for continuing their postgraduate studies and applying to internships in English speaking universities. Finally, area representatives hope the policy will actually strengthen the internationalization of the University by helping students to work with foreign scholars, as a stakeholder upheld:

“I hope students can articulate and connect their work to that of other groups not only from the country but also from abroad” (AR_Whitman, interview).

These expectations respond to two different logics regarding the relation between internationalization and research. First, the Academic Council sees the internationalization as the opportunity to join the international academic community. Second, for deans, academic department coordinators, and research representatives, internationalization symbolizes access to the resources needed for strengthening research.

English as the Dominant Language

The third ideology regards how stakeholders assign values to English and other languages when responding to accountability procedures, the global job market, and

internationalization demands on the University. The Academic Council and the Formulation Team prioritized actions and resources to adopt English because this language carries the most value for them in responding to demands imposed on the institution. This preference became evident in the policy document, even though they maintained the Interlingua program and other foreign languages present in the institution. However, area representatives also revealed the existence of a latent unofficial resistance against English as they appropriated the policy because making the language mandatory symbolized a menace to other languages within the University and local agendas.

The data show a predicament regarding the promotion and protection of various languages in the Academic Council and Formulation Team's decision to adopt English. On one hand, these policy makers shaped the policy according to English value and usefulness because this language represents a key to quality education, accreditation, globalization, and internationalization whereas other languages do not. On the other hand, the policy considerations and articles show that these policy makers recognized the role of the Interlingua program, the functionality of other foreign languages, and the existence of native languages in the University. This way to approach the adoption of English indicates that the Academic Council and the Formulation Team tried to protect the linguistic environment of the University. However, they could not escape the logic of promoting the adoption of English over other languages because of economic, political and practical considerations associated to this language, as one policy maker explained why they focus on English:

“... because of several reasons. One the economic reason, another the political reason, and another the practical reason” (Formulation Team member1, interview).

Investing the University's limited economic resources on an English program demonstrates that the Academic Council and the Formulation Team considered English as the most valuable language. The University could afford to teach only one language to all of the student population given the restricted resources the University had, while promoting a multilingual program for the whole institution required a considerable amount of resources, as another member of the Formulation Team illustrated:

“What should happen in a multilingual policy? The University needs to invest lots of resources...It would be almost, I do not know, a huge building where everybody could go to study the language they wanted” (Formulation Team member2, interview).

In addition to the lack of resources to maintain a multilingual program for all students, the Formulation Team's experience in the Interlingua program showed that most students are interested in English rather than in other languages. They also acknowledged that most departments demand English to the point that some schools had their own English programs. Consequently, the Formulation Team decided to invest on an English program.

Besides the economic reasons, the Academic Council and the Formulation Team pondered English political load. The Formulation Team acknowledged that English political power make this foreign language the *lingua franca* in science and in the market. For the Formulation Team, English has gained political power because of years of producing national educational foreign language policies focused on this language, as a member of the Formulation Team explained:

Changing all the students' language assumptions once they enter the University....results to be quite difficult since, I would dare to say, they [students' language assumptions] come...from bilingualism and other political trends

[Interviewer: Bilingualism? The national policy?] Yes. The one Uribe started and had changed until today. (Formulation Team member2, interview)

Despite the influence of the national foreign language policies, the Academic Council and the Formulation Team acknowledged that bilingualism implied more than English-Spanish cohabitation. Policy makers' behaviors in policy formulation demonstrated their position regarding language ecology. Firstly, they recognized the pertinence of other foreign languages in the University and defended that the policy did not threaten other languages, as a participant claimed:

“The agreement, the policy, does not say ‘Close everything not related to [English]...’. It says, ‘In addition to everything we have, strengthen English’ (Formulation Team member2, interview).

In addition, the Formulation Team recognized that the Interlingua program served many students interested in other languages as well and would probably continue growing. The Interlingua program would rather expand than disappear as an informant argued:

“There will always be students interested. [Interlingua] always grows; it never decays, contrary to what we once thought” (FM2).

Some departments actually demanded other foreign languages for their programs. Finally, policy makers recognized that the Interlingua program facilitates communication with foreign cultures as stated in the policy considerations:

“The Interlingua program offers the University different foreign languages aiming at promoting dialogue with other cultures” (AA, 2014, clause 20).

Secondly, the Formulation Team recognized Spanish and Indigenous language as bilingualism. Hence, they emphasized that the foreign language policy here studied focused

on foreign languages and not on bilingualism, as a member of the Formulation Team defended:

“Given that bilingualism implies that not all bilingual people speak a foreign language because there are also native languages, we must recognize this reality” (Formulation Team member2, interview).

To sum up, the Academic Council and the Formulation Team shaped the policy in response to the value and political power of English but recognized and tried to protect the existence of other languages in the University. In conformity, the policy mandates to keep the Interlingua program for a rather humanitarian and cultural reason than for an instrumental one:

“Maintain, through the [Interlingua] program, extracurricular foreign language courses for the academic community in order to promote dialogue with other cultures (AA, 2014, art.13).

In addition, the policy excuses the native students in academic programs for indigenous students from taking the English courses. This is one of the policy mandates:

“...Excuse the students from programs addressed to indigenous communities from obeying this Policy” (AA, 2014, Art. 8).

Although the policy recognizes the existence of other languages in the University, English program coordinators and area representatives consider English to be an instrument of political domination. Two area representatives and an English program coordinator claimed that the policy responded to external pressures as an informant asserted:

“Things do not just happen. I believe there must be some kind of pressures in the academic sphere for a language to be prevalent” (English program coordinator2, interview).

For some area representatives, such pressures first come from the Ministry of Education but actually originate from international forces that the national government has to obey as another informant analyzed:

“[The policy] responds to policies extraneous to the University, but that come from the Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Education responds to international policies that lead to English knowledge and proficiency” (AR_Kundera, interview).

Area representatives argued that because national and international policies have endorsed English, the language has become the status quo and everybody has contributed to maintain the language power, which a participant denounced:

“The dynamic works in such a way that the language gains control globally, and we also end up playing the game because we end up reading the biographic references and paying more attention to them” (AR_Onie, interview).

For area representatives, the whole machinery resembles a vicious circle where English has hold the dominating position and will continue gaining more power. According to them, no one can escape English control because of the political power behind the language, which consists of external pressures from foreign agencies that employ the language to reinforce policies that only benefit them, as an area representative denounced:

“I mean, all the conditions are given for the language to become part of those great powers and for English to prolong the same international policies” (RA_Kundera, interview).

Confronting that political power and struggling against foreign agencies' demands for adopting English implies losses for area representatives because governmental agencies would deny financial support and academic recognition, as another educational actor criticized:

What does COLCIENCIAS require to sponsor us or let us participate? What kind of articles should we publish? Q1. What are Q1 articles? The ones published in English. Then, everything ends here. No matter how critical you are, you end up publishing in certain recognized journals because that guarantees the financial resources for your research projects. (AR_Onie, interview)

As English symbolizes financial support and academic recognition, the Formulation Team took the pertinence of the foreign language for granted. Proposing a foreign language policy centered in English responded to a practical issue the University needed to address, as a stakeholder revealed:

“I do not believe five levels are enough to learn English.... I believe that the University is simply adopting some international policies” (AR_Kundera, interview).

Despite area representatives accepted in general that the University needed to adopt English to act within the political machinery, some educational actors criticize the policy and the actual role of English in reinforcing hidden agendas of domination. Foreign control and invasion worry professors who claimed that English was overrated and students could avoid learning the language, as a stakeholder revealed:

In the Program Committee, there was real opposition. They said that students did not need English. They said, “...To understand *the gringos* when they complete their invasion!” (AR_Sotomayor, interview).

In addition, area representatives caution that the adoption of English by the University must not go in detriment of Spanish. As a mother tongue, Spanish must continue being the main mean to communicate the greater scientific developments of the University. The institution should follow the experience of other countries that continue publishing their

scientific production in their mother tongue such as France and Germany (RA_ Habermas, interview).

To conclude, the appropriation of the policy happens in the middle of an open recognition of the political dominance of the language and a latent resistance to its power. The power that English represents has pushed the University to plan and take actions such as the foreign language policy formulation itself, which aims at playing the game national and international policies imposed. However, this game does not prevent stakeholders from appropriating the policy in ways that actually challenge the domination of English. For instance, the Planning Team looked for ways to use the English program in reinforcing the other foreign languages from the Interlingua program, as the Planning Team explained:

“We discussed what our vision is from our academic believes.... Initially we have the E- [Program], where E stands for English. But the hyphen implies that the F- [Program], F for French, P-[Program], P for Portuguese will come later” (Planning Team, focus group).

English as a Social Responsibility

Finally, although ideals of accountability, competitiveness, and visibility influenced the Academic Council and Formulation Team’ decisions, a sense of social responsibility also informed their decisions in the policymaking process. Social responsibility implies an education in the different dimensions of the human being for students to understand the University’s commitment towards the most vulnerable groups in society. Moreover, the data revealed how the Formulation Team tried to solve a growing problem of inequity among departments within the University by making the English Program available to all undergraduate programs in the institution. In like fashion, deans, academic program coordinators, English program coordinators, appropriate the policy expecting the language

will widen University students' perspectives beyond the needs of everyday life because they will ultimately serve society.

Competing with instrumental motives such as meeting quality indicators, responding to globalization, and accessing resources for research, the idea of formulating a policy to contribute to students' integral education also inspired the Academic Council and the Formulation Team. They recognized that the University pursues the academic, scientific, personal, artistic, and social dimensions of the human being, as stated in the University General Statute and cited in the policy document considerations:

“The University has established, among its objectives, in the article 27 of the General Statute, to educate students integrally on scientific, ethical, and humanistic basis....to responsibly fulfill their professional duties” (AA, 2014, clause 2).

Regarding this objective, members of the Academic Council defended that beyond serving as an instrument for academic and scientific purposes, English could support the artistic and social development of students as they discussed during the policy formulation debates:

“It is not about developing a competence in an English Language, but about educating integrally” (Minutes, Academic Council, October 23, 2014).

For the Academic Council, teaching English responds to the need for integral education because knowing the language could help University graduates to overcome social inequity and support the institution's social responsibility. Given the socioeconomic origin of most University students and the limited capacity of various departments to teach English, the Academic Council and the Formulation Team worried that only few students could actually learn the language. In consequence, these two policy makers defended the proposal of a policy to benefit all departments:

“Do we want to continue with the current model? Or do we want equal conditions for all students regardless of the existing economic disparity among academic units?”

(Minutes, Academic Council, October 23, 2014).

Accordingly, offering those departments with fewer resources a good English program proves that the University cares for the most vulnerable students as its mission states:

“The university has as a primary responsibility to serve those most vulnerable social groups through pertinent and quality programs” (AA, 2014, clause 3).

To conclude, the Formulation Team considered teaching English to all of the students a guarantee of fair opportunities for accessing science and academy and for increasing the impact of their professional education on society.

As the Formulation Team believed, area representatives and the English program coordinators consider the norm to be an opportunity for students to enrich their world perspectives and prepare better to serve society. Convinced of the society’s demands for learning English, these stakeholders considered English learning a right independently of the resources they had to pay for the language instruction. Consequently, they hoped that learning the language would provide students with a wider understanding of their place in and responsibility to the world without ignoring other perspectives about adopting the language, as the Planning Team argued:

You can see the teaching of English from two critical perspectives. One implies to see it as the language of imposition and colonialism.... We are not serving our students but hegemonizing them. If you see it from another perspective, from “I am empowering them” because English does not only belong to one group, but it is an international language that serves everybody to function in the world and to access

opportunities, then, in that sense, English is good and positive. (Planning Team, focus group)

Furthermore, area representatives agree that knowing other languages unbinds different explanations of the world. The lack of foreign languages limits students' reality because their vision of the world would comprehend only what Spanish speaking authors could tell them. Therefore, stakeholders believed that knowing other languages might expand students' academic world as a participant praised:

“At the end, knowing another language opens your cultural and academic perspectives which impacts your education and world view” (AR_Kepler, interview).

Area representatives believe that the students' international mobility might also represent an opportunity for students' personal growth. For instance, having an internship in a foreign university might enrich students' experiences beyond their immediate reality to grow wiser:

If a boy participates in an internship abroad, he also positions himself as a citizen, and we get major gains because this student's worldview will go beyond his neighborhood, the city. It will be the view of the world. It would improve his decision-making skills because he will critically analyze reality. (AR_Onie, interview)

Therefore, area representatives and English program coordinators trust that the policy could support opportunities for social improvement as long as the approach to the language drew on a social perspective of Education. For policy practitioners in the University schools, the institution should always question language instruction under higher canons than efficient performance and higher production, as this participant argued:

“So, what is the purpose of teaching English? If it is a mere technical issue, we may as well ask, what is the purpose of teaching chemistry or arts? If teaching does not focus on social responsibility, everything becomes disposable” (AR_Onie, interview).

Area representatives consider that as long as the University critically questions the reasons for adopting English, the language instruction could support social change that graduates might potentially make through their professional practice. Professionals graduated from the University should be educated to work for the welfare of the society they belong to and find alternatives to improve the conditions of the communities they would serve as this educational actor urged:

“The University must graduate citizens. It must. It is not optative. We who are in management positions must promote the University responsibility to educate people to bring change” (AR_Onie, interview).

In conclusion, area representative and English program coordinators share the premises that led the Formulation Team to consider the policy and the English program as a part of the University social responsibility. Furthermore, the participants in this study see in the policy the opportunity to cultivate the human dimension and spirit of future graduates to commit to help the communities they will serve. While the Formulation Team considered that learning English was a students’ right because of its importance in their education and professional development, area representatives believed that as any knowledge English can provide spaces for social change. Nevertheless, they emphasized that teaching the language must draw on a social perspective for the instruction to raise students’ social awareness.

Discussion and Conclusions

The findings of this study show how four main language ideologies related to English influenced the formulation and appropriation of a foreign language policy in a Colombian public university in pursuit of its internationalization. Regarding the first ideology, the Academic Council, the Formulation Team and many of the area representatives assumed that English represented a guarantee for accreditation and resources; nonetheless, many area representatives plan how to balance the equation between English and academic quality since the language represents for them a threat to their academic programs. Concerning the second ideology found, the Academic Council, the Formulation Team, English program coordinators, and area representatives acknowledged the pertinence of English in increasing competitiveness in the labor market and the knowledge economy. Furthermore, area representatives expect the language to facilitate access to foreign resources through enhancing relationships with universities abroad.

In relation to the third ideology, the Formulation Team and the Academic Council's decision to set English as the base for the foreign language policy responded to the economic and political power of the language in the global market and academic world; nevertheless, various academic representatives perceive English as a political menace for other languages and local agendas. As regards the fourth ideology, the Academic Council, the Formulation Team, the Planning Team, and area representatives believed that English represented an opportunity to respond better to the students and the regions' needs in constructing a better Colombian society. Based on these findings and drawing on authors who have previously explored the relation between ideology and policy, the author examines in this section three insights these findings yield. The lessons learned so far from the policymaking process of this university suggests that, one, *ideological battles do not*

necessarily shape policymaking processes, two, policy negotiation opens ideological spaces at the ground level and, three, ideological assumptions suggest implications for policymaking processes.

Ideological Battles do not Necessarily Shape Policymaking Processes

The first insight points to consider the University policymaking process immersed in ideological crosscurrents rather than in the middle of ideological battles. This research study set out drawing on Shohamy's (2006) idea that language policymaking processes happened in a midst of ideological battles, which seemed coherent with the existing political and ideological conflict inside public universities described by various Colombian authors (Cortés, 2014; Montoya, 2013; Restrepo, 2012; Usma, 2009). Nonetheless, this case study suggests that policymaking processes do not necessary take place in an ideological battle. Crashing and competing ideologies indeed inform policies as Sonntag (2000) argues, especially when they focus on English since the language becomes a venue of ideological contest (Pennycook, 2000). However, they do not necessary happen in the midst of what Shohamy (2006, p. 23) argues to be ideological "battles between those interested in perpetuating a homogenous and nationalist ideology and those seeking representation, participation and self-expression".

On the contrary, the policy studied here rather demonstrates that policy practitioners make sense of competing ideologies to pursue their own agendas because they are "the center of political practice and not mere outcomes of historical tensions" (Hawkes, 2003, p. 167). Hence, the findings in this study reinforce that stakeholders renegotiate the meanings of the policy by reinterpreting the norm according to their own convictions and interests to make it an ally (N. Hornberger & Johnson, 2007, p. 528). Consequently, the policy appropriation seemed not to lead to an absolute resistance, which might occur as a possible

outcome of stakeholders' reinterpretation of the norm (Levinson & Sutton, 2001, p. 3).

Conversely, the English program coordinators and the area representatives seemed to have enough interests at stake to constantly reinterpret the policy and transform it in an attempt to benefit from this colossal endeavor.

Additionally, the findings revealed the Planning Team, the English program coordinators, and the area representatives' determination to enact the policy despite the ideological discrepancies present in the policy formulation and appropriation. Regarding the formulation, the Academic Council and the Formulation Team agreed in general that the decisions made would benefit the University and their students, even though the ideologies that guided them are not necessarily coherent among them. This general agreement on the benefits of English demonstrates what Pennycook (2000) denounces to be a "colonial celebration" (pp. 109) in which stakeholders recognize the superiority of English over other languages and endorse its propagation because of the practical benefits the language brings.

For instance, in the formulation of this policy, the Academic Council and the Formulation Team decided to adopt English because the language represented a guarantee of academic quality, accreditation and resources. Additionally, policy makers saw the language could become a tool to increase students' competitiveness in the labor market and the University participation in the knowledge economy. Accordingly, the Academic Council and the Formulation Team focused the policy on the promotion of English learning because they acknowledged the high value that English represents over other languages within the scientific and academic world.

Despite the instrumental value attributed to English, the Academic Council and the Formulation Team also considered English to enrich their students' integral education,

maintained the Interlingua program and excused the program for indigenous students from incorporating English. However, this perspective on English does not contradict what Usma (2009) calls language instrumentalization. In contrast, this perspective aims at gaining freedom and control over English to serve local and contextual needs regardless of the political and economic pressures (Canagarajah, 2000, p. 122). To sum up, the Academic Council and the Formulation Team formulated the policy influenced by two differing ideologies. One, only English could help them to achieve their goals. Two, English could serve noble ends and coexist among other languages as well.

Furthermore, this ideological mismatch reveals that although the ideologies informing the formulation of the policy contrasted each other, they motivated the Academic Council and the Formulation Team to embody the policy and adopt the language. In other words, the data analysis demonstrates that crashing crosscurrents of ideologies motivated the policymaking process between agreements and disagreements. The analysis also proves that the Planning Team, the English program coordinators, and the area representatives aimed at the successful adoption of English to fulfill multiple needs the University faced in undertaking a fruitful internationalization process. In the following paragraphs, the author discusses how these ideological countercurrents motivated the adoption of the language leading these stakeholders to reinterpret and negotiate the policy during its appropriation.

Policy Negotiation Opens Ideological Spaces at the Ground Level

Concerning the second insight the findings offer, the emergence of more substantial discrepancies among the Planning Team, the English program coordinators, and the area representatives during the appropriation demonstrates their agency to open ideological spaces for negotiating the official ideologies. These three groups of policy actors come to deeper divergences because their language beliefs, opinions and assumptions challenged

the status of English as Pennycook (2000, p. 140) explains. The Planning Team, the English program coordinators, and the area representatives have to ponder over the status of English in the academy world in times of globalization and internationalization of higher education. Hence, the English program coordinators and the area representatives question and challenge elements of the policy structure like assigning credits to the English courses. The English program coordinators and the area representatives defy the policy because they are agents in the policymaking process playing an active and conscious role in enabling the policy (Canagarajah, 1999, p. 207; Johnson & Freeman, 2010, p. 14). This agency translates into agents' power to demand recognition as experts or democratic participation (Miranda et al., 2016).

However, the English program coordinators and the area representatives inquisitive attitude towards the policy goes beyond a mere insolent position against the policy as Ramírez (2015) defends, but it rather responds to their agency to negotiate their ideological position (Pennycook, 2000, p. 140). In this negotiation, the Planning Team, the English program coordinators, and the area representatives open new ideological spaces unknown before the appropriation of the policy as Hornberger and Johnson (2007, p. 511) found in the development of multilingual policies. According to the authors, opening ideological spaces results in various ways to rethink the adoption of English or the cultivation of other languages.

For instance, stakeholders could redefine the concept of bilingualism as well as aim at further objectives than those stated in the official policy (Ayala, 2012). Then, policy actors find ways to accommodate different ideologies about English and other languages and pluralize their world view (Canagarajah, 1999, p. 207). Participants in this case study have

started to adjust their worldviews in respect to the internationalization of the University, at least, by planning how to comply with the policy without abandoning their own ideologies.

New ideological spaces become evident as the English program coordinators and the area representatives react to their fear that the policy might bring disciplinary content decline and students' academic failure in spite of the policy objective of boosting the University academic quality indicators. Accountability became a critical point to negotiate, leading the English program coordinators and the area representatives to examine how the language policy and the integration of English to their academic programs could actually benefit the University, the departments, and the students. Their reflections obeyed to their fear that the policy could result in the loss of academic content and an increment in students' dropouts, while trying to improve indicators such as the National English test *Pruebas saberpro* scores and the University Alumni Employability report. Problems that are consistent with what Apple (2004) and Menken (2008) have previously criticized in regards to the United-States education policy Not Child Left Behind, which is strongly based on accountability (Apple, 2004, p. 130; Menken, 2008, p. 162).

As the United-States education policy described by Apple (2004) and Menken (2008), the University seized a dominant educational ideology of evaluation as a diagnosis of academic excellence. Therefore, promoting English learning to meet indicators becomes imperative for the Academic Council. Nonetheless, when the policy started being interpreted, managerial variants, as the redistribution of credits, made evident that aiming at guaranteeing academic quality through meeting accountability indicators resulted quite risky for the University quality. Fewer credits will be allocated for academic content subjects because schools need to accommodate credits for the English program to be included in the undergraduate programs, implying that academic content would be reduced.

This ironic effect of accountability appeared documented as well in the work of Colombian authors such as Cardenas (2006) and Correa and Usma (2013) who have already alarmed the educational community about how the rush for accountability has jeopardized education quality in the Colombian school system.

Ideological spaces for preventing the announced consequences of trusting accountability were opened when University educational actors found ways to diminish the impact of reassigning credits. They looked for substitutions to incorporate English attempting to maintain the academic rigor and students' investment in their disciplinary areas. In this instance, educational actors ingeniously looked for ways to negotiate between the norm and their concerns (Canagarajah, 1999, p. 212). They did not attempt to disobey the University foreign language policy but to creatively respond to their own beliefs of what academic quality should encompass even under the ideological dominance of accountability.

Other ideological spaces opened when the Planning Team, the English program coordinators, and the area representatives consider how specific the approach to English instruction should be to serve the University in times of globalization. These policy actors expected English courses to focus specifically on the particular academic needs and contents of each department to enhance students' competitiveness and performance in the labor market. Concern and proposal that cross the agendas of other higher education institutions as Ayala (2012) highlights in his invitation for an "additive bilingualism" (p. 152) in the creation of a foreign language policy for la Salle University to respond to national policy but to satisfy his institution particular needs. This focus demonstrates how stakeholders adopt an ideological position in regards to a dominant discourse of the role of English in students' professionalization (Restrepo, 2012, p. 42). This also shows how

market demands and the economic system conditions influenced education in times of globalization (Apple, 2004, p. 35; Canagarajah, 1999, p. 209). However, the Planning Team', the English program coordinators', and the area representatives' ideological positions became more complex than a mere focus on just producing income which Apple (2004, p. 35) condemns. On the one hand, they aimed at obtaining the social and academic benefits that English brings as Canagarajah (1999, p. 209) argues. On the other hand, stakeholders feared that rejecting English will only condemn them to social stagnation, which Canagarajah (2000, p. 128) has already reported in his work about the history of English in Sri Lanka.

Furthermore, the Planning Team and area representatives not only recognized the role of English in students' productivity and performance but also the opportunity to cultivate students' cultural capital by widening their understanding of the world. Demands for English to open a global perspective to students resembles de Mejiá's (2006) advocacy for bilingual programs that enrich students integrative view of culture. Then, Planning Team and area representatives crave for the foreign language to nourish tolerant and respectful attitudes towards cultural and linguistic diversity (de Mejiá, 2006). Finding opportunities to widen University students' worldview echoes with what Usma (2015) describes as a "nurturing perspective" to foreign language policy appropriation (p.122). This nurturing perspective has been present in the way school teachers in the City attempt to fulfill school students' emotional needs through making sense of national foreign languages policies (Usma, 2015, p. 122). Therefore, the Planning Team and area representatives actually create alternative meanings while adopting ideologies of English in the global market.

The University scenario for policy appropriation becomes complicated because area representatives expect the internationalization of the University and the adoption of English

to endow the resources the institution lacked in the country. In this case, stakeholders need to negotiate the internationalization purposes they pursue as Smit (2010, p. 44) urges. Consequently, the University must ponder how to prepare students to apply and obtain grants and scholarships, as well as to network and work collaboratively with international academic peers. Bearing these goals in mind, educational actors need to articulate ideologies embodied in students' culture, beliefs, and motivations with social interaction and academic success in the international university as Preisler (2011, p. xx) warns.

Fortunately, the data show that the English program coordinators and area representatives worry about the quality and focus of the content to be taught beyond what Restrepo (2012, p. 42) denounces to be a mere opposition to the policy. On the contrary, these policy practitioners have already learned that their efforts should aim at overcoming the mere normative reduction of the policy to a certification requirement, which has become common among higher education institutions as Miranda et al. (2016), Ramírez (2015) and Ayala (2012) argue. Therefore, English program coordinators and area representatives interpret the policy searching for alternatives to make English learning part of the academic programs rather than having isolated English courses or a certification requirement. In this search for alternatives to teaching English in the international university, they organized ingenious developments of the policy, an outcome that Levinson and Sutton (2001, p. 10) extols.

Considering how to integrate content and language to respond to the market demands and internationalization goals, the Planning Team and area representatives found alternatives to cope with the political domination that English embodies. The adoption of English responds to political pressures imposed on the University that materialized in demands for accountability, market competitiveness, and restricted resources, which all

participants openly recognized. This political burden has been denounced by Escobar (2012), Garcia and Garcia (2012), and Correa and Usma (2013) in language policies at the national level. Furthermore, Moya (2014) has unveiled how political pressures affect the coexistence of multiple languages in San Andres Island. This burden has also permeated university language policies through the ideological assumption that English is required to succeed in the academic world (Restrepo, 2012, p. 38).

Although the findings of this study, as well as those of Restrepo (2012), evidence a political burden, the data show how stakeholders' view of the whole scenario is more complex than a mere allegory to political hegemony. Therefore, thinking that English only represents domination for stakeholders is too simplistic as Canagarajah (1999, p. 207) argues. On the contrary, stakeholders find other roles for English as they appropriate the policy. For instance, area representatives created spaces inside the institution for colleagues to share personal experiences in English, to learn the foreign language, and join international scientific discussions by reading and publishing in top ranked journals.

Besides the roles that English can play for the participants, the data also demonstrate that the Planning Team and area representatives open up ideological spaces by recognizing the interaction of other languages within the institution and their pertinence in its internationalization. English remains the dominant language in the internationalization process, which these stakeholders recognized, but their decisions demonstrated that they also acknowledged the meaning of learning other languages besides instrumental purposes of associated to English. This is how local stakeholders demonstrate their agency in balancing the power of English (Canagarajah, 1999, p. 208). Neither do the policy nor do the Planning Team aimed at banning other languages. Conversely, the Planning Team and area representatives plan actions to reinforce the learning of other languages because they

also play essential roles in cultivating cultural exchange with the international community despite English dominance, which represents the complexity of the internationalization of higher education (Preisler, 2011, p. xiii). Briefly, the appropriation process observed rather took place in the middle of the Planning Team's and area representatives' attempts to assign new meanings to the adoption of English and to protect and promote other languages to respond to the complexities of internationalizing the University.

To conclude, the findings demonstrate how one foreign language policy does not respond to only one ideology because the Planning Team, English program coordinators, and area representatives open up ideological spaces of reinterpretation and negotiation. Therefore, the ideological dominance of English fails at guaranteeing homogenization of University stakeholders' actions because they actually question and challenge the prescribed roles that the language has in times of accountability in education, globalization of the market, and internationalization of higher education. Subsequently, as the Planning Team, English program coordinators, and area representatives appropriate the policy and adopt English, their actions jeopardize foreign agencies aspirations to dominate as Canagarajah (2000, p. 123) celebrates, albeit he recognizes the global English positioning would change little.

For instance, area representatives expect the policy to provide the University with more tools to bring solutions to regional problems like the lack of English-proficient teachers in public elementary schools. Optimist expectations like this one prove that languages connect to multiple ideologies (Canagarajah, 2000, p. 127). This does not mean that the Planning team or area representatives are naïve and ignored that the discourses behind English might mislead them into believing they have free choice to use English for social change as Pennycook (2000) fears. They actually know that agencies benefiting from

the adoption of English might as well adopt discourses of democratization and equity to manipulate policy practitioners as Canagarajah (2000, p. 129) alerts. In fact, these findings show how the Planning Team, English program coordinators, and area representatives modified and transformed the meaning of English dominance in the light of their interests, needs, fears, and relation with other languages.

Ideological Assumptions Suggest Implications for Policymaking Processes

While finding alternative spaces for negotiation between the ideological crosscurrents that informed the policy, the participants in this study struggle with their fears and expectations of adopting English. Their concerns and hopes in making and planning this policy represented more than illusory assumptions on the role of English and other languages in the internationalization of the University. There is nothing illusory about ideologies as the theory explains (Hawkes, 2003, pp. 167–169; Zizek, 1994, p. 7). Indeed, policy practitioners' fears and expectations base on real consequences and benefits administered by the market and the education system in the name of English.

On the one hand, the Academic Council and area representatives have accumulated a vast experience dealing with the consequences of not having adopted the language. The lack of English has risked the University visibility in the national test *Pruebas Saber Pro* and top ranked journals, has jeopardized the accreditation process of the institution and subsequent access to governmental resources, and has jeopardized their students' opportunities in the labor market and postgraduate studies abroad. On the other hand, these educational actors' expectations responded to the promised benefits that the whole higher education system offers the institution if the University adopts English. Some examples of such benefits are gaining national and international visibility, increasing quality indicators, and accessing the labor market. The consequences and benefits of adopting English

influence the four groups of participants' decisions as they continue appropriating the policy.

The struggle to respond to their fears and expectations might lead the Planning Team, English program coordinators, and area representatives to debate the content and the method to teach. Teaching English should increase education quality, respond to the job market demands, prepare the academic community to face the challenges of internationalization and take advantages of the opportunities this process offers. Besides, this University aims at providing solutions to the problems in the region. Briefly, too many conditions interplay for this foreign language policy to succeed and too many questions arise as well.

The findings show that stakeholders are asking questions about content, language instruction, other languages, and teachers' role in the policymaking process. For instance, how much should the market demands influence the language content to be taught? What other reasons does the University have to teach English? What language instruction becomes pertinent in supporting the institution internationalization and research goals? How other languages would support these goals? How can culture support foreign language learning? Which roles do English and content teachers play in the policy success? How can language learning help the University to graduate the professionals the region and the Country need to face the current economic, educational, political, and social crises? These questions find multiple answers as stakeholders open ideological spaces to negotiate.

The outcomes of the debate for the content and method to teach might result in multiple versions of the policy. The policy will transform because multiple ideologies would lead stakeholders to find answers to their concerns and alternatives to enact their decisions. They will find themselves under the inevitable influence of ideologies, but will

be able as well to reflect on and criticize the assumptions behind them (Canagarajah, 2000, p. 123). The new versions would depend on how much room the policy leaves for negotiation, as Canagarajah (2000, p. 123) explains, but stakeholders would always find ways to overcome the imposition of the norm and the challenges of the discourses behind the language policy (Johnson & Freeman, 2010, p. 14).

In the particular case of this university, the foreign language policy actually offers a lot of room for negotiation and transformation for two reasons. One, the norm does not prohibit other languages in the university but actually promotes their maintenance and cultivation. Two, the policy makes each University school responsible of approving and adopting the proposal that the School of Languages might offer them according to their own capacities. Nevertheless, drawing on Ricento (2000), not only will the policy transform openly as policy practitioners make sense of the norm but it might also change to the point that their objectives would not be accomplished.

In the extreme scenario in which the University actors might miss the policy objectives, studies inserted in a critical sociocultural perspective become relevant. Because of the critical perspective, studies like this one disclose the anonymous discourses that policy stakeholders embraced and made their common sense, which represents the first step to denaturalize the political power of extraneous agencies over stakeholders. Besides, given the sociocultural perspective of this kind of studies, not only fossilized truths are exposed, but also the policy practitioners' agency interpreting and transforming the policy at the ground level through their everyday practices become visible.

Hence, the results of language policy research framed within a critical sociocultural approach may serve as sources of information for the success of language policies that aim at enhancing possibilities for the academic community. In this sense, the relevance of this

study relies on the commonality between Colombian higher education constrictions, political pressures, social realities, and agendas and those of this case study. Therefore, the divergences and questions that the author has here exposed may rather be familiar to many other public higher education institutions. Even if the ideologies influencing policy formulation and appropriation processes in other institutions differ from the ones presented above, they might as well be multiple and contrasting. Consequently, Colombian public universities face alike challenges and might benefit from the findings of this study.

The arguments of this paper suggest that policy makers and administrators need to see critically the multiple ways in which stakeholders enact policies to understand the policymaking process at different stages and levels. Policy makers and administrators need to understand yet that English and content teachers would appropriate the policy in multiple manners, because they will negotiate their ideological positions with the policy, other stakeholders, among themselves and with students. Considering the multiple configurations that these plural negotiations take raises important concerns regarding how teachers would appropriate English and other languages, given the complexity in terms of the language ideologies informing the policymaking process that this paper highlighted.

In addition to the pedagogical implications and given the early stage of development of research on language educational policy in Colombia, this study contributes to the movement towards sociocultural perspectives and concepts of ideology, appropriation, agency and ideological spaces in higher education. The field of language educational policy has focused on the analysis and research of the various foreign language policies produced since 2004 in Colombia. Because these policies mainly addressed the elementary and secondary schools, most of the scholar production has stayed at the school level. In addition, critical policy analysis and research on national language policies has mainly

adopted good/bad guy or conservative right/ liberal leftist positions. Consequently, Colombian studies approaching language education policy from sociocultural perspectives and recognizing policy practitioners' capacity to negotiate their ideological positions at every level of the policy enactment are scarce, especially at the higher education level.

Recognizing that national foreign language policies progressively target higher education and aiming at contributing to sociocultural perspective on policy research, this study embraced a critical sociocultural approach to understand how policy stakeholders make sense of foreign language policies. The study unveils the complexity of the policymaking process and the negotiation of multiple language ideologies informing the policy as crucial for policy practitioners to open up ideological spaces for policy transformations, which finally lead the policy in different directions.

Presenting how this negotiation occurs, the author hopes to be able to demonstrate that policies making does not necessary fall in the middle of an ideological battle although ideologies influencing the policymaking process compete and crash. To see that language policies do not necessary fall in the middle of a battle, the dominance of certain ideologies promoted by globalization and marketization of language education does not have to be overlooked. Conversely, participants in this study showed the field of language policies that they recognized the power and influence of English in times of accountability, globalization, and internationalization of higher education, but this never prevented them from protecting their own ideologies. Dominating ideologies indeed led them to rely on political, economic and practical considerations to make many of the decisions that shaped the policy; however, stakeholders demonstrated that they could exercise their agency by questioning and transforming dominant ideologies.

As presented above, many are the implications for policy practitioners and researchers, but more are the opportunities for the field as this study limitations let various areas to be explored. This study points towards the five remaining issues to explore in language policy research at the higher education level. One, this study centers in public universities and private are not the focus of attention; thus, we ignore what language ideologies guide their policy processes. Two, because this study set out in the early stages of the policy appropriation process before the official English program started, none of the participants could inform how English and content teachers craft the language policy in their classroom.

Three, given the moment in which the study set out, the voices of undergraduate students were not included; however, as stakeholders, they also have the agency to negotiate and transform the policy. Four, the study explores the ideologies stakeholders have regarding English; however, stakeholders revealed little about other languages apart from recognizing their importance. Five, because of the scope of the study, voices of indigenous stakeholders in the University are not represented in this study, which left a gap regarding their language ideologies about the learning of foreign languages, and how these might influence their decisions and behaviors in regards to the policy.

To conclude, these gaps in knowledge suggest that research on language policy could address various topics yet unexplored at the higher education level. Research could set out to compare and contrast foreign language policies in private and public universities in the Country to understand ideological assumptions and implications behind foreign language policies in both types of institutions. Research should also focus on studying how stakeholders appropriate language policies, negotiate their ideological positions, and open ideological spaces in university classrooms. Such study should as well voice university students and recognize their agency to exercise active roles in the enactment of language

education policies. At last, much remains to be investigated in regards to the ideologies behind the adoption, learning, and teaching of foreign and indigenous languages in the policymaking process of Colombian tertiary education sphere.

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APPENDIX A

Coordinators of English Programs Interview Protocol

English Program Coordinators	
Topics	Questions
General Information about the policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -What could you tell me about the University foreign language policy for undergraduate programs? -What does the University expect from the policy? -What has been done in regards to the policy since it was approved? - The policy 5th article states that English is mandatory for all University academic programs, what is your opinion regarding the mandatory character of English in the University? -Taking into account the institutional Development Plan 2006-2016 focus on strengthening research in the University, and its main goal “becoming the most important research university in the Country and one of the best in the Latin America”, in your opinion, What role does the foreign language policy play in the research University?
Relationship between the policy and applied sciences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Why did your school create its own English program? -How does the foreign language policy influence the current English program in your school? -What is the school doing to incorporate the foreign language policy? -Why is the school taking those actions? -What experience can this school bring to the new institutional English program?
Reactions to the policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What opinion do you have regarding the University foreign language policy? What possibilities does the policy offer? What must the University do to maximize those opportunities? What challenges does the policy implies? How can the university overcome those challenges? Which aspects of the policy does this school discuss the most? Why those?

APPENDIX B

Members of the Planning Team Interview Protocol

Planning Team	
Topics	Questions
General information	-What does planning the foreign language policy launching consist of?
Reactions to the policy	-What feedback have you received from other University schools? -What has such feedback implied for the policy planning?
Teaching Model	-The 2nd PARAGRAPH states, “for certification and homologation purposes with national and international agencies, the descriptor here presented equals the CEFR B1 descriptor level”. What is your opinion regarding the inclusion of the CEFR B1 level descriptor in the University foreign language policy? -What is the School of Languages doing regarding the inclusion of the CEFR B1 level descriptor in the University foreign language policy? -Why does University English Program adopt an English for General Academic purposes approach? -What do you expect from adopting this approach? -What would the University need for the English program and the approach adopted to be successful?

APPENDIX C

Area Representatives Interview Protocol

Area Representatives	
Topic	Questions
General Information about the policy	<p>-What could you tell me about the University foreign language policy for undergraduate programs?</p> <p>-What does the University expect from the policy?</p> <p>-What has been done in regards to the policy since the Academic Council approved it?</p> <p>- The policy 5th article states that English is mandatory for all University academic programs, what is your opinion regarding the mandatory character of English in the University?</p> <p>-Taking into account the institutional Development Plan 2006-2016 focus on strengthening research in the University, and its main goal “becoming the most important research university in the Country and one of the best in the Latin America”, in your opinion, What role does the foreign language policy play in the research University?</p>
Relationship between the policy and the areas	<p>-What implications does the foreign language policy have for this school?</p> <p>-What is this school doing to respond to the foreign language policy?</p> <p>-Why is the school taking those actions?</p> <p>-Why has this school not included English in its academic programs before?</p> <p>-What school objectives or needs does the foreign language policy meet?</p>
Reactions to the policy	<p>What opinion do you have regarding the University foreign language policy?</p> <p>What possibilities does the policy offer?</p> <p>What must the University do to maximize those opportunities?</p> <p>What challenges does the policy implies?</p> <p>How can the University overcome those challenges?</p> <p>Which aspects of the policy does this school discuss the most? Why those?</p>

APPENDIX D

Members of the Formulation Team Interview Protocol

Formulation Team	
Topic	Questions
General Information about the policy	<p>-What could you tell me about the University foreign language policy for undergraduate programs?</p> <p>-What do you think the University decided to formulate a new foreign language policy?</p> <p>What is your opinion about the policy?</p>
Information about the formulation	<p>-How did the project of formulating a new language policy started?</p> <p>-What topics did stakeholders discussed the most during the formulation?</p> <p>-Why those topics?</p> <p>-Why did English become mandatory to all academic programs?</p> <p>-What was the logic behind planning a gradual implementation of the policy in the order the academic agreement states?</p>
Suggestions and recommendations	<p>-Now that the University has formulated the policy, what possibilities does the policy offer?</p> <p>-What challenges does the policy implies?</p> <p>-How can the university overcome those challenges?</p>

APPENDIX E

Approval Request Letter

Medellín, 26 de Julio de 2015.

Señor,
XXXX XXXXX
Jefe Sección Servicios
Escuela de idiomas
Universidad de Antioquia
Medellín

Asunto: solicitud de aprobación de proyecto de investigación.

Cordial saludo,

Yo, Juan Carlos Montoya López, con cédula de ciudad 71364415 de Medellín, me dirijo a usted para solicitarle muy comedidamente su aprobación para llevar a cabo el proyecto de investigación *Ideologías relacionadas con el idioma inglés en la formulación y apropiación de una política lingüística para la internacionalización de la educación superior en Colombia: un estudio de caso en una universidad pública*; el cual hace parte de los requisitos de grado del programa de Maestría en la Enseñanza y Aprendizaje en Lenguas Extranjeras de la Escuela de Idiomas de la Universidad de Antioquia que actualmente curso.

Adjunto la ficha técnica del proyecto para su mejor comprensión. En caso de preguntas acerca de este estudio, por favor contacte me al teléfono 2569648, al celular 3187945323, o al correo electrónico juan.montoyal@udea.edu.co; o contacte al profesor Jaime Usma Wilches al teléfono 2195797 o al correo electrónico jaime.usma@udea.edu.co

Agradezco su colaboración con este proyecto. En caso de estar usted de acuerdo con él, le solicito muy comedidamente su autorización por escrito para así poder iniciar los preparativos del estudio.

Cordialmente,

Juan Carlos Montoya López
Docente de inglés
Estudiante investigadora Universidad de Antioquia

APPENDIX F

Support Request Letter

Medellin, 26 de Julio de 2015.

Profesora
[REDACTED]
Jefa Sección Servicios
Escuela de Idiomas
Universidad [REDACTED]
Medellin

Asunto: solicitud de apoyo a proyecto de investigación.

Cordial saludo,


Yo, Juan Carlos Montoya López, con cédula de ciudad 71364415 de Medellín, me dirijo a usted para solicitarle muy comedidamente su apoyo al proyecto de investigación *La política de lengua extranjera en medio de una batalla ideológica en la educación superior Colombiana: un estudio de caso en una universidad pública*. Este proyecto hace parte de los requisitos de grado del programa de Maestría en la Enseñanza y Aprendizaje en Lenguas Extranjeras de la Escuela de Idiomas de la Universidad de Antioquia que actualmente curso.

Su apoyo a este proyecto consiste en facilitarme el acercamiento a los profesores de la Sección Servicios que trabajan en la nueva política de lengua extranjera de la Universidad y el acceso a los documentos derivados y asociados a la misma. Por esta razón, le pido encarecidamente un espacio en el Comité de la Sección Servicios para presentar la propuesta de proyecto de manera que la recolección de datos se dé en un ambiente de confianza y formalidad, dado a que necesitaré de la colaboración de la Sección en la búsqueda de documentos y obtención de entrevistas.

Adjunto la ficha técnica del proyecto para su mejor comprensión. En caso de preguntas acerca de este estudio, por favor contacte me al teléfono 2569648, al celular 3187945323, o al correo electrónico juan.montoyal@udea.edu.co; o contacte al profesor Jaime Usma Wilches al teléfono 2195797 o al correo electrónico jaime.usma@udea.edu.co

Agradezco su colaboración con este proyecto y le solicito muy comedidamente su autorización por escrito para así poder iniciar los preparativos del estudio.

Cordialmente,


Juan Carlos Montoya López
Docente de inglés
Estudiante investigador
Maestría en Enseñanza y Aprendizaje de Lenguas Extranjeras
Escuela de Idiomas
Universidad de Antioquia

20150727JU 4:15

c.c. Doctora [REDACTED]
Directora de la Escuela de Idiomas

ESCUELA IDIOMAS

APPENDIX G

Planning Team's Response to Approval Request

Finalmente, después de haber discutido ampliamente su estudio y haber llegado a un consenso acerca de su solicitud hemos decidido lo siguiente:

1. Las actas del Consejo de Escuela, Comité de la Sección de Servicios y Consejo Académico son documentación pública que se divulga en el portal de la Universidad y cualquier persona puede acceder a ellos cuando estos ya han sido aprobados por cada una de estas corporaciones. Con relación a los documentos de la fase de preparación de la implementación del Programa Institucional de Formación en Lengua Extranjera-Inglés para los programas de pregrado, estos aún se encuentran en proceso de construcción, consecuentemente no son documentos oficiales todavía, así que el Comité de la Sección se reserva el derecho de permitir su acceso a estos documentos durante esta fase de preparación.
2. Como Comité de la Sección de Servicios decidimos darle una entrevista grupal con todos los miembros del Comité, por lo tanto ninguno de los miembros del equipo de la fase de preparación de la implementación se entrevistará con usted individualmente. Si acepta esta entrevista grupal, previo a esto, usted deberá enviar las preguntas que formulará a la Comité de la Sección y el manejo de la información suministrada allí deberá reportarse en términos del grupo (miembros del comité de la Sección de Servicios) y no de una persona en particular.

Cordialmente,


Jefa
Sección de Servicios y Extensión
Escuela de Idiomas

c.c Doctora , Directora Escuela de Idiomas

APPENDIX H

Consent Format

UNIVERSIDAD DE ANTIOQUIA

Escuela de Idiomas

Maestría en Enseñanza y Aprendizaje de Lenguas Extranjeras

Información de los Investigadores Participantes y Formato de Consentimiento

Título del estudio: La política de lengua extranjera en medio de una batalla ideológica en la educación superior Colombiana: un estudio de caso en una universidad pública.

Información de contacto:

Investigador: Juan Carlos Montoya

C.C.:71354415

Teléfonos: 2569648/ 3187945323

Correo electrónico:

juan.montoyal@udea.edu.co

Asesor: Jaime Alonso Usma Wilches

Oficina: 12-105

Teléfono: 2195797

Correo electrónico:

jaime.usma@udea.edu.co

Coordinadora:Doris Correa

Oficina: 12-105

Teléfono: 2195797

Correo electrónico:

doris.correa@udea.edu.co

INVITACIÓN A PARTICIPAR Y DESCRIPCIÓN DE LA INVESTIGACIÓN

Usted está siendo invitado a ser parte de un estudio de investigación que explora cómo las ideologías sobre el idioma inglés existentes en la Universidad de Antioquia influyen la formulación y apropiación de la política de lengua extranjera para pregrado, Acuerdo Académico 0467. Este estudio es parte de los requisitos de grado del programa de Maestría en la Enseñanza y Aprendizaje en Lenguas Extranjeras de la Escuela de Idiomas de la Universidad de Antioquia e incluirá personas del equipo que participó en la formulación de la política lingüística de pregrado y el equipo de personas trabajando en la planeación e implementación de la política. Este último grupo se incluye miembros del Consejo Académico, la Escuela de Idiomas, Coordinadores de los diferentes programas de inglés de la Universidad, y directivos de unidades académicas de las diferentes áreas. Solicitamos su participación porque usted es un agente educativo importante para la política y puede contribuir con información valiosa para nuestro estudio.

Los datos que se recogerán incluyen grabaciones de audio de entrevistas a los participantes en el estudio, observaciones de reuniones sobre la política de lengua extranjera de pregrado que tengan lugar en las unidades académicas, documentos que incluyen actas de reuniones

en las que se discuta la política en cuestión, así como documentos normativos internos y externos a la universidad que sirvan de referentes al Acuerdo Académico 467. Únicamente los investigadores tendrán acceso a esta información.

PARTICIPACIÓN

Al aceptar participar en este estudio, se le pedirá nos brinde una entrevista, la cual durará aproximadamente 30 o 45 minutos y será grabada. Durante la entrevista, los investigadores le preguntarán su opinión sobre la nueva política de lengua extranjera para pregrado consignada en el Acuerdo Académico 467 de 2014.

RIESGOS

Los riesgos que se asumen al participar en esta investigación son mínimos.

BENEFICIOS

No se espera ningún beneficio directo por participar en este estudio.

CONFIDENCIALIDAD

Su participación en este estudio es voluntaria, por ende puede dejar de participar en cualquier momento sin consecuencia alguna. Su identidad y toda la información que usted nos proporcione es completamente confidencial; todos sus datos sobre este estudio serán usados exclusivamente para propósitos investigativos con el equipo de investigación y el curso de maestría en Enseñanza y Aprendizaje de Lenguas Extranjeras, de la Universidad de Antioquia. Le informamos que citaremos sus palabras textuales utilizando un pseudónimo y no su nombre para proteger su identidad. Los resultados de este estudio serán presentados de manera global. Los datos serán presentados según lo acordado.

A QUIÉN CONTACTAR

Si tiene alguna pregunta acerca de este estudio, puede contactar al investigador principal, Juan Carlos Montoya, al asesor del proyecto, profesor Jaime Alonso Usma Wilches, o a la coordinadora del programa de maestría profesora Doris Correa.

Su firma al final de este documento indica que está de acuerdo con hacer parte de este estudio.

Nombre del participante (Por favor escribir su nombre completo en letra legible):

Firma: _____

Fecha: _____

APPENDIX I

External References to the Policy

The following table lists the external documents to the institution reviewed during this foreign language policy research and the websites where they can be found.

External Documents	Agencies	Year	Retrieved from
Law 30	MEN	1992	http://goo.gl/meefEF
Visión 2019, Educación: Propuesta para discusión.	MEN	2006	http://goo.gl/8izpxl
Guidelines for institutional accreditation	National System of Accreditation CAN	2006	http://goo.gl/meefEF
PNB & ECAES	MEN	2009	http://goo.gl/BMsfqh
Law 1188	MEN	2008	http://goo.gl/8Pcflt
Decree 1295	MEN	2010	http://goo.gl/IlhpNm
Implementation guide for PFDCLE projects in territorial entities	MEN & British Council	2012	http://goo.gl/SdCyyL
Development Plan of Medellin 2012-2015	Medellin Council	2012	http://goo.gl/jXLKzz
Tertiary Education in Colombia	OECD & World Bank	2012	http://goo.gl/nfWL5x
Agreement 89	Medellin Council	2013	http://goo.gl/NcokUA
Acuerdo por lo Superior 2034	National Council of Higher Education CESU	2014	http://goo.gl/2cVIXZ
National Development Plan 2014-2018	DPN	2014	https://goo.gl/7TCDC5
EF ENGLISH PROFICIENCY INDEX: -42 Colombia	EF Education First	2014	http://www.ef.com.co/epi/
Bilingual Colombia 2014-2018	MEN	2014	http://goo.gl/KiUvUR
MIDE & Pruebas SaberPro	MEN	2015	http://goo.gl/uBDKAK