LANGUAGE POLICIES AND INTERNATIONALIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN BRAZIL:

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM APPLIED LINGUISTS

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Pontes

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CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

FOREWORD

LANGUAGE ISSUES IN THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN BRAZIL

Telma Gimenez[1]

The internationalization of higher education is a process that has acquired great visibility in the recent years in the field of Applied Linguistics. With the increase in activities related to mobility programs and the demands for foreign language learning, many researchers in the field became active policy actors, including those who took administrative duties and hold positions as heads of international offices. Many have taken advantage of this 'insider' perspective to reflect on the policies and the role of their expertise in promoting the literacies required by the intensification of international relations between their institutions and their counterparts abroad. This publication is an illustration of the insights gleaned from this hands-on experience.

As a strategic response to globalization and the framing of education within the logic of the market, higher education institutions (HEIs) around the world have been addressing the challenges of transforming their missions to incorporate an international dimension to teaching, research and community engagement.

Public universities in the Global South may face these challenges in more dramatic ways, as they are pulled from the commitment to local development and pushed towards the international agenda dictated by institutions with longer traditions and stronger reputation as centers of excellence. Reconciling the efforts to be responsive to demands for greater democratization and inclusion and the need to align practices of meritocracy and selection is not an easy task and one that may require deeper reflection on its potential effects. In fact, it seems that internationalization has been conceptualized in context-free zones, as an inexorable process that can only bring benefits for a "knowledge-based economy". It is perhaps not a coincidence that the most cited references of internationalization show convergence and little critical appraisal (see, however, Menezes de Souza, 2019). Notwithstanding the complex relations engendered by this process, higher education institutions in developing countries have embraced this trend and started to develop policies that aim at placing them beyond national borders, as the chapters in this book exemplify.

Despite fuzzy motivations, Vavrus and Pekol (2015:5) argue that "most internationalization activities are driven by a combination of economic and social imperatives.", especially in the case of fee-paying universities who see students from abroad and joint ventures with wealthy governments, organizations and alumni associated with financial benefits. They proceed affirming that "from the perspective of the university's social mission, HEIs

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are expected to develop greater international awareness among students and faculty as well as produce graduates with sufficient intercultural competence to compete in the global economy (OECD, 1999)". Competitiveness in the global market seems to be a keyword and both social and economic imperatives can explain this pressure, according to those authors.

Those also seem to be reasons for internationalization to be one of the three pillars of the Future-se Program, proposed by the Ministry of Education to finance Brazilian universities. Alongside "management, governance and entrepreneurship", and "research and innovation", internationalization takes a narrow interpretation of the process, by focusing on student and teacher exchanges, revalidation of foreign degrees, virtual learning, publications, and mobility for students with high academic and athletic performance (!)[2]. As this program is strongly rejected by the academic communities around the country, one cannot avoid paying attention to those keywords, more likely to be found in business catalogues but now find space also in university mission statements. The entrepreneurial university is one possible characterization of the international university, keen on attracting students and seeking external funding in the private sector as a way of solving their financial needs. In this sense, one of the main drivers of internationalization is the financial deficit created by the withdrawal of public funding.

So it seems that internationalization in public HEIs has been driven mainly by the agenda and requirements of calls from funding agencies and designed with their demands in mind to a large extent. This can be illustrated by the recognition that the push to internationalize became stronger with the launch of the Science without Borders program, and more recently, with the CAPES-PrInt program. It is perhaps inevitable that these calls exert influence on the planning and implementation of activities and impact institutional strategic planning. This suggests that any attempt at analyzing internationalization efforts cannot be separated from a critical look at the funding agencies' agendas and their interpretations of internationalization processes, as there may be interrelated goals and objectives.

Other motivations may be playing a role in the efforts to internationalize. Despite recognizing the complexity of framing higher education as a glocal enactment of relationships among people and institutions, it is important to acknowledge local recontextualizations, especially with reference to the role of universities in countries like Brazil. The model that is appropriate for universities in the developed North may not suit the interests of universities in the South. As Menezes de Souza (2019:21) points out in relation to mobility programs, "the university of the South, locked in a relation of coloniality with its counterparts in the North, by responding to these 'market' demands of the North (competence in English included) confirm themselves as business-model universities seeking and imposing efficiency". This entrepreneurial perspective may please the current administration at MEC but is far from helping democratize internationalization. It is here that policies designed locally may shift the focus and applied linguists as agents of internationalization processes have a role to play, since languages are inextricably involved. It is not surprising that English takes center stage, despite the recognition of multilingualism as a feature of the international campus. In fact, English has been central in the internationalization of Brazilian universities, and not only for mobility of students and staff, but also the language of scientific dissemination.

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2   Perguntas e respostas do Future-se, programa de autonomia financeira da educação superior. Available at < http://portal.mec.gov.br/busca-geral/12-noticias/acoes-programas-e-projetos-637152388/78351-perguntas-e-respostas-do-future-se-programa-de-autonomia-financeira-do-ensino-superior>. Access September 10, 2019.

As I write this foreword, BBC News publishes an article entitled "How English has surpassed German as the 'universal' language of science"[3]. The report informs that according to the historian Michael Gordin, from Princeton University, United States, up to the 1950's English represented about half of the scientific papers published in the field of natural sciences. Today this number is close to 90%. From a more diverse set of languages used to disseminate science, we are witnessing convergence towards one language only, to the point of some considering internationalization synonymous with "Englishization". It is easy to see this trend in reports about internationalization efforts focusing on language learning, with the risk of subsuming all motivations to this specific purpose. Actually, many HEIs proudly announce language learning programs as key activities of their internationalization efforts. Therefore, the move to place English as the academic lingua franca is further reinforced by local policies that give greater emphasis to its teaching if not for mobility purposes, for improvement of academic literacies deemed essential for participation in the global publication world. Ironically, these initiatives are placed under the umbrella of "internationalization at home", an alternative to internationalization abroad, as if this process could be geographically located.

A glocal perspective on internationalization would do away with the distinction, by focusing on how HEIs reinterpret locally the perceived call for connecting with other institutions in different parts of the world in order to address common issues. If the education of professionals as global citizens can benefit from curriculum innovation inspired by the experiences of other HEIs abroad, internationalization efforts should be directed to identifying those potential partners and finding ways of sharing resources and expertise in the languages that make this possible. If knowledge production and dissemination can be enhanced by joint research projects and collaborative work, internationalization efforts should be directed to creating opportunities for them to happen, in the languages that make this possible. If community problems are best addressed by learning about how other communities have dealt with similar issues, internationalization efforts should be directed to making them known, in the languages that make this possible. Of course, this is a perspective that does not define a language *a priori,* but is contingent upon the activity and open to multiple outcomes.

If the internationalization model is skewed towards research dissemination (an environment that is English-dominated) and this turns out to be the paradigm for the other pillars of the HEI mission, the danger of promoting a one size fits all cannot be ignored. Reflecting on the language choices becomes a necessity to avoid following blindly what has been considered appropriate for other contexts.

It is precisely the homogeneity implied in the models inspired by HEIs in developed countries that needs to be addressed in attempts at evaluating the outcomes of internationalization. By conceptualizing assessment as an ongoing learning opportunity for the institution, HEIs may re-signify what they understand by internationalization. By losing it aura as "mantra", the concept may be renamed to become a means and not an end.

Internationalization processes challenge the very notion of autonomy, reshaped as interconnectedness and interdependence. However, in its enactment, it is bound to reflect power relations. When framed within coloniality, it brings questions about who has the power to define what internationalization may or may not mean; what inequalities it may

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3   Como o inglês ultrapassou o alemão e virou a língua 'universal' da ciência. BBC News, 8-setembro-2019. Available at < https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-49624127>

produce; what role language plays in this process (not as a neutral medium of communication, but as reflection of power imbalances); what subjectivities it projects and who benefits from its outcomes.

This collection of papers helps us think about these issues and invites the readers to reflect on the decisions we are making when we embrace internationalization and on their consequences in the long run.

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INTRODUCTION

The intensification of international business and the flow of people are features that have characterized globalization in contemporary times, so that not only the foundations of the world economy have been redefined, but also the foundations of the knowledge industry have changed (Bloom, 2004). According to Araya (2013), the report published by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), in 1996, entitled "The Knowledge-Based Economy" explains such trend, as it connects "knowledge and technology in economic growth" and explains that "Knowledge, as embodied in human beings (as 'human capital') and in technology, has always been central to economic development". In a global scale, it has largely impacted higher education, as the universities constitute centers of research and knowledge production.

Encouraged by the experience led by the Bologna Process, since 1988 in the European Union, Latin American countries are gradually promoting initiatives at their universities to take part of international networks and partnerships in order to foster R&D enhancement, institutional prestige, investments as well as contribution to local and global development. In this scenario, the increased need for English as the main language of science (Altbach, 2013) emerged as consequence and has drawn attention to language policies in the dynamics of the internationalization of higher education (HE).

The chapters presented in this volume derive from the experiences lived and observed by Brazilian scholars who share Applied Linguistics as their main area of interest. The contributions display different perspectives to discuss how the ongoing changes imposed by the "internationalization rationale" have impacted the universities in Brazil.

The first chapter of the book, written by Luciana Cabrini Simões Calvo and Milena Paula de Oliveira, entitled "**The Internationalization of Higher Education and English in Brazil: A state-of-the-art study**", aims at presenting an overview of studies focusing on the internationalization of HE and English between 2013 and 2018. To reach such intent, the authors consulted the following sources: Google Scholar, CAPES dissertation and thesis database as well as Brazilian journals of (Applied) Linguistics, Education and HE classified as A1 and A2. Fifty works were selected and the results demonstrate a predominance of studies focusing on public policies of internationalization, such as Languages without Borders (LwB) and Science without Borders (SwB). The authors also emphasize that there are different positions and considerations about the language in this process.

Kyria R. Finardi, Felipe F. Guimarães, Gabriel B. Amorim and Gabriela F. Oliveira Piccin's chapter "**Internationalization and Language Policies in Brazil: Quality and assessment evidence from a glocal proposal**" reflects on quality and assessment of language policies and internationalization of higher education in general, especially focusing on a local initiative proposed by a research group in the Federal University of Espírito Santo, Brazil. Through

a meta-analysis of studies carried out between 2014-2018 by the team, the research preliminary findings suggest progress in the internationalization process in that context.

The third chapter, by Heloísa Orsi Koch Delgado, **"Internationalization practices in a private University in Brazil: Paving the way for major changes in the near future"** aims to address the topic of private education in Brazil, its achievements and challenges, including the need to respond to an academic culture that has become largely internationalized. It describes the conceptual model of internationalization of a private university and how the institution has developed practices based on its institutional mission and values, highlighting initiatives taken in various academic settings. To conclude, it provides the reader with some thoughts on the university mindset change to enhance education both locally and internationally.

In chapter four, **"Internationalization of higher education: the case of UFOP"**, Anelise Dutra presents how the internationalization has been interpreted and developed at the Federal University of Ouro Preto (UFOP). First, she lists several actions taken by the university in order to foster internationalization. Then, she detailed explains two initiatives regarding foreign language in this process, one at the national level (Languages without Borders - LwB), and another at the institutional level (English as a Medium of Instruction – EMI).

Taisa Pinetti Passoni's chapter is entitled "**The commodification of English in Brazil: investigating language ideology in the enactment of a language policy".** It focuses on a government-sponsored language policy to enhance language proficiency of potential candidates for outward mobility in the context of internationalization of higher education, LwB. Texts comprising instances of enactment and interpretations of the policy are the source for language ideology analysis within LwB. The results point to the intertwining of challenging and reinforcing stands concerning the commodification of English in LwB.

Chapter six, "**Internationalization, policy and teacher education: A critical look at the impacts of the Languages without Borders Program in two Brazilian universities**", by Claudia Jotto Kawachi-Furlan and Guilherme Jotto Kawachi discusses how internationalization has shaped the teaching of English as a Foreign Language in higher education in Brazil, focusing on the development and impacts of the LwB program. For that matter, it discusses mobility movements in two distinct academic contexts, Federal University of Espírito Santo (UFES) and State University of Campinas (Unicamp). It examines how the LwB program has impacted both the development of language policies, at a national and a local level, and teacher education contexts in universities across Brazil. Throughout the chapter, concerns with quantity over quality in this process are expressed.

The chapter "**English proficiency tests and Brazilian academic literacies for internationalization: connections between public policies and individual choices",** by Silvia Regina Gomes Miho, discusses the central role of one specific brand of proficiency tests in the context of SwB and LwB programs. It reflects on how the test is involved in different stages of programs, working as one of their main mechanisms of implementation and control. The chapter problematizes the adequacy of test scores as language proficiency assessment instruments in Brazilian higher education, and brings to the fore the discussion on academic literacies in the internationalization.

In the last chapter, **"Ideologies in the second phase of the program 'Paraná speaks English' as a language policy: opportunities for critical reappraisal",** Michele Salles El

Kadri, Telma Gimenez, Taisa Pinetti Passoni and Atef El Kadri discuss how some English language ideologies are present in the enactment of a language policy program sponsored by Paraná state government at public universities. In order to go beyond unveiling ideological discourses, they introduce two approaches to inform investigations on how language policies can be reframed into more autonomous and critical practices for language teaching: Engaged language Policy and the Critical Ethnography.

A brief overview of the chapters of this volume shows a portrait of a new era in which language educators are called for unprecedented tasks. This book may be relevant to decision-makers in higher education institutions, language teachers, policy makers, international relations staff, among others as it provides examples of policy implementation for the internationalization of higher education in developing countries and the challenges faced by practitioners in the field. We hope the experiences narrated here lead us to informed decisions and practices, in other words, to engaged language policies (Davis, 2014), as teachers are potential agents of language polices, since they are the professionals in charge of local appropriations and interpretations of policies and have the possibility to re-signify them in their contexts of action.

Michele El Kadri, Taisa Pinetti Passoni and Luciana Cabrini Simões Calvo.
October, 2020.

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THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND ENGLISH IN BRAZIL: A STATE-OF-THE-ART STUDY

Luciana Cabrini Simões Calvo[1]

Milena Paula de Oliveira Alonso[2]

INTRODUCTION

Internationalization has been the focus of attention, discussions, and more recently, investigations in the educational sector, although the term has been long used in political science and governmental relations. Publications, policies, and actions aiming at or related to the internationalization of higher education (henceforth HE) have developed significantly in the past years. Along with it the role of foreign languages, especially English, has arisen in this scenario. In Brazil, this reality is not different as investments and policies have been increasing for the internationalization of HE institutions.

Considering this context, the objective of this chapter is to present an overview of studies focused on the internationalization of HE and English between 2013 and 2018. To reach such intent, the following sources were consulted: Google Scholar, CAPES (*Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior)* dissertation and thesis database[3] as well as Brazilian journals of (Applied) Linguistics, Education and HE classified as A1 and A2[4]. As this is a relatively new research field, a systematic study of this nature is relevant to better understand the national research panorama on internationalization and its relation with the English language as to identify its development, impact and implications including focuses for further studies.

In addition to this introductory section, the chapter is structured as follows: a brief discussion on internationalization of HE and English is outlined; then, the methodology of this work is presented followed by the analysis of the results and, lastly, by the final remarks.

THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF HE AND ENGLISH

As a phenomenon, internationalization has been perceived differently by different nations. De Wit (2001) studied the distinct aspects of internationalization in countries in the

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3   An online bank of thesis and dissertations from Brazilian post-graduate programs.

4   An evaluation and classification criteria of Brazilian scientific journals by the QUALIS system of CAPES.

North hemisphere, more specifically The United States and Europe, considering its historical dimensions, its meaning, concept and strategic aspects, and its status as an area of study and analysis. Discrepancies between these two realities result from the differing cultures and structures in all levels of education, and different emphases on international policies after the Second World War. As we can notice, this phenomenon has been on the rise for a long time there, opposite to what has been happening in Latin America.

Knight (2011) suggests that internationalization has come of age and questions if it has lost its way and if it is having an identity crisis after several decades of intense development. To further discuss this idea, it is relevant to understand the meaning/definition of internationalization. Considering the interconnected world nowadays, it is important to acknowledge that globalization is closely linked to internationalization. For some authors (de Wit, 2001; Gimenez & Passoni, 2016; Jenkins, 2014), academic internationalization is the response to globalization. As per Knight (2015:3), "internationalization is changing the world of education and globalization is changing the world of internationalization". The most accepted definition of internationalization is that of Knight (2003: 2): "the process of integrating an international or intercultural dimension into the teaching, research, and service functions of the institution". However, the author felt the urge to redefine it, not as a means of juxtapositioning the former, but as a complement to it. For her, "internationalization at the national, sector, and institutional levels is defined as the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of postsecondary education" (Knight, 2003:2).

According to Altbach and Knight (2007), internationalization involves policies and practices performed by institutions and academic systems, including individuals, to deal with the global academic environment. Among the reasons for this phenomenon, the authors point out to commercial advantage, knowledge and language acquisition, and the curriculum improvement. As per Baumvol and Sarmento (2016), internationalization differs from globalization once it adds a global, intercultural, and international dimension to functions and aims (teaching, research, and extension) of higher education at institutional and national levels.

Having understood the possible meanings of internationalization and how long ago the process began in the North, one can understand Knight's suggestion of an identity crisis. According to her (2011), the values of cooperation, partnership, mutual benefits, exchange, among others, belonging to internationalization before, now may have evolved to values characterized by competition, commercialization, self-interest, and status building. Such considerations are possible in the context mentioned.

However, internationalization in the South, or more specifically in Latin America, had a timid start. In Brazil, former initiatives were partly limited to sending students abroad as part of their master and PhD programs (outbound mobility). Other actions included the 1960's Exchange for Undergraduate Students Program (*Estudantes-Convênio de Graduação*, PEC-G) and the Exchange for Postgraduate Students Program (*Estudantes-Convênio de Pós-Graduação*, PEC-PG) officially created in 1981, both based on bilateral agreements between Brazil and developing countries[5]. The programs consisted in offering scholarships at graduate and postgraduate levels at Brazilian universities for foreign students (inbound mobility), most of which have been granted to African students (Bizon, 2013; Passoni, 2018 and 2019).

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5   Source: http://www.dce.mre.gov.br/PEC/PECPG.php and http://www.dce.mre.gov.br/PEC/PECG.php

Although internationalization has been the focus of investigations and academic initiatives have been consolidated for a while now in Northern nations, in Brazil only recently has it experienced its boost with the program Science without Borders, launched by the federal government in 2011. According to their webpage, the aim of the program was to "promote the consolidation, expansion, and internationalization of science and technology, innovation and Brazilian competitiveness through international exchange programs and mobility"[6,7].

With the internationalization process in mind, there are differing opinions regarding this matter, some positively, others more cautiously and questioning. The opportunity to discuss linguistic policies at a national level is one of the positive views (Abreu-E-Lima & Moraes Filho, 2016, for instance); an example of a cautious argument relates to hierarchizing knowledge and to conceptualizing value and hierarchy of the subjects involved (Jordão & Martinez, 2015). Jordão and Martinez (2015) also point out that internationalization policies in Brazil seem to reproduce the relationship between the colony and the state, legitimating epistemologies, cultures and educational systems of Northern countries.

Concerning languages, their role in general and the role of English in special has been considered not only worldwide, but also in Brazil as a result of the globalized world. Likewise, linguistic issues intrinsically underlie the internationalization process, be it the need to learn a foreign language or the need to teach one (Knight, 2008).

According to Altbach and Knight (2007), the results of globalization include the use of English as a lingua franca for scientific communication, research, and the growing market for scientists and researchers. Jenkins (2014) also associates the internationalization of higher education with the teaching/learning of English as a global lingua franca. Hence, concerning the linguistic aspect of academic internationalization, it is possible to consider that English has become its language (Jordão & Martinez, 2015), it is on the papers, in research, and constitutes a key element for academic mobility.

However, in Brazil, the role of English in the process of internationalization differs among levels of education as stated by Finardi and Archanjo (2015) when revising Brazilian linguistic policies and internationalization programs (such as the Science without Borders, Languages without Borders, and English without Borders). The authors found out that English is considered an optional foreign language in primary and secondary school levels, but is regarded as an international language in higher education, which clearly demonstrates "the need for a philosophical and educational alignment among language policies and internationalization agendas regarding the teaching of English and other additional languages in Brazil" (Finardi & Archanjo, 2015:552).

On the other hand, Gimenez and Passoni (2016) mention tensions in the use of English in HE context not explicitly conveyed by policy-makers. For instance, the monolithic view of language or the preference for prestige varieties seem not to be questioned or challenged, for which the authors also point out to possibilities of questioning this view to be in the hands of teachers in charge of implementing policies locally Also, the use of the Toefl Test in internationalization programs such as the Science without Borders, for example, shows that the native or "standard English" is in evidence contrasting with the idea of English as a lingua franca. In this context, the relationship between the teaching/learning of English and the internationalization of HE emerges as an important issue for consideration, either

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6 " [...] promover a consolidação, expansão e internacionalização da ciência e tecnologia, da inovação e da competitividade brasileira por meio do intercâmbio e da mobilidade internacional"
7 Source: http://www.cienciasemfronteiras.gov.br/web/csf/o-programa

to understand how the language is perceived and dealt with or its role in the process of HE. With these considerations in mind, the next section describes our methodological approach as to later discuss and reflect upon the findings.

METHODOLOGY

With the aim of presenting an overview of studies focused on the internationalization of higher education (HE) and English between 2013 and 2018, the CAPES dissertation and thesis database, Google Scholar, and A1/A2-level Brazilian journals of (Applied) Linguistics, Education and HE were consulted during May and June, 2019.

As for the Capes dissertation and thesis database, the keywords "internationalization" and "English" were used in Portuguese. The field Linguistics, Languages and Art was selected. A total of 1959 works (theses and dissertations) were found, from which only nine were chosen, as they met our search criteria (thematic parameter). The first fifteen pages with ten entries each (a total of 150 works) were analyzed.

The Google Scholar search tool was another source consulted. The keywords "internationalization" and "English" were used in Portuguese, which might have contributed to the fact that all the studies selected were published in Portuguese. The boxes "include patents" and "include citations" were unticked. 15,400 results were obtained and the first twenty-five pages with ten entries each (a total of 250) were examined. From the total amount, thirty-six works were selected.

Brazilian A1/A2-level journals were also used for data collection. The table of content of the selected journals were examined and if the words "internationalization" and "English" were present, their abstracts were analyzed. A total of eleven studies were examined, from which six had already been found in the Google Scholar search.

The thematic parameter (internationalization and English) was the main criteria used. For that reason, studies focusing solely on internationalization were excluded from our analysis. Hence, considering the sources mentioned, 50 works were selected and are presented in Table 1, according to their categories/publication site.

Table 1

Selected works

Source	Number of Works
CAPES Dissertation and Thesis database	09 (04 Master's dissertations and 05 PhD theses)
Google Scholar	36
A1/A2 Brazilian Journals	11 (but 06 were already selected in the Google Scholar search)
	TOTAL: 50

Source: The authors.

RESULTS

Reading the abstract of the selected studies, the most common themes approached were identified, such as: i) English and public policies of internationalization (Duarte, Vasconcelos & Silva, 2017; Cavalcanti, 2016; Pinheiro & Finardi, 2014; Zamboni, 2018) - among these policies, some of them have explicitly emphasis on Language Without Borders - LWB (Fernandes & Silva, 2014, 2017; Passoni, 2018; Silva, 2018; Souza; Braga & Borges, 2016); others on LWB and Languages Courses/Programs from specific universities (Andrade, 2018; Martins & Reis, 2015; Pereira, 2018); and on Science Without Borders - SWB (Archanjo, 2015; Borges & Garcia-Filice, 2016; Moraes, 2018); also, there are two studies looking at a program in the state of Paraná - Paraná Speaks English (Marson, 2015, 2017); ii) Teacher education at LWB (Gimenez & Passoni, 2016; Giri, 2016; Miho, 2016; Pereira, 2017; Sarmento & Kirsch, 2015; Vial, 2017); iii) English, internationalization and technologies (Finardi & Porcino, 2014; Tyler, 2016); iv) Academic literacies (Ferreira, 2015; Nogueira, 2017, 2018); v) English and academic production (Finardi & França, 2016); vi) English and proficiency exams in post-graduation courses (Fonseca, 2016); wash back effect of TOEFL-IBT in the English teaching of ISF courses in a federal university (Kobayashi, 2016) and Common European Framework of Reference for Languages in the internationalization of HE (Cani & Santiago, 2018); vii) Internationalization at home, focusing on English as a Medium of Instruction - EMI (Jordão, 2016; Santos Jorges, 2018).

As we can notice, public policies, especially the context of LWB, have been studied by many authors; in this scenario, teacher education in this particular program has also arisen as an interesting theme for investigation. Thus, for Pereira (2018), there is a "protagonism of the Letras area through the language teaching in the process of internationalization". Nonetheless, a study reports a distance between teacher education and the fact that future English teachers have not been contemplated in SWB. According to Moraes (2018, abstract),

> Conceiving the right to international mobility to LI teachers could be a successful way to establish quality LI education in Brazil, both in Basic Education, where LI teaching begins, and in Higher Education, ensuring to students the proficiency and knowledge that guarantees them the right to "come and go" through that language.

In this regard, Pereira Junior (2017) investigated the mobility experience of three English Language Teaching students from Letras at UFMG who participated in the Minas Mundi Program. He also argues that it is necessary to rethink "internationalization actions and practices taken by the institution in order to facilitate even more the access of this student profile to international mobility programs". The results of his work demonstrated "the need for valuing the role of foreign language pre-service teachers in the promotion of necessary knowledge for the internationalization practices themselves".

Concerning English, some of the studies consider it an essential language for internationalization, and argue it has a different status from other languages. However, despite English being the language of internationalization, plurilingualism (Souza, 2014) and multilingual education (Archanjo, 2015) are paramount in the current scenario. Also, other investigations reveal a tension between the educational role of English in basic education and the instrumental role in higher education. For Leão and Finardi (2016), the language, according to their analysis of LWB and SWB, is still limited and disarticulated of basic linguistic and educational policies. Then, there is an urgency to "improve the quality of English teaching in

regular schools" (Borges & Garcia-Filice, 2016). Focusing her analysis of LWB, Passoni (2018) concludes that it conceives English as a hegemonic language, especially in the contexts of influence and text production. Finally, reporting an experience of using English as a medium of instruction to discuss language issues with Brazilian professors from different areas, Jordão (2016) defends a "post-structuralist perspective on language as a way to decolonize the identities of Brazilian English-speakers".

Thinking on the methodologies or approaches to English teaching in the context of internationalization, Leão and Finardi (2016) advocates the Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) and there is the recognition of the intensification of courses for specific purpose (Della Rosa & Kawachi-Furlan, 2016), being it "a tendency of English teaching in the current context of internationalization". Also, we have observed that writing is the language skill most emphasized in this scenario as there is a pressure to publish internationally in English (Lunn, 2018).

Finally, concerning the methodology of the revised studies, the most used ones are bibliographical, documental analysis and case studies focusing on governmental programs and specific projects of the universities. Regarding the instruments, questionnaires are the most employed ones.

FINAL REMARKS

This chapter presented an overview of studies focusing on the internationalization of HE and English between 2013 and 2018. The following sources were consulted: Google Scholar, CAPES dissertation and thesis database as well as Brazilian journals of (Applied) Linguistics, Education and HE classified as A1 and A2.

Results show a predominance of studies focusing on public policies of internationalization, such as LWB and SWB. By this we can assume that the funding agencies that promote and support these programs have important roles in Brazilian internationalization. Regarding English, we saw different positions and considerations about the language in this process: it is the language of internationalization, but it is also important to consider a plurilingual and multilingual education; it is seen as a hegemonic language in the LWB program (Passoni, 2018), but a post-structuralist view of language is important to consider (Jordão, 2016); it has different roles in basic/regular and higher education.

For future works, more ethnographic studies are an interesting suggestion to longitudinally follow English actions in many contexts of HE institutions. Hence, classroom practices, situations and instances of English use, be they face-to-face or virtual, in this process of internationalization could be the focus of other studies. Additionally, it could be relevant to investigate the results and effects of internationalization programs in the universities, following the egresses of such programs, for example, as to understand their further implications for the institution and as a basis for future program developments.

This chapter gave a perspective of the national research panorama on academic internationalization and English, leading to a comprehensive knowledge of the current state-of-the art study and pointing to further developments. We hope to contribute to upcoming research agendas on the issue as well as raise awareness and possible discussions/reflections on the role of English (and other foreign languages) in the internationalization of HE.

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INTERNATIONALIZATION AND LANGUAGE POLICIES IN BRAZIL: QUALITY AND ASSESSMENT EVIDENCE FROM A GLOCAL PROPOSAL

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INTRODUCTION

Higher education (HE) is impacted by globalization, understood as a series of changes, including, but not limited to: a) a gradually shrinking space where the lives of people (jobs, salaries, health, etc.) are impacted by facts that happen around the globe; b) a shrinking time whereby markets and technologies change very quickly making distant events be perceived as happening in real time; c) disappearing borders whereby commerce, capital, information, ideologies, cultures and values seem to flow regardless of national borders (Kumaravadivelu, 2006).

The 1999 Human Development Report (United Nations, 1999) states that the collapse of space, time and borders creates a global village where not everyone can be a citizen. While some may perceive borders as ever shrinking with globalization, billions of others may find them as high as ever. As with most things, not everything is bad news though, for globalization also promotes an increase in the flows of technology, economy, knowledge, people, values and ideas, across borders (Knight, 2003). As a multifaceted phenomenon, it has various effects on everyday life (in general) and on education (in particular). According to Knight (2003), internationalization is changing education just as globalization changes internationalization. Once HE affects how citizens are impacted by borders (which can no longer exist or become blurred), the internationalization of HE has become an important aspect in people's destiny, acting as both a consequence and an agent of globalization.

Moita Lopes (2013) claims that researchers are also affected by the challenges brought by globalization and its effects on the economy, politics, technologies, cultures and societies,

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thus creating a complex world, full of blurred borders and identities, ambiguities, instabilities and questions about what constitutes legitimate ways of life and valid knowledge. This troubled world requires new ways of inquiry, because languages, texts and people move in such a high speed (propelled by the digital world) that old ways of conducting research are no longer valid to deal with the intricateness of a complex and multicultural world.

This chapter aims at presenting a meta-analysis of the studies on the internationalization process of Brazilian HE institutions conducted by a Brazilian research group registered at a public federal university and, with its main findings, point directives to what could shape this process in the near future. The chapter is organized in six main parts: an introduction on internationalization in Brazil, a meta-analysis of studies carried out by the aforementioned research group, the methodology used in the study and the analysis of language policies, glocal principles, and finally, the multilevel assessment matrix for internationalization.

INTERNATIONALIZATION

Internationalization has been a topic of extensive debate recently. Laus (2012) indicates that this subject has been systematically discussed since the 1980s and it has become part of the academic scenario when institutions chose to integrate internationalization into their strategic planning, while countries chose to include it in their national policies for HE.

Knight (2003:2) defines internationalization as "the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of postsecondary education". Internationalization encompasses (but is not limited to) activities such as incoming and outbound academic mobility, agreements between institutions and other activities, as described by Amorim and Finardi (2017), Finardi, Santos and Guimarães (2016) and Finardi and Guimarães (2017). It should not be limited to it, instead, it should be understood as a way to improve the tripartite mission of universities (to provide teaching, research and services) rather than as a goal in itself.

Another aspect of internationalization that has to be considered is how a given institution integrates those aspects described by Knight (2003) in her definition of internationalization. We are referring to the term "Internationalization at Home" (IaH), which can be seen as "any internationally related activity with the exception of outbound student mobility" (Nilsson, 2003:31). Beelen and Jones (2015:69) presented a more recent definition for IaH as a "purposeful integration of international and intercultural dimensions into the formal and informal curriculum for all students within domestic learning environments".

We can also think of internationalization as a comprehensive process, described by Hudzik (2011:10) as:

> Comprehensive internationalization is a commitment, confirmed through action, to infuse international and comparative perspectives through the teaching, research and service missions of higher education. It shapes institutional ethos and values and touches the entire higher education enterprise. It is essential that it be embraced by institutional leadership, governance, faculty, students and all academic service and support units. It is an institutional imperative, not just a desired possibility.

Internationalization can also be used as a platform for promoting the worldwide visibility of HE institutions. According to Finardi and Ortiz (2015) this promotion may be

"economically motivated" once universities expect to be at least partially financed by fees paid by foreign academics – and also by governments, funding agencies and partnerships with private companies. In an analysis of the motivations to go international of two Brazilian universities, a public and a private one, Finardi and Ortiz (2015) concluded that the motivation for internationalization in Brazil is somewhat different from that of the rest of the world, at least for public institutions that are (still) almost completely financed by the government and as such, do not charge fees.

One way to promote a university worldwide, as described above, is through the participation in international rankings, such as the *Times Higher Education* (THE) *World University Rankings* and the *Academic Ranking of World Universities* (ARWU – Shanghai Ranking). These rankings show that HE institutions are eager to promote themselves, in order to attract more students and to get more funding for research. However, it is important to bear in mind the warning put forward by Finardi and Guimarães (2017) in relation to rankings. According to these authors, the criteria used for rankings tend to favor universities of the Northern hemisphere and/or English-speaking institutions and, as such, cannot capture the reality of universities of the global South (D'Souza, 2010; Sousa Santos, 2011). As a consequence of this, university rankings do not benefit all, nor do they benefit all players and stakeholders in the same way (Vavrus & Pekol, 2015).

According to Finardi and Archanjo (2015), the government-funded internationalization program "Science without Borders" (SwB) in Brazil represents the highest investment in internationalization of HE in South America. Considered one of the largest mobility programs in the region, the SwB offered more than 100,000 scholarships for undergraduate students who wanted to develop their studies abroad, especially students from the field of natural sciences, health sciences and engineering. However, such program did not (initially) consider the low level of foreign language proficiency of Brazilian students.

As a result, during the first calls of the program, most students chose to travel to Portugal or Spain, due to the similarity of the languages spoken in those countries with Brazilian Portuguese. However, scholarships for those countries finished very quickly and other countries (speakers of other languages), though eager to welcome Brazilian students (and funds), had a hard time to receive as many students as Portugal or Spain. One should notice that some of the universities in Portugal and Spain which welcomed SwB students were ranked lower than some Brazilian universities.

As a result of the first calls, the Brazilian Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation (MCTI) and the Ministry of Education (MEC) decided to finance language courses abroad, so that students could have a 6-month language preparation course, before attending academic disciplines. On the one hand, this measure had a high financial and political cost for the program, leading to increasing criticism of the high expenses dedicated to the program. On the other hand, it raised public awareness concerning the need for language instruction. The soil was fertile for the proposition of a language program in Brazil.

In order to fight the aforementioned criticism, the Brazilian government launched the supplementary "English without Borders" (EwB) program in 2012, relaunched in 2014 as "Languages without Borders" (LwB). The initial objective of these programs was to develop foreign language proficiency of university students, preparing them for outbound academic mobility. This initial objective was then expanded to include university professors and staff, making the process of internationalization more "comprehensive". Besides, more languages were included in LwB and language teachers were prepared to help in the internationalization process.

Due to financial restrictions, the SwB was discontinued in 2014. Impressively and conversely, the LwB continued to be supported by the Brazilian government until 2019. Despite the three main actions of the LwB, namely, the provision of language proficiency and placement tests, face-to-face language courses and online language courses, all of which were offered free of charge, the program did not include all the population, reaching about 5% (and sometimes less) of the academic population of a university, and as such, the lack of foreign language proficiency in Brazil continues to be a drawback for internationalization.

Recent changes in the national Law and Guidelines for Education (LDB) had significant impacts on which languages should be taught in Elementary Education. In the previous version of this law (1996), each school could choose the foreign language to be offered, depending on the resources available and on the needs of local communities.

However, a recent reform (2017) defined that schools must teach English from the 6th grade on. Despite the fact that English is seen as the language for international communication, this reform can have serious impacts on the teaching of other languages, especially in communities near the borders of the country and in regions where there are groups who speak heritage languages or indigenous languages. Since the local communities can no longer discuss and decide which foreign language/s is/are relevant to be taught in their schools, such changes in LDB seem to disregard important local issues, needs and agendas. Nevertheless, one can say that even before the new version of the LDB was launched, it was a well-known fact that English was a "major choice" in many schools.

We understand that internationalization is a process deeply connected to the phenomenon of globalization, a concept with several definitions that presents "new opportunities, challenges and risks" (Knight, 2003:3) for nations around the globe. It can also be seen as a phenomenon of transnationalization of cultural and economic life, creating new relations between people from different parts of the world, with different languages and traditions (Rajagopalan, 2003).

In regards to the different language backgrounds and uses, globalization has also changed linguistic identities, which are subject to international influence. Besides, everyday life has been impacted by the advances in the information technology, which allow access to a great amount of information, in various languages. Electronic communication (through internet) widened the global exchange of information, economic growth and cultural change, mostly through the English language (Finardi; Prebianca & Momm, 2013), the "language of globalization" (Kumaravadivelu, 2006: 131).

META-ANALYSIS

A meta-analysis of studies carried out by the research group to which the authors of this paper belong was made, yielding a total of 21 papers (articles and book chapters). A table was produced with a summary of the objective(s) and main finding(s) of these studies and can be seen below.

Table 1

Meta-Analysis

Paper	Objective(s)	Main Finding(s)
Finardi (2014)	To propose the appropriation of English as an international language in Brazil	Language policies can create a social gap since only those who can afford to learn English in private courses will do so in Brazil.
Finardi & Prebianca (2014)	Study case to analyze the role of language policies, internationalization and technologies in an English teachers' education course	The curriculum of teaching degree course analyzed does not guarantee the teaching of important aspects related to those three topics
Finardi & Porcino (2014)	To reflect on the interface among technology, methodology, internationalization and globalization	These four topics are very associated in English language teaching
Porcino & Finardi (2014)	To analyze the interface between internationalization and English language teaching in Brazil	ELT is very associated with internationalization
Finardi; Prebianca; Schmitt & Andrade (2014)	To reflect on the interface among technology, methodology and internationalization through the analysis of the *MyEnglishOnline* (MEO) course	The MEO course is not enough to guarantee English proficiency and learning and internationalization improvements
Finardi & Ortiz (2015)	To analyze the motivations to internationalize a public and a private Brazilian university	Brazilian public universities are motivated (for academic purposes) to internationalize whereas private universities are not (due to size of domestic market)
Finardi & Porcino (2015)	To analyze the use of English in the Brazilian internationalization and education	English has a functional role in the internationalization and a formative role in the education

Finardi & Tyler (2015)	To propose a matrix for the adaptation of Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs) for non-English speakers	English is very important in the access to online education
Ortiz & Finardi (2015)	To describe a project using Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) to socially include immigrants and refugees	The teaching of contents and language together can foster the development of social inclusion
Finardi & Archanjo (2015)	To analyze language policies in Brazil	Language policies are not consistent and convergent with internationalization goals
Finardi (2016a)	To review language policies in Brazil	English has the role of a foreign language in Elementary Education and of an international language in HE
Finardi (2016b)	To analyze the interface between globalization and English in Brazil	Globalization has impacted the use of English in Brazil
Finardi & França (2016)	To analyze the role of English in the Brazilian academic production of the Linguistics area	The circulation and impact of the Brazilian academic production is negatively impacted by the lack of publications in English
Finardi; Leão & Pinheiro (2016)	To review language policies and the use of the CLIL approach for internationalization in Brazil	The CLIL approach is not very used in Brazil mainly because of lack of language policies and teacher education
Finardi; Santos & Guimarães (2016)	To describe the creation of a language division in the international office of a Brazilian university	There is a strong interface between language and internationalization actions and policies
Finardi (2017a)	To compare language policies in Brazil and in Switzerland to propose the use of the intercomprehension approach for the teaching of foreign languages in Brazil	Brazil is a "de facto" multilingual country where English is a majority foreign language

Finardi (2017b)	To describe the use of English as a global language in Brazil from a local perspective	English threatens other additional languages in Brazil (foreign, heritage and indigenous)
Amorim & Finardi (2017)	Study case to analyze internationalization in three levels: macro (government actions), meso (institution) and micro (academic community.	Macro (most important actions are SwB and LwB programs), meso (willing but not fully engaged) and micro (not aware).
Kawachi; Amorim & Finardi (2017)	Study case to analyze the interface between TOEFL ITP, internationalization and language assessment	TOEFL scores correlate with internationalization actions and programs
Finardi & Guimarães (2017)	To analyze the Brazilian situation in terms of rankings and language policies for internationalization	Language policies are associated with internationalization but rankings do not capture the reality in Brazil
Taquini; Finardi & Amorim (2017)	To Analyze the offer of English Medium Instruction (EMI) courses in Turkey and in Brazil	Similarity between Turkey and Brazil: both want to offer EMI courses to internationalize. Difference: in Turkey EMI is offered mostly in private institutions whereas in Brazil it is in public institutions.

Source: Authors' data

The most important finding of this meta-analysis is that there is a gap between principles and (language) policies to guide the internationalization process in Brazil. Based on this finding, a framework to guide the internationalization of HE, considering these aspects, was proposed by the research group made up of the authors of this paper and is described in what follows.

METHODOLOGY

A major finding of the meta-analysis suggested a gap (and mismatch) of principles and policies (especially in terms of the use of languages) to guide the internationalization process and its assessment in Brazil. Based on this finding a tentative framework is proposed here to address internationalization in a glocal context considering three aspects: 1) language policies; 2) glocal principles and; 3) a multilevel assessment matrix. In what follows, these three dimensions will be briefly outlined.

LANGUAGE POLICIES

As previously suggested here, languages have become a key topic in the process of internationalization of HE. In a globalized world, languages are suffering unprecedented mutual influences that place them at the core of international communication. Citizens of this new world tend to be multilingual (Rajagopalan, 2003) and the knowledge of foreign languages can be a valuable skill for individuals who need to interact with other people and cultures. Following Spolsky (2004), we understand multilingualism as the situation whereby a number of languages are used in a society whereas plurilingualism refers to an individual who uses more than two languages.

Finardi (2016a, 2016b, 2017b), in an analysis of the language scenario in Brazil concludes that, though there are many languages spoken in that country (in fact, more than 200), Brazil is mostly a monolingual country where the national language (Brazilian Portuguese) excluded other native languages (mostly indigenous and heritage languages) and where English excluded other foreign languages with the latest educational reforms described previously.

Due to the centrality of language to education, the choice of a certain language as a medium of instruction has triggered discussions related to language policies. Spolsky (2004) states that the components of language policies include: a) language practices – pattern of selection of varieties that compose the linguistic repertoire; b) language ideology – beliefs about language and its use, and c) efforts to modify practices by intervention, planning or management.

Thus, it is possible to work through political and governmental agencies, in order to change language practices, with interventions focused on language issues which can have economic, political, social and cultural consequences. One should notice that language policies occur in complex and dynamic contexts, since "non-linguistic factors (political, demographic, social, religious, cultural, psychological, bureaucratic and so on) regularly account for any attempt by persons or groups to intervene in the language practices" (Spolsky, 2004:6).

Shohamy (2006:xv) indicates that languages can be used to demonstrate group membership, inclusion, exclusion, to show economic status and rank people and their identities. Moreover, languages can be used to control, when one imposes the use of certain languages in certain ways. Thus, language policies are at the core of discussions between language ideology and practice, through "overt and covert mechanisms, used [...] by those in authority", in order to manipulate, control, affect, create and perpetuate "de facto" language policies.

Those in authority have special access to "power and sanctions" and use "mechanisms as a powerful way of manipulating state ideologies", in order to promote political ideologies related to language purity and to "create language hierarchies, marginalize and exclude groups, and thus lead to the violation of personal rights and undemocratic practices" (Shohamy, 2006:xvii). Therefore, policy and practice can affect each other. Rajagopalan (2013:21) defines language policy as the art of conducting reflections about specific languages, in order to drive actions of public interest, related to the languages that matter for the people of a nation, state or larger transnational groups.

Discussions about languages and language policies seemed to create a gap between linguists and the public opinion. Rajagopalan (2003:129) states that linguists tend to focus on the bad effects of globalization (and its consequences) and try to create protective measures, in order to preserve the national languages.

Thus, common sense has been seen as a hindrance and language experts tend to keep distance from ordinary people – a form of intellectual elitism and contempt for public opinions. According to Sousa Santos (2009), common sense does not result from a practice intentionally designed for this purpose because it spontaneously reproduces itself in the everyday life. The author also states that common sense "distrusts the opacity of technological objectives and the esoterism of knowledge to favor the principle of equal access to discourse, cognitive competence and linguistic competence" (Sousa Santos, 2009:108, authors' translation[5]). When dealing with languages, the concerns of all people should be considered, no matter if they are experts or laymen, because all of us use languages for various purposes. Besides, working with languages means intervening in the social realities that languages create (Rajagopalan, 2003:126).

For many linguists, languages follow their own rules (Rajagopalan, 2003). They evolve, renew and adjust to the communication needs of different people. For these linguists, the best policy is to leave languages alone. However, few linguists have in mind that languages can work as political banners, when people choose a certain language to defend their ideologies. For better or for worse, political interventions on languages are more common than we think. The history of mankind is full of examples of purposeful intervention on the fate of various languages (Rajagopalan, 2003).

Thus, it is important to consider the political dimension of languages. Rajagopalan (2003) claims that the main question in the discussion of political aspects of languages is: what efforts can be done to bring up the hidden interests which are behind political proposals related to languages? This could bring together experts and laymen, in order to define the best options for all language users.

According to Finardi and Csillagh (2016) no account of language policy or multilingualism is complete if it does not include the role played by the English language nowadays. The English language has been playing a key role in the definition of language policies, since it has been associated to the access to a better way of life. Learning a foreign language (in particular English) represents prestige, because language learners tend to be seen as literate and educated people.

However, foreign language teaching has been impacted by ideologies that force students to acquire a "perfect" proficiency level, similar to a native speaker. This may cause learners to feel inferior, because they think that they may never achieve such an ideal level of proficiency. This is because the foreign language and culture are presented as superior to the culture and language of the learner. As a way to fight these feelings associated with English in Brazil, Finardi (2014) suggests that Brazilians appropriate the English language to their own needs and realities.

In this scenario, we consider that language policies can deal with some of the challenges that come along with the internationalization process. By defining the local needs of HE institutions, we can try to find a balance between global and local forces. Following Finardi and Csillagh, (2016) and Guimarães, Finardi and Casotti (2019), we suggest that institutional language policies should be analyzed in six dimensions of HE, namely, the: 1) language of admission; 2) language teaching; 3) language of instruction; 4) language of research; 5) language of administration and 6) language of external communication.

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5   Original text in Portuguese: "[o senso comum] desconfia da opacidade dos objectivos tecnológicos e do esoterismo do conhecimento em nome do princípio da igualdade do acesso ao discurso, à competência cognitiva e à competência linguística" (Sousa Santos, 2009:108).

The language (or languages) of admission is the one which the institution uses to select students, usually through entrance exams. Language teaching should take into account the languages which are considered valuable for universities and students to achieve their goals, especially the ones related to internationalization. The language of instruction is the language (or languages) which is used for educating students, depending on their field of study. In Brazil, Martinez (2016) makes an account of the state of the art of English Medium Instruction (EMI) while Taquini, Finardi and Amorim (2017) compare EMI in Turkey and in Brazil.

The language (or languages) of research is the one chosen for collaborative research, especially with international research partners. The language (or languages) of administration is the one used in everyday routines including notices directed towards foreign academics during exchange programs. Finally, the language (or languages) of external communication is the one used in official communications with foreign partners.

GLOCAL PRINCIPLES

"Glocal" is a concept that refers to the imbricated relations between local and global contexts (Andreotti et al., 2006). According to Robertson (1995), economists started to use the term, and "glocalization" later was understood as "micro marketing", a capitalist adaptation of products and services to the local peculiarities of the global variety. The latter would include possible differences between consumers: regional, racial, gender, age differences, etc. The former referred to both private and nostalgic feelings, and for that reason it was used for selling products and services that met such expectations. Robertson (1995) further argues that the "local" is constituted by elements that come from both the outside and from the top to the bottom. Besides being dynamic, the local aspect is not homogeneous. Thus, globalization brings the simultaneity and interpenetration of what would commonly be called "local" and "global" or even universal and particular. In addition, the local and the global contexts affect each other; their discourses and policies, which are driven by economic interests.

In 2016, the funds that the Brazilian government would invest in education for the next twenty years suffered great cuts, hampering the quality of public education offered at all levels. Sousa Santos (2011) sees such reduction of public funding in consonance with the neo-liberal project of transnationalization of the university services market. Such a project transforms education - previously seen as a public good and a government responsibility – into a commodity.

Altbach and Knight (2007) point out that this view of HE, as a commodity, stimulates international academic mobility. However, this process tends to accentuate inequalities between Northern and Southern universities (Vavrus & Pekol, 2015). This is because the countries from the South send more students to universities in the North than they receive from these countries (Sousa Santos, 2011). This unbalanced outbound movement of students from universities from the South to the North is described by Lima and Maranhão (2009) as they claim Brazil's internationalization process is a rather passive one and advocate for a change in the paradigm of the internationalization of HE in Brazil.

Finardi, Santos and Guimarães (2016) analyzed the data of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2010:314 *apud* Jenkins, 2013:4) which referred to the international academic mobility in the year 2008, when more than half of foreign HE

students were concentrated in only five countries (USA 18.7%, UK 10%, Australia 6.9%, France 7.3% and Germany 7.3%), whereby English speaking countries (USA, UK, Australia, Canada and New Zealand) received almost half of the total (about 43%). A similar trend of mobility could also be found in the SwB Program.

Even though universities around the world are restructuring themselves in order to go international, the processes of globalization and internationalization seem to benefit English speaking countries more (Altbach, 2006; Finardi, Santos & Guimarães, 2016) than those which speak other languages and that did not adopt English as a medium of instruction (EMI). The authors also highlight Hamel's (2013) warning regarding a language bias which favors English in international publications.

There are also unbalanced relations between the North and the South in the criteria used by academic rankings and assessments of the scientific impact of international publications. Finardi and Guimarães (2017) analyzed the evaluation criteria of HE established by the international rankings, and concluded that these rankings are incapable of capturing the Brazilian reality. Such criteria reflect negatively in the evaluation of HE institutions in Brazil. According to the authors, on the one hand, Brazilian HE institutions have to adapt to global evaluation demands in order to be more internationally attractive. On the other hand, their local issues are not catered by the evaluation/internationalization policies from the North. Finardi and Guimarães (2017) question how the institutions and agencies responsible for such rankings have acted (and influenced) in evaluating internationalization actions around the world. It seems like internationalization is "not for everyone", at least as it has been happening in recent times.

One of the main criteria for the evaluation of rankings is their production and dissemination of knowledge (Finardi & Guimarães, 2017). It is estimated that about 80% of scientific publications in the world are published in English, which means that it has become the language of the academia (Rajagopalan, 2015) and HE (Jenkins, 2013). Finardi and França (2016) point out that although Brazil has the 13th largest production of academic papers, this production is not well evaluated, due to the language in which it is published. This is because most Brazilian papers are not written in English. It is important to point out that there is also evidence of editorial prejudice practiced by the North against the South (Victora & Moreira, 2006; Hamel, 2013).

Finardi (2014) draws some considerations regarding the use, teaching and learning of English in both local and global contexts. She defends the view of English as an international language, which does not belong only to the native speaker. The author also argues that, although Brazil has multilingual contexts, its curriculum includes only Portuguese as an official language, in addition to English and Spanish as foreign languages (not as additional or international languages). Finardi (2014) shows the inequalities in foreign language teaching between Brazilian public schools and private courses advocating the need for a change in paradigm, from the view of English as a foreign language to English as an international language. According to Finardi (2014), such change in paradigm might help promote intellectual and social advancement by reducing the social gap between those who can afford to study English in private language institutes and those who cannot.

The strategic role that English has played in the internationalization of HE institutions around the world is undeniable (for example, Finardi, Santos & Guimarães, 2016; Finardi & França, 2016; Taquini, Finardi & Amorim, 2017). For these reasons, language policies that promote paradigmatic and social changes are urgent (Finardi, 2014; Finardi, 2017a, 2017b).

As previously mentioned, the studies analyzed in the meta-analysis show a gap between the principles and the language policies that guide the internationalization of Brazilian HE institutions. In order to design those principles, some aspects should be considered such as the interests, demands and local agendas of HE institutions regarding internationalization, so that institutions may plan their actions, following Lima and Maranhão's (2009) suggestion to become more active.

Therefore, thinking glocal principles requires efforts to pursue local issues in dialogue with the global ones. It also demands decolonization and dewesternization of South. Andreotti *et al.* (2015) point out that decolonization can have different meanings and that there is a tendency to try to eliminate contradictions and conflicts in the search for coherent and normative "recipes".

Mignolo (2000) discusses the processes that have historically engendered colonialism, reformulating the problem of the universal/particular based on the colonial difference. According to him, Occidentalism is the "visible face in the building of the modern world, whereas subaltern knowledges are its darker side, the colonial side of modernity" (Mignolo, 2000:20). Modernity has presented itself as "light" - through discourses of industrialization, technological and scientific progress, democracy, human development, etc. – in opposition to the "darkness". According to Andreotti *et al.*, (2015:23) such light survives from "the imposition of systematic violence on the Other", such as coloniality. As such, this so-called light creates darkness and lives on it.

Although the university has fulfilled the objectives of modernity, it is still a powerful space to perceive the difference of the other, as well as the complexities of the world (Andreotti *et al.*, 2016). However, universities can often be deeply institutionalized by hegemonic power. In this case, it is possible to create other spaces and forms of knowledge production, or to meet other knowledges, devalued by modernity/West: glocal knowledges based on South-South and South-North relations.

MULTILEVEL ASSESSMENT MATRIX

One of the proposals of this study is to present elements for a multilevel assessment matrix for internationalization of HE institutions in Brazil. The main objective of this proposed matrix is to provide a roadmap for HE institutions that wish to internationalize or make more informed decisions in regards to their ongoing internationalization process. Knight (2004) proposed a comprehensive framework for assessing internationalization in two main levels: 1) national; and 2) institutional. At the national level, Knight (2004) suggests five categories of evaluation: 1) programs, 2) analysis of principles and motivations, 3) *ad hoc*, 4) policies, and 5) strategies. For the institutional level, the above-mentioned author suggests six different (but interrelated) pillars for evaluation: 1) activities, 2) results, 3) principles and motivations, 4) process, 5) at home, and 6) abroad. Knight emphasizes that this framework is tentative and that it may be approached from different angles depending on what the reasons to internationalize are.

Amorim and Finardi (2017) adapted Knight's framework into a matrix for assessing internationalization in three levels, namely, at a macro (national), a meso (institutional), and a micro (academic community) level. Results of this study are briefly described in the meta-analysis but overall the authors concluded that despite the federal government's efforts

in funding mobility (such as the SwB) and language programs (such as the LwB), Brazil's internationalization policies can be classified as "passive" (Lima & Maranhão, 2009) as it prioritizes outbound mobility programs, mainly because of a language barrier.

As far as the institution analyzed by Amorim and Finardi (2017) is concerned, less than 5% of the academic community, which includes students, faculty and staff, had the chance to participate in language programs offered by the government. In addition, the mobility programs included only technology and science majors, excluding a great portion of the student population both in undergraduate and graduate degrees. At the micro level, around 1600 participants (students, faculty, and staff) responded to an online questionnaire and some were selected for an interview. The objectives of the questionnaire were: 1) to know what kind of activities the academic community considered internationalization activities; 2) to know if the academic community felt included in these activities; and 3) to know what kind of support the community expected from the institution in regards to internationalization activities. Outbound mobility programs concentrated most of the answers and the majority of the participants (72%) claimed they felt excluded from the internationalization activities promoted in the investigated university. As per the support they expected from the university, they also gave a negative feedback because programs such as the EwB only attended a small portion of the academic community (about 5%).

A preliminary finding of the meta-analysis carried out in this study was that there is an apparent gap (or mismatch) of principles and policies for the internationalization process and its assessment in Brazil which, therefore, served as impetus for the proposal of this multilevel assessment matrix of internationalization in Brazil. Using Knight (2004) and Amorim and Finardi (2017) as references, this internationalization assessment matrix focuses on the HE institution whose internationalization project or plan is still incipient.

Deciding on the university's goal for internationalization becomes, then, a first and crucial step. Jenkins (2013) and Foskett (2010) discuss the internationalization processes of universities around the world and both agree that it may be a response to globalization. Foskett (2010) carried out a study with 23 universities around the globe and came up with five categories of universities in relation to their internationalization goals: 1) domestic universities, the ones which focus in their local realities; 2) imperialist universities, the ones which possess a very active international recruitment program but do very little to change or adapt their organization or culture to a more internationalized atmosphere; 3) internationally conscious universities, the ones which make an effort to change their culture and organization to become more "international" but are not fully engaged; 4) internationally engaged universities, the ones which are seeking for an internationalization "at home" agenda by making changes in their curricula to a more global perspective, promoting international collaborations; and lastly 5) internationally focused universities, the ones which present progress in internationalization in various dimensions and whose internationalization at home has been transformational for all involved. Jenkins (2013) criticizes this categorization because when a university is said to be "international" or "global" it becomes challenging to measure how this will, in reality, impact language policies and HE policies.

So, how then can one assess the internationalization process of a HE institution in Brazil? A tentative and still under revision multilevel assessment matrix is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1

The Multilevel Assessment Matrix of Internationalization
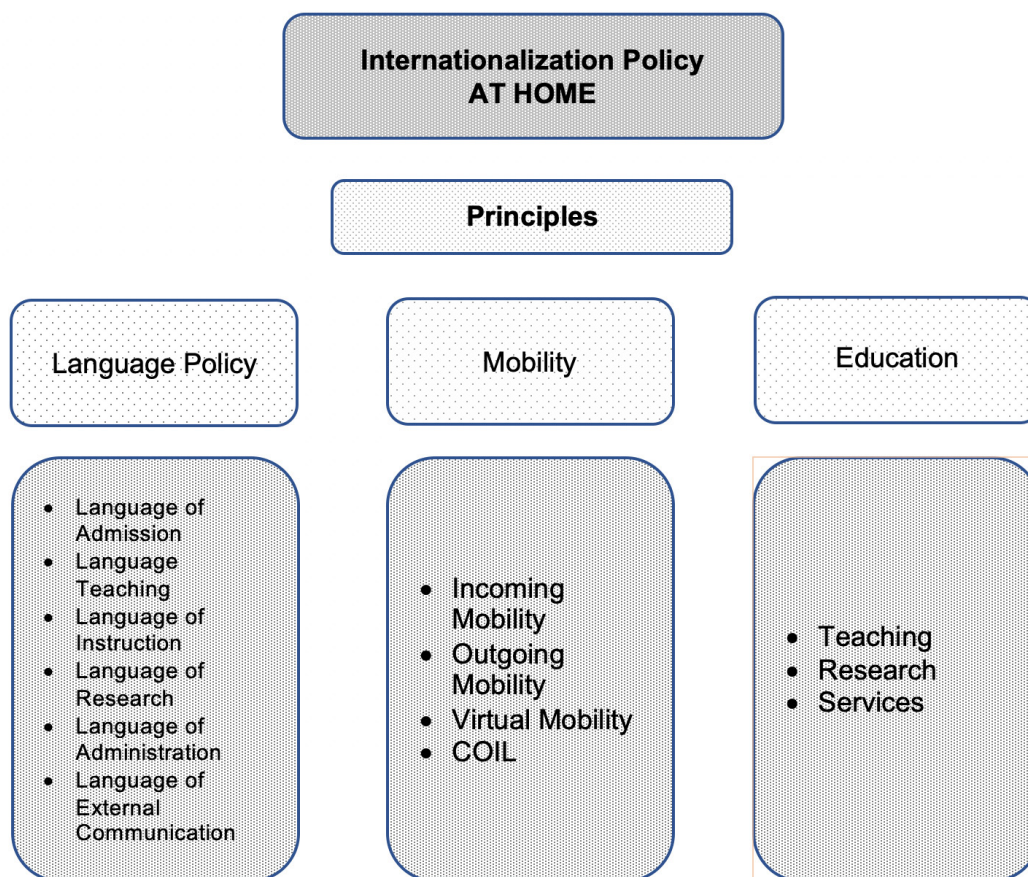
There are four layers in the matrix proposed. The first and more general step is to identify if the HE institution has a stated internationalization plan approved by its academic community and discussed with various instances of the academic community. The goal of a given institution could potentially fit in one of five the categories presented by Foskett (2010 *apud* Jenkins, 2013). The second layer of the matrix represents the principles which will guide all actions and decisions as to how the HE institution understands internationalization as well as what the institution needs and wants to do in terms of internationalization. The last layer represents the three main interwoven areas of impact of the internationalization policy of the university: 1) language policy, 2) mobility programs, and 3) education. The breakdown of these areas indicates the various elements that a comprehensive internationalization plan encompasses.

CONCLUSION

This chapter aimed to reflect on aspects of quality and assessment of language policies and internationalization of HE in general zooming in a local proposal/perspective put forward by a research group in the Federal University of Espírito Santo, Brazil. Another aim of this chapter was to reflect upon glocal aspects of internationalization and language policies by offering a meta-analysis of studies carried out between 2014-2018 by a research group of the Federal University of Espírito Santo (UFES), Brazil.

Results of the meta-analysis suggest progress in the internationalization process in that context, in the period investigated. Based on these findings, the research group's focus shifted towards a proposal for assessment and evaluation of language policies and internationalization of Brazilian HE institutions through the elaboration of a tentative framework to address internationalization in a glocal context considering three aspects: 1) language policies 2) glocal principles and 3) a multilevel assessment matrix. Perhaps, this will lead to a more glocal, sustainable, and comprehensive internationalization agendas/plans/policies in Brazilian HE institutions for the years to come.

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INTERNATIONALIZATION PRACTICES IN A PRIVATE UNIVERSITY IN BRAZIL: PAVING THE WAY FOR MAJOR CHANGES IN THE NEAR FUTURE

Heloísa Orsi Koch Delgado[1]

INTRODUCTION: SETTING THE SCENE FOR PRIVATE EDUCATION IN BRAZIL[2]

The private higher education sector in Brazil has been expanding, as shown in the latest census data: out of 2,364 Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in Brazil, 87.5 percent are private. This includes 2,069 universities, university centers, and colleges distributed throughout the country, giving Brazilian citizens the possibility to complete an undergraduate or graduate degree and change their personal and professional perspectives (Diniz et al., 2017).

This burgeoning scenario is showcased by national statistics: today, there are more than 6 million students enrolled in private HEIs, which represent more than 75 percent of all university students. According to the authors,

> There is a certain social twist in the educational system of Brazil; in short, young women and men who study in expensive private high schools, after their final examination win the competition for the very limited number of free study places in federal or state universities. On the other hand, students from public schools with good but lower scores have to apply for grants to pay for their education in the private sector. This means that the private sector has the responsibility — for which it receives much criticism — of bringing these students to the necessary level of knowledge and education for service to the country (2017: 24).

The private sector, comprised of for-profit and not-for-profit (communitarian, confessional, or philanthropic) HEIs, deals with multiple challenges: sustaining quality standards, attracting the best staff, remaining flexible, passing rigid audits for accreditation, constantly adapting to numerous changes in regulations, and many others, including funding (Diniz et al., op. cit.: 25).

Brazilian higher education has expanded since 1996 and experienced an increase in the number of students' enrollments. In fact, this year marked a watershed in the development of private, federal and state HEIs in the country, when funding from the government

allowed young people to take out student loans. Consequently, the growth of the private education sector in the country is the result of the National Plan of Education (PNE)[3] and *not*[4] from the development of private business in general, a central characteristic that differentiates private education in Brazil from private education in Europe, for instance. Diniz et al. highlight that "Brazilian private universities are an inseparable part, tool, and provider of the PNE. They serve as a joint innovative solution by the country's leaders and highly educated businesspersons to tackle the problem of the insufficient quantity of higher education institutions and of social inclusion in the country" (Diniz et al., op. cit.: 25)

The second turning point occurred in 2002 when the first technological undergraduate short courses were offered for Brazilian students. They enabled higher education admission for low-income individuals, which represented more than half of the Brazilian student population at the time. Additionally, "the courses were accepted on the market as higher education and were open to adult learners who came to universities not right after high school, but after some years of work" (Diniz et al., op. cit.: 25).

Another significant opportunity happened in 2005 when the *ProUni*[5] fund was created, providing scholarships for students from less privileged families to enroll at private institutions. Five years after, in 2010, the Student Financing Fund (FIES)[6] reduced the interest rates of the loans and increased the amortization period, resulting in an exponential increase in new enrollments from 76,000 in 2010 to 732,000 in 2014, reaching almost 40 percent of the national goal.

Regrettably, the country faced a substantial economic and political crisis in 2015, which forced the Brazilian government to reduce FIES loans drastically, and most lower-income students were excluded again from higher education, accounting for less than 15 percent in 2016 (Diniz et al., op. cit.: 25).

Today, the net enrollment rate in higher education for the 18–24 age class is just over 17 percent, but an increase in that number (33 percent) is expected by 2024, according to the PNE. The Brazilian Association of Higher Education Holders (ABMES)[7], which stands for the legitimate interests of private HEIs and their students, and the education plan as a whole, has not appreciated this variation. Diniz et al. advocate that the argument that scholarships have taken a heavy toll on society turned out to be no more than a polemic cliché: the cost of students at private institutions (87.5 percent of the HE sector) to the country is less than that of students at public institutions, while their immediate impact on the national economy is massive (op. cit.: 25).

Therefore, in support of the challenge to reach PNE goals by 2024, ABMES strategically focuses on pushing the government to keep investing in the scholarships. At the same time, in light of the current economic crisis, the Association is working with the authorities to find alternative funding mechanisms, e.g., possible new regulations allowing private banks to join the financing market for prospective students. The private education sector is a very active partner of the government in searching for ways to provide society with access to higher education and produce qualified, middle-class workers most needed on the Brazilian labor market to sustain economic growth.

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3   *Plano Nacional da Educação*.

4   My highlight.

5   University to All Program (*Programa Universidade para Todos*).

6   *Fundo de Financiamento ao Estudante do Ensino Superior*.

7   *Associação Brasileira de Mantenedoras de Ensino Superior*.

Brazilian HEIs also need to respond in their institutional practices to an academic culture that has become largely internationalized, bringing forth constant changes in the global landscape of higher education. Maringe and Foskett (2010:1) point out that "internationalization is a key strategy by which universities have responded to the influence of globalization and is, itself, widely taken to mean the integration of an international or intercultural dimension into the tripartite mission of teaching, research and service functions of Higher Education". It should also seek to facilitate an inclusive dimension to the mission, all of the dimensions of a contemporary university, including its entrepreneurial pursuits. Embedding internationalization through changing institutional language, culture, and attitudes into standard university practice is more likely to be more successful than if seen as a separate goal itself (Gopinathan & Lee, 2011).

Considering this perspective, the present text describes how a Brazilian private HEI has approached the topical field of internationalization in higher education. More specifically, it seeks to answer *what best practices the said University[8] has developed under its conceptual framework of internationalization and particular context*. Undoubtedly, some of the initiatives illustrated here might be still incipient (e.g., the integration of international, intercultural and global dimensions into the delivery of education), but they are gradually being incorporated in the vision and mission of the Institution, which deeply cares about making a meaningful contribution to society.

As for the organization of the chapter, the *Introduction* briefly described the existing scenario of the private higher education sector in Brazil and signaled a few challenges it faces. It also pointed out the importance of internationalization since it is "a key driver in higher education, in the developed world and emerging economies" (De Wit, 2017: 25). In the sections that follow, I provide the reader with the conceptual model of internationalization the University adopted, the best practices it has promoted as well as its achievements and attainable perspectives. As the former dean of the International Office[9] and an enthusiast of comprehensive and inclusive policies and practices - based on the assessment of the impact and outcomes those policies and practices generate - I expect the text brings some insights into the attempts the University has made to bring itself in line with a successful international status. Development and implementation of initiatives to account for this complex and diverse concept - which change over time - will certainly add to the understanding of the benefits and challenges of internationalization practice over the years to come.

SOME OF THE UNIVERSITY STRENGTHS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

The 71-year old Catholic University has been driven by principles of human rights and the Marist education tradition[10]. The mission of the not-for-profit Institution is to produce and disseminate knowledge while promoting human and professional development, driven by quality and relevance, to develop a just and fraternal society. By 2022, it will have

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8   The general rule to capitalize on the word "university" refers to when the name offers identity and specificity. Although I did not mention the proper name of the Institution, it will be capitalized throughout the text as it fits the grammar rule of identity and specificity. The same rule to the word "institution" will be applied. The acronym HEI, which stands for Higher Education Institution, is also used.

9   It is worth highlighting that the description made refers to the years 2017 to 2019 when I was in charge of the Institution's International Office.

10   The educational tradition of the Marist Brothers is firmly committed to the promotion and protection of humanity, life, and the environment.

become, under its mission, a leader in higher education through innovation and social, environmental, scientific, cultural and economic development (according to its Strategic Plan 2016-2022). The campus, located in Porto Alegre, the southernmost capital of the country, offers a truly unique experience in an environment that promotes individual and collective growth and combine extensive and modern facilities with a highly qualified faculty.

The University is acknowledged both nationally and internationally for the quality of its teaching and scholarly research, and is among the best universities in Latin America, as shown in the main international rankings. The most recent edition of ranking Times Higher Education (THE) Golden Age 2019, *Times Higher Education (THE) Golden Age 2019*brings it once again as one of the best universities established between 1945 and 1967, an era known as the "golden age" in higher education all over the world. Being the only educational Institution from Rio Grande do Sul in the list, it stood out especially in three indicators: Industry Income, Citations and International Outlook, ranking 1st in the list of private HEIs and 3rd overall. Likewise, Times Higher Education (THE) Latin America 2019 brings it as one of the 20 best universities in Latin America, climbing 13 positions from 2018. The 2020 edition of the QS World University Ranking, which includes 1000 universities from 85 countries, features the Institution among the best universities in the world, and as the only private one from the south of Brazil. Regarding Brazilian rankings, it is the #1 private institution in the country according to the *Ranking Universitário da Folha (RUF)* released in 2019.

Furthermore, the University plays a leading role both in the national and international scenario because of the outstanding reputation of its graduate programs. This is the result of the continued, multilateral efforts toward the consolidation of international partnerships and projects. According to the Brazilian Federal Agency for Support and Evaluation of Higher Education (CAPES) - which evaluates colleges and universities every four years – the HEI has climbed atop the public and private higher education institutions by virtue of the excellence of its graduate programs with a grade of 5.36 (2013-2016), on a scale that ranges from 0 to 7. In this scenario, two of the University's graduate programs have achieved the highest grade 7 (Biomedical Gerontology, Linguistics, and Literature) and nine were awarded grade 6 (Medicine and Health Sciences, Education, Philosophy, Social Work, Cell and Molecular Biology, Law, Pediatrics and Children's Health, Psychology and Computer Science), all of which first-rate programs of international recognition.

Regarding internationalization, the HEI has been progressing on multiple fronts. When it comes to research projects with international partners, the number of truly collaborative partnerships has seen significant growth. Since 2012, scientific research projects with international partners have grown by 53% and scientific production recognized internationally has increased (from 656 international productions in 2014 to 855 in 2017). Furthermore, the Institution holds a substantial number of active academic mobility agreements and programs, which are essential to foster the internationalization process: the HEI has welcomed incoming mobility students from various countries such as Angola, Argentina, Austria, China, Colombia, France, German, Italy, Mexico, Portugal, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, The United Kingdom and The United States of America. It has also sent students to universities abroad in mostly the same countries, except for Canada, Chile, Japan, and Mexico.

Among the actions implemented, are the offer of courses in English at the undergraduate level[11], and the consolidation of Internationalization at Home (IaH) practices and ini-

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11 Theories of Language Acquisition, Creative Writing, Philosophy of Law, Project Management, Audio for Motion Images, Criminology and Social Control and Digital Entrepreneurship, to name a few.

tiatives to foster a sense of "community of practice" among undergraduate and graduate professors and students. As for knowledge and technology transfer, the Technological Park, one of the highlights of the University, is recognized by leading associations and country ministries as the best Brazilian Science and Technology Park (2004, 2009, and 2016). The Park is an ecosystem of innovation and development, which facilitates the creation of new businesses; it aspires to have reached its goal of one thousand startups by 2028, which means that more entrepreneurial ventures will be placed in the market shortly.

Additionally, a new shift of paradigms concerning its undergraduate programs and learning environments has been put into practice, which brings important changes in teaching methods, mirroring those of the most traditional and important HEIs from all over the world. In addition to the core curriculum courses, students can choose a minor in any other area of knowledge, gaining more autonomy during their academic life. The change will, among other things, reinforce the University's role in providing comprehensive education, which promotes the integration between different areas of knowledge. All disciplines within the Institution include various dimensions of interpersonal communication relating to society, science, innovation, and personal growth. They aim to develop well-rounded individuals with a focus on entrepreneurship because they understand that the combination of these skills and qualities is the key for them to have a brighter future.

As for infrastructure, the Institution has remodeled its campus, offering new learning conveniences where students can study individually or in groups, share experiences, and enjoy the services, culture and other recreational activities available to the academic community. It also offers facilities for teaching, research and extension, which includes one of the most technologically advanced libraries in South America, large equipped laboratories and centers for research, and specialized student services. On campus, the academic community (local and international) have at their disposal services such as restaurants, snack bars, banks, a beauty salon, drugstores, bookstores, and the University Church.

Finally, the University was awarded the grant of the Institutional Program of Internationalization (PrInt) by the Brazilian Federal Agency for Support and Evaluation of Graduate Education (CAPES). The award is especially fitting, not only because of the important step forward in internationalization but also regarding the way the HEI comprehends this complex process and promotes best practices both locally and globally, to which I turn next.

THE INSTITUTION'S VIEWPOINT ON INTERNATIONALIZATION

Internationalization is a key strategy by which universities respond to the influence of globalization (the creation of world relations based on the operation of free markets) and is, itself, widely taken to mean "the integration of an international or intercultural dimension into the tripartite mission of teaching, research and service functions of Higher Education" (Maringe & Foskett, 2010: 1).

Foskett (2010: 44-45) categorizes universities globally into five groups: domestic, imperialist, internationally aware, internationally engaged and internationally focused. The table below shows the concepts of each category.

Table 1

Foskett's categories of universities in terms of internationalization (adapted)

Domestic universities	Focus on their regional and national context.
Imperialist universities	Have strong international recruitment activities to attract students from abroad, but have done little to change the organization "at home".
Internationally aware universities	Change their organization gradually to have an international profile but have not yet engaged in international efforts.
Internationally engaged universities	Drive an international agenda 'at home' (review the curriculum and seek research and education partnerships overseas).
Internationally focused universities	Present a strong level of progress and achievement in internationalization and transformational cultural change.

These categories derive from the analysis of a survey of 23 universities, 7 in the UK and 16 in Asia, revealing that only 3 belong to the "internationally focused" group and the other 20 institutions were found to fit in somewhere "between strategic aspiration and strategic reality" (Foskett, Ibid.: 45).

Central to the Plan of Internationalization (2018-2021) is how the University treats this phenomenon, particularly over the last two decades, a period in which it adopted a more open attitude to confront contemporary challenges. By creating and consolidating initiatives to maximize synergy, resulting in a favorable environment for different worldviews and cultural exchange, the Institution recognizes internationalization as an ongoing process of change and improvement.

Regarding Foskett's categories aforementioned, it seems that the University ranges from "an internationally engaged university" to "an internationally focused university," since it presents features of both types. Concerning the former, it seeks to enact IaH practices and initiatives with partners overseas; for the latter, it has presented a higher level of achievement in the tripartite mission of teaching, research and service functions by developing an ethos for transformational change.

Accordingly, the University began to rethink the concept of internationalization at all levels (governance and management, academic units, administrative staff) with the support of the Research and Postgraduate Office and the International Office. It adopted the Comprehensive Internationalization conceptual model[12], which is characterized by the strengthening of indivisible actions for teaching, research, innovation, and extension experienced on and off-campus (Hudzik, 2011). A comprehensive internationalization is made possible through concrete actions that foster long-lasting international perspectives and shape the institutional ethos, which prioritizes post-secondary education. More importantly, the HEI has gradually become aware that internationalization needs to be more inclusive and less elitist by not focusing predominantly on mobility but more on the curriculum and learning outcomes.

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12   I believe the University still adopts this model since it is referred to in its Plan of Internationalization (2018-2021).

The conceptual model adopted by the University has been slightly adapted from the Model of Comprehensive Internationalization brought forth by the Center for Internationalization and Global Engagement (CIGE) of the American Council on Education (ACE, 2017, online). It calls for the implementation of a strategically coordinated process that brings together policies, programs, and initiatives to make educational institutions globally oriented and internationally connected. The model is comprised of six interrelated pillars that focus on teaching, research, innovation, extension, as well as the mobility of students, faculty, researchers, managers, and staff, explained as follows. For each pillar, considerations are made about the extent to which the internationalization process has progressed at the Institution.

Table 2

Model of Comprehensive Internationalization

Pillar 1- **Institutional Commitment**	Strategic planning, internationalization committee, key representatives, and evaluation.
Pillar 2 - **Administrative leadership, structure and personnel**	Senior leaders, International Office, Office of the Provost of Undergraduate Studies and Continuing Education, Office of the Provost of Research and Graduate Programs.
Pillar 3 - **Curriculum, co-curriculum and learning results**	General education requirements, internationalization-oriented courses, assessment and learning results, technology-driven education.
Pillar 4 - **Faculty policies and practices**	Policies for promotion and stability, faculty mobility, professional development on campus.
Pillar 5 - **Academic mobility**	Credit transfer policies, double and joint degrees, constant support.
Pillar 6 - **Collaboration and partnerships**	Strategic planning and revision, prospection of strategic partners, continuous management.

Pillar 1 calls for **Institutional Commitment**. The University has embraced this concept into a central pillar, which influences how all strategic plans and policies are communicated explicitly to the academic community. Thus, internationalization initiatives are supervised by representatives throughout the campus, tasked with conducting focus groups, surveys, and open discussions, conveying priorities, addressing concerns and gaining buy-in from stakeholders, including faculty members, students, and administrative staff.

Administrative leadership, structure, and personnel (Pillar 2) consist of the involvement of senior leadership (president and top-tier executives) and the International Office from the outset. The latter coordinates campus-wide internationalization activities, which are reported to the president or chief academic officer (CAO). A close relationship between the different groups of the University leaders has been essential to enact internationalization initiatives and practices, which provides a sense of belonging on the campus.

An **internationalized curriculum and co-curriculum** (Pillar 3) need to ensure that students are exposed to international perspectives and build global competence, as student learning is a key element of internationalization. As follows, the Institution courses and programs address the specific knowledge and skills articulated by globally- focused learning outcomes. Some education components need to be given further consideration, namely, courses that focus on foreign languages, regional studies and global issues courses, particularly in undergraduate general education where international perspectives should be incorporated into each major. Said courses are gradually including internationally focused skills in student learning outcome objectives and assessment, and use technology in innovative ways to meet goals and foster global learning, promoting discussion and interaction among students of different backgrounds.

Faculty (Pillar 4) play a major role in campus internationalization, as they are the leading drivers of teaching and research. **Faculty mobility** and on-campus professional development are also key components to promote and foster internationalization. The PrInt Program will certainly provide the Institution with a substantial number of opportunities - through university policies and support mechanisms - to develop international competencies and be able to maximize the impact of these skills on student learning. In regards to **faculty policies,** the HEI is gradually advancing by including more explicit codes and guidelines for tenure and promotion, hiring, faculty mobility, and on-campus professional development. As for hiring, one clear criterion for candidate consideration is their international background and experience. The Institution is also keen on finding administrative and funding mechanisms to support faculty participation in outside programs and activities of various kinds (workshops, seminars and other programs), helping those incorporate international dimensions into their teaching.

Inward and outward student mobility (**Academic Mobility)** usually requires support structures and activities, orientation, and re-entry programs to help facilitate student adjustment and maximize learning. Credit transfer policies, the offer of disciplines taught in foreign languages, financial aid and funding, and ongoing programs are among the initiatives that facilitate international students'[13] full integration into campus life (Pillar 5). As for languages, the Institution is considering incorporating Spanish in undergraduate, graduate and extension programs as well, as it has been somehow successful in collaborating with institutions in Latin America and, thus, consolidating faculty and inbound/outbound mobility, and relevant research.

Establishing and managing successful **collaborations and partnerships abroad** (Pillar 6) is another key aspect of internationalization; they can provide international experiences for students and faculty, enhance the curriculum, generate revenue, and raise the visibility of institutions at home and around the world (ACE, op. cit., online). The ACE recommends a 4-step approach for managing international partnerships, summarized below, which facilitated the understanding of the process of internationalization at the University in as many ways possible: careful management of partner relationships, firm commitment and mutual trust, high priority on strategic partnerships, and dissipation of inactive connections.

a) *Strategic Planning* - Develop a careful strategic plan among international partners that clearly explains student learning outcome goals. Collaborations should align with the

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13   It is worth mentioning that the use of *international students* refers to any native or non-native English-speaking student studying at the University at the medium of English or Portuguese as an additional language.

mission and priorities of the institutions while taking into account the availability of financial and personnel resources.

b) *Review possible structures* - Review modes of engagement with potential partners to ensure a strong institutional fit. Even simple modes of collaboration can progress to a more complex structure of cooperation over time.

c) *Identify Potential Partners* - Pursue strategic partnerships taking into consideration their higher education context (policies, priorities, structure, and operations). A careful analysis can eliminate certain types of institutions as potential partners and make others a higher priority.

d) *On-going Management* - Have ongoing management of partnerships to ensure that MOUs (Memorandums of Understanding) do not proliferate for a variety of reasons. Centralize coordination of partnerships and designate certain relationships as strategic since they are based mostly on a personal connection and can dissipate once that connection is no longer active.

These interrelated pillars provided the basis for the Institution to develop and integrate international and intercultural dimensions into teaching, research, innovation, and extension in hopes of creating academic excellence and fostering the education of citizens in a multicultural and interconnected world. With the foundation of these pillars, the HEI established priorities, strategies, policies, and practices that illustrate its approach and commitment to internationalization, which the following section addresses.

PRIORITIES FOR RESEARCH, INNOVATION, AND INTERNATIONALIZATION: STRATEGIES, EFFORTS, AND PERSPECTIVES

Research produced at the University is anchored in the commitment to the generation and dissemination of high quality and relevant knowledge. Investment on infrastructure[14] and faculty development allowed for the consolidation and creation of research structures in all fields of knowledge, enabling solid cooperation among researchers, and graduate/undergraduate students, with a focus on the generation of knowledge and innovative results.

The Plan of Internationalization (2018-2022) designed by the Institution presents eight areas that rule the interdisciplinary research with an eye to investigate and find solutions for the intricate problems of our society: Biology and Health; Culture and Education; Energy and Natural Resources; Humanities and Ethics; Environment and Biodiversity; Materials, Processes, and Equipment; Society and Development; Information and Communications Technology.

As for institutional strategies, the University has set forth five macro strategies in its document, which focus on the consolidation of various facets of internationalization and

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14   Support to internationalization: 550 research structures, 359 research groups, 63 multidisciplinary groups, 116 laboratories, 17 research centers and 4 research institutes (The Brain Institute, the Institute for the Environment, the Institute of Petroleum and Natural Resources and the Institute of Geriatrics and Gerontology).

align with the policies and guidelines of national and international agencies of relevance[15]. The strategies, related to the institutional pillars mentioned earlier[16], are described below:

· Strategy 1 **(Pillar 1)**: The establishment of the legal and institutional framework of internationalization of the University, anchored in its 2016-2022 Strategic Plan, which searches for academic excellence, thus reinforcing the Institution's role and relevance for the development of society, and promoting intercultural practices across the campus.

· Strategy 2 **(Pillar 2)**: The development of an excellent global culture that conceives internationalization of university life in every aspect possible, leading to a concept of international campus.

· Strategy 3 **(Pillars 3 and 5)**: The increase in the number of international students through academic mobility and double, joint or cooperative degree programs at the undergraduate and graduate levels.

· Strategy 4 **(Pillars 1, 3, 4 and 6)**: The expansion and consolidation of international cooperation in the areas of research and innovation with international researchers developing innovation projects.

· Strategy 5 **(Pillars 3, 4 and 5)**: The offer of undergraduate and graduate-level programs in transnational partnerships.

Institutional commitment (Strategy 1), responsible for the development and maintenance of internationalization practices, result in positive effects both locally and globally. Additional actions have been moderately put into effect[17]:

· Setting the criteria for selection of research projects and scholarship grantees, including applicants' language proficiency, eligibility criteria, among others.

· Prioritizing the existing productive partnerships as well as collaborations that directly respond to the priority themes previously mentioned.

· Spotting new opportunities for strategic international partnerships, involving universities, ecosystems of innovation and major international companies.

· Promoting IaH to provide opportunities to local students to learn intercultural skills through their interaction with international students.

· Fostering an understanding of the importance of additional language courses offered by the Institution to the entire academic community.

· Creating mechanisms of support for students, faculty and staff members to get certificates of proficiency in additional languages, aiming to enhance academic communication skills.

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15 The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the *Instituto Internacional de la UNESCO para la Educación Superior en América Latina y el Caribe* (IESALC), the International Association of Universities (IAU), the Association of International Educators (NAFSA), the Institute of International Education (IIE), the Columbus Association and the Brazilian Association of International Education (FAUBAI).

16 Institutional Commitment, Administrative leadership, structure and personnel, Curriculum, co-curriculum and learning results, Faculty policies and practices, Academic mobility, and Collaboration and partnerships.

17 To the best of my knowledge.

- Offering short-term programs abroad, attracting domestic students to institutions overseas and faculty-led groups.

- Offering short extension courses to help increase the number of inbound students to the campus.

- Encouraging the integration of local and international students with seminars that address academic and social issues.

- Facilitating the integration of international faculty and researchers with strategic departments at the University to consolidate the existing partnerships and create new ones.

- Promoting intensive and short-term on-site free courses of Portuguese as an additional language.

- Implementing communication strategies to provide a regular flow of updated information to the academic community and international partners.

- Creating working groups to focus on the discussion around various specific subject areas, such as rankings, IaH, IoC, study abroad and faculty-led programs, English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI), academic mobility, among others.

As for the expansion of fundraising activities from international programs in collaboration with strategic partners (Strategy 4) is fundamental to the University as it increases the quality of scientific and technological production and human resource development. In this regard, the University has been active in the engagement of international funding opportunities, reinforced by institutional support and the departments responsible for project management and management of resources.

Moreover, the commitment of faculty members and researchers (Strategies 2, 4 and 5) is key to making these partnerships possible; they play a very important role in the maintenance of these collaborations through field missions abroad and in attracting top researchers from overseas. The University also stimulates the commitment of undergraduate and graduate students in international cooperation projects, especially in inbound and outbound study abroad programs with a focus on scientific training and intellectual production. As a strategy, the University is keen on attracting international young talents based on the relevant academic and scientific background, who could eventually become its permanent members. Additionally, opportunities with the Tech Park can also be an interesting mechanism to attract faculty and researchers with an entrepreneurial vision. Such faculty and researchers will be able to promote the integration of the ecosystem into academia, business, and the international market.

The strategy of internationalizing teaching (Strategies 2 to 5) requires the Institution to increase the number of international students and to internationalize the undergraduate and graduate curricula. Hence, the following actions are to be implemented:

- Internationalization of curricula (IoC) in undergraduate programs.

- Implementation of more joint and double degree programs.

- Expedition of academic transcripts in foreign languages.

- Additional inclusion of international and global issues in classes, offered both in Portuguese and English to enhance both IaH and IoC.

- Design of Summer/Winter Courses, delivered in English and Spanish.

- Faculty-led programs abroad.

- Inclusion of topics of global nature in every academic area to ensure that all students are exposed to international viewpoints to develop global skills.

- Extracurricular activities are also offered so that students from outside the campus can also benefit from our services.

As a former key representative of internationalization at the Institution, I will further explore - in the lines that follow - some of the actions referenced above by addressing and discussing central issues underpinning the Institution's initiatives.   Regarding IaH, Jenkins (2014: 7) highlights that "in practice, the process of promoting IaH has not yet gone very far". Jenkins mentions Bash (2009), who emphasizes "there is a continuing presence of national academic cultures contextualized in national higher education systems." In many contexts, internalization is hampered institutional pressures to maintain the host country's academic culture. He goes on, saying that the fact of internationalizing higher education does not itself ensure interculturality because

> [t]he globalized marketization process is premised upon a capacity for transnational economic *contractual*[18] engagement without necessarily taking into account the complexities of the process of *intercultural* engagement. In the quest for increased international student business, interculturality issues tend to be subordinated to economic issues of supply and demand - and, in commercial terms, issues of profit and loss. Thus, the increased 'internationalization' of higher education, while superficially seen as a sign of increased intercultural engagement, is frequently viewed as, yet, another aspect of the perpetuation of western dominance, contributing to an overall cynical perception of globalization. (Bash, op. cit.: 476)

. Although this seems to be particularly so in Anglophone contexts, Bash concludes that all institutions "may need to address possible changes in their policies and practices in relation to the process of acculturation and crossing boundaries. New ways of engagement with students from diverse national/cultural backgrounds....might be sought to encourage the further growth of globalized higher education" (Bash, op. cit.: 481). Regarding Brazilian universities, this seems to be developing gradually, especially the offering of foreign language courses. According to Alves Maia (2018, online), the institutions "are beginning to recognize that offering courses in languages other than Portuguese is a way to communicate better with the world." English courses make up around 85-90% compared with courses in other languages, but FAUBAI is keen to emphasize their importance for historical or geographical reasons. Archanjo (2018, online) reinforces that Spanish-speaking neighbors surround Brazil, which is a strong reason to offer courses in Spanish as well.

As I mentioned earlier, language policies and practices have become an institutional concern for the University, leading to clear advances in the last couple of years. Drawing on educational equity perspectives, it aims to induce language policy and planning as an engaged approach to implement comprehensive policies for internationalization. In this respect, Davis & Phyak (2017: 39) argue "all language policy actors must be provided with engaging space for achieving agency through resistance to global and local hegemonic ideologies."

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18   Her italics.

They go on, saying that, "This perspective suggests that articulation of the overall *process of engagement* and activism among those directly involved promotes egalitarian policies"[19].

To promote policies that preserve home languages and cultural identities while internationalizing, a group of linguists and language educators[20], members of the Brazilian Association for International Education (FAUBAI), produced a guide (2017, online) for the implementation of language policies, available online[21] to academic or administrative university representatives responsible for offering foreign language courses and programs. These governance structures are the ones responsible for proposing, managing and evaluating the language policies approved by the institutions they represent. One of the main objectives of the guide is to take into consideration the various dimensions languages can have: as a medium of instruction; for admission, teaching, and administrative contexts; and to communicate, produce and disseminate knowledge. Tsui and Tollefson (2007), for instance, criticize a standard language ideology that fails to recognize the language practices of multilingual speakers as well as accented varieties of English such as Indian English and African American English.

Additionally, Crowther et al. (2000) emphasize the need to include the home language, Brazilian Portuguese in our case, in university IaH practices. A key document produced by the University of Brasília (UnB) brings to light the importance of Portuguese as an *international* language. The University strongly recognizes the teaching of Portuguese as an additional language and of a legitimate language of scientific production and dissemination. Initiatives to promote Portuguese at the Institution have been mentioned, in particular the integration of local and international students with diverse academic and extracurricular activities, the offer of regular and intensive on-site free courses and the offer of extension courses of Portuguese as an additional language for outbound learners. As for the language of research and scientific production, Portuguese has been prioritized especially in the Program of Graduate Studies in Languages, Literature and Creative Writing offered by the HEI School of Humanities, which has achieved the highest level of excellence by CAPES. The School has taken actions to valorize the language at local and global levels such as the *I Encontro Internacional de Lusofonia: História, Língua e Cultura em Foco,* which highlighted the history, language and culture of Lusophony, and the release of the book *Linguistic Approaches to Portuguese as an Additional Language* (Molsing, Perna & Ibaños, 2020).

Other practices have been implemented, such as creating support mechanisms for on/off-campus students and on-campus faculty and staff members to get certificates of proficiency in additional languages, aiming to enhance academic communication skills among individuals of the academic community.

In regards to communication strategies, the International Office, with the support of the Office of Communication and Marketing, provides a regular flow of updated information to the campus community and international partners both in Portuguese and in English. A medium-term plan is underway to include Spanish as another language of international communication on-campus and with partners abroad. The HEI launched a site designed to advertise relevant research/updated news for/by the local faculty and to offer information

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19   Their italics.

20   Authors: Denise Abreu-e-Lima, Eliane Segati Rios-Registro, Heloísa Orsi Koch Delgado, Katia Morais Kyria Finardi, Pilar Traverso, Renata Archanjo, Simone Sarmento, Sonia Bierbrauer and Telma Gimenez. Reviewers: Ana Luiza Pires de Freitas Beatriz G. Rodrigues Maria Elizabete Santiago Paula Tavares Pinto Ruberval Franco Maciel Waldenor Moraes.

21   http://faubai.org.br/pt-br/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/Documento-do-GT-de-Pol%C3%ADticas-Lingu%C3%ADsticas-da-FAUBAI.pdf.

about academic mobility programs and partnerships. The International Office will gradually add substantive content in English[22] and Spanish for partners abroad as resources permit.

Interestingly, a study conducted by Jenkins (op. cit., 2014) analyzed the data from 60 university websites across countries within East/South-East Asia, Latin America, Mainland Europe, the US, the UK, and Australia. The central objective of the study was to find out the extent to which a sample of EMI and partially EMI universities around the world require native-like norms of academic English of their non-native speakers of English – whether stated or implied -, and to explore the ideology underlying any such requirements, particularly in terms of conceptual links between 'international' and 'English'.

The overall impression the author gained from her study - which I recommend reading - is that international student fees are rising dramatically, especially in the UK. The Border Agency is making it difficult for prospective international students to obtain visas to study in the country "at a time when the number of EMI universities/programs in non-Anglophone countries, especially East Asia, is growing apace." She continues, "If prospective international students start to realize that they may feel more comfortable and fit in better linguistically in a non-native English HE community nearer home, this may become a further factor in their choice of where to study" (Jenkins, op. cit.: 124). Hence, the importance of the content universities produce and post on a website about the various services they provide, including the way they orient them linguistically may play an increasingly central role in the attraction and recruitment of international students. This issue can be thought-provoking, especially when it comes to how the Institution offers linguistic orientation about the courses of EMI for faculty and Portuguese for international students. In this respect, I think a substantial amount of time should be devoted to implementing strategies that enhance linguistic barriers and reflect cultural diversity. Both the International Office and the Department of Languages at the University can make important contributions to improve communication and minimize the barriers incoming students encounter even before arriving on campus. One initiative that was being considered by the Office was the offer of a free online pre-course for the students to familiarize themselves with some of the language varieties of the *gaucho*[23] Portuguese. This 40-hour course would help them get prepared for the start of the academic term/year by introducing topics such as greetings, food, transportation, and daily activities as well as making them acquainted with the gaucho culture (arts, traditions, and customs).

Concerning EMI, the International Office and the School of Humanities in partnership with the Fellow Program (United States Department of State) organized the first edition of the course[24] that took place in the second semester of 2019. The aim was to provide faculty with a broader understanding of various issues in EMI such as *internationalization policies and (best) practices*, *awareness of language and communication*, *pedagogical issues related to language and communication, key issues in additional language learning/teaching as related to EMI,* and *assessment*. Participants provided constructive and meaningful feedback, which will be taken into careful consideration in the next edition of the course.

As for welcoming faculty and students from other countries, constant improvements have been made to make individuals feel sheltered by the local community and experience diversity on campus. Further, the provision of adequate facilities for research, teaching, and learning is among the strategies that aim to improve personal and academic experiences.

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22   Bimonthly newsletters containing university international highlights are also sent to partners.

23   Gaucho is the name given to the men who ride the Pamp, the plains of Argentina, Uruguay, and parts of southern Brazil, earning their living on cattle farms.

24   Organizers: Prof. Cristina Becker Lopes Perna, Prof. Heloísa Orsi Koch Delgado, and Prof. Kerry Pusey.

One activity the International Office planned to facilitate students' full integration into the city took place during the *Semana Farroupilha* (a festive event that takes place in September in Rio Grande do Sul to promote the *gaucho* culture). Students from 11 countries were welcomed at the [Centro de Tradições Gaúchas (CTG) Aldeia dos Anjos](#) and had the chance to learn about *chimarrão,* the typical *gaucho* clothing, and the *Polonaise*, a typical French-influenced Polish dance. The activity also helped create bonds between the mobility staff, the international students and their local fellows[25].

Another initiative is the inclusion of extra-curricular education for solidarity for home and overseas students, aiming at valuing purposive benefits and enhancing the understanding of local needs. The Institution has recently signed an agreement with the Municipal Secretary of Environment, whose clauses call for the cleaning and maintenance of environmental conservation areas. This partnership, which groups together governance, the staff of both institutions and the University's local and international students, will bring into effect several solidary actions to benefit the society and enhance citizenship.

Finally, the Institution developed a well-thought-out policy of health care assistance for mobility faculty, researchers, and students, which includes the standardization of minimal health coverage criteria and the establishment of standardized procedures for emergency care through São Lucas Hospital in case of medical emergencies**.**

FINAL WORDS

The text described how a Brazilian private HEI has approached the topical field of internationalization in higher education and it sought to answer *what best practices the University has developed under its conceptual framework of internationalization and particular context.* Overall, I believe that it has improved considerably in recent decades especially regarding the quality of the research developed in all areas of knowledge, and the expansion of modern technology-driven projects. Both of them have fostered innovation through concerted actions that involve the HEI, private and public universities, the business sector, and the government.

Additionally, the University experienced a substantial change in the way it conceives local and international education. A gradual flexibilization of mindsets and concepts established in the past have resulted in additional investment in infrastructure, re-envisioning of education practices, deep concern about the role of faculty and administrative leaders and institutional flexibility to foster academic entrepreneurship.

In the scope of international engagement, it has achieved greater visibility both locally and globally. Notwithstanding, the Institution still needs to move forward, and important initiatives have been taken to strengthen inseparable actions between teaching, research, innovation, and extension on and off-campus, and to focus not only on internationalization abroad and but also and strongly on internationalization at home.

One of the objectives of the mindset change is the encouragement of long-term international perspectives that transform the institutional ethos and enhance the education the HEI offers to the community; in this sense, engaging leadership, governance, faculty, students and administrative staff is viewed more systematically and consistently. I believe

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25   Domestic students who help international students to get more easily adapted to the new environment, especially regarding their daily requests and organization of cultural activities in collaboration with the International Office.

that, in the years to come, the Institution will adjust accordingly to the global requirements of internationalization (especially through CAPES/PrInt) despite all limitations it will probably face (low international recognition of the importance of Brazilian universities, international curriculum statutory requirements, funding opportunities, among others).

As I mentioned earlier, the University has understood the importance of investing in IaH, one of the core components of inclusive internationalization, as well as collaborating with institutions other than top-ranked, but with the potential for solid collaboration. A contemporary attitude towards a comprehensive understanding of the complex process of internationalization will allow for the continued implementation and consolidation of policies and strategic plans for the benefit of the Brazilian society, specifically, and the international community at large. Simply put, the University has reached recognition in Brazil and other countries for its concerted efforts toward teaching and research; this chapter has described its current attempts and its disposition moving forward to continue its increasingly prominent role in international education.

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INTERNATIONALIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION: THE CASE OF UFOP

Anelise Dutra[1]

INTRODUCTION

The development of new digital technological tools helps the spread of information from one side to the other of the world in a matter of seconds. Thus individuals and institutions must develop strategies to adapt to this new context. According to Altbach and Knight (2007), globalization is a process whose results involve the integration of research – not only among academic institutions but also industries and countries–, the use of English as a lingua franca, and a growing international market for scientists and researchers.

It is precisely this context that led to the idea of the internationalization of higher education. One of the first actions towards this goal is the Bologna Process signed in 1999 by 29 countries, which aimed at building a European space for higher education that would lead Europe towards science and knowledge. Wielewicki and Oliveira (2010) wrote that

> The priorities signed in that declaration were: the adoption of a convergent system of academic degree among nations, adoption of a higher education system in two cycles, the establishment of a new system of credits, the promotion of academic mobility, the guarantee of quality and the increase of the European dimension of higher education (Wielewicki & Oliveira, 2010: 224).[2]

The idea of internationalization of higher education quickly spread to other parts of the world. Several countries have been developing strategies to achieve excellence in their academic institutions throughout the years. But, as Knight (2003) points out, higher education is changing because the world where education plays an important role is also changing. Therefore we must think about a definition for internationalization that encompasses this idea of a changing world. Knight herself defines internationalization as "the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education" (Knight, 2003: 2).

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2   Author's translation to the original: As prioridades assinadas naquela declaração foram: a adoção de um sistema convergente de graus acadêmicos entre os países, adoção de um sistema de educação superior em dois ciclos, o estabelecimento e generalização de um sistema de créditos acumuláveis, a promoção de mobilidade acadêmica, a garantia de qualidade e o incremento da dimensão europeia da educação superior.

According to the writer the terms international, intercultural, and global address all the dimensions that are related to the term and it is clear that they have to be integrated and not understood isolated.

Internationalization of higher education can be understood within a national and within an institutional level. The first includes all the policies that affect or are affected by an international dimension of education that can be related to the purpose, licensing, accreditation, funding, curriculum, teaching, research, and regulation of postsecondary education. The latter can be defined as a "process of integrating an international and intercultural dimension into the teaching, research and service functions of the institution" (Knight, 1994: 7).

Soderqvist (2002) defines internationalization of higher education at an institution as

> a change process from a national higher education institution to an international higher education institution leading to the inclusion of an international dimension in all aspects of its holistic management in order to enhance the quality of teaching and learning and to achieve the desired competencies (Soderqvist, 2002: 29).

In order to achieve its potential, internationalization of higher education should be developed in both levels, institutional and national. In Brazil, UFOP is one among these institutions that have been doing it.

INTERNATIONALIZATION: THE CASE OF UFOP

UFOP started with the opening of two schools: the School of Pharmacy (1839) and the School of Mines (1876). The idea of internationalization goes back those days, especially with the opening of the School of Mines when the Brazilian Emperor, Dom Pedro II, invited a French mineralogist to run the school in the country according to the model of the Mine School in Saint-Etienne, France.

But, in spite of this promising beginning, the idea of internationalization was not really a central concern of the university until very recent years. For decades, there were only some isolated initiatives of few professors involving research projects, mobility, events, and publications.

It was only in the year of 2006 that a professor was assigned to the position of "Assessor de Assuntos Internationais".[3] But it took three more years for UFOP to establish the Office of International Affairs: CAINT (Coordenadoria de Assuntos Internacionais), in 2009. From this moment on, it is possible to say that UFOP started its path towards internationalization. The first step was the partnership with the Mining School of Douai in France, with the possibility of a double diploma between the two universities. Also involving France, was UFOP's participation in the Arcus Project, which was an initiative of the state government of Minas Gerais and the French officials of the Nord-Pas-de-Calais region.

According to Schultz and Paiva (2018), it was the creation of the federal program Science Without Borders in 2011 that boosted several actions related to internationalization at UFOP. Although it was directed at student mobility, this program created a favorable field for developing internationalization. In the state of Minas Gerais, the foundation for research

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3   Advisor to International Affairs.

FAPEMIG[4] released two calls for tender to help in the development of the area of international affairs in higher education institutions. This helped UFOP, especially CAINT, to increase the number of professionals involved in this matter, some only temporarily, and to acquire basic materials: desks, computers, and stationery supplies.

Schultz and Paiva (2018) list a number of actions taken by CAINT with the intent to consolidate the politics of internationalization starting in 2008. These are the ones that still have important effects nowadays:

a) the creation of the Standing Committee on Internationalization[5] with representatives from all areas of the institution including professors, employees and students;

b) the possibility of having the curriculum in English – this facilitated the application of students in foreign institutions;

c) the construction of a new headquarters for CAINT in the main campus – it brought CAINT and the academic community closer to each other;

d) an increase in the number of international cooperation agreements – from 23 in 2014 to 72 in 2016;

e) the regulation of the process of academic mobility in undergraduate courses and double diplomas in graduate programs;

f) the creation of the Welcome Project to welcome and accompany foreign students and to offer cultural and sportive activities;

d) the development of the new CAINT site – interactive and offering relevant platforms such as the Map of the Researcher;

e) the development of a system to control mobility with a database of all national and international students;

f) the opening of the Researcher House – to host researchers from other parts of the country and from abroad for a very cheap price or even for free;

g) the making of the institutional video of UFOP in English;

h) the making of the profile of the Ambassador of CAINT at Facebook – more than 6,000 friends and a main tool for the disclosure of Caint's actions;

i) the increase of foreign graduate and undergraduate students from 8, in 2013, to 165, in 2016;

j) standardization of the tenders related to mobility out – an average of 12 tenders a year with the possibility of mobility to more than 30 countries;

k) the first mobility tender for technical and administrative servers with the University of Algarve in Portugal – a pioneer initiative in the country;

l) the preparation of the International Mobility Guide for Undergraduation Students; International Mobility Guide for Members of the Collegiate, Manual for the Foreign Student (bilingual), and the International Choice Magazine (bilingual);

m) the offering of disciplines in English, 1 for graduate and 3 for undergraduate programs – the possibility of implementing English as a Medium of Instruction - EMI; and

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4   Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de Minas Gerais.
5   Comissão Permanente de Internacionalização.

n) Languages without Borders Program – free language courses for students, professors, and employees and the possibility of taking the TOEFL Exams also free of charges.

Thus these are some of the actions that UFOP has taken to develop internationalization. In this article, we will give a special attention to two of them. The first one refers to a national level policy while the second one is an example of an institutional level.

LANGUAGES WITHOUT BORDERS

It is well known in Brazil the reasons why the federal government established the English without Borders Program. It followed the well known program Science without Borders. To put it in very simple terms, after SwB was in place, the government realized that most Brazilian university students did not have an adequate English level to pursue their studies abroad. The idea was then to create a task force to prepare students to take proficiency level tests and be able to move on with their mobility projects.

The first goals of the program were then to prepare students to take and pass these tests, and also to offer the program at federal institutions to make it easier for all students. UFOP joined the program since day one and it really made a difference in the institution. UFOP is considered a small university when compared to the Federal University of Minas Gerais, located in the city of Belo Horizonte a 100 kilometers away from the city of Ouro Preto, as well as with other universities around the country. And that is why the Program and the creation of NucLi – Núcleo de Línguas (Language Center) was so important. The EwB (IsF in Portuguese) was not only concerned with the teaching of English for students in mobility but also in its important role as English teacher educator. The program was designed to prepare students of Letters to be good teachers, to make new teaching materials, to work with a variety of public and to prepare and give classes about a varied number of subjects all related to preparing students for internationalization abroad or at home.There is a number of other advantages for having this Program at UFOP. The link between EwB and CAINT is one of them. CAINT helped NucLi to develop a series of measures to awaken in students, professors, and servers the need to improve their language level. One of the measures was to launch UFOP's first Summer Program entirely in English in 2016. The ETAs (English Teaching Assistants) that were working with NucLi helped in the making of the advertising video campaign for this program (see https://youtu.be/CKgdkaTl6pU).

Several of the actions taken by UFOP to boost internationalization that have already been mentioned in this article were closely related to EwB and NucLi. It is important to add some other actions that CAINT and NucLi developed to improve our academic community English level helping them in the process of becoming more internationally open to other academic communities:

· adoption of TOEFL grade to participate in mobility edicts (not only SwB ones);

· speeches for all freshmen emphasizing the importance of learning foreign English and also of taking the TOEFL test;

· the offer of classes especially planned for UFOP servers;

· the offer of EwB activities in all three campuses (Ouro Preto, Mariana, and João Monlevade – this one is a 120 km from Ouro Preto what made it more difficult);

- the construction of a "Multiuse and webconference room" close to CAINT to offer language courses both in the room or by video (in the case of students from the city of João Monlevade, for example); and

- the adoption of the TOEFL ITP test for students trying to join in graduate courses.

After a few years the Program changed from English without Borders to Languages without Borders. Again it brought some very important changes to UFOP. First of all, because Portuguese for Foreigners was included in the list of NucLi languages (Some institutions around Brazil were capable of offering more languages but our Letters course covers only English and Portuguese languages). There was already a PLE (Português – Língua Estrangeira) course being offered at the Extension Center. It followed a different approach and students had to pay a small fee to attend the course. When the course was transfered to NucLi, it became easier for foreign students to attend it since it did not follow the academic calendar and could be offered at any time in the year, and not only from March to December. The possibility of having institutional Portuguese language course was also a factor to attract foreign students and professors to come to UFOP.

Languages without Borders is an example of a national policy program that had very positive consequences for UFOP. The number of courses offered and the number of students, professors and servers who took them showed its importance. The number of TOEFL ITP tests that were taken by our academic community is another sign that our efforts towards internationalization have been embraced by all.

The following part of the text is directed at an internationalization action at an institutional level. This is just one among many, but it is the begging of a new era for UFOP.

ENGLISH AS A MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION (EMI)

The effort of the federal government to enhance the internationalization of higher education programs does not suffice if the institutions themselves do not cooperate fully. In the case of UFOP, several actions were taken to make it happen properly. In order to include an international dimension that leads to the enhancement of the quality of teaching and learning and to the achievement of desired competencies, as Soderqvist (2002) pointed out, UFOP started a project to offer subjects in English for graduate and undergraduate students. The idea is to implement EMI in all areas at UFOP. To make the term very clear, EMI can be defined as the use of the English language to teach academic subjects in countries where the first language of most of the population is not English (Dearden, 2014).

There are several reasons for implementing EMI worldwide. The British Council (2014) led a research in 55 countries pointing some of them. Among the main ones, the fact that administrators consider EMI as an excellent mechanism to the internationalization of their educational offers, as well as it is an excellent way to create opportunities for students to be part of a global academic and business community. The administrators also believe that EMI is a fast way to increase international mobility and to guarantee that their students can compete in the global market. On the other side, professors, although equally in favor of the implementation of EMI at their universities, do so for more ideological reasons. They believe that the teaching through the English language can improve the communication and the exchange of ideas and can even create relations between countries. Thus, the main goal would be to facilitate world peace. Besides these ample objectives, professors also mentioned that

EMI is a way to open doors for their students and to attract brilliant foreigners to their universities so that they can share knowledge in a wider manner.

However, there are some factors that can harm the implementation of EMI at the universities. Some of them are the lack of EMI professors, the lack of resources, the lack of a pattern to exam and to evaluate the teaching, an average level of English for all professors involved. In the project developed at UFOP, all these factors were carefully taken care of as will be shown in the next section.

THE EMI EXPERIENCE AT UFOP

Since the implementation of CAINT in 2009, the idea of offering subjects in English has been one of its objectives. As a starting point, all professors from UFOP were asked about their willingness to offer their courses in English. Surprisingly there was a great number that wanted to join in. Unfortunately it was not possible to have more than four disciplines at the same time, because the courses in English would be an extra task, that is, the professors would still be teaching their regular courses during the semester, besides the one in English. To compensate for this extra effort, they would be paid a grant.

Thus the steps for choosing the candidates consisted in the presentation of their curriculum and an interview conducted by three experienced professors. At a later step, after having passed the previous ones, the chosen professors would have a workshop about EMI. The idea was to prepare the professors for the upcoming challenges so as to avoid some of the problems mentioned by Dearden (2014). The workshop covered the following areas: *English Medium Instruction (EMI)*; *Internationalization*; *Classroom management*: *Class profile / Language issues / Curriculum development / Syllabus*; *Syllabus presentation* (by each professor); *Teaching methods*; *Assignment design*; *Assessment*; *Grading system*. At the end of the workshop each professor was asked to present a class in English to their peers. To help them prepare their lessons, two ETAs from the Fulbright program, in association with Languages without Borders, volunteered to assist them with whatever they needed regarding to the English language.

The four courses offered to the students were Numerical Analysis; Rational Mechanics; Entrepreneurship In Action; and Fundamentals of Proteomics. The same courses were offered in Portuguese and in English so the students could choose which one they wanted to enroll in.

At the end of the semester, we asked the four professors to evaluate their experience of teaching their courses in English. They all mentioned that it was very positive and that they should keep on offering the courses in English. The first aspect that points to the success of the courses was the number of students enrolled in and the number of students that remained until the end of the course. The numbers were (number of students who started in the course and the number at the end of the course): Rational Mechanics – 43-43; Fundamental of Proteomics – 13-13; Numeral Analysis – 11-10; and Entrepreneurship in Action – 19-8. Only in the latter course, a significant number of students dropped out just after two classes. After an investigation with the students, it was found that the problem was not mainly the language, but the way the course was planned. The students mentioned that they were not ready yet to have a course that was so demanding in areas they still have to develop.

The four professors involved in this project also answered a questionnaire at the end of the semester. The answers show that they see EMI as a clear way to develop the confidence

in students, because they are reading the same texts in English that other students in different parts of the world are reading. It places all of them at the same level.

This professor's answer is the best way to summarize their thought about the experience.

> I would like to mention that the experience of teaching a subject in English was extremely enriching for me as a professor. To be able to observe the satisfaction of the students in understanding a scientific topic in a foreign language... it undoubtedly contributed to boost their confidence in relation to the language. And I hope to have motivated them to new challenges. Especially in the case of graduation courses this type of initiative is fundamental, because most of the topics studied are not yet in Portuguese and then I had the impression that the subject taught in English provided an environment to current discussions in the area of proteomics. That is, in my opinion, this type of initiative provides to UFOP students a direct contact to current topics that are being discussed anywhere in the world at this moment. To sum up, this initiative represents an essential factor to overcome a physical, economic and social barrier that may exist (author's translation).[6]

This first experience to offer subjects in English at UFOP was a very successful initiative (Dutra & Penna, 2019). The whole academic community supported the project. The possibility of having access to reading materials without resourcing to translation places UFOP students at the same level of students from top universities abroad. The fact that they were able not only to read the material but also to discuss them and present their results in English was a challenging and rewarding process. Students and professors were completely satisfied with the results and most importantly they want to have more of this experience. They all agree that EMI should be something permanent at UFOP.

All examples showed so far are what Leask (2009) calls formal curriculum internationalization: "The incorporation of an international and intercultural dimension into the preparation, delivery and outcomes of a program of study." (Leask, 2009: 209). For the author, however, internationalization also requires a development of the informal curriculum: "Various support services and additional activities and options organized by the university that are not assessed and do not form part of the formal curriculum, although they may support learning within it." (Leask, 2015: 8).

Universidade Federal de Ouro Preto, specially through NucLi, helped in the development of several activities related to informal curriculum such as Conversation Club, Poetry Club, Picnics, Tea Party, Frisbee Games, Scavenger Hunt, Trips to the Itacolomi park and "Get to know Ouro Preto" excursions. All of these were held in English and were open to everyone from the academic community. One other example suggested by CAINT that is considered a very successful experience was the meeting with all foreign students from UFOP to share

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6   Author's translation to the original: Gostaria de deixar registrado que a experiência de ministrar uma disciplina em inglês foi extremamente enriquecedora para mim como professor. Poder observar a satisfação dos alunos no entendimento de um tópico científico em língua estrangeira, sem dúvida, contribuiu para aumentar a confiança deles com relação à língua e espero tê-los motivado para novos desafios. Particularmente no contexto da pós-graduação esse tipo de iniciativa é fundamental pois a grande maioria dos tópicos abordados não estão ainda registrados em livros texto e dessa forma, tive a impressão de que a disciplina ofertada em inglês proporcionou um ambiente para discussões bem atuais na área de proteômica. Ou seja, na minha opinião esse tipo de iniciativa proporciona ao aluno da UFOP um contato direto com tópicos atuais que certamente estão sendo discutidos em qualquer lugar do mundo neste momento. Em suma, tal iniciativa representa fator essencial para a transposição de barreiras física, econômica e social que porventura possam existir.

aspects of their culture. It was followed by "food sharing" when students present a typical dish from their country and everybody ate together. These activities aim at developing not only the language but also the curiosity to see the world through a different perspective.

CONCLUSION

According to Beelen and Jones (2015), internationalization demands the integration of international and intercultural dimensions into the formal and informal curriculum. This is what Universidade Federal de Ouro Preto has been doing in these last years by offering opportunities to all students, and not only the ones who can go on mobility programs. EMI and NucLi activities are directed to everyone, and are a clear path towards making UFOP a real international institution.

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THE COMMODIFICATION OF ENGLISH IN BRAZIL:

INVESTIGATING LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY IN THE ENACTMENT OF A LANGUAGE POLICY

Taisa Pinetti Passoni[1]

INTRODUCTION

In 2011, Science without Borders (SwB) was released in Brazil as an ambitious internationalization initiative responsible for providing around 100.000 scholarships aiming mainly at outbound mobility of federal universities' undergraduates. The beneficiaries should be attending to courses from areas considered to be priority by the government, especially those belonging to the so-called STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics). During the initial phase of SwB, the main destinations sought by the students were Portugal and Spain – respectively 1,541 scholarships and 2,082 scholarships during 2012[2]. Such scenario seemed to be the result of the lack of foreign language proficiency performed by Brazilian undergraduates, especially in English.

One year later, English without Borders (EwB) was created in addition to SwB as a quick response to the specific language demands which surfaced within the formerly established Program. Articulated through three main activities – language proficiency testing, online language courses and classroom courses at the newly created Language Centers (LC) - EwB was launched to enhance students' linguistic skills, who would be willing to take part in the internationalization process. Redesigned in 2014, the Program was renamed as Languages without Borders (LwB) and currently includes different languages (German, Spanish, Italian, Japanese, French, Portuguese for Speakers of other languages), as well as encompasses teachers' education as one its main goals.

The internationalization of higher education (IHE) incorporates sets of specific policies and/or programs carried out by governments or educational institutions, which foster academic collaboration between countries (Altbach, 2006;, Knight, 2004; Jones, 2013), therefore not only SwB, but also LwB are taken as important initiatives for this process in Brazil.

Hence, this chapter focuses on the language policy engendered by LwB in this context, especially regarding how the commodification of English emerges in the enactment of the Program. Building on the critical language policy approach (Tollefson, 2006), the investigation employs critical discourse analysis resources (Fairclough, 2003) to analyze texts comprising instances of enactment and interpretations of LwB.

The chapter is organized in five parts: an introduction to language policy and language ideologies; the presentation to the study approach; a discussion on the commodification of

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English ideology; the analysis focuses on the coexistence of ambivalent thoughts on representations about the language as a product or a service in the context of IHE in Brazil; and, finally, the conclusion resumes the issues addressed to elaborate on the study findings.

LANGUAGE POLICY AND LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

LwB is conceived as a language policy (LP) as it is characterized by official acts and activities related to the use, acquisition and status of foreign languages (Ricento, 2000). LwB is analyzed in the broader context of the internationalization of Brazilian higher education (IHE), which was radically reconfigured within the creation of SwB.

Studies on language ideologies have been widely explored in the field of LP (Darquennes, 2013), as they not only incorporate but also are incorporated into policies (Ajsic & Mcgroarty, 2015). One of the recurring research interests in this scope refers to the power relations between languages, especially on the processes of domination of one language over others, with emphasis on the English language and its status as an "international language". Due to the global diffusion of English, Pan (2015:39) addresses the English language ideologies (ELI), which are defined as "sets of ideas that either support or critically question this spread" in order to deal with the positive and also the problematic effects of this process, in her case, from reflections made about the case of China.

Bearing this in mind, the objective of this chapter is to analyze how the commodification of English emerges in the enactment of a language policy in Brazil, LwB (Bourdieu, 2007; Heller, 2010; Szundy, 2016).

STUDY APPROACH

Critical language policy approach (CLP) is a growing branch of investigation (Ives, 2002; Moore, 2002; Pennycook, 2002; Tollefson, 2006) within critical applied linguistics, linked to discourse analysis, critical literacy and critical pedagogy. The critical aspect of research in this area assumes three interrelated meanings: it differs from traditional approaches; longs for social change; and has influences from Critical Theory (Tollefson, 2006). Research in this approach aims at recognizing inequalities in order to subsidize transformations in the reality (Ives, 2004).

Considering that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) research has dealt with ideologies, especially addressing inequality and power concerning languages in the society (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000; Rampton, 1995), this study draws on CDA framework to build its analyses on ELI underlying LwB.

In this study, policy is conceived both as text and as discourse (Ball, 1994). According to CDA framework, texts are primarily linguistic, oral or written cultural artefacts, which may also be composed of other multi-semiotic forms (Fairclough, 1995). Complementarily, discourses are understood as social practices which not only reflect and represent individuals and objects, but also constitute them (Ball, 1994; Fairclough, 1992, 1995).

The full study from which this chapter derives from this author's doctoral dissertation (Passoni, 2018), organized the collected and generated data into three sets: legal sphere, journalistic sphere and educational sphere. The first assembles publications made by public administration bodies which are in charge of proposing referrals for LwB (i.e. ordinances

published by the Ministry of Education establishing the creation and the guidelines for the policy). Considering that different news sources are means by which ideologies and discourses circulate widely in society (Freake, 2012), the journalistic sphere gathers news reports about LwB which were published from May 2012 to June 2015[3]. The educational sphere is composed by interviews of ten LC coordinators[4], as well as programs/syllabuses offered by the LCs[5]. Due to the limitation of space and scope of the chapter, the excerpts presented here are from the journalistic and the educational sphere, so that information provided by the legal sphere is presented as contextualizing the study.

For the study on the ELI underlying LwB, the analysis focused on the ways of representing. The concept of representation is conceived as a process of construction of social practices that are performed especially through discourses. As such, representations tend to be ideological, since they presuppose worldviews and specific interests (Fairclough, 1995, 2003). In this chapter, the ways of representing are investigated through transitivity and modality.

Transitivity was initially defined by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:170) by the scope of systemic-functional theory (SFT) as a system which "construes the world of experience into a manageable set of PROCESS TYPES. Each process type provides its own model or schema for construing a particular domain of experience as a figure of a particular kind". The SFT presents a linguistic theory "profoundly concerned with the relationship between language and other elements and aspects of social life" (Fairclough, 2003:5), so that its analytical methods are widely adopted by CDA studies.

The analysis focuses on the processes (types of verbs), the participants (social actors) and the circumstances (adverb phrases), since the choices expressed by each of these elements can be culturally, politically and ideologically meaningful (Fairclough, 1992). There are six process types: material processes (processes of doing and happening), mental processes (sensory processes), relational processes (processes of being and having), verbal processes (processes of saying), behavioural processes (processes of behaviour) and existential processes (processes of being). These elements are relevant to this study because

> the concepts of process, participant and circumstance are semantic categories which explain in the most general way how phenomena of our experience of the world are construed as linguistic structures (Halliday & Matthessen, 2004:178).

Modality is another element considered in the analyses. It expresses the commitments the utterer assumes in the discourse, especially, concerning truth and necessity. There are epistemic modality, which expresses the commitment of those who speak with the truth, about what it is; and there is deontic modality, which expresses what is understood as an obligation, a necessity, what it must be (Fairclough, 2003).

THE COMMODIFICATION OF ENGLISH

The commodification of English emerges from the global economy scenario in which the language gradually becomes a valuable exchange resource. Traditionally, languages would

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3   This paper does not cover LwB's updates after the time of data collection.

4   Due to the limitation of space and scope of this chapter, the Language Center coordinators are not identified.

5   All the texts from the three spheres are originally in Portuguese; then, for the purpose of this paper, the excerpts presented in the analyses consist of translations into English made by myself.

be symbols of national or ethnic identity. However, considering the demands imposed by the globalization and the post-industrial economy, such aspects are minimized, so that people are increasingly learning languages due to economic reasons (Block & Cameron, 2002).

In this context, languages are considered "linguistic capital" (Bourdieu, 2007) or "commodities" (Heller, 2010), as they are conceived as interchangeable symbolic capital which can be converted into material capital. Such a perspective highlights that not only knowledge is disseminated and constructed by/ through languages, which can be used as trading currency, but also emphasizes that languages constitute the means by which work is performed, as well as they configure the product of the work. Such ideological construction is observable in different branches of economic activity, like tourism, translation services, communication services, arts, and more relevant to this study, in language teaching and learning (Heller, 2010).

Neoliberalism – taken both as an ideology and a political-economic doctrine – advocates for a minimum state intervention, so that the free market logic tends to rule the diverse social relations (Filgueiras, 2006). Therefore, it is possible to assume that economic activities prone to colonize other social realms (Fairclough, 1992; Foucault, 1991), such as education and language teaching (Gray, 2012). Then, things or relationships which had not been conceived as goods are labeled and priced by the market (Harvey, 2005).

In this context, it is possible to acknowledge the "English industry", which consists of three complimentary dimensions: commercial English teaching, English language proficiency tests and academic publications in English. The elements that encompass each of these dimensions clearly point to the impacts of the unfolding of globalization on the worldwide diffusion of English, as well as its re-signification beyond a cultural good, as a commodity (Gray, 2012).

Along with English language proficiency tests, commercial English teaching has established itself throughout decades, which has culminated in the growth of the private sector in language courses around the globe. Widespread assumptions claim there is a direct relationship between English language skills and professional success, defining English as a type of knowledge indispensable for individuals looking for professional and academic qualifications. As an example, there is the recent history of Afghanistan. Being a multiethnic and multilingual society, Afghanistan has been impacted not only by globalization flows, but also by the fall of the Taliban regime, processes which have led the country to receive several international organizations such as the United Nations and, as well as multinational companies. As a result, most of the country's private schools teach English since the early grades, and many people have been looking for language institutes to learn the language (Singh et al., 2012). Another case worth mentioning is the "English Mania" experienced by China, where English is a requirement for higher education entry. It is estimated that about 30,000 organizations offer varied courses for the Chinese language-hungry public (Pan, 2015).

Following the same global trend as China and Afghanistan, Brazil's growing interest in teaching and learning English is displayed in different realms. A report commissioned by the British Council (2014) presents the English learning demands in the country. Assembling the perceptions of 720 participants - ages 18 to 55, from the five regions of the nation - and data provided by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), the report highlights the limitations of English language teaching in Brazilian basic education, both in the private and in the public schools. According to 87% of the contributors, private language institutes pose as the ideal answer to improve English language learning in Brazil. Among those who have already taken any English language course, the main reasons for giving it up

are: lack of time, mentioned by 48% of the participants; and the high prices of the courses, cited by 35% of them. Not randomly, according to the website of the Brazilian Association of Franchising[6] (ABF), from the 99 education providers registered, 48 enterprises, virtually half those, offer some kind of English language course. Thus, it is possible to observe how the commodification of English pervades teaching and learning in Brazil, since the language is posed as a type of knowledge primarily available to the elites, as one should be able to afford for studying it.

ANALYSES: CHALLENGING AND REINFORCING THE COMMODIFICATION OF ENGLISH IN LWB

The following sections present how the commodification on English ideology underlies the sets of texts that inform and materialize the enactment of LwB. The analyses are organized in five categories which indicate the coexistence of ambivalent thoughts on representations about the language as a product or a service in the context of internationalization of higher education (IHE) in Brazil (Szundy, 2016).

ENGLISH TO THE ELITES ONLY?

In Brazil, learning a foreign language, especially English, has traditionally been connected to the (im)possibilities to afford courses in private language institutes. The activities developed through the creation of SwB, and later by LwB, however, create opportunities for the commodification of English to be questioned, especially in order to detach the access to English from the wealthy classes:

EXCERPT 1 <Educational Sphere_Coordinator 1>
So with Science Without Borders and the creation of English without Borders it became clear that: first, it's necessary. And secondly, it is possible to have access, for good, to learn English. There are several theorists who speak about it, Brazilian theoreticians, learning English is still something very attached to the elite […].

In the excerpt 1, coordinator 1 argues that the proposition of the two Federal Programs put English language as an unquestionable need in the IHE (mental process: it became clear; epistemic modality: it's necessary). It is important to notice that the coordinator's reports acknowledge English remains marked by the commodification of English, as it would be more accessible to the wealthier social classes (circumstances: still, relational process: very close to the elite). Nevertheless, according to coordinator 1, the changes generated by the Federal Programs potentially transform the dynamics of students' inclusion in international mobility and language learning (material process: it is possible to have access to, learn English).

The representation of English language and its teaching as commodities seems to be so deeply ingrained in Brazil that the LCs coordinators mention how the gratuitousness

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6   Source https://www.abf.com.br/a-abf/franquias-associadas-abf/

of the courses in the LwB can sometimes be perceived in a derogatory way by the public they attend.

EXCERPT 2 <Educational Sphere_Coordinator 2>
We have not had a lot of absence yet, this is really cool because it's a free course and people never value it so much when it's like that.

Coordinator 2 emphasizes that, as his LC is new, the dropouts have not been a problem at his university so far (circumstances: still; relational process: We have not has a lot of absence), which he analyses positively (this is really cool). According to the coordinator, not being charged for the courses (relational process: free), students could discredit LwB (mental process: people never value it so much). Such comments indicate how the commodification of English is pervasive and has influenced the perception of Brazilians about the possibilities of access to language learning, which reverberates in the enactment of LwB.

ENGLISH TO THE PEOPLE!

In Brazil, learning English traditionally would be mostly possible for those who could afford private courses. In this sense, the commodification of English marked the (im)possibilities of access to language learning, and consequently, the opportunities (not) arising from this access. However, LwB seems to challenge such representation, as its activities are free of charge for students, an aspect which was massively repeated on the news about the Program.

EXCERPT 3 <Journalistic Sphere_Estado de São Paulo_12/09/2013>
The Ministry of Education opens this Monday, 09, the enrollment for its program language learning free of charge, English without Borders.
EXCERPT 4<Journalistic Sphere_Estado de São Paulo_ 06/24/2014>
Graduate candidates enjoy the benefit of Free Toefl tests

Relational processes (free of charge, free) repeatedly mention the gratuitousness as a remarkable aspect of LwB actions, pointing out the LP has the potential to question the commodification of English. Coordinator 3's comments pose the LCs as places where learning English is possible for Brazilian students.

EXCERPT 5 <Educational Sphere_Coordinator 3>
The student who cannot afford to study in a private school can wait to take a course at the LC.

Coordinator 3's remarks contrasts the persistence of the commodification of English (material process: cannot afford to study in a private school) to the possibility of challenging it brought by LwB (material process: wait to take a course at the LC). That is, taken as a commodity, the language and its learning seem to be more readily available to the elite, whereas individuals with low income now have the free courses at LCs as an option study English.

THE BOOK IS (NOT) ON THE TABLE

In the English industries, textbooks production and sales feature a multi-million dollar activity (Gray, 2012)[7]. However, the purchase of didactic materials seems to be a limitation to the majority of the Brazilian students.

EXCERPT 6 <Educational Sphere_ Coordinator 4>
We did not select a textbook because, in the first place, there is no way of not mentioning, the price of the material is the matter. Here our clientele is quite needy and earning a R$ 400 scholarship, students are not going to buy a R$ 200 book, even if there is instalments, it gets difficult. So we draw on these various collections, all LCs received, when we received them, some were quite up-to-date, were from that year, others not so much, and we started from that material because we could not afford them. We made a selection, among the various teachers who worked and from the course programs we could select an audio, a text, some activities, and we set ourselves according to the objectives of the classes.

Coordinator 4 reports local practices regarding the resources used at her LC (material processes: we did not select a textbook, we made a selection, we could select an audio, a text, some activities) which highlight their autonomy in choosing and adapting the materials according to the focus of the courses, decisions apparently made by them as team (social actors: we, the various teachers who worked). Such choices seem to be based on the high prices of materials (relational process: price of material, a R$ 200 book), in contrast to the low income of university students (relational process: quite needy; material processes: earning a R$400 scholarship, students are not going to buy).

At LCs where students' financial limitations do not emerge as a limiting characteristic for the purchase textbooks, coordinators also point out their preference for creating their own didactic resources, due to the inadequacy of the collections offered by the publishers regarding the peculiarities of the courses developed at the universities. Coordinator 5's accounts are an example:

EXCERPT 7 <Educational Sphere_Coordinator 5>
Because when I arrived, also, they selected didactic material and I particularly did not think it was working because they are not sequential courses, you offer a two-month course… a month… two months and ask a student to buy a R$200 material, which would be used for a year, it doesn't make sense. So we reshaped all the courses so we could make our own material, even to go according to the focus of the courses, right? There is no way to adopt a general English course material if the course is English for specific purposes.

According to coordinator 5, the didactic materials previously selected (relational processes: a R$ 200 material, used for a year, general English course material) did not meet the local demands regarding the specificities of the LC's courses (relational processes: they are not sequential courses; two-month course, English for specific purposes). Therefore, it is

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7   Data from the UK's Publishers Association in 2016 indicate that, despite a slight fall of 3% in book exports, of the £ 1.42bn profit, about two-thirds correspond to sales in the area of language education and teaching. Source http://www. publishers.org.uk/policy-and-news/news-releases/2016/strong-year-for-uk-publishing-industry-as-it-grows-to-44bn/. Access 10/05/2017.

possible to understand that deciding to make or to adapt their own course materials would enhance language teachers' education at LwB, as coordinator 4 comments, in excerpt below:

EXCERPT 8 <Educational Sphere_ Coordinator 4>
And it has helped in teachers' education too because they have felt it has helped them to set up classes with more autonomy, so to say.

In excerpt 8, coordinator 4 indicates that the preparation of didactic material by teachers and coordinators has promoted their qualification (behavioural process: it has helped in teachers' education), in order to foster the independence of these professionals in preparing their classes (circumstances: more autonomy). In this respect, local decisions emerge as reactions to the mass production of didactic materials which are sometimes inadequate to the teaching context. Such happenings seemly challenge the commodification of English in LwB, either due to the high prices of the textbooks or due to the impertinence of their content concerning courses purposes.

WHO'S PAYING FOR IT?

By offering English language classes, through online and classroom courses, as well as proficiency tests "free of charge" for Brazilian students, LwB potentially destabilizes the commodification of English. However, the activities promoted by the Federal Program still have costs:

EXCERPT 9 <Journalistic Sphere_Estado de São Paulo_04/30/2014>
The Ministry of Education (MEC) did not say how much they are going to pay the company, but they affirmed the cost is going to be "much lower than the conventional test", of $ 260.

Excerpt 9, extracted from the news published by Estado de São Paulo, indicates that one of the main activities carried out by LwB, the proctoring of TOEFL-ITP, implies direct investments by the Ministry of Education (material process: is going to pay the company). Despite not mentioning exactly the amount allocated in the acquisition of the tests offered by ETS (Educational Testing services), MEC's pronouncement emphasizes that the government's negotiation seems to have been advantageous, calling the public's attention to public expenditures (relational process: much lower than the test conventional).

Policies emerge as answers to problems identified in a given area: in the case of LwB, in the educational field, the lack of proficiency in English by potential candidates for international mobility. Guided by the neoliberal ideology, educational policies, among them the LPs, are increasingly interacting with other policies, especially with the economic agenda. In this sense, the role of education has progressively consolidated aiming at the development of the so-called "human capital", which means meeting the demands of the global economy to ensure national economy's competitiveness. Therefore, the ways of naming and treating these problems as State's concerns involves the allocation of investments in areas considered to be in deficit, consequently conceived as priorities (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010).

In addition to the public resources distributed to LwB, texts from the journalistic sphere point to the involvement of social actors in the public-private relations developed in

the context of the LP (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). In this regard, the excerpt below mentions the donation of English language labs to five federal universities:

EXCERPT 10 <Journalistic Sphere_Estado de São Paulo_ 11/13/2013>
Five of the 45 LCs of English without Borders that start operating in 2014 at federal universities will be equipped with laboratories funded by Mais Unidos, a partnership between the United States Diplomatic Mission and US companies established in Brazil. The announcement was made this Wednesday, 13, by the president of the management group of English without borders Program, Denise Abreu e Lima, at an event at Amcham's headquarters in São Paulo. According to Denise, the objective is universities to have, in addition to the traditional laboratories, specific rooms for the program, aimed at students who want to go on exchange though Science without Borders. "The laboratories that exist today have to compete with the university's entire agenda. In addition, some proficiency tests only run on specific software," explained Denise. According to her, the donation will speed up the installation of laboratories, because if it depended on federal funds, the process would be more bureaucratic, requiring bidding. The five laboratories will be set up throughout 2014, costing R$ 70,000 each. "The first will be installed at a university in São Paulo state at the beginning of the first semester," said Alexandre Alves, USID Agency's Development Manager. Among the companies participating in Mais Unidos are Accenture, Alcoa, Bunge, Cargill, Chevron and Coca Cola.

Following a neoliberal trend, according to which governments have a minimalist role, in order to gradually rely on market mechanisms, public-private partnerships emerge as strategies that are likely to blur the boundaries between the two domains (Ball, 2007; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). The excerpt above exemplifies how the elimination of these limits occurs within the scope of LwB, in which private sector social actors (Accenture, Alcoa, Bunge, Cargill, Chevron and Coca Cola) are responsible for allocating investments in public universities, so to meet their infrastructure the demands.

In excerpt 10, the president of LwB's management group points out that exclusive laboratories for English are necessary, due to the limitation of the infrastructure offered by the burdened public institutions (material process: they have to compete; circumstance: with the university's entire agenda) and their inadequacy regarding the demands of the Program (participant: some proficiency tests, material process: only run, circumstance: on specific software). This characterization exemplifies how different articulations promote the institutionalization of the neoliberal notion that governments are highly inefficient in promoting growth and dealing with social inequality, posing solutions promoted by the private sector as more appropriate (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). In this same line of reasoning, the labs' donations are described as fast (material process: will speed up), as opposed to the mechanisms applied by the State (circumstances: more bureaucratic, requiring bidding).

By inserting a LP-oriented Program in the scope of public policies, the State assumes responsibility for implementing actions that could potentially spread English as a public good (Coulmas, 2009). Public goods are those that generate "indivisible advantages for the benefit of all, not subtracting the enjoyment of an individual to the enjoyment of others[8]" (Matteucci, 1998:107). Nevertheless, the strategies adopted by LwB tend to reinforce the commodification of English as, despite unburdening university students from courses and

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8   "vantagens indivisíveis em benefício de todos, nada subtraindo o gozo de um indivíduo ao gozo dos demais"

tests payments, the allocation of state investments and the promotion of public-private partnerships reinforce the role played by traditional providers from the English industries in the context of the Program.

LEGITIMATE GOODS

The commodification of English can easily be associated to English industry by the commercialization of different products and services related to language teaching. In the context of LwB, besides the allocation of investments by the federal government and companies in the LP, it is possible to acknowledge how the symbolic value of English is coupled with the idea of its nativeness.

EXECERPT 11 <Journalistic Sphere_Notícias Capes_ 05/21/2015>
With the aim of developing fluency in English as a preparation SwB applications, the President of Capes highlighted English without Borders program, which gives students the opportunity to study the language for free both though an online course, My English Online (http://www.myenglishonline.com.br/), developed by the educational sector of National Geographic Learning in partnership with Cengage Learning, as well as in classroom courses.
EXCERPT 12 <Educational Sphere_ Coordinator 4>
At first we selected resources that we received from the management group, the American Embassy, which were books specific for TOEFL from various publishers, Cambridge, Oxford... There are some collections that are geared towards the exam itself.

LwB's partners from the private sector mentioned in the excerpts above (National Geographic Leaning, Cengage Learning) and the textbook publishers (Cambridge, Oxford) as well as the aforementioned testing partners (ETS) and sponsor companies (Accenture, Alcoa, Bunge, Cargill, Chevron and Coca Cola) represent social actors who tend to articulate the commodification of English to the native-spearkerism, as all of them could easily be tracked to their "English native" origins. Holliday (2006, 2015) defines "native-speakerism" as an ideology which promotes the ideal of the native speaker as a superior model, especially in the area of English teaching, by emphasizing aspects such as accent, and teaching methodologies developed by Western institutions and the predominance of language in internationally renowned publications.

The linkages between the two ideologies emerge from the fact that the pioneers in the market of commercial English teaching were native speakers, seen as the true guardians of the language (Rajagopalan, 2005). In this sense, direct relationships are established between the authenticity of a language and its context of origin. Such aspects add symbolic and material value to the English, after all, the more legitimate, the more valuable the language is considered to be (Heller & Duchêne, 2012).

CONCLUSION

The internationalization of higher education in Brazil rapidly reached its highest moment with the creation of SwB in 2011. The political turmoil the country has faced since the beginning of the President Dilma Rouseff's deposition process in 2015, besides other sig-

nificant losses, has led to the redefinition of IHE strategies and priorities - as for example, at the moment of the production of this chapter, SwB had no mobility opportunities for undergraduate students.

In a scenario of economic and political instability, cost-reduction arguments seem to underlie the recent alignment of the country to the perspective of internationalization at home (Knight, 2014; Baumvol & Sarmento, 2016), as it is conceived more inclusive than the outbound trend. According to Knight (2014:3) "it is shortsighted to believe that internationalization is based solely on academic mobility between nations. It can happen in the classroom, on campus, and in the community by focusing on intercultural issues", thus foreign languages teaching and learning as proposed by LwB is still a viable option.

In the context of money-driven neoliberal policies, teaching and learning English tend to be shaped by powerful ideologies about languages, such as the commodification of English, according to which English is a symbolic capital that is employed as a form of exchange in different branches of economic activity. Specifically regarding LwB, drawing on CDA resources, and building on CLP approach of research, the chapter analyzed texts comprising instances of enactment and interpretations of LP. The findings point to the intertwining of challenging and reinforcing stands concerning the commodification of English in LwB: a) contradictions emerging from the Brazilian educational system tend to favor the elite in learning English, in detriment to the disadvantaged population; b) LwB enables the access to English language learning to university students; c) LwB questions the industries of English as it promotes the development of didactic materials by pre-service English language teachers; d) traditional providers of English language industries are legitimized by the allocation of investments and the creation of public-private partnerships; e) Native-speakerism ideology seems to play a major role in adding value to products and services provided by the English language industries.

The implications arising from the identified scenario encompass the maintenance or the questioning of inequalities both in the IHE dynamic as well as in the process of language teachers' education within LwB. Therefore, investigating the ELI underlying LPs foster spaces for acknowledging their existence then reshaping their meanings, specially by situated interpretations of the Program.

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INTERNATIONALIZATION, POLICY AND TEACHER EDUCATION: A CRITICAL LOOK AT THE IMPACTS OF THE LANGUAGES WITHOUT BORDERS PROGRAM IN TWO BRAZILIAN UNIVERSITIES

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INTRODUCTION

The importance English has acquired in academic settings is undeniable. Globalization has intensified the internationalization of universities, and the role of the English language in this process requires reflection and research. As Brazilian higher education institutions become involved in internationalization processes, it is fundamental to discuss the concept of internationalization, and how it is intrinsically connected with language and education. This means addressing questions as to what *can* internationalization be in our educational context? What *should* it be, given the local, global, and professional needs presented? What *must not* come to be in our search to combat injustice and inequality in the world?

Gimenez and Passoni (2016), based on Altbach (2013), list how the scenario of globalization and internationalization are related to higher education: the creation of an international network of knowledge; partnerships between institutions; and the increased use of English in scientific environments. As such, it is our interest to consider the last aspect, as we are professionally and academically involved in this area.

The aim of this study is to discuss the concept of internationalization in relation to language policies and education. In order to narrow the scope of our work, we focus on the English without Borders (EwB) Program, created by the Brazilian Federal Government in 2012 and expanded to become Languages without Borders (LwB) in 2014[3]. The program was initially proposed in response to recent changes in language policy in the Science without Borders (SwB) Program, and was designed to aid candidates of that program to achieve the level of proficiency required to participate.

This article is organized in four sub-items, along with an introduction and conclusion. We begin our reflections focusing on internationalization and what it can, should, and must

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3   The Languages without Borders program was terminated by the Ministry of Education in July 2019 (ver link: https://noticias.uol.com.br/ultimas-noticias/agencia-estado/2019/07/19/idiomas-sem-fronteiras-sera-encerrado-pelo-mec.htm). However, we chose to address the Program in the present tense because, as we were writing this piece, we were still, at the time, experiencing and developing activities for the program.

(not) be. Considering that internationalization has accelerated the creation of language policies, such as the LwB Program, we then present a brief overview of the program, focusing on teacher education. In order to discuss how a national program is locally unfolded, we address the local practices at two different Language Centers (Núcleos de Línguas - NucLis) of the Program: one at a federal university and one at a state university. We conclude by fostering reflections on the relevance of building local strategies to cope with national and international demands, so that human relations might prevail in an environment where numbers tend to be placed first.

INTERNATIONALIZATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION: WHAT IT MIGHT, SHOULD, AND MUST (NOT) BE

The world as we know it has been changing in significant ways; shifts in the way we understand the world have also impacted our interactions with one another, leading us to rethink concepts of language, education, and knowledge itself. A powerful force that moved us in the direction of change is globalization, which affects internationalization.

There is no shortage of studies on globalization, so it is not our goal to end the discussion on this concept. Rather, we are interested in reflecting upon the impact of globalization on what is understood, today, as internationalization, and how both of these processes might shape education.

According to Knight (2015: 3), "Globalization is positioned as a multifaceted phenomenon and an important environmental factor that has multiple effects on education". While we must acknowledge that globalization and technology have opened doors to a myriad of multisemiotic representations, let us not forget, however, that despite shortening distances, globalization movements can also accentuate differences, and marginalize (Canclini, 2008).

Similarly, Amorim & Finardi (2017) discuss the negative consequences of globalization to education, such as the reduction of education to a commodity when the motivations for an internationalization process are more aligned with a product-oriented notion of internationalization and are not in sync with an emancipatory view of education. In that regard, it is worth noting that although those concepts are intricately connected, they are not the same: "Internationalization is changing the world of education and globalization is changing the world of internationalization" (Knight, 2015: 3).

Therefore, globalization affects internationalization, and internationalization affects education. Understanding that concept is important, we believe, because it will help us examine and analyze some myths about internationalization.

Considering the manifold definitions of internationalization, we take our distinct teaching/research contexts in two Brazilian universities as a starting point to address questions we ask ourselves as teacher educators: what *can* internationalization be? What *should* it be, regarding the local and global needs that present themselves? What *must not* come to be in our search for a more compassionate and equal world?

With our experience, we agree with Knight's (2015:2) definition: "Internationalization at the national, sector, and institutional levels is defined as the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of postsecondary education". The author values the **procedural** nature of the concept, even though that is not often the case when a product view seems to prevail, as we will see.

Still, this is an important rationale because it encompasses significant elements without narrowing the spectrum. It must be said, nevertheless, that although we concur that *integrating* dimensions *can* be part of internationalization processes, we see such "integration" as a tense and difficult process where important aspects are won and lost in the power relationships that always play a role in our society.

Given that a certain level of confusion is to be expected about what internationalization actually entails, Knight (2011) examined some myths regarding this concept. In our opinion, such discussion is necessary because it helps us understand what we do, why we do it, and who benefits from any particular definition[4].

The belief that "more foreign students on campus will produce more internationalized institutional culture and curriculum" (Knight, 2011: 14) is grounded on the naive assumption that the university campus is a dreamland where international students are embraced by local students, faculty, and administration without conflict, as if their cultural differences exist as celebratory elements towards a more "diverse" campus. What is ingrained in this notion, however, is a superficial view of multiculturalism (Maher, 2007) where cultures exist in harmony, disregarding the "ethnic and racial tensions" (Knight, 2011:14) experienced by foreigners in such contexts.

We find it extremely troubling how, in this superficial concept of internationalization, foreign students can be objectified as a means to a more international campus. It is equally concerning, as Sarmento et al (2016) argued, that international students generate higher revenue in university fees, which explains why some universities target those students as their desired goal in an economically-driven strategy. Internationalization of education, in this case, is disguised as commercial exchange rather than student or cultural exchange.

To our understanding, having foreign students on campus *might* promote internationalization in a critical viewpoint of the term if a number of issues are considered: is the infrastructure on campus prepared to welcome speakers of other languages? What are the university's actions to host, accept and embrace these students? What can we do to make sure their cultural practices are respected? Is academic assistance provided to help these students adapt to a new learning environment? Those are just a few questions that call for reflection when we think about what and how an internationalization process *should* be; one that values human over object, one that does not take voices, experiences, and stories for granted in exchange for income.

Another myth discussed by Knight (2011:14) is the belief that "the more international a university is—in terms of students, faculty, curriculum, research, agreements, and network memberships—the better its reputation." As the author argues, this is an alarming consequence of rankings that order institutions vertically taking quantity as a measurement of quality. To use numbers as a parameter for development in research and, therefore, as a representation of good reputation is one way to dehumanize the work done by researchers in their fields. Moreover, the malign "publish or perish" motto has had terrible effects on the mental health of researchers and students, who are under constant pressure to quantify their work in order to elevate rankings that, we insist, objectify people as if they are publishing machines.

We must state that a university's reputation for internationalization purposes should be built on the respect given to faculty and alumni in terms of what they already do while

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4   For the scope of this paper, we address some of the myths and truths presented by Knight (2011; 2012). A more comprehensive review can be found in the original.

still challenging them, as human beings, to accomplish even more within the realm of what is possible. In the case of our Brazilian universities, demanding a certain number of publications per year, most often in one language (English), speaks to how deep-seated some colonialist practices can be. Paraphrasing Jordão and Martinez (2015), we must think carefully about how we might be reproducing colonialist relationships when we submit to international ranking standards with no resistance or criticism whatsoever; when we agree that one language must be used without questioning the worth of others; when we accept a certain verticalization of knowledge, as if one could be more important than others.

It must be said, nevertheless, that we are not arguing for a rejection of all rankings nor calling for a break in publications in English; we believe that developing critical thinking involves dialogue and negotiation of differences rather than a complete shutdown. Thus, an internationalization process *should* be one where horizontal relationships are not neglected; where rankings are seen as only one (albeit flawed) of the representations of a university's reputation; where languages are valued equally, especially those historically excluded; where "otherness" is the foundation for the understanding and confrontation of colonialist practices still at hand in today's universities.

Just as problematic is the concept of internationalization associated with the number of international agreements established between universities. We agree with Knight (2011:14-15) that such a perspective is flawed because it fails to recognize that "the long list of international partners often reflects paper-based agreements, not productive partnerships". The disparity between theory (number of agreements) and practice (number of agreements fulfilled by receiving Brazilian students/researchers or by sending foreign students/researchers) is still incompatible with what would be expected if the sheer number of agreements were taken into account.

Furthermore, the foreign universities chosen by Brazilian researchers to develop their work abroad tend to be located in the same few countries, most often in the global North[5]. This way, as Vieira, Finardi and Piccin (2018) argue, the global North seems to benefit the most from internationalization processes in comparison to the global South, once again illustrating traces of colonialist practices in the mobility processes in course in Brazilian universities.

Admittedly, internationalization movements must encompass some degree of international relationships – be it in form of agreements that facilitate the flow of knowledge, or in any other way – due to their borderless or cross-border[6] nature of existence. Still, it is imperative that the connections established between institutions be democratic as well as *accessible* to all. In other words, an institution that seeks to engage in sustainable internationalization processes must not limit itself to the same recurring destinations. Hence, further investigation and debates need to be fostered by our institutions on the distance between theory and practice in agreements. Additionally, if diversity in values, cultures, repertoires, and resources is part of a sustainable internationalization concept, then it is time we start bringing this issue to our agendas before we go about sending our students abroad or hosting foreign students.

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5   Vieira, Finardi and Piccin (2018:393) rely on Santos (2011) on the definition of North "as the geopolitical region formed of central countries whereas the global South would include peripheral countries, even if they are geographically located in the Northern hemisphere."

6   See Knight (2003) for a more extensive review on these terms.

In doing so, we understand that mobility movements might reveal preferences; nevertheless, questioning these "tendencies" is necessary both to ensure that we are not favoring the North or South and to push our administrations to honor the agreements established past beyond the theory in a fair and democratic process.

When it comes to how internationalization is shaped in Brazil, we endorse Jordão and Martinez (2015) on the ever-growing necessity to confront colonialist practices that have existed since long before the internationalization movement began to gain traction in our universities. For instance:

> [...] the perpetuation of the distinction between native and non-native; the commodification of language as a selling and buying product; the concept of English as a language of access to knowledge of a higher order; the reproduction of learning models used to teach languages in the UK and USA; and the frustration that arises from using these models as a reference of success in the teaching/learning process of English in Brazilian public schools (Jordão & Martinez, 2015:63).

These aspects lead us to believe that, unfortunately, the policies for internationalization in some higher education institutions still seem to lean towards a product-oriented conception, favoring the global North (Vieira, Finardi & Piccin, 2018). This says something not only about the misguided definitions of internationalization we are supporting but also about the nature of the linguistic policies put forward as a consequence of the limited understanding of internationalization upheld in our universities.

In that regard, we strongly believe that internationalization cannot be sustained without solid linguistic policies that provide a clear understanding of where we stand and what we stand for in this conflicting and challenging, but potentially enriching, flow of knowledge made possible by mobility movements.

That is not an easy undertaking, however. Amorim and Finardi (2017) highlighted that efforts have been made by the federal government of Brazil to establish linguistic policies that integrate internationalization actions (mainly influenced by SwB). Still, these actions are hardly implemented nationwide, which is understandable given the bureaucracy involved in passing policies in educational institutions across the country.

In all the myths and colonialist acts involved in internationalization processes, quantity seems to be emphasized along with other equally excluding and limiting views, such as the verticalization of knowledge, propagation of strictly-defined binary notions of "good" and "bad" – with "good reputations" being represented by numbers, rankings that target numbers over people, as well as other dehumanizing perspectives. Internationalization, thus, must entail the international dimension not as a competitive trigger in a race towards the "top", but as an effort to promote dialogue across cultures, acknowledging differences and conflict while creating spaces for respectful partnerships and interlocutions where humanity is honored before quantity.

THE LANGUAGES WITHOUT BORDERS PROGRAM: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

In 2011, the federal government launched the Science without Borders Program with the goal of "consolidating, expanding and internationalizing science and technology, Brazil-

ian innovation and competition" (Abreu-E-Lima et al., 2016: 19). The focus of the program was on academic mobility of Brazilian students from higher education institutions (graduate and undergraduate students from areas involving science and technology – which excluded the humanities). This program revealed the low proficiency in English of Brazilian students.

In order to help SwB candidates regarding their proficiency in English, the English without Borders (EwB) Program was created in 2012, and expanded to Languages without Borders[7] (LwB) in 2014. In the beginning, the focus of the program was on certifying proficiency and preparing students to succeed in their exchange programs. Regarding the proficiency exam, the TOEFL ITP was chosen due to its focus on the use of English for academic purposes, its widespread acceptance (it is internationally recognized as a proficiency exam and it is accepted in most foreign universities), and its structure as a paper-based test (it is practical to be administered). Based on these characteristics, the federal government acquired 500.000 exams that were offered in public Brazilian universities at no cost to the examinees[8].

According to Abreu-e-Lima and Moraes Filho (2016), the TOEFL ITP was used as a diagnostic test to evaluate the English proficiency of the Brazilian university community, as well as to analyze the proficiency level of academic mobility candidates. The authors stated that most Brazilian university students/employees who took the test were at an intermediate level.

Abreu-e-Lima et al. (2016) pointed out that the knowledge of a foreign language was considered secondary at the university, where the primary focus was on scientific skills. Nonetheless, because of globalization and internationalization, the university recognizes the role of foreign languages as a means to access the production of knowledge and to publicize Brazilian science. Finardi et al. (2018: 51) stated that "although the university community recognizes the importance of the English language, their proficiency level is still below expected".

Although the numbers presented in Abreu-e-Lima and Moraes Filho (2016) show most Brazilian university students are classified as pre-intermediate and intermediate regarding proficiency in English, it is important to highlight that the TOEFL ITP does not assess speaking nor writing skills. This situation disconcerts us as it is expected that the university community participate in internationalization processes not only by listening and reading[9], but also by creating, constructing, and negotiating meanings.

Since its implementation, the EwB program has been the focus of many studies[10] and much criticism. There has been a lot of criticism on the use of the TOEFL ITP as a proficiency certificate. As mentioned previously, the exam focuses on the so-called "receptive" skills. Moreover, the test excludes any aspect of language variation and differences related to language use. In this sense, Miho (2017: 820) argues that:

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7   In 2014, the Program expanded its actions to other languages, such as Spanish, French, Italian, German, Japanese, and Portuguese as a Foreign Language. The official document is available at:http://isf.mec.gov.br/images/pdf/novembro/Portaria_973_Idiomas_sem_Fronteiras.pdf

8   Abreu-e-Lima and Moraes Filho (2016), Kawachi-Furlan et al. (2017) and Finardi et al. (2018) discussed how the test is administered and explained the reasons it was chosen by the EwB Program.

9   Results from Kawachi-Furlan, Amorim and Finardi's (2017) study show that participants' main difficulties with the TOEFL ITP were related to the listening section, time management and test-taking skills. The reading comprehension section did not represent a challenge for participants, confirming that university students are usually proficient in reading in English.

10   Some of the Studies carried out about the IsF Program are listed on the following webpage http://isf.mec.gov.br/historico-botoes/pesquisas-e-relatorios

> Standard tests increase the gap between standard language and the most diverse use of language in daily communication. The procedures and instruments of standardized tests measure results with no relations to the context of the examinee or the progress of learning […].

In addition to these limitations, the TOEFL ITP has not been modified since 1960 (Miho, 2017). Thus, it is important to question what kind of language proficiency this type of test really accounts for. As discussed by Jordão and Martinez (2015), another fundamental aspect that needs to be considered is the reproduction of colonial relationships that is established when Brazilian students are selected to participate in academic mobility abroad and their language proficiency is evaluated according to international criteria (created by countries in the Northern Hemisphere). The authors question if these are appropriate measures to indicate how successful students will be in their exchange programs. Another problem undertaken by various researchers is the potentially dangerous conveyance of an overestimation of native speakers by this exam, ultimately reinforcing stereotypes (Miho, 2017).

We agree that it is essential to reflect on the limitations of the TOEFL ITP, its structural view of language, and the colonial relationship established by the use of this type of test. We acknowledge that the choice for this exam has consequences regarding what it means to know and learn a language, as well as the role of proficiency exams in academic mobility in Brazilian universities. On the other hand, it is comprehensible why the Program has chosen to use this exam, considering the short period of time available to provide a diagnosis of language proficiency and to certify candidates of the SwB Program. Abreu-E-Lima and Moraes Filho (2016) stated that designing a Brazilian exam for the purpose of the LwB was an initial plan, but because of a lack of time and the need for international validation, this idea was put on hold.

Considering these aspects, it is our understanding that while these questions are not explicitly addressed nationally, mainly by the LwB Program, it has to be locally discussed in each Language Center (NucLi) of the Program. Therefore, the focus on teacher education is what catches our attention, since it represents a possibility to foster reflection on themes that cannot be forgotten for the sake of internationalization.

TEACHER EDUCATION IN THE LWB CONTEXT

As stated on the LwB website, one of the goals of the program is to promote actions towards language policies for the internationalization of Brazilian higher education institutions, highlighting specialized foreign language teacher education[11]. According to Gimenez and Passoni (2016), the LwB program represents an innovative context for teacher education, especially if it is not limited to preparatory courses for proficiency exams. Miho (2017) also alerts to the danger of narrowing teacher education to proficiency tests, which may emphasize standard language and homogeneity, issues that need to be investigated in language teaching.

We believe that the program *does* represent a unique opportunity for teacher education. The LwB program's target audience is the university community: students, professors, and employees. In addition to the specific audience, the courses are also distinct in that they

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11   Information available at: http://isf.mec.gov.br/programa-isf/entenda-o-isf

focus on teaching English for Specific Purposes (ESP) and English for Academic Purposes (EAP).

In ESP courses, the learner is in the center of the learning process; his/her specific needs must be considered when designing a course. As proposed by Hutchinson and Waters (1991: 8), the guiding principle of ESP is: "Tell me what you need English for and I will tell you the English that you need". Kennedy (2012) stated that a recent increase in ESP projects is connected to globalization and international business, which require specific knowledge of English. In addition, the internationalization of universities has intensified the use of English as a medium of instruction.

In the EwB program, all courses focus on specific demands of the university community, which differ from General English courses. EwB courses are organized in four areas: proficiency exams, culture, internationalization, and specific areas. As one of the goals of EwB courses is to prepare students to participate in the internationalization process of universities, several courses focus on EAP.

Della Rosa et al. (2016) assert that the main characteristic of EAP courses is to prepare learners to actively participate in their study/research environments. One possible form of participation is through the publication of research findings, which can reach a higher number of readers if the text is written in English; however, this is not an easy task. As Rajagopalan (2015) argues, mastering the language is not enough. In order to be accepted in foreign journals, researchers need to be familiar with the same issues that interest their peers abroad. The author criticizes this scenario where English is the lingua franca of academia, stating that reviewers read papers submitted by non-native speakers focusing on impeccable mastery of English.

Considering the issues involving English in the internationalization of higher education, the target audience, and ESP/EAP proposals, the LwB Program does represent an innovative opportunity for teacher education. Thus, educating teachers in the LwB Program means reflecting on these themes by choosing what is more appropriate for each specific context. It means to critically engage in teacher education that contests traditional, dominant, and hegemonic practices, which are all part of LwB, but are locally addressed by those who build the program on a daily basis: coordinators, teachers, and the university community.

Reis and Santos (2016) affirm that EwB provides pre-service and in-service teacher education, while EwB teachers themselves are being professionally educated. Moreover, the choices made locally, by each NucLi, need to account for teachers' and students' demands.

THE LANGUAGES WITHOUT BORDERS PROGRAM: FROM A NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE TO LOCAL PRACTICES

Several aspects related to teacher education in the context of internationalization need to be addressed locally, such as autonomy and critical teacher education. Jordão and Martinez (2015) argue that LwB needs to promote what the authors call critical education, which focuses on identity formation of students and teachers, taking into consideration how English is used at present and the relationship between teaching and learning this language and our society.

We agree that reflecting on the role of English through global and local perspectives is fundamental. As suggested by Jordão and Martinez (2015), teacher education in the EwB

Program needs to question the concept of language as fixed structures (which is emphasized in proficiency exams), focusing on communication strategies in specific situations.

Given the importance of local perspectives to the role of English in the internationalization of Brazilian universities, and the specificities of the LwB Program, in the next items we discuss how the LwB has been locally implemented. It is important to mention that we are pedagogical coordinators at these NucLis and the following items were written according to what we have experienced.

THE LWB AT UFES

In this section, we discuss the implementation of the LwB at the Federal University of Espírito Santo (UFES)[12], focusing on how perspectives of a national program have been approached in a local institution. Also, we reflect on how local strategies have been adopted to promote teacher education in the context of internationalization.

As previously discussed, the internationalization process of higher education in Brazil has contributed to the creation of language policies, such as the LwB. According to Gimenez and Passoni (2016), the program is considered a language policy because of its actions related to languages and society.

The researchers emphasize that the SwB was the basis and stimulus for policies focused on language teaching, specifically the English language. As previously explained, EwB implemented NucLis where students from Languages and Literature programs became teachers of ESP/EAP courses. This scenario has contributed to the establishment of a specific teacher education opportunity in the context of internationalization. The authors further explain that:

> Although the internationalization policy to increase competition did not have teacher education as its final goal, the fact that policies do not follow a linear pattern makes it possible to have consequences that were not initially planned. Actors in the practice context can develop actions and give them meanings that are different from the ones thought of by the policy developers. This path shows the dynamic feature of policies, prone to influences from different actors, including the ones who act in context of practice. (Gimenez & Passoni, 2016: 125)

We agree that the actors involved in the actions are the ones who implement the policies. In the case of EwB at UFES, these actors are the coordinators, the teachers (undergraduate students of the Languages and Literature program), and the administrative interns. At the present moment[13], the NucLi's team is composed of two coordinators (an administrative/general coordinator, who is a professor at the Department of Languages, Culture and Educa-

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12   The university was funded in 1954. It offers 103 undergraduate courses and 82 graduate courses (47 academic master's, 9 professional master's, and 27 doctor's courses). The university has 1.780 professors, 2.016 administrative employees, 19.997 undergraduate students and 3.174 graduate students. Information available at: <http://www.ufes.br/instituição>. Accessed in March (2019).

13   March (2019).

tion, and a pedagogical coordinator, who is a professor at the Department of Languages and Literature), seven English teachers[14], and two secretaries.

The program was established in 2013 as a test center, later expanding its activities to the online course – My English Online (MEO) – and face-to-face classes (Pinheiro & Finardi, 2014). Initially, the Program's office was located in the university's Language Center. However, it was moved to the Department of Languages and Literature's building to avoid confusion between EwB and the LC, similarly to what is described in Ono (2016). The Program depends on the partnership with the LC and other institutes in the university to have classrooms for the courses.

According to the last report sent by the board of the LwB Program, the level of proficiency at UFES, classified following TOEFL ITP scores, is: 45% of the community at A2 level (4.010 test takers); 32% are B1 (2.827); 20% are B2 (1.778); and 3% are C1 (306). These numbers reference scores from exams offered since 2013. As can be observed, the majority of the academic community is at the pre-intermediate level. Based on this interpretation, most face-to-face courses offered at this university are for A2 and B1 students.

Despite what the TOEFL ITP classifies in terms of proficiency level, what we have experienced at our NucLi is that there is a large number of students who are beginners (and absolute beginners) in the learning process, which indicates they could be considered at a basic level. These students usually enroll in the EwB courses expecting to have General English courses with sequenced modules, a textbook, and the development of the traditional four skills (reading, writing, listening, and speaking). This represents a real challenge for EwB teachers, since they deal with differing expectations from students regarding the purpose of the courses. As this scenario is common at our NucLi, teachers are prepared to address this matter and raise students' awareness of the objectives of ESP and EAP courses.

Additionally, courses and classes must be adapted to students' needs. Sometimes, it is not possible to achieve each student's expectations and needs, as the groups are heterogeneous regarding proficiency level, age, academic background. In our view, this is a rich opportunity to build and share learning experiences, even if not every individual learning goal is accomplished. Although the team of teachers praises this context, some students are not used to heterogeneous groups and the types of courses, and end up withdrawing from the course. Another aspect that might influence course withdrawal is how engaged they need to be with their learning process. It might seem unexpected to have students who are not ready to take responsibility for their learning or understand their role in this process; however, this is a common reality in EwB courses at UFES. This could be the result of traditional classes in which the teacher holds the knowledge and students will passively have access to it. Thus, when they are faced with a learner-centered situation where they are protagonists in their own education, they may not feel prepared to continue with this process.

We believe that this situation makes the EwB program at UFES a fruitful opportunity to deal with all these issues in conjunction with NucLi teachers. Therefore, while reflecting on the role of English and on the type of internationalization we seek for our institution, teachers also discuss learner autonomy and how EwB can contribute to learner empowerment and agency. In this sense, our goal is not limited to increasing students' proficiency level; we are also concerned with educating learners to be aware of their linguistic choices

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14   Considering the focus of this paper, we will only discuss the actions related to the EwB Program. In 2018, LwB at UFES, in addition to English, offered classes for French, Italian, and Portuguese for Foreigners. In 2019, English, Italian, and Portuguese for Foreigners continue to be offered.

and what the knowledge of English can represent in their realities, and at the same time EwB teachers are also in the process of professional and academic education.

In this scenario, our team has been designing teaching material since 2015. In our view, this is an essential part of teacher education, as defended by Harwood (2010) and Tomlinson (2012): teachers need to know how to select, adapt, and design teaching material. Augusto-Navarro and Gattolin (2016) argue that it is not possible, desirable, or even necessary to design material for all courses. Nonetheless, the authors state that this may be the most appropriate choice in order to guarantee students' profiles are considered. Also, by engaging in this area, teachers become better prepared to work with commercial materials (if this is the case).

Designing material has been the most appropriate choice at UFES. As we are part of a national program with global perspectives (with some strict international ranks and criteria), it is through material development that we can locally work against colonial and hegemonic practices. It is through a locally produced material that we can focus on students' needs and interests. Thus, producing our own material is a fundamental part of the teacher education process at UFES, and some of the benefits are described in the following quote:

> We consider the experience of writing pedagogical materials very rewarding. Being able to assess activities and adapt them, if necessary, bearing in mind the profile of the student is gratifying. This opportunity certainly added to the authors' education as teachers and as learners. Based on our experience, we wholeheartedly advocate in favor of pre-service teachers having contact with theory and practice in regard to material writing as it makes us more than just "consumers" of coursebooks, as pointed by Harwood (2010, p. 3-4). It invites teachers not to simply follow the books' instructions and, instead, reflect on their potential and limitation to the context of their audience and whether they suit the learners' learning styles. (Mozer & Kawachi-Furlan, 2017:159-160)

Despite the various benefits of material design, there are many challenges such as copyright issues, time and effort, group work, and teachers' lack of theoretical background, which are discussed in Augusto-Navarro and Gattolin (2016). Indeed, designing material involves a great deal time devoted to researching, searching for resources, revising, sharing drafts with the team and receiving feedback, formatting, among other important activities. In order to cope with this, we normally work on material design during the breaks between instruction periods and school recess. Regarding theory in this area, teachers engage in reading studies of material design (and other themes) from the time that they start working in the Program, which constitutes a fundamental part of their teacher education process.

To conclude, we highlight that EwB at UFES has provided a rich opportunity for teacher education, taking into account students' and teachers' needs and profiles. In addition, we have been able to address the demand of EwB students by selecting courses that are more appropriate for them and by locally producing teaching material, while we abide by national rules and demands of the LwB Program. As for the internationalization process of the university, according to Amorim and Finardi (2017), it is in early stages[15], and proficiency in English is one of the main challenges. Thus, it is imperative to discuss language policies and internationalization in this context.

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15   The university policy for internationalization was created in 2018 (http://www.internacional.ufes.br/sites/internacional. ufes.br/files/field/anexo/resolucao_no_15.2018_-_sri_-_politica_institucional_de_internacionalizacao_1.pdf).

THE LWB AND INTERNATIONALIZATION AT UNICAMP

The State University of Campinas (Unicamp) is a public institution in the state of São Paulo[16]. Despite its age[17], Unicamp has a tradition in language teaching. In the early stages of the establishment of Unicamp, one of the founding fathers of the university, Professor Zeferino Vaz, made it a priority to have foreign professors learn Portuguese as a Foreign/ Second/Additional Language, which, as a consequence, led to the foundation of research groups focusing on material design, teacher education, and other pedagogical projects that contributed to the growth of the area in Brazil.

This history of acknowledging the relevance of foreign languages, along with the development of the Center of Language Teaching (CEL)[18], show, from our perspective, that languages have been a priority since the foundation of the university. It is surprising, however, that a systematized linguistic policy has never been developed except in the form of official documents that regulate language courses, exams, or classes on campus.

It was only after internationalization began to be a subject of educational and administrative concern that linguistic policies were also addressed. From where we stand, that means that no matter how important languages are seen, they must be part of the university's agenda and there needs to be an institutional space where linguistic policies can formally exist and be directly developed, discussed, and materialized. If internationalization is a necessity for higher institutions, then linguistic policies are a necessity for internationalization.

The space we are claiming for was created when the Languages without Borders Program first rose to prominence and was consolidated in federal universities across the country. Currently, 66 higher education institutions are part of the program and, as a consequence, have centralized linguistic policies in their agendas. Putting positive and negative aspects of the program aside, we firmly believe that never in the history of foreign languages in Brazil have linguistic policies been so extensively and intensely debated by teachers, researchers, administrators, policy makers, and politicians.

At Unicamp, the benefits from taking part in the program go beyond the opportunity to offer online and face-to-face classes. The LwB Program pushed the development of two official documents that institutionalized the university's policies towards foreign languages. Even more significantly, we must add, was the realization that the dialogues we engaged in to formalize our linguistic policies touched issues that were not even on the agenda to begin with, like the place of Brazilian Sign Language and Spanish on campus. The roles of these languages, often marginalized in the academic life at our institution, were finally acknowledged as we thrived for actions that recognize the worth of the many voices on campus

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16   Unicamp is home to approximately 19.800 undergraduate students, roughly 17.500 graduate students, and a little over 2000 professors.

17   It was founded in 1966.

18   Created in 1989, CEL is an institutionalized space where language courses are taught as regular classes to undergraduate students. Until this date, it remains the only Language Center in the country where courses are not run as extension activities and are, therefore, free of charge to the academic community. Furthermore, the professors are hired under tenured regime like the researchers in other departments.

while also establishing a commitment to confront colonialist practices through a commitment to society in general.

In practical terms, the implementation of our NucLi in 2017 did not happen without challenges. Despite Unicamp's tradition in language teaching, there is no undergraduate major in teaching English as a foreign language[19]. This was one of our concerns from beginning, since one of the main objectives of the program is to foster "teaching residency", that is, to contribute to teacher education by offering opportunities to students of Languages and Literature to actually teach the classes. As a result, few students applied for the teaching residency part of LwB at our university.

In addition, the lack of a major in teaching English as a Foreign Language meant that the pedagogical formation meetings – another requisite of LwB – would be a place where the pre-service teachers would be exposed to theories and research in the area for the first time. On the other hand, the education process those teachers were engaged in is not limited to foreign languages: they are, after all, in an ongoing process to become **educators**[20].

It is important to say, though, that despite belonging to a teacher education program that does not focus on foreign languages, the challenges the teachers faced are no different than the ones encountered by their peers in other institutions: reflecting on controversial but necessary topics in our pedagogical meetings; learning to deal with students' frustration in class and learning to deal with their own frustrations as teachers; searching for theoretical bases to support their concepts of language, pedagogy, and grammar. In other words, they have been given a chance to experience the adversities and perks of what it means to be a teacher.

For most of the teachers, this was also the first time they had the opportunity to develop their own materials. Again, this has not been an easy task for them, since they are pushed to make informed choices on the sources they rely on, the theory of language and pedagogy underlying their designs, as well as many other decisions they must make during the process. The way we see it, those are indispensable points in what we hope to be an autonomous and critical teacher education.

A teacher education process that fosters autonomy and reflection is one where future teachers are encouraged to develop their own criteria for practical aspects (such as time management in class; selection of teaching materials; correcting students) and theoretical aspects (justifying why a certain concept of language and pedagogy grounds their actions as teachers; learning to expect the unexpected towards a less central position of the teacher in class). The process is exactly that: an ongoing path to understanding, building, and redesigning concepts (including autonomy and critical thinking) that may support our actions as educators.

If we revisit the myths discussed by Knight (2011) on which we raised some questions, a disappointing scenario is presented. In a brief overview of the partnerships established be-

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19   Currently, at the Institute of Language Studies (IEL), two related undergraduate majors are offered: Portuguese Education and Portuguese as a Foreign Language Education.

20   There are currently 8 English teachers at our NucLi: 6 of them are undergraduate students in Languages and Literature at Unicamp; 1 holds a Master's Degree in Applied Linguistics and is currently pursuing her second Bachelor's degree; and 1 holds a Master's Degree in Linguistics.

tween Unicamp and foreign institutions, it is worrisome that less than half of those agreements are actually put into practice:

Table 1

International agreements and exchange programs in practice in 2017[21]

Number of countries with institutions partnered with Unicamp	Number of countries with institutions that hosted Unicamp students
59	21

When we look at the specific countries that hosted Unicamp students, the numbers are even more discrepant:

Figure 1

Countries with institutions that hosted Unicamp students; graph limited to the top 5 countries by number of students[22]
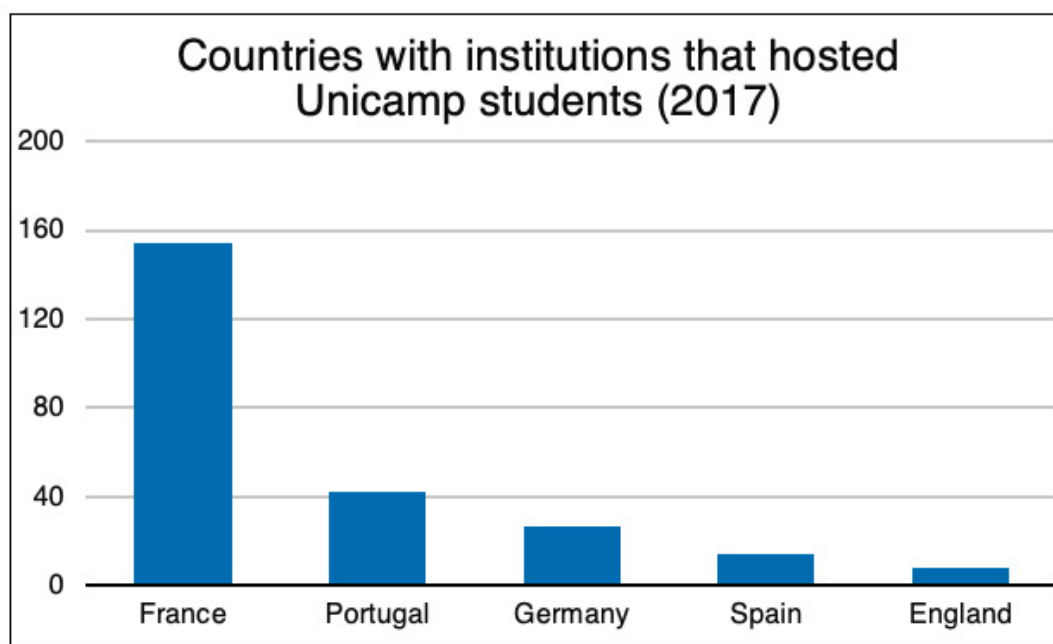
All of the top 5 countries that have institutions that hosted Unicamp students are in Europe. While we acknowledge that European institutions hold a long history of tradition in higher education, it is nevertheless problematic that no universities in Latin America appear on that chart, especially because, as we have argued, this scenario alludes to the belief that knowledge or institutions can be graded in binary notions of "good" or "bad" or that other institutions might have less to add. As Vieira, Finardi, and Piccin (2018) discuss, the global North continues to be favored whereas the global South appears to be invisible in this context.

21   Data taken from the Statistic Yearbook of 2018 (which uses data collected in 2017). Available at https://www.aeplan.unicamp.br/anuario/2018/anuario2018.pdf - accessed on March 09, 2019.
22   Only the 5 countries with the highest number of students are listed.

When we look at the foreign students who were hosted by Unicamp, the following picture is presented:

Figure 2

Countries of origin of the students hosted by Unicamp in 2017; graph limited to the top 5 countries by number of students[23]
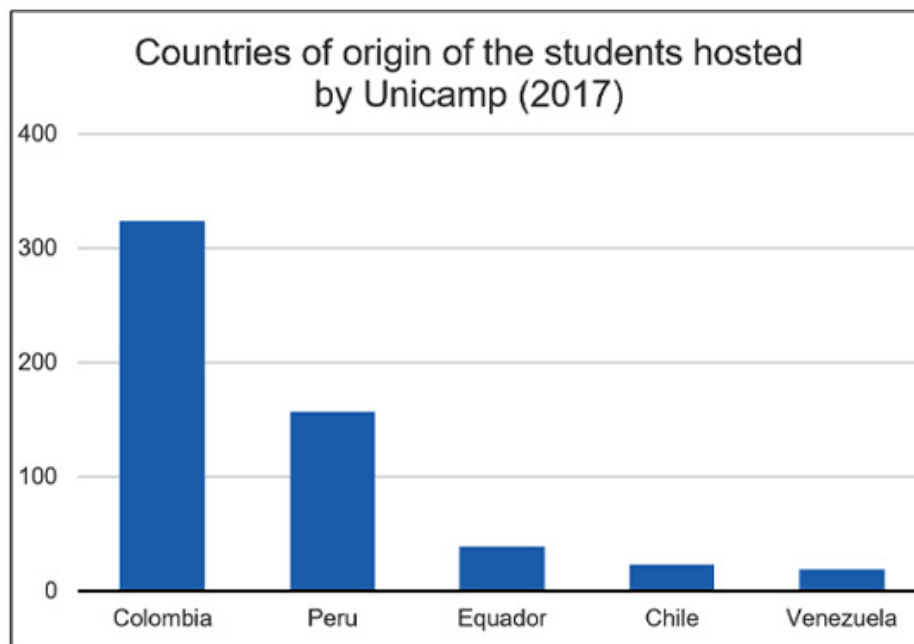
This figure shows a distinct situation as compared to the previous one. The difference in the countries can be explained in part due to their geographical proximity and also being part of Mercosul. However, we believe that the same power relationship between the North and South is at play in this case, with Brazil assuming a Northern position as the host (that holds more power).

If the prevalence of South American nations in this chart reveals that agreements between Unicamp and universities in the South are somewhat honored, the mobility flow in both cases, however, shows that internationalization seems to be following a one-way direction where reciprocity is nonexistent.

We must clarify that the situations described do not call for authoritarian actions. On the contrary: they expose an imbalance that demands further thought and an assessment of what is being gained or lost and what the outcomes of the power relationships at play will be.

Being an agent in an internationalization process calls for an active attitude. It is inconceivable, we believe, that our universities should passively reproduce limiting views of "good" and "bad" in favor of a higher place in rankings. A notion that perpetuates the inhuman demand for publication – and therefore hierarchizes quantity over quality – is no longer sustainable in a humane internationalization process. Taking a stand is imperative for

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23   Only the 5 countries with the highest number of students are listed. In this chart, the data refers to graduate students. This segment was chosen for discussion here as the number was significantly higher than for undergraduate students, although roughly the same countries appeared at the top of both lists.

the development of policies that not only make sense to our political and cultural context but that also stretch the possibility to reach further.

CONCLUSION

We have argued that internationalization is a tense and conflicting process. Unlike the myths we examined and criticized, we see quality and respect towards human beings in the academic world and their cultures as key factors in a process that deems itself to be international. Reducing the concept to numbers that aim to quantify the production of knowledge in higher education institutions goes only that far; it removes us from our dignity while catering to unfair models of internationalization. Moreover, it turns the process into a product.

Going against these standards requires positioning ourselves as active agents of change towards an understanding of internationalization that is more democratic and accessible. Evidently, that is no easy task. We believe, however, that one possibility is through the development of linguistic policies that rest at the base of what an internationalization process should entail. After all, we insist that there is no internationalization without linguistic policies.

In that context, the Languages without Borders program, all ups and downs considered, has presented exactly that: an institutional space for policies regarding language and education to be formally discussed and systematized at our universities. It has also given teachers-to-be a chance to further develop their education and to experience the perks and challenges that arise in classrooms. As researchers, the program has made it possible for us to take all that as a rich source of investigation about teacher education, teaching materials, policies, and internationalization, while revisiting our own actions as educators in the process.

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INTERNATIONALIZATION PROCESSES MADE IN BRAZIL AND THE USES OF LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY TESTS

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BRAZILIAN INTERNATIONALIZATION PROGRAMS AND LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY TESTS: A BRIEF INTRODUCTION

Globalization processes are very dynamic and are in continuous changes. However, the sources which irradiate the transformations wanted or needed in given contexts just throw the pebble onto the surface of the lake. Communities living in peripheral countries generally grasp the last expanding circles that pebble has broken into the water. In this sense, Brazilian initiatives aiming to develop some internationalization policies may be considered positive ones, though they came a little too late, if compared to some other nation efforts undertook in previous decades. Moreover, since these intricate processes are essentially dynamic, when some policies become implemented and their results can be seen and measured, their time has already gone, because things have been changing around, the circle closes its ends, moving towards the next level. Or, as Wang et al (2014:29) puts it:

> We stated at the outset that globalization revolves around scales and movements across scales. Such movements do not occur in a random fashion, they are structured and conditioned, and the major condition for globalization processes is the availability and accessibility of infrastructures for globalization. What is needed is access to instruments enabling connections between purely local events and translocal processes, patterns and developments, and these connections are dialectic: effects of them occur throughout the different scale levels.

After the WWII, organizations and institutions were developed and equipped in order to assure that some social, economic and political issues could be institutionally guaranteed by European countries in common accordance. This direction helped to shape the geopolitical game on the globe, mainly after the end of the Cold War. The OECD, Organization for Economic co-Operation and Development, whose origins date back to 1948, is one example of international organization created to develop, implement and evaluate policies designed and implemented by European authorities seeking long term results, because one of the issues they addressed through policies was related to the ways education may operate in the transformations needed for the next generations of European citizens. European Union[2]

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(1993), Schengen Agreement[3] (1995) and the Bologna Agreement on Higher Education[4] (1999) are examples of long-term commitments to modify some old structures and shape one of the most important branches of the upcoming globalized economic order, Higher Education. Some successes and some defeats were experienced not only by those who initiated the globalization process, but also by those who were positioned in peripheral locations, away from Europe and North America. As the name says, the process became global, sharing defeats, problems, challenges, pollution and discourses of equality of opportunities amidst contradictory actions all over the world. However, profits are not shared. Neither technology nor the ways one can develop it are shared. In this sense, one may infer that, in these globalization processes, there is neither availability nor accessibility of infrastructural means for some parts of the world's population.

Peripheral countries, rural areas and remote parts of the world are the most affected by this trend of globalization irradiated from the center (Wang et al, 2014). Technology, information and communication are some of the necessary instruments for one particular area of globalization, internationalization processes in Higher Education. It is a fundamental force to keep the processes continuously working. How was this question addressed by Brazilian authorities? Were academic literacies and multicultural communication considered as pivotal to a successful internationalization action? How was the "language barrier" dealt with by policy makers? As far as language policies for HE go, it is not a nonsense to say that, maybe, some features of the more general Brazilian economic policies can be verified in the field of linguistic education policies, mainly the ones related to internationalization of HE and its connections to educational and linguistic educational market.

Opportunities are given, since one gets through several gatekeeping mechanisms these policies establish as necessary conditions. This may reveal some meritocratic features, which will not be addressed by this essay. Concerning Brazilian HE internationalization programs, English language proficiency test scores is one of these gatekeepers. The role these test scores have had and how they have been employed by the policy documents and actions is the focus of the following considerations. It will, hopefully, help to contextualize, for clarifying purposes, Brazilian Internationalization Programs from 2011 up to 2015.

INTERNATIONALIZATION CHALLENGES, DRIVES AND CHOICES: STANDARDIZED TESTS - THE FIRST STEP

Facing the pressures for globalization, in the 2010's, it was time for Brazil to take a step ahead towards the internationalization processes of HE. Decree number 7.642[5], December 11th, 2011, by the Ministry of Education, created the Science without Borders (SwB) Program. It was a late (and controversial) response to diverse needs our research and HE professionals have been facing for decades. Siqueira (2009) describes some facts and contexts of action within Brazilian HE policies in the last fifty years. Her research shows evidences of some hidden agendas, and their heavy ideological orientations, embedded into our HE policy documents, decrees, ministry reports, advertisement pieces, programs and actions.

The SwB program was brought to life with lots of propaganda. Around 112.000 students would have the opportunity to study abroad for a period of time, taking part in the

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3   https://www.schengenvisainfo.com/schengen-agreement/
4   https://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/higher-education/bologna-process_en
5   http://www.cienciasemfronteiras.gov.br/documents/214072/5058435/Decreto7642-Csf.pdf

outbound mobility program. As a top-down action, its effects did not take long to come up. Student mobility, in big groups at once, should have had some more preparation time, as institutional, bureaucratic and academic measures have to be taken before sending the students abroad. Mobility of individuals is the last stage of a long process. But, on the other hand, it is the most seen and praised feature of internationalization actions. One of the neglected, though important, aspects of student mobility was overseen by our policy planners and makers: the linguistic factor.

That is why, one year later, the same Ministry of Education promulgated another bill. Decree Number 1.466[6], December18th, 2012. Now, English without Borders (EwB) Program was created. Again, about two years later, another Decree came to let us know that Languages without Borders (LwB) was under implementation. Both programs, EwB and LwB, were created as policy mechanisms in order to face some problems related to the lack of foreign languages proficiency and certification by many Brazilian students and researchers applying for the Science without Borders Internationalization Program.

Without doubt, these policy developments (expressed by the sequence of Decrees -within a two-year basis) show, in some respects, lack of previous planning for both the mid and the long-term results of the program implemented by law in 2011. It is perfectly reasonable to argue that policies are dynamic, and changes are expected to happen anytime along implementation processes. However, as an official report form Brazilian Senate Science and Technology Commission[7] (2015) reveals, questions addressing foreign languages proficiency, English language being the major concern, should have been examined in more detail before beginning the mobility actions, therefore, avoiding academic problems related to language issues, and, consequently, to academic literacies in English language.

Since the SwB program was idealized in a top-down model and its linguistic policies (LwB) came after the implementation of the mobility actions, all the language education initiatives were and still are essentially retroactive and, in some specific local contexts of Brazilian universities, it may even be considered a kind of subtractive linguistic education, as discussed by Valenzuela (1999). After carrying out a three-year long ethnographic study among Mexican American students in New York schools, Valenzuela (1999)

> produced thoughtful and· reflective· analysis. of schooling policies and· practices, as well as of peer-to-peer and student-teacher relationships, exposed the subtractive nature of schooling. -where students were handily divested of their cultural. and linguistic wealth and heritage. (Valenzuela & Rubio, 2017:4357)

Studying for the test is the most known aspect of this kind of retroactive educational policy. First, the testing system and testing instruments are established. Then, students are educated to do well on those specific tests. This is the case of Brazilian Internationalization Program under exam here, Languages without borders (LwB) program.

The way chosen by LwB policymakers to implement some linguistic education measures to subside student mobility almost immediately after its implementation had as its starting obstacles logistics and time constraints. Abreu e Lima (2016) demonstrates some of these obstacles and explains the reasons why the program chose to use as its main instru-

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6   https://www.abmes.org.br/arquivos/legislacoes/Port-1466-2012-12-18.pdf
7   https://www12.senado.leg.br/institucional/datasenado/publicacaodatasenado?id=avaliacao-do-programa-ciencia-sem-fronteiras

ment of implementation a specific proficiency test available on the market, TOEFL ITP Test, employed for several other functions besides the ones he test was actually designed for. Most of them related to accountability and management of the program actions and the maintenance of the policy dynamics operative and working.

Discussions about the uses of standardized tests, evidently, highlight several points for approaching the theme. Pedagogically, what are the benefits standardized tests may bring to test takers? Within contexts where scoring is urgently needed by thousands of student mobility program candidates at once, such as LwB, scoring becomes, at the first moment, more important than evaluating. One should remember that test scores are designed to fit into statistical patterns and management systems (Fulcher, 2013), and that they can be easily packed and politically negotiated by the policy designers and government represen- tatives. Pedagogical elements such as individual motivation for learning a language, cultural and social aspects are discursively and ideologically connected to meritocracy and liability, teachers' training and materials.

Menken (2008:12), focusing on the use of standardized tests in U.S. educational system, warns that

> It is therefore a pressing concern that language proficiency mediates performance on the standardized tests being used, which makes language a liability for the ELLs when test results are the primary criteria for high-stakes decisions. Furthermore, testing has come to determine language policies in education in an implicit way, removed from explicit public debate.

LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY TESTS: SCORES AND THEIR POLITICAL USES

Political authorities and economic groups responsible, direct or indirectly, for high-s- takes decisions within the educational field around the world have taken a similar position about standardized proficiency test scores: they are necessary and useful. Though this argu- ment cannot be neglected, it should be analyzed in more detail, considering, for instance a) what makes standardized tests valuable instruments for linguistic and educational policies?; b) what linguistic skills, abilities or competences do these tests actually measure? c) what is the connection between scores and individual performance on the test? d) how do standar- dized proficiency tests subsidize high-stakes decisions? e) Did those tests help to improve linguistic proficiency and enhance academic literacies for HE, in Brazilian context from 2011 up to 2015?

Shohamy (2007) offers us some explanations why standardized test are so important nowadays. Her research makes clear the political uses of tests while also shows the changes undertaken by test functions for the last decades.

> From tools used to measure language knowledge, they are viewed today more and more as instruments connected to and embedded in political, social and educational contexts (Shohamy, 2007:117).

Recent studies conducted by Fulcher (2009, 2010, 2013), McNamara (2011) and Read (2015) describe how standardized tests are technically made, what they are supposed to

measure and how test scores may be connected to CEFR scales[8] (Common European Frame of Reference) therefore, to high-stakes decisions. The authors point out some basic concepts upon which language proficiency tests are designed and assembled: proficiency, competence, performance, construct, model and framework. Their technical observations will help us to understand how they can have their functions shifted, as Shohamy suggests.

Beginning by the concept of proficiency in the academic field, Read (2015) directs some attention to slight differences between two close concepts: proficiency and competence. Competence, he writes

> It should be emphasized that competence does not refer just to explicit knowledge of grammatical terms and concepts or the meanings of words; it primarily covers the implicit knowledge that is acquired by native speakers and underlies their intuitions about what is correct and appropriate usage in the language (see Ellis 2004, Ellis et al. 2009). (Read, 2015: 79).

Competence becomes actualized in performances, when that competence is put into use for communication. Proficiency is measured according to specific testing procedures, in order to verify the communicative strategic competence of the language user on specific performances.

> Thus, strategic competence underlies a language user's ability to use the language for functional, communicative purposes, such as participating in a conversation, reading a webpage, following a set of directions, or writing an email. Or, since our focus here is on academic language proficiency, some more relevant communicative tasks are: participating in a seminar discussion, reading a journal article, understanding a lecture, or writing a research report (Read, 2015:80).

When it comes to construct, or, the structural basis of any test, technical features of tests begin to walk into politics. Brown (2000:2) defines construct as

> A construct, or psychological construct as it is also called, is an attribute, proficiency, ability, or skill that happens in the human brain and is defined by established theories. For example, "overall English language proficiency" is a construct. It exists in theory and has been observed to exist in practice. Construct validity has traditionally been defined as the experimental demonstration that a test is measuring the construct it claims to be measuring.

Moving from abstraction to materiality, what connects construct and real test forms is the framework, which can be defined as selections of abstract models made available by the elements which belong to any particular test construct under exam. Each proficiency test, in theory, should have its own construct and its own structure, if this test is really designed to measure specific language performance for specific goals and contexts. If this principle is respected, test validity probably gets closer to its ideal and legitimate validation.

However, as literature suggests, test validation is not only an educational matter, but a political subject. Fulcher (2009, 2013, 2016) and McNamara (2010, 2011) demonstrate that

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8   CEFR. Common European Framework Reference http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Source/Framework_EN.pdf

the wordings and phrasing of test constructs are the same ones used in policy documents official writings. According to McNamara (2010:7)

> The CEFR is a case in point. The wording of the framework inevitably reflects the policies and values of its original sponsor, the Council of Europe, and its current users, governments and educational institutions throughout the world[...] **In other words, the terms in which the outcomes of language education are specified, and which are the construct of language assessment, are expressions of policy.** And the formulations of such frameworks, including the way in which they lend themselves to a reduction to simple numbers—A1, A2, etc.—are designed to meet the needs of those responsible for the accountability of educational systems.

The main proficiency tests on the global markets, as well as all the didactic materials related to them, are guided by the CEFR framework and scales. Fulcher (2013:128-131) contextualizes and explains some aspects of CEFR origins and features. Although it was officially created in 2001, the CEFR origins may be situated in the 1970's, when the European Council began to plan a system of academic credit that would be a common ground for language teaching in Europe, based on a fixed reference board of scales. Scales represent the ranges of linguistic proficiency according to their respective descriptors, as displayed on the CEFR Global Scale[9].

Fulcher (2013) explains that those scales were elaborated upon the linguistic research and conceptions of languages and language teaching/learning processes based on a communicative approach, which was in full development during the 1970's. As a result, the focus on language functions in communicative situations of use, as well as the vocabulary coined by this trend of linguistic research, became worldly known through the proficiency scales. Below, the scale descriptors for Basic Level, or A1 user.

> Can understand and use familiar everyday expressions and very basic phrases aimed at the satisfaction of needs of a concrete type. Can introduce him/herself and others and can ask and answer questions about personal details such as where he/she lives, people he/she knows and things he/she has. Can interact in a simple way provided the other person talks slowly and clearly and is prepared to help. (European Council, 2001:5)

The descriptors for the scale levels of proficiency just state what the language user can or cannot do using language on certain kinds of communicative situations. Meanwhile, it is important to remember that these scales do not have an appropriate theoretical support from second language acquisition, neither it mentions linguistic competences. Fulcher (2009) critiques the way the CEFR scale descriptors were selected and organized, following directions from the European Council which says: "A common framework scale should be context-free in order to accommodate generalizable results from different specific contexts." (2001:21). This feature is made clear by the organization of the interaction contexts, listed as a not structured list of actions the user can do in a context-free manner. Fulcher argues that these descriptors are not based on any sort of linguistic or discursive analysis of the target language and the reason why they are organized as they are, from "basic" to "proficient" level, is in order to subsidize statistical manipulation of generalizable results.

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9   https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=090000168045b15e

The same argument is employed by McNamara (2010), when he writes that the terms in which the outcomes of linguistic education are specified are the same ones writing the construct of language assessment. These outcomes are reduced to numbers, making accountability of educational systems more manageable and replicable. In internalization of HE settings, this is a necessary requisite, favoring institutional agreements and transactions, concerning language proficiency certification.

These arguments were brought up to scaffold the assumption that the way scales, outcomes and policy documents are tied up discursively in several levels of action do not, necessarily, address linguistic proficiency as the fundamental stone for building up academic literacy skills, necessary for mobility actions in HE because the construct of language assessment, which inform them and give them cohesion and coherence, focuses on decontextualized samples of language use. Could this fact be a possible explanation to the maintenance of the "linguistic barrier" that has been mentioned as one of the problems of SwB program results, even after the language teaching actions have been implemented?

TOEFL ITP: CAN IT CONNECT AND OLD CONSTRUCT WITH NEW COMMUNICATION CONTEXTS, NEEDS AND TECHNOLOGIES?

In order to address the heading above, it will be useful to check the construct, content and validity wordings for the TOEFL ITP tests. According to Chapelle et al (2008:.54), the first Toefl was elaborated, in 1961, upon the following guidelines:

- construct: "list of components of language knowledge and skills that would be expected to affect performance across a wide range of relevant situation."

- content: "battery of tests to measure: a) control of English structure; b) auditory comprehension; c) vocabulary and reading comprehension; d) writing ability. All the sections will consist of multiple-choice items."

- validation: "the test will be pre-tested within large groups of native speakers and non-native speakers."

Read (2015) writes that since 1976 - when the initial five sections of the test were comprised into only three: Listening comprehension, Structure and Reading Comprehension - all the sections of Toefl test were kept unchanged. This structure is the same one adopted by TOEFL ITP (Institutional Testing Program). According to Templer (2002), this is a shorter and cheaper version of TOEFL tests. It is made of old versions of test forms which are no longer available on the market and would probably be discarded. Since it is an institutional kind of test, it is commercialized in large scale in countries such as China and Brazil.

Still discussing TOEFL ItP, studies demonstrate that construct and content are made visible when answers to questions are transformed into scores, which places the candidate against a proficiency scale measuring listening accuracy, language structure and reading comprehension. This scoring, on its turn, has to be equivalent to CEFR descriptors. Tests scores and CEFR scales are not the same thing. They are connected through an inferential process. And, generally, it is at this point where political and economic interests, policy documents and actions, along with individual merits intersect, when test scores are requisites for high-stakes decisions. Additionally, it is worth noticing the negotiation value

test scores are endowed in political and educational agreements. Contradicting the test validation theories and studies, political uses of tests became a naturalized practice.

Ricento and Hornberger (1996) use a metaphor to represent their concept of Linguistic Policy and Planning (LPP) in globalization contexts: The layers of an onion. In their analogy, the authors compare laws, official documents, political and economic pressures to the external layers of the onion, which overlap one another, accumulating diversities and also inequalities until they reach the center of the onion: the professionals and users who put the policy into action. Shohamy (2007) explains the contexts within which tests are the main driving force of actual linguistic policies, or, '*de facto* policies'. Shohamy's research has been highlighting the hidden agendas generally underestimated by language educators, users and citizens, though official discourses, policy makers and political representatives are widely aware of its assumptions and objectives. She warns us that testing policies have much more power and influence over educational settings than documents and statements do. For her "[...] what an excellent mirror tests could be for studying the real priorities of those in power and authority, as these are embedded in political, social, educational and economic contexts." (2014:16). Shohamy also reminds us that tests are texts and, as such, they are political arenas where meanings are negotiated or imposed upon some communities by others. One way to begin some examination and enable the public discussion about the power relationships embedded in standardized proficiency test policies in Brazilian internationalization processes is to search for answers for some capital questions, suggested by Shohamy (2014:16)

> Why was the test being given at the first place? What was the agenda that drove the introduction of the test? What were the politics of the test? Who was to gain and who was to lose? What was the political motive? What was the relationship among the different bodies that administered it? How would the results be used? How would it affect teaching? What did the test mean for the test takers, their parents, their schools? What were the long- and short-range consequences of the test for the lives of individuals? What did the test do to the knowledge being assessed?

According to Abreu e Lima (2016) the test was used in the first place, to generate data about Brazilian academic communities English language proficiency levels, which was inexistent before EwB program had begun. The author also reassures that the test was used in functions for which it was not designed. That is, instead of being employed as a placement test, it was used as proficiency test via political negotiations among a Brazilian governmental HE Agency,CAPES (Coordenadoria de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior) and foreign HE institutions " in this negotiation with foreign HE Institutions, CAPES managed that the placement test would be accepted by most of the undergraduate mobility actions" (2016:35). Logistics was also a driving force into the choice of this particular test.

Concerning the politics of the test, it can be verified in some facts available on news media[10] from 2013 to 2016 in Brazil. The first of them explicit the political negotiations test scores are subjected to. It is an official document, the first Notice or Public Call for SwB

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10   Freire Jr., J.C. (2016) "Revisão do Programa Ciência sem Fronteiras." set 2016. *Unespciência*. <http://www.unespciencia.com.br/2016/09/internacionalizacao-78/>.

candidates, edited in 2013[11]. The document makes clear that the concession of scholarships will be made through the English Language Proficiency level the candidate certifies, either TOEFL IbT or TOEFL ItP. The selected students should be classified according to CEFR scales, ranging from A2 level (437-499-ItP) to B1 (550- ItP). The document states that the less proficient students would be given a six-month language course before their academic activities began.

Another interesting fact also happened in 2013, when the first students arrived at the institutions abroad. Again, the linguistic problem, or barrier, unveiled some under considered issues. In British HE institutions, Brazilian students were failing hard to achieve the necessary scores to be admitted into their intended academic programs. This demanded more negotiations. Brazilian press let us know, on 02/07/2013, that SwB managed to lower TOEFL (from 72 to 42) and IELTs (form 5,5 to 4,5) minimum scores for Brazilian students belonging to the program[12]. It is important to remember that, at the time, there were about 2,000 Brazilian Government scholarships being awarded to U.K institutions per semester. Both sides were interested in keep the program flowing regularly, despite the linguistic problems or barriers it inextricably presented at the time.

In May 2018, some U.K. universities expresses their concern about the minimum IELTS scores for acceptance of international students, as published on The Chronicle of Higher Education[13]. Studies conducted by a psychologist at the University of York reveal that the linguistic "deficit gap" international students have when they arrive for their programs do not get remediated at the end of the semester. The group included students with scores between 5,5 and 6,5. One of the partial results the research has found is that students below a minimum threshold level - around 7,0 - will face some difficulties due to their linguistic performances which may be connected to their academic and discursive competences in English Language. Brazilian students were admitted into U.K. Universities with a 4,5 minimum scoring mark. Although this may be seen as an inclusive action, regardless the economic issues beneath and around it, it brings up some questions regarding the real value test scores have in relation to the test taker's actual language performances in contextualized environments, such as classes, seminars, examinations or test, etc. If the scores are to be true accounts of that performance, would it not be inefficient and unproductive for the student to enroll without having the specified linguistic skills to learn in the foreign institution?

On the other hand, research papers developed by Jenkins (2015), Martyrosan et al (2015), Piller (2016) could demonstrate that the commonly accepted assumption that high proficiency levels measured by standardized tests is equivalent to academic success is not an absolute truth, rather, is a relative fact, being susceptible to variations according to the literacies background of individual students or groups of students. Most of the international students participating in the researches reveal that the language they really need to use in every aspect of their academic and social lives is completely different from the language they have to study for the test. Summing up: tests are the material connection among the policy means and objectives, individual learner and communication in English language for academic purposes. However, what should be addressed here, as concluding

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11   https://noticias.uol.com.br/ultimas-noticias/agencia-estado/2013/02/07/exigencia-de-ingles-no-ciencia-sem-fronteiras-sera-menor.htm

12   http://noticias.universia.com.br/destaque/noticia/2013/02/07/1003952/governo-diminui-exigencia-ingles-no-ciencia-sem-fronteiras.html

13   https://www.timeshighereducation.com/opinion/language-requirements-international-students-are-too-low

argument for this chapter, is the fact that standardized tests are not able neither to foster academic literacies development nor evaluate one of the most vital roles of language in use, the discursive meaning making process, or the social practice Gee (2008) calls Literacy.

LANGUAGES, LITERACIES, TESTS AND HE POLICIES IN BRAZIL: WHERE SHOULD OUR NEXT STEPS TAKE US?

The extensive use of tests corroborates what Joan Turner (2011:16) calls "the deficit discourse". Her study demonstrates that, centuries ago, when sciences were still in their beginnings, it was interesting for academic and political reasons, to develop a scientific or academic language which could be as transparent as possible in order to be an "impartial" vehicle for the transmission of scientific ideas and knowledge. This was a reflection of the way languages were conceptualized at the time. Centuries of social and cultural academic practices nourished a long tradition of canonical texts, which paved the way for the contemporary "academic genres" in English, such as the essay, the article, the seminar, which have some tight formal constrictions in order to achieve the "transparency" quality it should embody. According to the author, the role of language is underestimated, undervalued and marginalized in institutional discourses of Higher Education. Language just becomes visible in academic settings when it fails, when it is seen as a problem to be dealt with, because it lacks the 'transparency' this kind of language is supposed to have. Or, in other words, institutions notice the linguistic problems students may present when these students are called to be discursively competent or able to deal with several literacies in the uses of language in their academic activities.

A case study was conducted by Piller (2016), involving the observation of 297 international pharmacy students in New Zealand Universities. The study reveals the inadequacy of remedial measures such as the teaching of EAP (English for academic Purposes) or extra English language classes for the test, for the ones who have failed it before, is not enough. It is due to the fact that this kind of international students have to study other disciplines while are still trying to improve their language test scores. This generally happens with programs in a submersive model, as the one Piller analyzed, which is similar, in some respects, to the one offered by Brazilian SwB program. Submersive programs, differently from immersion programs, do not allow students to use their L1, mainly because these students are studying L2 in a foreign country, being exposed to L2 all the time. After a period of classes, students take a proficiency test. In the Brazilian case, however, students were sent back home from Canadian Universities after failing the language test. U.K. Universities agreed in lowering the minimum scores for SwB students. The measures taken just reinforce the deficit discourse.

An official evaluation of SwB program was made by Brazilian Senate[14] Science and Technology Committee (2015). The document expresses deep concerns regarding Brazilian students' insufficient academic achievements due to lack of linguistic proficiency in English. It also suggests that linguistic education matters should have been addressed before mobility actions had begun. Freire Jr. (2015) writes other evaluative paper about SwB Program. He also mentions the linguistic deficit as one of the main causes for students'

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14   Avaliação do programa Ciência sem Fronteiras. Available at: www.senado.leg.br/.../K-Comissao_permanente-CCT-Pauta-20151020EXT041.pdf.

underachievement; therefore, the program itself would be at risk if measures were not taken, even retroactively, as it actually was.

The lack of English language proficiency - or deficit- is an image that reinforces some concepts and prejudices, ideologically rooted in Cartesian dichotomist reasoning: right and wrong; in and out; meaningful and meaningless; native and non-native speakers. This reflects the roots of some conceptions of language that mirror broader social relations, including the workings of political and economic power which rule, explicitly or implicitly, that language is a gatekeeping instrument of control in HE.

LwB program promotes a conception of language mediated by the constructs of proficiency tests that underscore the policy actions. This includes the Native Speaker as the only model to be followed in teaching/learning processes, in a washback process. The de-contextualization needed by standardized tests enables them to be used as an accountability tool for institutions and this makes of them effective commercial successes worldwide. However, this is not compatible with more inclusive and flexible conceptions of language, ones which embrace the social practices and uses of language in academic contexts.

> The role of tests in determining the prestige and status of languages is especially noticed in the case of the English language and the role of international tests such as the TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) in perpetuating the English language. There is no doubt as to the power of the English language in the global world today. But it is the introduction of tests in the English language that perpetuates their power. [...] Thus, in the case of English, language tests drive forward, perpetuate and reaffirm the status of English. Further, English tests act as mediators between politics and education. The process is unending as the testing of English and the teaching and learning of English affect and perpetuate one another and together affect its power; at that point, it is not clear what is the chicken and what is the egg. (Shohamy, 2006:121)

In 2018, despite the end of SwB large scale mobility actions, Brazilian Ministry of Education has kept TOEFL ItP as one of its actions, along with on-line and face -to-face language courses designed for the test. Park and Wee (2012) point out that linguistic policies aim to change linguistic behaviors in diverse fields: planning, managing, implementing and practices. These policies may be distinguished in two main groups, according to their alignment to the linguistic market, they may be one of accommodation or reconfiguration. The authors also highlight that there is not a language policy that could be exclusively of one tendency, because local needs and external pressures call for some of both attitudes. Considering LwB Program, one can say that it is rather an accommodation policy than a reconfiguration one, though some local reconfigurations are possible. One of the main reasons why is the role of proficiency test scores have on the structural layers of the whole program, which left no room for non-mainstream uses and conceptions of language in contexts of linguistic and cultural diversity. In this sense, some contradictions are found between LwB intentions, goals and actions. Thus, claiming multilingual approaches, all the tests and course materials are essentially monolingual and full of Native Speakerism and hegemonic views of language uses.

> One possible way of discussing the subject more accordingly to our contemporary society would be to change the focus. Instead of considering language proficiency

as a deficit or a problem, alternative forms could start by defining languages from a different principle: it could understand language as a right, a human right or, which is most interesting for purposes of academic literacies and internationalization, is to consider languages as resources, semiotic but also economic resources. These resources have to be shared for education to reach its goals. One of the main features of contemporary life academic institutions must be aware of is that the sharing of linguistic and semiotic resources is an essential principle for literacy, education actions and materials. If languages are conceptualized as resources, not only other semiotic systems may be included (visual, multimodal) but also some translanguaging practices, which are very practical and contextualized aspects of communication in multilingual HE settings. According to Garcia and Wei (2015:354)

Translanguaging in classrooms is precisely a way of working in the gap between, on the one hand, the global designs of nation-states and their monoglossic education systems, and on the other, the local histories of peoples who language differently.

Academic literacies in English in Brazil are focused on standardized products (tests scores) and the educative processes are derivative of the products aimed. If one considers, following Gee (2008) that literacies are social practices that can only be effective when socially build and shared, academic literacies in internationalization programs may be regarded as one of the most complex social practices H.E. students undergo.

Due to the global and local political and economic pressures faced by HE in Brazil, the choices made and implemented by the policymakers, it becomes clear that the diagnostics and leveling phase of the program have been finished. Therefore, some deeper consideration is expected regarding the gatekeeping mechanism, which political uses of test scores strongly reiterates.

Internationalization processes, being an important branch of globalization layers and mechanisms, could work as those infrastructural and enabling instruments of connection between the local contexts and needs and global pressures. Thus, showing intentions compatible with a broader sense of communication in a multicultural world, the instruments chosen by the policy designers are essentially monolingual and, instead of connecting, probably, the model reinforces the deficit image and the gatekeeping procedures. As Ricento and Hornberger's onion metaphor illustrates, the overlapping external layers could be seen as the global economic pressures on the local contexts, trying to shape them according to some hegemonic concepts and actions, both at institutional and personal levels, via standardized tests. Among the several possibilities which are present in the Brazilian H.E. context, academic literacies for internationalization, as an instrument for shared knowledge and development, is similar to a little sprout within the inner layers of the onion. It requires constant attention, nourishment and re-evaluation of actions, in a bottom-up movement, which goes beyond the levels of testing and certifying language proficiency in English, resulting from the top down policies and their actions on public education worldwide.

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IDEOLOGIES IN THE SECOND PHASE OF THE PROGRAM "PARANÁ SPEAKS ENGLISH" AS A LANGUAGE POLICY: OPPORTUNITIES FOR CRITICAL REAPPRAISAL

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INTRODUCTION

The interest in studies on language policies (LP) in the context of the internationalization of higher education (IHE) in Brazil is relatively recent. The rise of international networks of knowledge, mainly through the internet, and the urge for institutional partnerships across boarders inevitably bring to the fore decisions regarding languages in this dynamic (Altbach, 2013).The rise of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) in universities (Dearden, 2014; Martinez, 2016); the development of strategies aimed at the diffusion of Portuguese to speakers of other languages (Carvalho; Schlatter, 2011; Diniz, 2012); and more prominently, the creation of programs targeted to university students' language improvement (Abreu e Lima et al, 2016; El Kadri et al 2019; Passoni, 2018) are examples of how LP permeates the IHE in the country, which suggest the need of further studies on the issue.

In a report for the publication "Universities to the World 2019 - strategies and advances in the path of internationalization", organized by the British Council, the coordinator in charge of the federal program Languages without Borders (LwB), comments that "there has never been so much talk about language policy in the country like now". In that text, she attributed this concern to the accreditation or re-accreditation process of universities with LwB in 2017. At that time, interested institutions had to present a specific institutional LP document as a part of their application (British Council, 2019, p. 22). In fact, the emergence of that program led to some institutional actions aimed at developing linguistic proficiency

in academic communities, focusing on the internationalization process (Guimarães, Finardi, Casotti, 2019), a strategy that became the focus of many research studies[5].

Parallel to LwB at the national level, Paraná state also developed a program with similar purposes - Paraná speaks Languages (PSL[6]), which is an LP at the state level. It aims to promote the teaching of foreign languages (especially English). According to the State coordinator of PSL, "The idea is to leverage the language in order to communicate with foreign partners, to interact with other researchers, achieve success in academic and scientific writing, with the potential for having work approved for magazines with an international audience" (British Council, 2019, p. 23).

With an official start in 2014, it was based on the offer of face-to-face English courses in preparation for the TOEFL iBT test[7]. PSL is now in its third phase, including different initiatives which will be detailed further. The Program's first phase has already been the subject of research in the field of Applied Linguistics (Marson and Borges, 2015; Marson, 2017; El Kadri and Raimo 2017; El Kadri, Gimenez, El Kadri 2019; Marson, Gimenez and Furtoso, forthcoming, among others), and for that reason we focus on the second phase of PSL, that came to an end early 2020.

According to El Kadri, Gimenez, El Kadri (2019) during the first phase of the program the official texts published on the official website expressed an alignment with four main hegemonic discourses supporting the English language: a) English is an indispensable skill; b) English is a commodity that allows mobility; c) English has instrumental and symbolic values; and d) The native speaker is the model, although this ideology was not completely endorsed by language instructors and students who sometimes valued the native speakers and sometimes on-native speakers, revealing differences between the official representations and the local interpretations derived from situated activities.

In this chapter, we focus on how the hegemonic discourses– conceived as ideologies - identified in the first phase of the PSL are manifested in its second phase (2017-2020), through the analysis of official texts of the program, actions proposed by its management committee[8], as well as recontextualizations led by one of the participating universities. Thus, we seek to answer the following questions: How do the ideologies identified in the first phase of PSL play out in its second phase? and How did local actors reframe the program to suit its needs and aspirations? In order to do so, we first analyse the ideologies underlying the actions proposed by the program in its official website and present the context of practice in which we describe the attempts to challenge some of those ideologies. Looking for further developments, we then present two frameworks deemed crucial for a critical engagement with top down language policies.

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5   Information about research on LwB is available at http://isf.mec.gov.br/pesquisas-e-relatorios.
6   Originally the project was named Paraná Fala Inglês, Paraná Speaks English, whose acronym PFI was kept when it was renamed as Paraná Speaks Languages - Paraná Fala Idiomas (PFI).
7   TOEFL iBT test is a proficiency assessment of academic English language skills (reading, listening, speaking, and writing), administered by ETS and is said to be accepted by 11,000 institutions in over 150 countries. More information at https://www.ets.org/toefl.
8   In January 2017, the program began to be managed by a committee composed by a state coordinator (linked to one of the participating universities), a representative of the institutional coordinators and a representative of the UGF (funding agency). The complete board of representatives can be accessed at http://www.seti.pr.gov.br/modules/conteudo/conteudo.php?conteudo=326

IDEOLOGIES REVISITED

The second phase of the program was characterized by the diversification of courses offerings (not only preparation classes for a specific proficiency test); by the inclusion of the French language, leading to renaming the program; by the establishment of international partnerships; and by the inclusion of training activities for teaching English as a medium of Instruction (EMI). Although the offer of English courses and the choice of the teaching material provided by a Canadian agency had been negotiated with the institutional coordinators (until the beginning of 2018, only for the English language), other actions were included, based on cyclical factors that triggered the expansion of the activities initially planned, with emphasis on international partnerships that reinforced native speakerism (Holiday, 2015) - which poses the native speaker as an ideal or superior model to be reached - also detected in the first phase.

In March 2017, a memorandum of understanding (MoU) was signed between Languages Canada[9] and SETi-PR (Paraná State Secretariat for Science, Technology and Higher Education), with the objective of promoting language training for teachers, students and university staff aiming at English language proficiency. Such initiative would also include courses in Languages undergraduate programs, language institutes and the of development English language programs for different contexts involved with the internationalization of higher education. The agreement had two other actions: a) an exchange program of Canadian Language Teaching Assistants that would include the experience of English as a medium of instruction for language teachers and non-teaching staff; b) research on language teaching, involving PSL, undergraduate courses in Languages and language institutes in the seven public universities in Paraná, in order to analyze the worth of language education, its standards and quality, and to develop a robust language policy[10].

As we have already mentioned, in the first phase of the program, the native-speakerism appeared in the official texts and in the voices of some students and language instructors. In the second phase, that discourse was reinforced by the partnership established with Languages Canada, as a symbol of quality in the services provided by the program. The belief in the superiority of the expertise offered by the agreement with Languages Canada was enhanced by the addition of a mobility program, in which two PSL students from each state university were selected for a three-week visit to Canadian institutions. The program was funded by SETI-PR, Languages Canada and Canada Homestay network (accommodation and meals), Languages Canada (English classes, transportation) and SETI-PR (air tickets to 14 students). Administrative Coordinators and pedagogical coordinators of the program paid for their own transportation. The piece of news below, extracted from the Languages Canada website, reports on this experience:

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9   Languages Canada is a Canadian Association which purpose, according to their site, is "To be the voice of the Canadian language education sector". Their mission, is therefore, "to promote quality, accredited English and French language education in Canada, both nationally and internationally and their vision Statement is "to be internationally recognized as the symbol of excellence, representing Canada as the number one destination for quality English and French language education". Prior to the state partnership, Languages Canada had already signed an MoU in 2015 with Brazil's federal government to be a provider for LwB (Passoni, 2018), in accordance with their mission.

10   Available at http://cri.uenp.edu.br/index.php/pfi-docs/pfi-acordos

Paraná Speak English Coordinators Wrap-Up Three Week Toronto Program

2 Agu 2018

From July 9 to 27, Languages Canada, English School of Canada, the Canada Homestay Network and eight other Languages Canada members collaborated on the delivery of a unique professional development and international partnership-building program for a delegation of seven institutional coordinators from Brazil's Paraná Speak English program.

Languages Canada signed a cooperation agreement with the State Secretariat of Science, Technology and Higher Education of Paraná (SETI) in March 2017 in order to collaborate on initiatives in support of the Paraná Speaks Languages/English (PSE) program – a state-funded initiative to increase the English language proficiency of students, professors and staff with Paraná's seven public state universities, in support of the state's goals of internationalization of its public education system.

The PSE coordinators' visit to Canada this July was part of a co-sponsored scholarship program between Languages Canada members and SETI, which will bring fourteen students to Canada over the summer 2018, in addition to the seven PSE coordinators.

"Languages Canada is thrilled to be implementing this co-funded scholarship program and coordinators' visit with the state of Paraná. This collaboration puts language education at the forefront of internationalization - as a catalyst and a driver of institutional partnerships and mobility between Canadian and Brazilian academic institutions," explains XXXX[11], Director of International Affairs and Operations at Languages Canada.

"I would like to thank Languages Canada for their partnership, on behalf of the Paraná Speaks Languages/English Program. It was such a wonderful experience for our coordinators to be in contact with languages institutes, universities and colleges to better develop the program in Paraná," says Dr. XXXX, State Coordinator of the Paraná Speaks Languages program. *"It has been an incredible experience for our students to experience such international environment for the first time. Our commitment to support internationalization has been achieved because of Languages Canada's support; the PSE program will never the same!"*

English School of Canada provided the PSE coordinators with part-time advanced English classes and a professional development program tailored for language education administrators, provided both by ESC staff as well as other LC members in the Greater Toronto Area. ESC hosted six of the 14 PSE-LC scholarship recipients, who also wrapped up three-week intensive ESL programs on July 27.

"English School of Canada has been proud to host the international coordinators of seven Brazilian public universities visiting Canada this summer as part of the joint Parana Speaks English – Languages Canada initiative," says XXXX, Director of ESC. *"Participating in the organization of this event has provided ESC with a greater understanding of the opportunity we have as a school to connect Canadian resources to fill the language training needs that exist globally. The future of initiatives like PSE will benefit greatly from the coloration of private and public stakeholders, as we have demonstrated in this joint PSE-LC initiative."*

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11   Due to ethical concerns, the name of the representatives mentioned on the news report were omitted, as their identification was not the focus of this research paper

Accommodation and meals for the seven PSE coordinators, as well as nine out of the 14 scholarship recipients, was generously provided by Canada Homestay Network – a not-for-profit society connecting international students with homestay families in over 40 communities across Canada.

"We are thrilled to provide the homestay portion of this exciting scholarship program and add a valuable dimension to the coordinators' and students' Canadian education experience," explains XXXX, Managing Director of CHN. *"Homestay helps integrate students into the communities they study in by offering more than just room and board. When students live with engaged, active families - like our wonderful host families! - who include them in discussions, activities and excursions, and introduce them to Canadian culture in a personal way."*

Institutional visits were conducted to seven other LC member colleges and universities in the GTA, focusing on professional development for language education administrators and exploring opportunities for institutional partnerships, including the University of Toronto English Language Program, York University English Language Institute, Ryerson University's Real Institute, Trent University ESL, University of Guelph English Language Program, Humber College English Language Centre and Seneca College English Language Institute. As a pathway partner of ESC, the University of Ontario Institute of Technology also hosted the PSE group.

"This is just the beginning," says XXXX. *"So many opportunities have been identified over the course of the three-week visit, with ESC as well as the other hosting universities and colleges. Additionally, Languages Canada is working with the state of Paraná on the* recently launched Paraná parle Français (Paraná speaks French) program. *Next year we hope to see a similar professional development and mobility program for French language education administrators and students."*

Source: https://www.languagescanada.ca/tr/blog/blog/Parana%20wrap%20up

The text representing Canada as one of the key players in the market of language education is not surprising. The legitimation of Languages Canada is understandable when it is framed as a partner providing unique opportunities for Brazilian teachers and students. In fact, the initiative was seen as a "tremendous" contribution for the stakeholders and students selected, according to the various informal meetings and testimonies in Facebook page displays. These informal testimonies narrate positive outcomes of the mobility: experiences on knowing different pedagogical skills, the creation of a guide of good practices, contacts for future partnerships and individual studies.

The literature has portrayed that indeed, experiences of international mobility constructs representations that project identities of confident speakers and positive attitudes towards collaboration in international settings (Crossman, Clark, 2009; Jones, 2013; Vasquez et al, 2014; Spears, 2014). Partnerships and collaborative work, mainly with international partners, are always welcome as they forge opportunities for development and growth from both parts. Of interest here is the segment in which the PSL coordinator elaborates on the importance of the agreement and displays an opinion that reinforces the idea that only the Brazilian program will benefit from the experience, thus reinforcing the ideology that

valuable knowledge is to be found abroad, signalling a particular belief that better quality resides in the expertise available in Canada. In the formal and polite expression of gratitude, the word "partnership" is chosen, implying that both parties have made the mobility possible, but avoiding comments on what exactly was learned with the visits. The adjectives "wonderful" and "incredible" reveal a positive appreciation for what is considered the cause of a complete and definitive transformation ("the PSE program will never the same!"; "our commitment to support internationalization has been achieved because of Languages Canada's support"). Praise is directed not only to the Canadian partner, but also to the commitment of a collectivity, by the choice of the pronoun "our", possibility representing the view of all the seven universities.

On the other hand, the representative of the English School of Canada acknowledged the gains from this type of mobility ("greater understanding of the opportunity we have as a school to connect Canadian resources to fill the language training needs that exist globally"). In this case, the school takes a deficit view of the teachers and students who were participating in the program and sees itself as a provider of training not only for this group but for similar ones in other parts of the world. The indication that "training expertise" can be exported, revealed by the ESC representative, draws not only on native speakerism but also with its associated ideology: English as a commodity, meaning that the language is conceived as valuable exchangeable resource. It makes a powerful combination because the value of the commodity is linked to the imaginary that native speakers give authenticity to the product (Heller, Duchêne, 2012).

According to the agreement between languages Canada and SETI-PR, Smrt English[12] became the provider of the didactic material adopted in the program. In addition to the MoU at the state level (mentioned earlier), each university participating in the PSL also signed an agreement with Smrt English, in February 2017, in which the state institutions committed to offer English language courses using the teaching materials and methodology provided by the Canadian agency, called SMRT classes. The set was tested in a pilot phase, in which students would have to purchase the course materials for a price stipulated in the agreement. After this phase, there would be a reassessment, based on the opinions of instructors and students.

POLICY REINTERPRETATIONS AT A LOCAL LEVEL

Six out of the seven universities kept using the material, while State University of Londrina (UEL), based on questionnaires applied to students and instructors, decided not to do it, since the materials provided did not match the goals of the students[13]. Due to UEL's tradition in graduate programs and in the development of research, community needs pointed to academic writing, an area that was not well developed by the Canadian provider. As a result, language instructors at UEL started to produce their own teaching materials.

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12   Smrt English is a Canadian company which, according to their website "develops cutting edge curricula that combine the latest education technologies with the latest Canadian trends in language learning". Available at https://smrtenglish.com/smrt/en/

13   Besides, according to Sanches (2019, p. 84), "the didactic material allows a perspective related to language as a code", that is, a structuralist view of language. The same author recognizes that "the online book is based in the training of grammar topics, which is limited in sense of not achieving the goals of the program proposed by the 2nd phase" (Sanches, 2019, p. 190).

UEL has been engaged with PSL since its creation (Marson, Gimenez, Furtoso, forth-coming). During this time (2012-2019[14]), three different professors from the Foreign Modern Languages Department have been in charge of its local coordination. Similar to other public higher education institutions in Paraná, UEL joined to the program by submitting a proposal to the management committee of the Paraná Fund for "Paraná Speaks Foreign Languages - First Stage - Paraná Speaks English", within the priority area "Improvement in Higher Education". Such request for funding, presented in a coordinated manner by all state universities in Paraná, was justified by the desire to increase the quality of the graduate programs, evaluated by the federal Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education (CAPES) which had internationalization as an important indicator of excellence. This interest coincided with the effervescence of international mobility brought about by the Science without Borders (SwB) program, which required, from scholarship applicants, high levels of proficiency in languages (especially English), in line with the required standards of foreign universities.

UEL has acquired strong expertise in the area of English language teaching. The university counts on a Department of Modern Foreign Languages with more than 50 years of tradition which offers a single degree in English; it has a Language Laboratory with more than 40 years of experience in teaching languages for the internal and external communities. In addition to the undergraduate course, UEL also offers a graduate program in Language and Literature Studies, at master and doctoral levels. More recently, UEL created the Professional Master's Degree in Modern Foreign Languages. This institutional repertoire built over years of experience of developing the language skills of the university community. The excellence institutional qualification, which places UEL among the best universities in the country[15], also gives it a privileged position to combine extension and research initiatives, in addition to providing the opportunity to develop initial and continuing teachers' education (and therefore teaching), integrating the three main axes of its mission. The participation in PSL, then, created spaces for theoretical-practical articulations in the field of foreign language teaching and the production of locally contextualized knowledge.

Our experiences and research on policies in Brazil have shown that the social actors – teachers and coordinators – have dealt with some of these ideologies in four main ways: 1) by adapting and producing their own materials; 2) by having the main actors (teachers) carrying out research (emic perspective); 3) by developing research from an etic perspective and; 4) by de-naturalizing the ideologies engendered in the programs in the professional development initiatives.

At UEL, the adaptation and production of own materials aimed at developing locally-sensitive resources appropriate for specific audiences, with a focus on the development of academic literacies. Courses and materials were designed through the social practices the audience is generally engaged in, such as presenting papers, writing abstracts, writing papers, etc. Although strong ideologies, such as the native-speakerism and the commodification of English play major influence wherever the language is being taught, the development of these materials by language educator who are local actors in PSL created room for potentially challenging such ideological constrictions. The language experts in charge of de-

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14   Although the negotiations for the program started in 2012, it was only in 2014 that the first group was opened for the applications.

15   According to the Times Higher Education - world university rankings, UEL is #91 among one hundred top universities making a global impact available at https://www.timeshighereducation.com/student/best-universities/top-universities-world-global-impact. Nationally, it poses at #24 among the Brazilian universities ate the Emerging Economies University Rankings 2020 available at https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/2020/emerging-economies-university-rankings#!/page/0/length/25/sort_by/rank/sort_order/asc/cols/stats

veloping such resources are non-native teachers and focused on students' situated goals and desires in this process. Possibilities of questioning the sets of ideologies were introduced by two main strategies: a) displacing a foreign company from the role of course materials provider; and b)incorporating several listening comprehension activities from different English varieties, and then discussing what an English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) approach could mean.

Research plays a very important role in questioning ideologies, either from an emic or an etic perspective. From an emic perspective, it allows teachers' protagonism and reflection on their own practice and ideologies. Therefore, we strongly believe that research in this context is crucial in building room for defying ideology systems regarding languages.

From an etic perspective, we have seen research on identifying the pervasiveness nature of those ideologies regarding the status of English as a foreign language portrayed by the program. Two recent studies, from different universities (UEM and UEPG) have focused on how an ELF perspective would fit in the program and as a way to challenge ideologies and perceptions. Alonso (2020) demonstrates that although PSL aims at improving English language capacities for internationalization, the practices of the program do not challenge the notion of English as a foreign language, i.e., that it belongs to native speakers and that they represent the ideal for language learners. Santos (2020), from the same perspective, indicated that although the discourse on ELF is revealed by students and coordinators, there has been no change in the teaching practices of the program. What both research studies do is to provide room for such discussion in teachers' development as well as for the program evaluation. However, they also show that the ideology of native speaker was not challenged: to the contrary, that they remain strong and being the focus of the practice. Research like this might contribute as a first step to more meaningful and autonomous practices that align with knowledge constructed in the field of applied linguistics and as institutional principles, not only because they were carried out but because they brought to the fore possibilities for discussions to think "otherwise", as they unveil the presence of ideologies, theoretically discuss possible ways for further developments in which language teachers and students engaged with the LP are posed as local actors in charge of building their own interpretations..

Teacher Education in the program can also be conceived as a way to challenge and deconstruct some of the ideologies. At UEL, teacher education within PSL was aligned to the needs teachers faced during class preparation and it involved readings and discussion on EMI, ELF and English for academic purposes. Bail's study in this context (Bail, 2020), revealed that the creation of teaching materials played an important role in the teachers' reconceptualizations of their identities as teachers-authors in a landscape of practices that mobilized the institutional language teaching community's assets to produce a unique interpretation of the program.

As we can see, there are movements of micro-agency, but there is not integration of micro and macro level (Kennedy, 2003), that is, the micro level transformation are still limited as it does not reach the macro level in a way that actually challenges and transforms the policy as a whole, i.e., there is no ecological transformation (Kennedy, 2003). That is why, in this chapter, we present the Engaged language Policy and the Critical ethnography approaches as possibilities for going beyond in research and practice with focus on the interaction between top-down and bottom-up dimensions of programs like PSL. These perspectives claim that all the social actors involved exercise agency in making the policy, and therefore, do not just "implement" it.

ENGAGED LANGUAGE POLICY AND THE CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHY APPROACH AS LENSES TO LANGUAGE POLICY RESEARCH AND PRACTICE

Communities collectively build norms and values around their language use through social practices. Such representations are defined as language ideologies, which have been analyzed of major influence - explicitly and implicitly – in the creation of language policies (Darquennes, 2013, Silverstein, 1979; Woolard, 1998). Despite the powerful intricate nature of language ideologies, educators are social actors who are able to interpret, negotiate, resist, reinforce or adapt the policies principles for the improvement of their local practices (Ball, 1994; Shohamy, 2006; Passoni, 2018). Focusing on such movements is significant for our approach to language policies because, especially regarding the pervasive essence of English language in the contemporary world, some ideologies should be challenged in order to "meet local language, education, economic, and human welfare needs" (Phyak; Davis, 2015, p. 146).

The hegemony which sustains/is sustained by English language in the academic and economic fields is underpinned by neoliberal principles. Neoliberalism, conceived both as an ideology and a political-economy doctrine, incorporates the different aspects and experiences of human life into the economic sphere, so that the market can regulate them, according to its pressures (Filgueiras, 2006; Passoni, 2018). In this context, the internationalization of higher education emerges based on the premise of insufficiency and deficit of the universities from the global south. Therefore, internationalizing universities seems to be a lucrative answer to address the demands posed by globalization, having skills in English language among them (Martinez, 2017).

Posing English as the "global and neutral" means of communication in this scenario intertwines with positive assumptions of competitiveness and subjects' accountability in a system which commodifies social disparity   (Rizvi; Lingard, 2010; Piller; Cho; 2013; Phyak; Davis, 2015; Passoni, 2018). In the enactment of PSL, we can identify tensions regarding languages experienced by higher education in Latin America as a whole, such as the ones imposed by the global appeal for English. Thus, research and practice approaches which create room for more democratic and situated enactment of LP are in dire need.

After presenting what has been done in the context of PSL in terms of implementation and investigation, we would like to discuss two frameworks which might help us to enhance our understanding and possibilities for action in language policies. Engaged language Policy (ELP) and Critical Ethnography Approach (CEA) highlight the power relations between the different actors engaged in policy processes and take into account the need of negotiation and co-constructing that might happen in the interplay within local communities affected by LP and institutional constraints. Both perspectives share the focus on "concrete empirical research" (Wodak; Savski, 2018, p. 1) which goes beyond merely observation and "reporting findings towards portraying dialogic processes that are always in a state of evolving and shifting meanings" (Davis; Phyak, 2015, p. 148). ELP can help us to move forward into a critical perspective for LP and allows us to explore the intersection between macro, meso and micro levels of policies development. Drawing on theories and methods to inform and transform (Tollefson, 2013; Davis; Phyak, 2015), ELP is described as "a conceptual and dialogic approach grounded in critical theory and informed by political activism" (Davis, 2014, p.83), ELP aims to change the top-down movement that policy-making processes tend to follow, local experiences must acknowledge the complex interaction of ideologies and institutional practices (Passoni, 2018). From our perspective, this might be done when all the social actors

take by themselves the role of policy makers and are able to perform a level of activism towards the constraints of the policy in the macro level. This approach brings us possibilities of subverting language ideologies engendered in and reinforced by the official discourse and have the potential to help us go beyond to the attempts of subvert ideologies, as the ones reported in this chapter.

To involve those directly impacted by the LP, the methodology brought by ELP proposes strategies to engage the local community, such as teachers, students and families in collaboration with language educators in "ideological analyses and dialogic problem-solving" activities aiming at "greater equity, social justice, and human well-being" (Davis; Phyak, 2015, p. 148). We can take Phyak's "Critical Villagers Project", developed in 2010 in Nepal as an example of ELP implementation. The dependence of foreign financial aid has led the country to favor English as a global language and Nepali as the national language, abandoning indigenous languages together with local culture and values (Davis; Phyak, 2015).

In order to explore and improve indigenous peoples and rural villagers critical awareness around the language issues, such as the risk of local languages dying, Phyak promoted the interaction between the indigenous youth and the village elders through a series of workshops and discussions. Despite Nepalese educational system mother-tongue-based-multilingual policy (MTB-MLE), the monolingual ideology has resulted in lack of community's engagement, therefore Phyak's initiative seems to be promising in a long term, as it aims at developing "local means for addressing education inequality" (Davis; Phyak, 2015, p. 153).

Integrating critical discourse analysis and critical ethnography, the CEA encourages more than merely observing the field and documenting practices, but also to seek to demystify and challenge power imbalances, to critique those in power and at the same time to engage in a dialogue with the Other (Wodak; Savski, 2018). The approach assumes that "discursive and ethnographic approaches foreground the particular characteristics of the contexts where language policies are created, paying particular attention to the mechanisms with which they are applied and upheld, and to the range of effects they might have on the language practices of different actors" (Wodak; Savski, 2018).

CEA is defined as a multi-method approach which essentially draws on extensive critical ethnography and qualitative discourse analysis, combining non-linear triangular methods for data gathering. Research on multilingualism in the context of the European Union for more than twenty years provides a framework of three stages: (a) in-depth pre-fieldwork contextualization of the object of research;(b) ethnographic observations of the contexts under study; (c) in-depth qualitative analysis of meetings (Wodak; Savski, 2018, p. 7).

Language policy research on PSL can, therefore, benefit from these two approaches in the future by engaging more than just the language teachers and coordinators, by reaching out to professors and students and developing understandings with them, uncovering their ideologies as well as the researcher's, and making them part of the analytical lenses. After all, power inhabits hierarchical relationships such as the ones involved in internationalization processes and languages play a crucial role in maintaining or resisting them.

FINAL THOUGHTS

In this chapter, we focused on how ideological motivations identified in the first phase of PSL are manifested in its second phase. By analyzing the actions proposed, we came to the conclusion that the ideologies identified in the first phase are reinforced in the second

phase. The way the partnerships are conceived reinforce the idea that we need a) "the native speakers" expertise in order to implement language policies; b) their didactic materials (even though they demonstrate a structural view of language) and c) mobility programs to go abroad, to study English, to "copy" their techniques and to develop professionally. The issue with this view is that the foreigner is represented as being the one who has the expertise and that Brazilian teachers need this "training", that is, reinforcing a view of Education that the field of Applied Linguistics and Education have been trying to challenge: the idea that we learn in our communities of practice, that learning is a life-long journey and that non-native speakers are legitimate teachers. This view culminates not only in the representation that stakeholders of the program are passive and do not have the expertise but also in an apparent consensus in accepting a top down approach for public policies.

The context of practice, however, showed attempts to subvert some of ideologies. We display that these attempts impact solely the micro-level. The micro-level is where policy matters, but if the majority of the social actors involved do not recognize their role as activists and the responsible ones for the policy, they generally reinforce the constraints and ideologies naturalized in the macro-level. Impacting the macro-level of the policy is also a way to have impact in the micro-level, as texts have the power to maintain or subvert the status quo and naturalized ideologies. Our experience and research on policies in Brazil have shown that the social actors – teachers and coordinators – have dealt with some of these ideologies through the adaptation and production of their own materials that took into account a different perspective, but these initiatives have shown little impact to the macro level of the policy. We then presented two theoretical frameworks that might help us to go beyond the practices we have been having in such language policy and that might be helpful to move us towards a critical perspective: engaged language policy and critical ethnographic approaches. We believe they inform investigations on how language policies can be reframed to contribute to more meaningful, autonomous and consistent set of practices aligned with institutional parameters for language teaching in a critical perspective (El Kadri; Gimenez; El Kadri, 2020).

As the program enters its third phase, we hope our reflections will contribute to deeper reflections on its role in developing empowered communities of practice.

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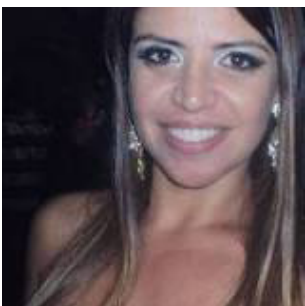
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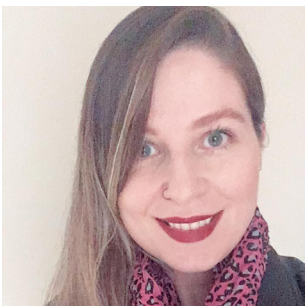
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