Maximizing Colombia's Linguistic Capital
with the Knowledge of
Linguistic Imperialism and Linguistic Human Rights

Universidad Icesi

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Contents

1. Background

The topic chosen for this report is important because there seems to be a lack of awareness and discourse about the loss of linguistic capital in Colombia. Colombia is a country that is naturally rich in diversity, not only in terms of culture and ecology, but also linguistically. As a result of Spanish colonization and Castellano hegemony, this diversity has historically been greatly impacted and minimized. After the new Colombian constitution of 1991, a positive change occurred because the constitution now recognized that Colombia was a multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic country where indigenous languages also played a significant role as co-official languages. Ironically, despite of greater recognition, indigenous languages have continued on the path to their demise. According to ethnologue.com, Colombia has had 88 languages and of those 3 are extinct and 80 of the remaining 85 are indigenous languages. Of the 80 indigenous languages in Colombia, 28 are in trouble in terms of their survival and 15 are dying which means that over half (53.8%) of Colombia's indigenous languages are having real trouble surviving.

Understanding the reasons behind the dying of Colombia's indigenous languages is no simple matter. Despite of symbolic recognition in the constitution, Colombia's indigenous languages continue to grow weaker because indigenous peoples suffer a great deal due to poverty and discrimination and because they continue to deal with colonization systems, cultural uprooting from displacement and environmental deterioration (Rusinque, 2019). Colombia's indigenous peoples hold little political power and as a result, there is very little respect for their linguistic human rights and the government, despite of its statements to the otherwise, does not seem to see indigenous languages as a heritage of the country or a world heritage. Ironically, as indigenous languages continue to do worst and worst, the English language in Colombia has grown by leaps and bounds after penetrating the Colombian educational system and eventually dominating in terms of government support over all other indigenous and foreign languages.

Because Colombia's LPP (language policy and planning) seems to be contributing to the demise of the country's co-official languages while dramatically contributing to the growth and expansion of a foreign language (English), the author of this report believes that in order to maximize linguistic capital in Colombia it is important to learn critical lessons from the concepts of linguistic imperialism and linguistic human rights. The loss of linguistic capital in Colombia is not only in terms of indigenous languages but also in terms of foreign languages that are

offered less and less by educational institutions due to Colombia's prioritization of the English language. The death of local indigenous languages means the loss of a Colombian and world heritage that can never again be retrieved and the loss of foreign languages (due to language displacement or non-learning) is not good for the country because it leads to a loss in intercultural skills and a decrease in economic possibilities worldwide.

2. Research Question and Objectives

As a result of the Colombian linguistic capital dynamics described above, this master's report looks to define a specific research question which is specified in the next paragraph.

What are the lessons that linguistic imperialism and linguistic human rights can give to Colombia to maximize Colombian linguistic capital by mitigating its current losses and creating the conditions for future growth?

The lessons that linguistic imperialism and linguistic human rights (LHRs) can give to Colombia to maximize Colombian linguistic capital are plenty. Linguistic imperialism's lessons are related to understanding the role of Colombian foreign and domestic groups in promoting, creating or maintaining linguistic imperialism. The lessons that LHRs give are related to the critical role of institutions in the supply and demand of LHRs.

General Objectives

- To gather the most important lessons from linguistic imperialism and linguistic human rights so as to minimize the current loss of linguistic capital and encourage future linguistic capital growth in Colombia.

Specific Objectives

- Identify Colombian government publications, worldwide academic articles and non-government publications primarily in the last 10 years about linguistic imperialism and linguistic human rights.
- Distinguish the most important concepts that can be used as lessons to minimize the loss of linguistic capital and create the conditions for future linguistic capital growth.

- Pinpoint those concepts that can be used as lessons to minimize the current loss of linguistic capital while encouraging future linguistic capital growth in Colombia.

3. Methodology

Given that the general objective of the research study is to gather the most important lessons from linguistic imperialism and linguistic human rights so as to maximize linguistic capital in Colombia, the chosen research methodology will be in the area of sociolinguistics which is about the study of language within society and how social factors create differences in languages and language use. Sociolinguistics involves micro and macro level domains and also considers individual, cultural, and sociopolitical factors (Vance, 2017).   One sociolinguistic issue that is highly relevant in English language studies is that of globalization and the growth of English worldwide (Blommaert, 2012).   English has spread and has begun to dominate other languages which has led to the development of concepts such as linguistic imperialism and linguistic human rights so as to effectively counteract any hegemonic effects that may develop.

The methodology will be centered around qualitative research because the research will not be focused on statistical procedures (Mackey & Gass, 2005) and will primarily utilize the instrument of document analysis. The focus will be primary and secondary sources of Colombian government publications and worldwide academic articles and non-government publications primarily in the last 10 years. By doing so, the specific objectives of the study (the development of lessons from linguistic imperialism and linguistic human rights to maximize linguistic capital in Colombia) will be realized.

The procedure/method that the author of this report will follow to organize and analyze the data will be to first search in library databases for academic articles related to the three central themes of linguistic imperialism, linguistic human rights and linguistic capital. After that, the author will look for additional documents from government and non-government organizations and will classify the different readings according to the three central themes. The author will analyze the relevance of readings related to the main research question while considering the author's own biases and the agenda and background of the document authors (O'Leary, 2014). Finally, the

author will obtain the main lessons from the central themes and will apply these findings so as to answer the main research question.

4. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework will give an introduction of the most relevant concepts (linguistic imperialism, linguistic human rights and linguistic capital) from relevant authors while discussing the history of the development of the concepts. After evaluation of the various perspectives, specific authors will be selected in order to effectively answer the research question.

In order to accomplish the above, the theoretical framework will be divided into three main sections: a) Linguistic Imperialism: The Empire of the Mind, b) Linguistic Human Rights: Living a Dignified Life and c) Linguistic Capital: Competitive Advantage in an Information Age. Each of the main sections, will be divided into subareas for a more detailed analysis.

Linguistic Imperialism: The Empire of the Mind

Defining linguistic imperialism

The ideas behind linguistic imperialism were debated by various scholars in the 1970s and 1980s because there was a belief that the standing of English in the world was something that was not coincidental. In 1992, Phillipson wrote a book that formally gave a name to the concept and this helped to feed the academic discussion about it (González Fernández, 2005). In his book, Phillipson states that linguistic imperialism is a form of linguicism in which a powerful group dominates and discriminates against another on the basis of language and where the dominant side is favored in terms of power, resources, beliefs and attitudes (Phillipson R. , 1992). Another key concept in his book is similar to Kachru's (1981) idea of the inner, outer and expanding circles and is focused on Galtung's theory of a world that has a dominant Centre (the powerful western countries and interests) and non-dominant Peripheries (the underdeveloped countries).

Phillipson's ground-breaking book continues to be relevant today and four of his key concepts about linguistic imperialism are nicely summarized in an article by Barrantes-Montero (2018). The first key concept has to do with the fact that English is no longer imposed by force (as in

colonial times) but through language policies that are determined by the state of the market (demand) and by arguments that equate English with progress and prosperity. The second key concept questions the belief of seeing Anglo-American monolingualism as a condition for modernization (and seeing language multiplicity as a nuisance) because this leads to various negative dynamics such as discrimination to immigrants, racism, the English-only standard and forcing people to linguistic and cultural assimilation. The third key point has to do with the use of terminology to create an ideological load that puts center countries in a position of superiority and periphery countries in a position of inferiority and this contributes to the internalization of center values and points of views by periphery scholars leading to their cooperation and assistance in the plans of core-English countries. The fourth key point is related to ELT and explains how scientific and educational imperialism ensured the accumulation of expertise and theory building in the center all the while extracting ideas from the periphery in the same way that raw materials are extracted from there.

Linguistic imperialism is one way of looking at the linguistic state of the world but there are other competing views. An alternate view is that posed by academics such as Crystal (2003) who believes that although the initial spread of English was due to colonialism and military might, its current establishment and maintenance is more related to economic power and the role of science and technology. English was at the right place and at the right time and as a result, it became a global language that has the added benefit of helping world bodies to cut down on the burdensome amount of interpretation, translation and clerical work required. The establishment of English has little to do with power relations but is due to the functional role of English in helping nations to achieve goals such as having a voice in world affairs and leveraging multilingualism to attract trade markets. English is the key to empower the subjugated and marginalized and it achieves this by lessening the gap between the "haves" and the "have nots."

Linguistic imperialism was criticized by various scholars and this has led to various responses back and forth between them and Phillipson. In a review article about Phillipson's book, Davies (1996) argued that linguistic imperialism is inhabited by a belief in post-colonial English as a conspiracy (a belief also held by Spolsky (2004)) and by a culture of guilt from colonization and by a romantic despair that asserts that what is being done should not be done. Phillipson (1997) responded to Davies's criticisms and Davies responded back by pointing out that unlike

Phillipson's linguistic imperialism, he believed that 1) language was non-essential (like culture and religion), 2) decisions are made by individuals and not typically imposed externally and 3) the dominated have not been persuaded to adopt English against their better interests and that this argument is non-falsifiable and patronizes developing countries as being uncapable of making decisions. Crystal (2003) believed that the linguistic imperialism position is naïve because English developed into a functional role disassociated from power relations and because globalization, and not English, has been the primary force in undermining global language diversity.

Linguistic imperialism can be criticized on the basis that it attributes the popularity and international use of English to hegemonic forces as opposed to the fact that there is something special and alluring about the English language. Marr (2019) claims that the English language is indeed special and different when compared to other languages, perhaps not in structure, lexis or supposed expressiveness, but in its reach and visibility. As proof of the popularity of the English language, Marr gives an example of a South American university where English was nearly ten times as popular as the language with the second highest demand and it made up 76.3% of the total of the foreign language. Although this may be a common case in many universities worldwide, the problem with this type of argument is that it is general in nature and does not look at the specific context behind the numbers. In the case of Colombia, the popularity of the English language in university studies is not due to the allure of English but it is due to the fact that the Ministry of Education has defined bilingualism (with the help of the British Council) as being English and Spanish and as a result, if one wants to take the national Saber Pro tests (which are a requirement to graduate from university), one must take the English section of the test. Students are pressured to study English because in addition to scholarships and recognition for those students who place well in the test, universities and businesses will consider the results when doing their recruitment for programs and jobs (OESE, 2019). Because the Saber Pro test does not have an option of another foreign language, English is indeed imposed on students and as will be shown later on, the reasons for this imposition are indeed related to linguistic imperialism.

Despite all the early criticism, the linguistic imperialism concept has remained strong over the years thanks to the support and continuous contributions of various prominent scholars in the

field such as Canagarajah, Pennycook, Skutnabb-Kangas and others. Canagarajah (1999) published a highly influential book where he continued the discussion of linguistic imperialism in the context of the global ELT enterprise in periphery community classrooms and this helped to inspire a lot of the academic discussion about English varieties and the classroom teaching context that exists today. Early on, Pennycook (1995) discussed a subtler form of imperialism to that of Phillipson's that was centered around specific discourses dictated by the West and written in English and he has continued to write about a wide variety of related topics.   Skutnabb-Kangas has worked extensively with Phillipson and she has influenced him a great deal with the ideas of linguicism and linguistic genocide and by helping him to integrate into his theories the perspective of those dominated (females, immigrants and mother tongue as a "small" language) and the dominant (male, dominant and mother tongue as an "expansionist" language) (Phillipson R. , 1992).   Today, the academic discussion of linguistic imperialism is alive and well and two recent series continue the discussion of linguistic imperialism from the perspective of various prominent scholars: English Language as Hydra: Its Impacts on Non-English Language Cultures (published in 2012) and Why English?: Confronting the Hydra (published in 2016).

The effect of linguistic imperialism has been far reaching and one needs to look no further than the impact it had on the decolonial pedagogical perspectives of Latin American intellectuals in the Latin American Modernity/Coloniality Group (M/C Group) that was formed during the first decade of the 2000s. The M/C group explored the ideas of linguistic imperialism from a peripheral view and how it can be viewed from the perspective of non-dominant groups who buy into the linguistic agendas of powerful groups due to a belief in their own relative inferiority (Barrantes-Montero, 2018). The M/C Group believes that linguistic imperialism helps to perpetuate the lack of critical thinking in the part of English teachers (Barrantes-Montero, 2018) and English students (Phillipson R. , 1992) in Latin America. The M/C group expands greatly on the idea of coloniality and how it is a pattern of power that emerged as a byproduct of modern colonialism and that continued to live well past the end of the colonial period. The M/C group believes that coloniality lives in the collective imagination of colonizing and colonized societies and creates relations of superior/dominant and inferior/subjugated which are always present in the different aspects of people's daily life experience. Coloniality is a part of the education system and various other systems and if it is not addressed, it will continue to be transmitted to future generations forever.

The role of foreign groups in promoting, creating or maintaining linguistic imperialism

This section belongs to the chapter called "the empire of the mind" as it makes reference to a new form of colonization that no longer uses physical violence and oppression as its primary tools. Phillipson's definition of linguistic imperialism makes reference to the empire of the mind when it proposes that there is a power relation between dominant and non-dominant groups whereby language policies are not imposed by force (as was the case during colonial times) but via demand (the state of the market). As per Phillipson (2014), documented discussions about the idea of the US and UK collaborating to make English a global language began as early as the 1930s, leading to the development of institutional structures to support this idea in these two inner circle countries from the 1950s onward. In 1943, Former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill stated in a speech in the US that English should be the language of worldwide governance after World War II and that this empire of the mind would have the US and the UK in the driving seat. Starting in 1945, American leadership led to English dominating in a wide variety of fields such as international relations, scientific leadership and popular culture, thanks to the necessary groundwork that was done by think tanks founded by US institutions during World War II and in 1947, US President Truman stated that the survival of the American system depended on it becoming a global system. The statements made by these notorious US and UK leaders, along with the development of supporting institutional structures around the world, help to explain the early beginnings of the empire of the mind and lead this report in the direction of exploring how foreign and domestic groups in a specific country play a role in supporting inner circle English hegemonic and linguistic imperialism discourses.

Foreign groups can play a key role in promoting, creating or maintaining linguistic imperialism in a given country. According to Phillipson (2016), in order to contribute to linguistic imperialism, it is necessary to contribute to linguicism ideologically (through beliefs, attitudes and imagery that glorifies one language and marginalizes others) as well as structurally (one language receives more investment in terms of resources and infrastructure than others). It is important to consider the role of economic gains since a key characteristic of all forms of imperialism is that they are focused on obtaining power and the financial benefit that comes with that power (Rapatahana, 2012). The first two key external groups that will be discussed in this report are the British Council (BC) and the English Testing Service (ETS) because they are involved in the teaching and/or testing of English with a focus on inner circle cultural norms and

because they have an economic interest in these activities (Phillipson R. , 2012). The third and final group to be considered is native English-speaking teachers (NESTs) who can intentionally or unintentionally help English hegemony and linguistic imperialism, leading to the marginalization of local languages or other foreign languages.

The British Council

The British Council (BC) was created in 1934 and they opened their first overseas office in 1939 (British Council, 2019). The BC considers itself to be one of the oldest organizations in the area of cultural relations in the world and they were created at a time of great instability due to the global financial depression which reduced Britain's overall influence around the world (British Council, 2019). Interestingly, the BC mentions that at the time they were created, there were extreme ideologies that were becoming stronger due to Communism in Russia and Fascism in Western Europe, so this would imply that the BC was a response by the UK to these forces. Phillipson (2008) however states that this response was actually due to the success of the fascist governments of Italy and Germany in advancing their interests through language education and post-secondary scholarships so the BC's existence was all about promoting the UK's interests first and foremost. Proof of this can be seen in the BC's first mission statement which had to do with creating an understanding of UK people, philosophy and way of life in overseas countries so as to develop a sympathetic appreciation of British foreign policy (it is important to note the lack of regard for the benefits that the overseas countries would get from this arrangement and the lack of a clear mutually beneficial relationship). A subsequent version of the BC's mission which has been in place since the 1940s maintains its early focus on providing knowledge about the UK abroad but strategically added a focus on promoting the English language and closer cultural relations.

The BC has been criticized for some of the inner circle standard English perspectives that it has held around the world. Phillipson (2008) states that in an early 1960s BC Annual Report, the BC believed that teaching standard British English to the world would be a similar process to that which America faced when they established English as a national language with its immigrant population (which leads to the idea of a powerful group using its power to create monolingualism in a population with a mother tongue different from English). In a BC

advertisement from the early 1990s, English is marketed for purposes aimed at altruism and English skills are connected to the processes of not just reconstruction, but the process of transitioning to democracy. According to Phillipson (2014), the BC has helped to push the ideas of Global English as a commonly acquired language around the world and as a basic skill and necessity for all without providing much evidence to support it. BC staff has stated that in places like India, English should be the language of school, work and home life, which goes against the principles of social justice and language equality. Another controversial area for the BC has been its perspectives around the European Union (EU) where it has stated that linguistic diversity in the EU is a serious problem preventing integration and development or when it has stated that English needs to be the EU's sole official language despite of the existence of 23 official languages and 27 member states. When linguistic diversity is seen as a problem and English as the solution, it is no wonder that in so many countries where English penetrates, English continues to get stronger while other native languages continue to get weaker or die.

The BC has also been criticized by academics like Phillipson (2012) who believe that the true purpose behind the BC's pro-English activities are economic, given that two-thirds of the BC's income is derived from English teaching and testing. As a result, the BC will not do what some believe is best for the local population of a country in terms of supporting non-native English-speaking teachers (NNESTs), or, as in the case of Sri Lanka, supporting non-standard varieties of English because this would hurt its bottom line (Parakrama, 2012). The BC has historically strongly supported the use of UK native English-speaking teachers (NESTs) in places such as Hong Kong despite of a high turnover rate by these teachers and problems with the marginalization of local NNETs (Chen Eoyang, Bunce, & Rapatahana, 2012). The BC and Fulbright have programs that allow universities all over the world to hire NEST Assistants and they only allow UK and US citizens to apply which means that they are perpetuating the ideas of native speakerism where inner circle countries are those who best represent the English language (Khan, 2019). By focusing on inner circle countries where there is a high percentage of white NESTs, the British Council and Fulbright are responsible for upholding hegemonic standards of what an "ideal" American and British English speaker is. Phillipson (2016) believes that perhaps the greatest criticism of the BC is that it has undertaken language education studies all around the world and its senior staff is aware of the importance of early mother tongue language education but despite of this, it promotes standard English around the world without any reservation.

Last but not least, the BC has received criticism for its role in the IELTS (International English Language Testing System) which it jointly administers with IDP (International Development Program of Australian Universities) and Cambridge Assessment English. According to Pearson (2019), the globalization of English has led to a greater need for English language proficiency internationally and as a result, the BC and its other co-owners of IELTS have developed tremendous power that can impact millions of people around the world. In some ways, the IELTS has become hegemonic in its worldwide impact and influence which is quite ironic because when the BC developed the test in partnership with the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES) in 1980, it went against the hegemonic structuralist philosophies of the time by providing a test that was more communicative and that integrated more authentic, relevant and real-life communication. Pearson argues that the IELTS is now being used in areas such as employment and migration (instead of its traditional use in higher education), areas for which there is little proof that it is well suited for and that it suffers from problems common to many international English language tests. One problem is the teaching of inner circle linguistic and cultural norms which according to theorist Joseph S. Nye is a form of soft power by which one can influence cultural and linguistic dominance over others (Yeonhee & Gon, 2012)). The second problem is the washback effect whereby the focus of test-takers is on passing the proficiency test and not true English proficiency. Pearson criticizes the IELTS co-owners in that they do a poor job in considering the interests of test-takers and recommends that they must do a better job in the areas of democratization, humanization and the provision of formative feedback so as to avoid disadvantaging those students who lack the financial resources to pay for the high direct costs of the test (preparation and the actual test) and indirect costs (related to travel, accommodation and others).

In Colombia, the BC helped the Ministry of Education to implement the National Bilingual Program since 2004 with the goal of making students bilingual in both English and Spanish by the year 2019. The British Council was able to secure this position primarily by starting to work with the Colombian government on a project called The COFE Project (Colombian Framework for English) in 1991 which led to its critical role in the National Bilingual Program. The partnership has faced great criticism when it comes to three key areas: the definition of bilingualism as English and Spanish, the use of the CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference) and the lack of regard of local knowledge and expertise in informing policy (de

Mejía, 2011). Additional criticism was levied at the British Council for a publication called "Basic standards for competences in foreign languages: English. Teach in foreign languages: The challenge!" as it was the agency responsible for its coordination (more information about the publication can be found in the Colombian government section). Although the BC most likely had an influence in all of the areas above, it is the Colombian government that must ultimately take the majority of the brunt of the criticism given that it had the power to make (or not make) final decisions related to these matters. Nevertheless, it is important to say that in areas such as the decision to choose the CEFR, it was the BC that benefited the most as it was able to take a dominant role in areas such as the use of the Teaching Knowledge Test (TKT) and the implementation of the ICELT model of professional development (de Mejía, 2011). The use of the TKT for current and future teachers has been criticized because of its foreign discourses, non-flexible answers, colonial views about ELT and grammar focus which means that it is not a true reflection of the level of English of teachers (the test does not measure what Colombian English teachers really know) (González-Moncada, 2007). The ICELT has been criticized because it is a top down model in which teachers lack the ability to make their voice heard or to teach in a reflective way which allows for their own professional development (González-Moncada, 2007).

The English Testing Service (ETS)
ETS was founded in 1947 and it is involved in the development, administration and scoring of more than 50 million assessment tests per year in over 180 countries with over 9,000 locations around the world. Given the incredible amount of business that ETS does worldwide, it is no surprise that it has over 2,500 employees and 11 offices around the world. ETS's mission is centered around the idea of advancing quality and equity in education and it seeks to provide fair and valid assessments as well as research and complementary services. ETS offers a wide variety of tests, including the world famous TOEFL test which is used by international students who would like to study in an American or Canadian university (although the test can be used to enter certain UK universities as well) and the TOEIC which is used as a professional certification for work purposes. ETS has an extensive variety of products and services to help prepare students for their various tests and for the TOEFL, it offers the TOEFL Practice Online and the TOEFL Search Service (ETS, 2019).

According to Yeonhee Yoo and Gon Namkung (2012), the original motivation for English tests for foreign students arose due to a major loophole in the US Immigrant Act of 1924 which permitted the granting of study visas to international students who wanted to study in the United States. Because many of the international students who studied in the US lacked the necessary proficiency in English, the College Entrance Examination Board (CEEB) was asked to prepare an English test that would help determine which international students should be allowed at American collegiate institutions. The use of the English Competence Test developed in 1930 stopped in 1933 due to a lack of international students as a result of the Great Depression and interest in a new English test began after World War II when the CEEB was approached by the US Department of State so as to develop a new test that would assess the English proficiency of international students wanting entrance to American post-secondary institutions. A new test started to be developed but due to issues related to administration and poor cooperation between CEEB and the Department of State, responsibility for the new test was transferred to the relatively new ETS organization. The National Council on the Testing of English eventually gave control of the TOEFL to the CEEB and ETS, with ETS eventually becoming the sole owner of the test and eventually expanding the use of the TOEFL beyond its initial academic focus into areas related to employment and other areas. In 2008, the TOEFL was modified so as to have a broader base of accents (Yeonhee & Gon, 2012) and in 2019, several changes were made to improve the test which included shortening the test by 30 minutes to 3 hours and allowing the combination of test takers' best scores from different sections of the test from the previous two years (ETS, ETS Press Releases, 2019) .

According to Im and Cheng (2019), ETS developed the TOEIC LR (Listening and Reading) in 1979 in order to evaluate the English receptive skills of actual and potential employees in international business contexts. In 2006, ETS made changes by revising the TOEIC LR and by introducing the TOEIC SW (Speaking and Writing) in order to test English productive skills and to address the issue that some test takers who scored well in the TOEIC LR actually lacked speaking and writing skills. In 2018, ETS announced additional changes to the TOEIC LR test so as to reflect current language use and more colloquial everyday situations. Like the TOEFL, the use of the TOEIC has expanded beyond its initial corporate employment focus into academia as it is used by universities as an entrance examination requirement. The TOEIC is also used in the job description requirements of major multinational corporations in Europe and Asia and

there are specific test score requirements for different job categories which shows that the TOEIC can disadvantage those employees who may have the necessary job ability and experience but not the necessary English level that companies require.

ETS has been criticized for some of the inner circle standard English perspectives that it has held in the design of the TOEFL test in particular. The globalization of English has led to a greater need for English language proficiency internationally (Pearson, 2019) and this means that ETS has tremendous power over the lives of millions of people around the world. Just as Pearson argues that the IELTS is used in areas outside of its original scope that it may not be well suited for, the same argument can be made about the TOEFL and TOEIC as they are both used in areas outside their original design. One of the key criticisms aimed at the TOEFL is that it teaches American inner circle linguistic and cultural norms (which is a form of soft power by which one can influence cultural and linguistic dominance over others (Yeonhee & Gon, 2012) and the washback effect whereby test-taker focus is on passing the test and not true English proficiency. This means that in the Colombian context, those students who have the financial resources to visit or live in the US and those who have been Americanized as a result of ETS preparation in the areas of content, pronunciation and learning materials will have an advantage over those students who do not. In fact, Yeonhee and Gon argue that the washback effect contributes to the low English proficiency of students in places where English is a foreign language (such as Colombia) because students do not use English in their everyday lives so the washback effect contributes to the lack of true communicative competency due to a focus on grades.

Native English-Speaking Teachers (NESTs)
As mentioned in the Colombian government section later in this report, English education in Colombia became stronger after WWII and in the late 1970s. With the passing of the General Education Law of 1994, foreign languages were to be taught not only in secondary schools but also in primary schools (most institutions chose to teach English). In 2004, the National Bilingual Program (NBP) was initiated by the Colombian Ministry of Education and it came at a time when Global English (which is connected to globalization and neoliberalism) led to a boom in English products and services (Phillipson R. , 2014) which in turn led to increased demand for English teachers in Colombia. NNESTs (non-native English-speaking teachers) and NESTs now

have a greater role in Colombian English language education thanks to the Colombian government's increased funding and prioritization of English education. Despite of the fact that NNESTs have some tremendous advantages over NESTs, the fact remains that NESTs have always been viewed as the preferred choice for teaching English in Colombia and as a result are privileged with greater pay and better working conditions than NNESTs (Guerrero C. H., 2010) and with a higher professional status and this mentality has not only survived over time, but it has in fact grown stronger as a result of English hegemony in Colombia.

A negative phenomenon that sometimes occurs with NESTs is native-speakerism which according to Medina (2017) is when NESTs are idealized in a positive way and privileged while NNESTs are given negative labels and marginalized. Native-speakerism is based on the idea that the best English teachers are those born in inner circle environments (specially the US and the UK) and that as a result, inner circle individuals have advantages in pronunciation (which according to Murphy (2014) is irrelevant as long as intelligibility and comprehensibility is present) and cultural knowledge (which according to Crystal (2014) is a fallacy because no one really fully understands the culture of one's own country and no one can claim to fully understand all the different types of cultures from English speaking cultures). One of the major problems with native speakerism is the idea that an inner circle individual can simply just teach English with minimal or no preparation which can lead to a poor quality of teaching. One of the often-cited advantages that NESTs have over NNESTs is that their English is not accented but this is of course not true because English speakers from inner circle countries such as the US, Canada, Britain and Australia speak with a wide variety of accents. NNEST accents are perceived as a disadvantage in teaching the English language and this is false because accents are not an issue unless they impact intelligibility. In terms of actual knowledge of the English language, NNESTs may be more skilled at teaching English because they have had to learn it from scratch and they may be better able to explain the minutiae of the language when compared with NESTs who learned English via natural acquisition.

The sources of Native speakerism can be foreign or domestic. External sources are organizations such as the British Council and Fulbright who prioritize the hiring of white UK and US NEST Assistants all over the world and perpetuate the idea that inner circle countries are those who best represent the English language (Khan, 2019). According to Marr (2019), domestic sources are

composed of a wide variety of ELT stakeholders such as managers at language centers, educators, administrators, policymakers in government, students and their parents. Members of these groups may think that NESTs are qualified because they believe that teaching English is not a real academic discipline and because the teaching of languages does not involve content which means that any member of the inner circle is capable of teaching English. Foreign students are believed to prefer NESTs in general but current research is showing that student preferences and attitudes are not so clear cut and that they can be complex, ambivalent, and even contradictory (Subtirelu, 2013). Although the hegemonic idea that a NEST with virtually no teaching experience can teach English marginalizes NNESTs, the fact is that it really works against both NESTs and NNESTs by minimizing the knowledge and skills of the English teaching profession as a whole. NESTs and NNESTs must work to dispel the idea that English teaching is a discipline without content (an idea that arises from the blind hegemonic belief that sees NESTs as superior simply from being from the inner circle) and work to position themselves as language experts and professionals. In the academic field there is an ongoing discussion about the use of the NEST and NNEST terminology because it can contribute to the problematic privileging and marginalization of teachers so there is a movement towards eliminating these terms altogether since ultimately the thing that matters is the experience, knowledge and skills of teachers and not limiting labels.

Native speakerism contributes towards English hegemony and linguistic imperialism but so can the mentality of NESTs themselves given that they are influenced by a wide variety of sources in the countries where they are from. Media coverage of periphery countries in some inner circle and outer circle countries can sometimes be quite negative, as is the case of Colombia in North America where the coverage of Colombia has been quite negative due to the country's history of drug trafficking, crime and violence. Various government websites that give advice about travelling recommend that while in Colombia foreigners must exercise a high degree of caution due to security risks. NESTs are also likely to look at some inner circle research to inform their practice but this can be problematic given that many researchers act as accomplices of hegemonic groups by not acknowledging western terrorism (Phillipson R. , 2014) and given that some Western research is biased towards inner circle interests (Phillipson R. , 2012). Additionally, Western academic linguistic standards and norms can lead to prejudice and can lead to double discrimination, such as in the case of students getting penalized for not following

the English standard which leads to a devaluing of their ideas and their critical thinking (Parakrama, 2012). As a result, NESTs may come to Colombia with a negative view of the country and they may perceive themselves as coming from a superior culture and therefore they may feel a duty to "enlighten" or educate students by teaching them about inner circle culture.

The mindset of some NESTs can promote English hegemony and linguistic imperialism but it is in their actions as English teachers where they can truly advance inner circle hegemonic interests. One action that fuels linguistic imperialism is the repetition of many of the unproven discourses about English which include that 1) learning English is in everyone's best interest (Phillipson R. , 2014), 2) English invariably leads to economic prosperity (Skutnabb-Kangas T. , 2016) and 3) only English allows knowledge access (Guerrero C. H., 2010). A second way is to blindly follow the influence of hegemonic forces in ELT in the development of curricular plans, materials design, teaching methods, standardized tests, and teacher preparation to maintain inner circle dominance (Kumaravadivelu, 2016). When teaching in the classroom, NESTs may choose not to do things that are recommended such as focusing on local needs and experiences (Savignon, 2007) as well as intelligibility and comprehension (Murphy, 2014) which can lead them to push an unneeded native English standard on students. NESTs may choose to remain monolingual and not to learn the students' mother tongue (and local culture) and this would be a mistake as it keeps them from getting a greater understanding of how language learning works (Marr & English, 2019) and also because it negates the use of all available linguistic resources in the classroom which leads to less student learning and greater monolingual domination (Anderson, 2018). NESTs may choose to focus heavily on correction and penalize standard English mistakes which is not only discouraging but often leads to a devaluing of the ideas that the students try to express and this can lead to less creativity and authenticity in the classroom (Parakrama, 2012).

When developing materials, NESTs can choose to contribute towards linguistic imperialism by not working with local teachers or experts so as to ignore the local needs and experiences of the students in the classroom which is quite important (Savignon, 2007). By choosing to teach from English textbooks from the inner circle, NESTs can help to propagate inner circle norms and values as well as center methods (Kumaravadivelu, 2016) which can be hegemonic. NESTs can choose to only teach inner circle culture in the classroom as opposed to focusing on the entire

English-speaking world (Crystal, 2014) which is hegemonic and truly the easiest path given that most NESTs are only truly knowledgeable about the culture they come from. Also, by not critically thinking about which aspects of English culture one should teach, a teacher avoids the complexity of the great variety of different perspectives that a culture may have (Kramsch C. , 1993). Linguistic imperialism can also be expressed by focusing on the often-stereotypical versions that are taught in "big c" culture which are the highly visible and most common aspects of a culture as opposed to "small c" culture which are the less visible and less common aspects of a culture which can give a deeper perspectives of the culture in question (Kramsch C. , 2013) as opposed to the often stereotypical perspectives of "big c" culture.

The role of domestic groups in promoting, creating or maintaining linguistic imperialism

Internal groups can play a key role in promoting, creating or maintaining linguistic imperialism in a given country. According to Phillipson (2016), in order to contribute to linguistic imperialism, it is necessary to contribute to linguicism ideologically (through beliefs, attitudes and imagery that glorifies one language and marginalizes others) as well as structurally (one language receives more investment in terms of resources and infrastructure than others). It is important to consider the role of economic gains since a key characteristic of all forms of imperialism is that they are focused on obtaining power and the financial benefit that comes with that power (Rapatahana, 2012). Another key aspect that must be considered is that of coloniality since many of the outer and developing countries who have invested the most in English have colonial histories that makes them more susceptible to believing that some languages are powerful or superior and that others are non-powerful or inferior.

The internal groups that will be discussed in this report are 1) the Colombian government's Ministry of Education as it is responsible for LPP (Language Policy and Planning), 2) political and economic elites and 3) non-native English teachers (NNETs) who can intentionally or unintentionally help fuel linguistic imperialism and the subsequent marginalization of other languages.

The Colombian government's Ministry of Education is responsible for the country's LPP (language policy and planning) and as previously mentioned, it developed the National Bilingual Program that started in 2004 in partnership with the British Council (BC) with the goal of making students bilingual in both English and Spanish by the year 2019. According to de Mejía (2011), within the ministry there is a bilingual section that is responsible for the development of education with the goal of helping Colombia's overall competitiveness and innovation (as well as internationalization according to de Mejía (2012)). The bilingual section is responsible for the areas of foreign language education and learning but special emphasis is given to English given that the ministry has defined bilingualism in Colombia as consisting of English and Spanish (de Mejía, 2012). The other area within the ministry is known as *Sección de Poblaciones* and it is responsible for ethnoeducation (also known as intercultural bilingual education in Latin America) which falls under the Education Law of 1994 and recognizes the importance of ensuring that curricula reflect the cultural and linguistic priorities of indigenous communities. The *Sección de Poblaciones* is supposed to have a broader definition of bilingualism than just English and Spanish as it considers minority Amerindian or Creole languages but these indigenous languages are undervalued in society due to their status as non-powerful languages and they are a form of invisible bilingualism that according to de Mejía (1996) is associated with underdevelopment, poverty and backwardness (as cited in de Mejía (2011)). Indigenous languages are also undervalued by governments as demonstrated by the Ministry of Education's bilingualism definition which focuses specifically on Spanish (a powerful domestic language) and English (a powerful foreign language) while ignoring Colombia's indigenous languages and other foreign languages.

The Colombian government's definition of bilingualism as English and Spanish is something that goes against the history of bilingualism in Colombia. De Mejía (2004) states that prior to colonization, Colombia had great diversity in terms of indigenous languages but in the 17th century, an official policy of Castilianization began and wealthy children started attending schools to develop literacy in the dominant colonial language (Castellano). Castellano institutionalization meant that indigenous populations would be forced to learn a foreign language and that they would not receive any government support for the learning or retention of their indigenous mother tongue. Despite of the aforementioned, linguistic diversity was still

present in private schools where children could learn the dominant language of Castellano along with Latin and Greek and wealthy children could learn English and French by studying in Britain or France (de Mejía, 2004). In the 19th and 20th centuries, a revaluing of bilingual education started to take place in Latin America leading to the growth of bilingual schools that catered to powerful foreign languages such as English, French, German and others (a highly visible and socially acceptable form of bilingualism).

De Mejía (2012) states that after WWII, English started to gain greater prominence in Colombia and became the most important foreign language, all thanks to the great political, economic, social and technological power and influence of the United States.   Despite of its dominant role, English had to share the stage with the French language as both languages were taught at the secondary level in Colombian schools. A British Council (BC) report of the late 1980s stated that the Colombian government's lack of LPP in secondary education meant that it was political considerations that presided over educational ones and an example of this was the issuing of a decree after a 1979 visit by the Colombian president to France that made French optional for grades 7 and 8 and mandatory during grades 10 and 11 (while also oddly making English compulsory in grades 6 and 7 optional in grades 8 and 9). In the 1990s, the new Colombian constitution of 1991 came to be and it meant that Colombia officially recognized itself as being a multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic country where indigenous languages also played a significant role as co-official languages. Ironically, official recognition has done little to stop the demise of Colombia's indigenous languages and it is in the same year as the Colombian constitution of 1991 that the BC starts to partner up with the Ministry of Education, leading to the National Bilingual Program of 2004. Ever since then, the domination of English in the Colombian education system has only grown as demonstrated by Colombian Law 1651 Article 8 which gives priority to the promotion of the English language in official educational establishments without damaging the special education arrangements that are guaranteed to indigenous communities (Legis, 2019). The Ministry of Education has faced great criticism due to its promotion of inner circle English hegemony in the National Bilingual Program in the areas of bilingualism definition, rationale for British English selection, English benefit discourses associated with economic profits and knowledge access and preferential orientations towards foreign knowledge, expertise and systems in informing language policy. All of the aforementioned areas of criticism will be discussed in the paragraphs that follow.

The Colombian government has promoted linguistic imperialism due to its definition of bilingualism as Spanish and English. For proof of this, one needs to look no further than the title of one of the key publications that the British Council developed for the Ministry of Education called "Basic standards for competences in foreign languages: English. Teach in foreign languages: English. The challenge!" According to Guerrero (2008), this publication ("Estándares" from here on) clearly defines in its title that English somehow is an important foreign language while excluding other foreign languages and Colombia's indigenous languages (which are not a foreign but local language) from having their own learning and teaching materials. It is important to note that no additional standard handbooks have been developed in any other foreign language which shows that the Ministry of Education sees English as the only foreign language of importance. According to de Mejía (2011), the government's limited view of bilingualism distorts the view of the complexity of interrelationships that exist between languages, cultures and identities in Colombia.

The reasons why British English was selected as the English variety to be taught in Colombia further reinforces the view that the Ministry of Education is guilty of promoting English hegemony and linguistic imperialism. González-Moncada (2007) believes that the government chose British English because of several political and economic agreements and because of its prestigious standing among different English varieties, and this is hegemonic because the government is thereby promoting the idea that only an inner circle country with true ownership of English (Khan, 2019) could develop a curriculum for teaching English at a national level. The idea that British English is the most important English variety is also hegemonic because it rejects the possibility of teaching Englishes from the outer circle or expanding circle, and it even prohibits the development of the "Colombian English" variety in the country (González-Moncada, 2007). By choosing British English, it can be safely assumed that the development of curricular plans, materials design, teaching methods, standardized tests, and teacher preparation will have an inner circle dominant perspective (Kumaravadivelu, 2016) and that the teaching of culture will have a significant focus on British norms and values as opposed to a focus of teaching the wide variety of cultures that exist in the English-speaking world (Crystal, 2014).

The discourses associated with English benefits such as economic improvement and knowledge access can be considered to be hegemonic and contributors towards linguistic imperialism.

According to Guerrero (2010), her critical discourse analysis of the various sections of "Estándares" demonstrates that the government pushed the idea that English is critical to the automatic accessing of unlimited benefits which can be converted into economic profits. Guerrero shows that "Estándares" claims that English is critical in the globalized world and that English will lead to greater work opportunities and therefore a better economic state. This hegemonic perspective is very misleading because it gives people the idea that English is the key to improve one's financial wellbeing while obscuring the reality that there are big differences between public and private education in Colombia and that other qualifications such as social and economic capital are incredibly important when competing for jobs, especially in a globalized world economy. In Colombia, a country where there is a great deal of poverty and inequality, individuals from lower socioeconomic groups may be marginalized and excluded from accessing the jobs, promotions and salary raises of a global economy because they lack the necessary social or economic capital to obtain a visa even if they have the required English level or work qualifications. Colombians from lower socioeconomic strata may face additional barriers to the global economy because of costs related to meeting specific documentations requirements as well as international language testing (direct and indirect costs) and additional costs related to areas such as travel, work clothes, etc. The idea that English and only English is the key to allowing access to knowledge is hegemonic because Spanish is a powerful language that can provide that access as well and because there are plenty of educational programs in Spanish all around the world that are of tremendous academic quality.

The government's preferential orientations towards foreign knowledge, expertise and systems as opposed to local ones in informing language policy contributes to linguistic imperialism and is hegemonic for a wide variety of reasons. De Mejía (2011) states that the government selected the CEFR despite of the critiques of it by various Colombian researchers in terms of its validity in the Colombian context and despite of the various reasonable alternatives that were available at the time. This is troublesome because not only has the government shown a total lack of appreciation for local expertise in the past but because the decision to go with the British Council meant that all of the economic and learning benefits that go with developing an English language teaching and learning policy would go externally as opposed to internally. As a result, the development of local stakeholders is held back despite of the fact that the local community can validly claim that they can construct a more relevant and valid language policy (González-

Moncada, 2007). Although a government's priority should be the development of local stakeholders and local economy, the fact remains that even if the British Council had been selected to assist with English language policy, there were lots of options to collaborate with local stakeholders so that English hegemony could have been mitigated. To prove this, González-Moncada discussed how the 1990's Colombian Framework for English (COFE) project was a highly collaborative effort where the British Council, the Ministry of Education and prominent Colombian universities worked together in a mutually beneficial way.

Political and Economic Elites
Spanish colonial rule in Colombia was founded on an incredibly unequal division of land which has persisted beyond post-colonial times and according to Stone (2019), more than 50% of Colombia's agricultural land is owned by 1% of landowners.   Stone mentions that Colombia is unique among all Latin American countries because it is the only place in which the elites have been able to neutralize and negate political reforms that weakened their control over societal members. Historically, local landowner elites utilized private armies which allowed them to resist the state's effort to centralize control and elites were able to maintain control of great portions of agricultural land. Colombian elite factions (which consisted of Liberals that had more of an economic focus and Conservatives that backed the landowning class) were able to maintain political control in Colombia by manipulating followers from the lower classes to clash with each other in the late 1920s and beyond, which led to a great deal of conflict and fighting. Many citizens in Colombia became tired of the political fighting and there was also a great deal of unrest due to the persisting inequality in land distribution and due to the violent repression of worker rights. The elites lack of desire for land reform and greater equality in land distribution and worker rights was what ultimately led to the beginning of the armed struggle as Liberals who accused conservatives of the assassination of Jorge Eliécer Gaitán (a charismatic and popular Liberal political candidate who accused the elites of manipulating the political system and of resisting real reform) decided to go to war with Conservative vigilantes who often had the backing of Colombia's armed forces.

Stone mentions that Colombia's political and economic elites overlap greatly and they exert a great deal of political power over the country. Political center elites are those that reside in

Bogota and they are the ones who exert the most power in national policy while political periphery elites are those from outside Colombia's capital and their power is more in local policy and affairs. The economic elite can be divided into the traditional landowning elites and those who made their fortunes in the modern industrial-financial sector. Colombian elites were able to maintain political control into the 1980s through the Liberal and Conservative parties but things started to change as neoliberalism arrived in the scene which led to the internationalization of capital flows, market liberalization, the creation of economic blocks and the free mobility of labor. Foreign capital and foreign ways of thinking began to enter the country which provided opportunities for the elites of the country as well as to foreign organizations (Cárdenas-Rivera & Díaz-Chaves, 2011). Neoliberalism and globalization meant that the idea of English as the most important foreign language due to its global nature and economic benefits started to penetrate the consciousness of all Colombians.

With an understanding of the history of Colombian elites and the types that exist, the question becomes: why would the economic and political elites of Colombia promote inner circle hegemony and linguistic imperialism? One reason is that Colombian elites have always viewed powerful Center foreign languages and cultures positively as demonstrated by the fact that even during the Spanish colonial period, the sons and daughters of wealthy elites went to places such as France and England to study French and English (de Mejía, 2012). Colombian wealthy elites are also well known to go abroad to get an university education in a foreign language and culture (where they also learn foreign ways of thinking that they bring back to their home country) and even those who stay in Colombia, like many elites around the world, often have more in common with international interests than those of their home countries (Pupavac 2012 (as cited in Phillipson (2014)). Another reason is that many Colombian elites may also suffer from coloniality which means that although they may be dominant people in the periphery, relative to the center, they may see themselves or their country as inferior and they may see the dominant center as superior and therefore belief in inner circle hegemonic discourses may be more likely to be accepted (Barrantes-Montero, 2018). If Colombia is indeed being colonized mentally by the inner circle hegemonic forces of linguistic imperialism, Colombian elites may be falling into a pattern of collaborative colonialism that has occurred around the world whereby elites from a given society work with the colonizers in order to advance their own interests with little regard for what happens to the rest of society (Chen Eoyang, Bunce, & Rapatahana, 2012). According

to Phillipson (2012), English has traditionally served the interests of post-colonial elites given that English acts as a language that benefits the few while excluding the many. The last and perhaps most important reason why elites may engage in inner circle hegemonic discourses is because there is an economic benefit for elites through their support of key inner circle players in very profitable industries such as that of English education.

There are many ways by which elites can promote linguistic imperialism. One way to do so is when political elites involved in foreign language education partner up with inner circle organizations who promote English hegemony (such as the British Council) while at the same time neglecting the participation of local organizations and local stakeholders in the setting of language policy (see the Colombian government section in this report). Economic elites can promote English hegemony when they make English a requirement for many jobs through the perpetuation of the idea that English will lead to a better economic situation (which according to Skutnabb-Kangas (2016) is totally unproven). Making English a job requirement is a hegemonic action because most jobs in most countries only require a knowledge of the local and regional language in order to be successful (Skutnabb-Kangas T. , 2016) and because in Colombia only a small percentage of jobs truly require bilingual staff (estimated to be about 5% in 2006 according to de Mejía (2011)). An unneeded English job requirement creates English demand by connecting English to economic benefits in an artificial way and this can be harmful to the job prospects of qualified and experienced Colombians from lower socio-economic strata who tend to have lower levels of English in general.

Non-Native English-Speaking Teachers (NNESTs)
As mentioned in the Colombian government section of this report, English education in Colombia became stronger after WWII and in the late 1970s. With the passing of the General Education Law of 1994, foreign languages were to be taught not only in secondary schools but also in primary schools (most institutions chose to teach English). In 2004, the National Bilingual Program (NBP) was initiated by the Colombian Ministry of Education and it came at a time when Global English (which is connected to globalization and neoliberalism) led to a boom in English products and services (Phillipson R. , 2014) which in turn led to increased demand for English teachers in Colombia. NNESTs and NESTs (native English-speaking teachers) now

have a greater role in Colombian English language education thanks to the Colombian government's increased funding and prioritization of English education. Despite of the fact that NNESTs have some tremendous advantages over NESTs, the fact remains that NNESTs have always been viewed as second rate English teachers in their own country (less pay and lower working conditions than NESTs (Guerrero C. H., 2010) as well as a lower professional status) and this mentality has not only survived over time, but it has in fact grown stronger as a result of English hegemony in Colombia.

As previously mentioned in the NEST section of this report, native speakerism means that NESTs are idealized positively and privileged while NNESTs are labeled negatively and marginalized. According to native speakerism, a NEST has advantages in pronunciation and cultural knowledge which means that a NEST is best suited for teaching English (even with minimal education or experience qualifications) and that a NNEST can never be as good as a NEST which is untrue because intelligibility and comprehensibility are more important than having native pronunciation/accent and because it is very hard for anyone, whether native or not, to know about all the different types of English cultures that are around the world (see the NEST section of this report for more details). Ironically, quite often it is the NNEST that is way more skilled at teaching English since they learned it from scratch and they had to learn the minutiae of English when compared to NESTs who acquire the language and are unaware about the issues that EFL students face when learning a second language. It is very important that NESTs and NNESTs fight the hegemonic ideas of native speakerism (any NEST can teach English without qualifications and that teaching English is a discipline without content) as it diminishes the professional standing of the English teaching profession and it keeps teachers from being seen as language experts and professionals (for more details, please see NEST section of this report).

Native speakerism contributes towards linguistic imperialism but so can the mentality of NNESTs themselves given that they are influenced by a wide variety of sources in the countries where they are from. Media coverage of center countries in expanding circle countries can be positive given that these countries in general do not suffer from issues related to high levels of internal crime and violence. Colombians get a lot of American media (most Colombians get programming in both English and Spanish) and NNETs are able to access popular American culture such as movies, television shows, music, news, newspapers, magazines and books

(Yeonhee & Gon, 2012) and as a result, they are likely to have a positive perspective of American culture. NNESTs are likely to be influenced by American culture because of Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony which explains that great population masses give spontaneous consent to the general directions of a dominant group about social life because of the prestige that the dominant group has in the world of production (Yeonhee & Gon, 2012). In fact, the preference that some NNESTs may have for American English can be due to the influence of American cultural products (Yeonhee & Gon, 2012) and the fact that globalization is considered to be a form of Americanization according to academics such as Bourdieu (2001) (as cited in (Phillipson R. , 2008)) and that the economic concepts of neoliberalism that are a part of the Colombian environment fit well with American cultural norms (Phillipson R. , 2017). Many NNESTs have been influenced by foreign groups such as the ones mentioned in this report (British Council, ETS and NESTs) and many others (British or American private schools and organizations such as Fulbright, USAID, inner circle academics, etc.).

The mentality of NNESTs has also been influenced by domestic groups such as the ones mentioned in this report (the Colombian government, political and economic elites and NNESTs), as well as by Colombian educational institutions (public and private) at the primary, secondary and post-secondary level and many other Colombian based institutions. NNESTs are also likely to look at some foreign research to inform their practice but this can be problematic given that foreign research is biased towards inner circle interests (please see NEST section for more details). NNESTs may also look at domestic research but this can also be troublesome given that domestic researchers are heavily influenced by foreign research and ideas which as previously mentioned are biased towards inner circle interests. Another issue with domestic research is that due to the internalization of Center country values and points of view, coloniality can contribute towards the acceptance of ideas of inferiority and superiority from colonial times (Barrantes-Montero, 2018) which leads to a non-critical acceptance of foreign ideas and values. According to Kumaravadivelu (2016), coloniality contributes to the phenomenon of local researchers being marginalized by dominant external forces leading to their becoming dominated groups which can engage in self-marginalization by viewing themselves not as equals but as inferiors to their inner circle counterparts. The subaltern dominated intellectuals conform to the Western ways of knowing and languaging and as a result lose their own voice and have to rely on Western perspectives to remain relevant within the field they are in.

The mindset of some NNESTs can promote inner circle hegemony but it is in their actions as English teachers where they can truly advance inner circle interests and linguistic imperialism. If a NNEST believes in English hegemonic discourses, they can act just like a hegemonic NEST and do things like those described in the NEST section of this report: the repetition of many of the unproven discourses about English (English is in everyone's best interest and that it invariably leads to economic prosperity), the blind following of influential hegemonic forces in ELT, not focusing on local needs and experiences or intelligibility and comprehension and pushing an unneeded native English standard on students. Many NNESTs are told to impose the use of only English in the classroom which is troublesome because it negates the use of all available linguistic resources in the classroom which leads to less student learning and greater monolingual domination. Some NNESTs may focus heavily on correction and penalizing standard English mistakes which leads to less creativity and authenticity in the classroom. The lack of critical thinking in the part of English teachers (Barrantes-Montero, 2018) and English students (Phillipson R. , 1992) is something that must be addressed so that if English is to be taught, it is taught in a way that actually benefits the student's cognitive abilities.
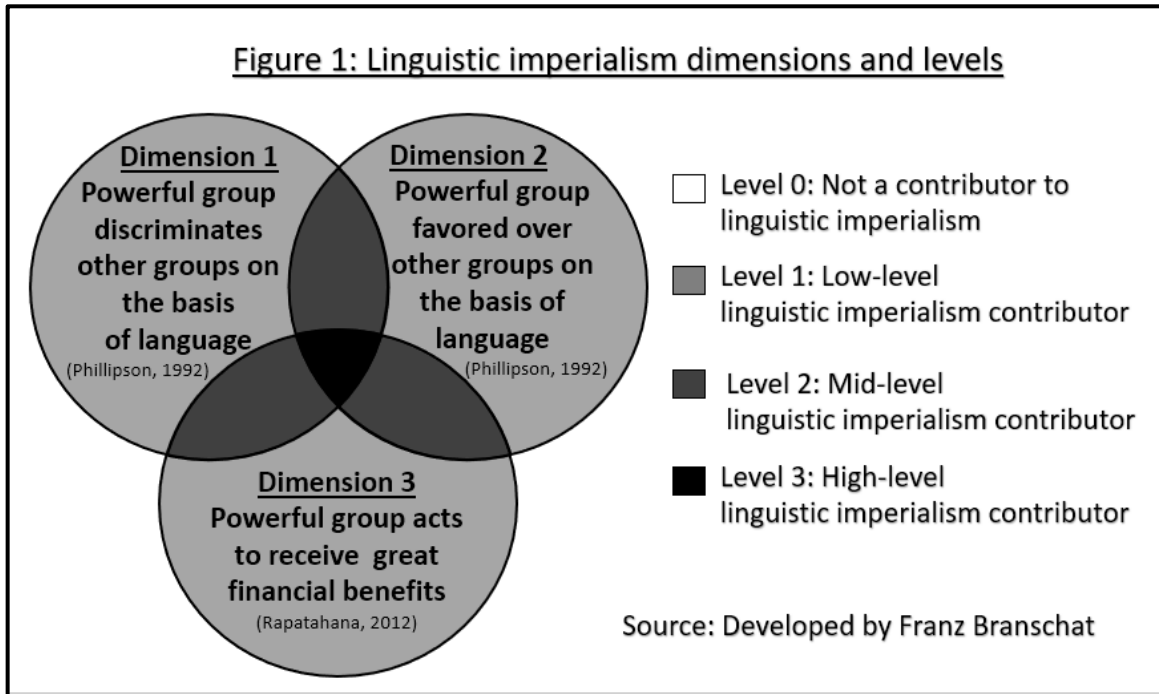
A NNEST who believes in English hegemonic discourses can take additional actions that advance linguistic imperialism (please see NEST section of this report for greater detail). NNESTs can choose not to work with local teachers or experts so as to better reflect local needs and experiences and this is important because there seems to be a belief in the academic literature that a NNEST from a given country has a superior understanding of the local when compared with a NEST. Although this may be true in general, in a country with as much inequality as Colombia, a Colombian NNEST from a higher socioeconomic background may not be able to truly understand the local environment of students from a lower socioeconomic background (and vice versa) and this would mean that they would not be able to necessarily better meet local needs than a NEST. Other ways in which a NNEST can contribute to English hegemony is by using English textbooks from the inner circle and by teaching inner circle culture without considering the entire English-speaking world. This is of high importance because many Colombian NNESTs have not travelled to inner circle countries and as a result, they rely on media sources for information which can lead to false stereotypes and misunderstandings of the norms and values of English-speaking countries. NNESTs also need to not just focus on "big c" culture which is the most highly visible and common but focus on

"small c" culture (less visible and less common aspects of a culture) which can give deeper perspectives about culture and not the often-stereotypical versions of "big c" culture (Kramsch C. , 2013). Just as NESTs need to connect with local teachers and experts, NNESTs need to connect with foreign teachers and experts so that they can teach culture in a more accurate way, free of the tremendous inner circle stereotypes that exist in expanding countries such as Colombia.

Putting it all together: Foreign and domestic linguistic imperialism

For the purposes of this report, a linguistic imperialist is someone who will meet a specific criteria that is developed from various key ideas related to linguistic imperialism. Phillipson (1992) states that linguistic imperialism is a form of linguicism in which a powerful group dominates and discriminates against another group on the basis of language and where the dominant side is favored in terms of power, resources, beliefs and attitudes. According to Phillipson (2016), linguistic imperialism is ideological (beliefs, attitudes and imagery that glorifies one language and marginalizes others) as well as structural (one language receives more investment in terms of resources and infrastructure than others). Rapatahana (2012) believes that a key characteristic of all forms of imperialism is that they are focused on obtaining power and the financial benefit that comes with that power. A key characteristic of linguicism is that the group who is committing a linguicist act is doing so intentionally and that they are aware of the negative consequences that will come to some groups but yet, due to their own agenda, continue to take linguicist actions (Skutnabb-Kangas & Dunbar, 2010). As a result of the aforementioned ideas, linguistic imperialism will be looked at as having three dimensions centered around a powerful group. The first dimension is that of a powerful group (based on influential or resource power) that *discriminates* other groups on the basis of language. The second dimension is that the powerful is *privileged* ideologically and structurally in terms of language and the third dimension is that the powerful group takes the aforementioned linguicist actions because of a desire to receive great *economic benefits*. If a powerful group has one of the three dimensions, they are considered a low-level linguistic imperialism contributor (level 1) and if they have two of the three dimensions, they are considered a mid-level linguistic imperialism contributor (level 2). If a powerful group has all three dimensions, they are considered a high-level linguistic

imperialism contributor (level 3) and if they have none, they are not a linguistic imperialism contributor (level 0). The dimensions and levels are summarized in figure 1 below and this framework will be used in the discussion section later in this report.

Figure 1: Linguistic imperialism dimensions and levels

Dimension 1
Powerful group discriminates other groups on the basis of language
(Phillipson, 1992)

Dimension 2
Powerful group favored over other groups on the basis of language
(Phillipson, 1992)

Dimension 3
Powerful group acts to receive great financial benefits
(Rapatahana, 2012)

Level 0: Not a contributor to linguistic imperialism

Level 1: Low-level linguistic imperialism contributor

Level 2: Mid-level linguistic imperialism contributor

Level 3: High-level linguistic imperialism contributor

Source: Developed by Franz Branschat

Linguistic Human Rights: Living a Dignified Life

Defining linguistic human rights

Linguistic human rights (LHRs) is a concept that has become more and more popular thanks to the work of many prominent scholars. One such scholar is Tove Skutnabb-Kangas who began to use the term in 1969 because her intuition told her that some language rights were so important that they could not be separated from human rights (Skutnabb-Kangas T. , 2016). Skutnabb-Kangas is connected to the term not just because of her early use of it but because she appears to have written the first multidisciplinary book about LHRs in 1994 with Robert Phillipson, who is best known for coining the term linguistic imperialism. At around the same time, other scholars such as De Varennes and Thornberry were writing pioneering books that discussed LHRs even if they did not specifically use the term. Before the contributions of Skutnabb-Kangas and others, language rights and human rights were more unconnected and were in fact more in the legal and political domains as opposed to the linguistics domain (Skutnabb-Kangas T. , 2016).

Developing a basic definition for a term such as LHRs is a challenge because it is a concept that can be viewed from many different perspectives and since it has far reaching implications. Skutnabb-Kangas (2016) preliminarily defined LHRs as being comprised of only some language rights and human rights, with language rights defined by Mancini and de Witte (2008) as fundamental rights (rooted in country constitutions and international treaties) protecting language-related acts and values (as cited in Skutnabb-Kangas (2016)). Language rights that have to do with necessary rights (such as the learning and use of one's mother tongue and the learning of an official language in the country where one resides) can be considered LHRs where as those that have to do with enrichment-oriented rights (such as the learning and using of foreign languages) cannot (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1995). Skutnabb-Kangas narrows her focus of LHRs to educational LHRs for minorities because she believes that minorities have greater need for them and because formal education is critical in the growth, maintenance or death of languages (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1995). Ultimately, Skutnabb-Kangas (2016) defines LHRs as language rights which belong to any human and which allow for a dignified life that cannot be violated by any state or individual.

Given that LHRs are composed of language rights, it is important to understand what are the different perspectives that academics have of them. Paz (2013) argues that although in real practice international judicial or quasi-judicial bodies seem to favor assimilation over linguistic diversity, language rights should be defended because language is a critical element of cultural identity and by respecting language, one shows respect for the dignity of people. Pinto (2014) believes that language rights are incorrectly perceived by many to be special rights and not fundamental human rights which leads to the courts treating them with restraint and without the generosity that other human rights get. May (2011) states that there is still a point of contention regarding the rights of speakers of minority languages when it comes to issues of language maintenance and use in the public realm, especially when it comes to education.   May discusses how tolerance-oriented language rights are related to language use in the private/non-governmental sphere of life and how promotion-oriented language rights are related to language use in the public sphere where public authorities can narrowly or widely promote a minority language by using it in public institutions such as schools. May believes that minority groups lack promotion-oriented language rights because after the second world war, human rights were viewed as primarily individual rights (ignoring the fact that goods such as language and culture

are shared communally) and because, as demonstrated by the process of creating the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), there was a conviction by many of those involved in the process that minority group rights would be problematic in terms of national and international peace and stability.

Skutnabb-Kangas (2016) and others continue the academic discussion by clarifying many of the different dimensions associated with LHRs. Mancini and de Witte (2008) specify that core linguistic rights are related to speaking the language of one's choice and they are accompanied by ancillary rights which provide value for its beneficiaries such as the right to be understood by public authorities and others, the right to receive translation and interpretation, the right to advocate for others to speak one's language and the right to learn the language (as cited in Skutnabb-Kangas (2016)). Skutnabb-Kangas believes that both core and ancillary rights are LHRs because it is impossible to enjoy the right to speak a language (a core right) without the ability to learn and know one's language or mother tongue. She also states that language rights and LHRs occur at both individual and collective levels and this is reflected in various declarations, some of which are more individual focused (e.g., the UN Declaration of the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities) and some which are more collective in nature (e.g., the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples or UNDRIP). She believes that the rights of indigenous/tribal people and linguistic minority groups are among the most important collective LHRs so as to ensure that these groups are not forced into assimilation so that they can transfer their language to subsequent generations, if so desired.

According to Skutnabb-Kangas (2016) there are two main camps when it comes to the role of the state in providing LHRs that support the maintenance of minority groups beyond just the current generation. The first camp is composed of a majority of neoliberal political scientists who are focused on individual rights and they believe that minority languages are barriers that only willing parents (and not the state) must decide to transfer to future generations. This group believes that minority groups have no justified claims for support because of their collective nature and that it is therefore up to individual parents to assimilate or to pass on their language without any support from the state. The second camp is made up of a large number of lawyers, educationalists and sociolinguists who believe in negative rights (non-discrimination in the

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enjoyment of human rights) and positive rights (the right to the maintenance and development of identity through the freedom to practice or use those special and unique aspects of their minority life such as culture, religion and language) because negative rights by themselves are not powerful enough to prevent forced assimilation to a dominant language. Individual positive LHRs may be related to identity rights, educational rights, functional rights (the use of languages in a wide variety of situations and purposes) and protection-against-forced-assimilation rights (the ability to change or shift languages in a voluntary fashion).

The role of the state is very important when it comes to the growth or reduction of LHRs. Skutnabb-Kangas (2016) believes that the main problem in the minimal granting of LHRs by the state is due to low political will as a result of 1) falsely believing that monolingualism is something normal, natural, desirable, sufficient and inevitable and 2) falsely seeing the granting of LHRs as something that leads to the destruction of nation-states which leads to the death of languages and a lack of educational LHRs. This creates what some call a bad LPP (language policy and planning) circle where the government's restriction of supply and fear of demand of LHRs leads to poor autonomy for minorities and poor self-determination for indigenous peoples (Skutnabb-Kangas T. , 2011). Human right instruments such as UNDRIP were created to counteract the lack of political will by the state to provide MTM (mother tongue medium) education to indigenous peoples but sadly, UNDRIP is unable to prevent this because while dominant language education is free, MTM education relies on the state having and wanting to spend the funds necessary to establish it (Skutnabb-Kangas T. , 2016). The issue of course is not just that governments have little political will to provide MTM education for indigenous peoples, it is also that they lack the political will to provide them with a right that they have in international law that makes them different from minorities: the right to self-determination (Skutnabb-Kangas T. , 2002). Research has shown that language minority (LM) children who are taught through a dominant language medium underperform and they also suffer from problems such as not finishing their education, greater unemployment and even issues with drugs, crime and suicide (Skutnabb-Kangas T. , 2017). Children who are taught in their mother tongue are more successful academically and this right is also found in international law.

LHRs and language rights have been criticized by various scholars in terms of their ability to influence LPP in terms of their effectiveness in the protection of minority languages. Brutt-

Griffler (2002) believes that Skutnabb-Kangas's focus on unconditional MTM education and collective language group rights is misguided because 1) some groups desire English not because it has been imposed on to them but because they want to improve their socioeconomic conditions, 2) some individuals do not base their identity in terms of ethnicity, nationality or minority status but they construct it socially or individually, 3) the identity and collective aims of linguistic minority groups is not something is a given (May, 2000), 4) the notion of collective rights in human rights is problematic and 5) there is no guarantee that developing countries will embrace the authority of international bodies in terms of changing their planning or implementation of language policies. The problem with Brutt-Griffler's arguments is that they are too general in nature and in the case of Colombia (which will be described in greater detail later in this document), many of the arguments she puts forth are proven to be incorrect. In the case of Colombia, English has been imposed on to the students in the educational system and their desire to improve their socioeconomic conditions is based on false premises that are only true for a few but not for the many. Although some individuals do not base their identity in terms of ethnicity, nationality or minority status, many of them do, and this is quite true in the case of indigenous tribes, especially those who have not been displaced from their traditional territories or customs. There will always be issues related to the identity and collective aims of linguistic minority groups but this is also related to the fact that these groups have not had linguistic human rights for so long and have not had the time to work out differences and come together to develop these collective identities and aims. Also, the notion of collective rights in human rights is problematic only because governments from all around the world were scared to give collective rights due to fears of compromising national cohesion and due to fears of giving linguistic human rights to indigenous peoples and minorities. Although 3rd generation human rights may be symbolic, the fact is that they do include collective rights considerations precisely because they were clearly missing from 1st and 2nd generation rights.

One of the most powerful arguments against LHRs is that there is no guarantee that developing countries will embrace the authority of international bodies in terms of changing their planning or implementation of language policies (Brutt-Griffler's fifth argument in the previous paragraph). This argument is indeed quite accurate and it is due to the vagueness and openness to interpretation of many LHRs instruments which means that they are not binding. As a result, nations either do nothing or the minimum possible (May, 2011), leading Skutnabb-Kangas to

state that educational linguistic human rights did not effectively exist (Common, 2008). May (2000) criticizes Skutnabb-Kangas's belief that linguistic minorities are greatly impacted by language loss as a result of linguistic and cultural genocide (as cited in (Common, 2008)) by stating that language may not be an important part of identity at individual or collective levels and as a result, the loss of language does not greatly impact a particular ethnic identity and it simply leads to a process of adaptation into the new language. As mentioned earlier, some of the strongest criticisms come from a majority of (neo) liberal political scientists who are focused on individual rights and believe that minority groups have no justified claims for support because of their collective nature.

Despite of all the criticisms and shortcomings of LHRs instruments, there have been some notable successes, perhaps none greater than the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights of 1996 (UN, 2010). More than 200 people from 5 continents and more than 90 states gathered in Barcelona to proclaim the Declaration at the World Conference on Linguistic Rights. Some of the attendees represented small local and large international NGOs and there were experts from a wide variety of fields who, with the support of UNESCO, wanted to create a future of greater coexistence and peace. The process started in September 1994 when the International PEN Club's Translations and Linguistic Rights Committee and the Escarré International Centre for Ethnic Minorities and Nations ordered for the Declaration to be written by experts from various fields. The Declaration takes into consideration individual and collective dimensions of linguistic rights because they are both inseparable and independent and the collective focus is justified because it is only within communities that people make individual use of them. The Declaration focuses on rights as opposed to obligations or prohibitions and believes that democratic consensus is the key to finding solutions to the wide variety of situations where linguistic right issues may occur.

The supply and demand of LHRs for indigenous peoples

Historically, many governments around the world have done a poor job in terms of creating a linguistic environment of diversity and equality. Part of the reason for this has to do with the fact that some countries lack the political will to create linguistic diversity and equality given that they believe in the false notions of monolingualism being something normal, desirable,

sufficient and inevitable and that the granting of LHRs leads to the destruction of nation-states (Skutnabb-Kangas T. , 2016). Other reasons are related to the belief in the idea that human rights are primarily individual rights (May, 2011) and that the government has therefore no obligation to provide support to groups who do not speak the official language(s) (Skutnabb-Kangas T. , 2016). Many governments have also lacked well-developed and strategic LPP (Language Policy and Planning) so they not been particularly aware of the linguistic state of their societies nor have they had any specific goals to create linguistic diversity and equality. Last but not least, governments have done a poor job in terms of linguistic diversity because the language of international agreements and declarations are vague, open to interpretation and basically non-binding (Common, 2008) and because governments do not want to give indigenous peoples the right to self-determination or mother tongue medium education which is recognized by international law (Skutnabb-Kangas T. , 2002). Governments around the world have tended to see linguistic diversity as a barrier to be contained to prevent problems and they believe that deemphasizing differences leads to national cohesiveness (Haji-Othman, 2012). Government policies and actions have contributed to the dire linguistic state that we find ourselves in today where it is expected that by the year 2100, more than half of the world's languages will be dead (Common, 2008).

Given that many governments around the world see linguistic diversity as a problem, this has led to an environment that has led to the increased penetration of English all around the world. Tupas (2002) believes that the idea of linguistic diversity as a problem led to the governmental idea in the Philippines that English as the primary medium of instruction was a good way of solving the problem of linguistic diversity and therefore the uncritical acceptance of English in education has taken place (as cited in (Yanilla Aquino, 2012)). English addresses the problem of linguistic diversity in some developing countries because it deemphasizes national differences and its rise to de facto status (and sometimes official language status as in the case of Nauru (Barker, 2012)) is due to governmental belief in English being superior to other languages in the areas of wealth, education and modernity (Rubdy, 2012). In places like Hong Kong, governments maintain the dominance of English by consistently claiming that English standards are dropping and that they must be improved, despite of little evidence to support the claims (Chen Eoyang, Bunce, & Rapatahana, 2012). As a result, while English continues to grow and dominate, local indigenous languages continue to struggle to survive and die.

All around the world, colonized indigenous peoples have had their LHRs removed by governments that have engaged in forced assimilation and the removal of mother tongue education opportunities. In New Zealand, assimilation of Maōri indigenous peoples has been attempted via social engineering programs whose goal was to urbanize indigenous peoples so that their mother tongue would eventually be lost (Hingangaroa Smith & Rapatahana, 2012). Social engineering programs have been used all over the world on indigenous people to rob them of their language and culture along with residential school programs that, in cooperation with Christian missions, were enacted in order to Christianize indigenous peoples in Latin America, North America, the Arctic and the Pacific (Smith, 2009). Smith notes that in the case of Canadian and United States reservation schools, indigenous children were forcibly removed from their homes and at the schools they were forced to attend they had to 1) accept Christianity, 2) speak English (while being banned from native culture and language) and 3) undergo sexual, physical, emotional and mental abuse. In schools all over the world, examples of students being punished for using their mother tongue are rampant and in places like Australia, teachers who use the students' mother tongue can be punished or fired for doing so (Ober & Bell, 2012). Government indigenous assimilation efforts have been greatly destructive and there are some who believe that these efforts have been examples of linguistic and cultural genocide, or at the very least, crimes against humanity (Common, 2008). Given the fact that governments all around the world have opted to assimilate indigenous peoples, it is no surprise that the judicial system consistently favors assimilation over linguistic diversity (Paz, 2013) and that language rights are not treated with the generosity of other human rights (Pinto, 2014).

Governments have a critical role in linguistic diversity but so do non-government organizations. Non-government organizations such as language communities, NGOs, language professionals groups and educational institutions are very important in ensuring that there is greater linguistic diversity and equality in the world. Because education plays such a key role in maintaining linguistic diversity and because universities are supposed to aid with the development of civil society and social transformation, the following sections will discuss the role of government and university institutions in terms of the supply and demand of LHRs with a focus on Colombia's indigenous peoples.

The Colombian government is perhaps the most important group in terms of creating linguistic diversity in Colombia. In 2010, the government passed Law 1381 known as the Law of Native Languages which seeks to protect Colombia's indigenous languages by allowing for the movement of knowledgeable native people in the communities and ensuring the translation of law related documents, access to interpreters to guarantee the right to information and communication and a program to stimulate the research, documentation, disclosure and interaction between the language communities (Ministerio de Cultura, 2013). The government has made an effort to understand the linguistic landscape of Colombia and the Ministry of Culture claims that in Colombia there are 68 native languages and 850,000 indigenous peoples who speak those languages according to the DANE Census of 2005. The number of languages differs greatly from ethnologue.com where there are 80 native languages and it seems like ethnologue.com may be closer to the actual number given that in the DANE Census of 2019, due to inaccurate census counting, the total indigenous population of 2019 is believed to be around 1.9 million people (Portafolio, 2019) which is a tremendous difference when compared to the 2005 estimated total of 1.39 million. Although there may be some quantitative discrepancies, there is some definite agreement that Colombia's indigenous languages are in trouble and according to Rusinque (2019), documents from the Colombian National Development Plan (NDP) from the current government state that only 1% of Colombia's indigenous languages are *not* in danger which is a critical piece of information given by the government.

The government of Colombia has taken some positive actions in the area of giving indigenous peoples more rights such as the aforementioned Law 1381 (the Law of Native Languages). In addition, Colombia is part of Convention 169 (C169) which is a revised and updated form of the earlier Convention 107 and that requires that indigenous peoples are consulted so that they can participate in policies and programs that may affect their way of life. C169 has general policies for indigenous peoples in the areas of customs and traditions, land rights, natural resources, employment, vocational training, social security, health and education among others (ILO, 2019). Colombia now supports UNDRIP despite of initially abstaining from voting to ratify it (Taonui, 2017), which unfortunately put a negative light on Colombia as abstaining was closer to voting against UNDRIP and the four countries that voted against UNDRIP (Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the USA) have had some of the most genocidal policies against indigenous

peoples (Skutnabb-Kangas T. , 2011). Abstaining from ratifying UNDRIP means that Colombia was not fully committed towards indigenous rights, probably because UNDRIP makes it clear that indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination (article 3) and the right to mother tongue education (article 14).

Despite of the positive actions listed above and despite of the greater recognition of indigenous languages as co-official languages in the new Colombian constitution of 1991, indigenous languages have however continued on the path to their demise. According to ethnologue.com, Colombia has had 3 languages become extinct and 80 of the remaining 85 are indigenous languages. Of the 80 indigenous languages in Colombia, 28 are in trouble in terms of their survival and 15 are dying which means that over half (53.8%) of Colombia's indigenous languages are having real trouble surviving. According to Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1996), Colombia's indigenous languages may be experiencing "language death" (which according to liberal ideology is when an agent is passive and lets a language die with unsupported coexistence) or linguicide (which according to liberal ideology is when an agent is active and attempts to kill a language). Whether the Colombian government is contributing to language death or committing linguicide is up to debate but it is important that the government assesses its LPP to decrease the chances of future consequences for possible linguistic and cultural genocide acts according to international human rights instruments such as the International Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

According to Rusinque (2019), one thing that makes Colombia different from other countries is that it is not just that indigenous languages are at risk of death but that its indigenous speakers are as well. In fact, Rusinque shows that during President Duque's government, 130 social leaders were killed and of those 53 were indigenous leaders (figures up to April 2019). Indigenous populations have had to deal with the violence from Colombia's armed conflict and this has contributed to many deaths in indigenous communities. Most recently however, the clash between indigenous communities and the current systems of colonization, along with cultural uprooting (from displacement or boarding schools) and environmental deterioration, has led to high rates of suicide in some indigenous communities. Because many of Colombia's indigenous populations in some regions are relatively small, suicide can greatly affect the

number of living members which is very bad news for linguistic diversity given that indigenous languages are already dying and there is already a low number of speakers in some regions.

The government can increase LHRs supply through its LPP (Language Policy and Planning) in a variety of ways. According to Skutnabb-Kangas (2011), one way is to provide or guarantee ITM (indigenous/tribal peoples and minorities) language services, to encourage the training of teachers who teach the mother tongue in question and to give access to basic education that is without cost and mandatory. Providing minority languages services (Grin, 2000), as in Law 1381 in Colombia, can include the translation of law related documents and access to interpreters, which is related to the concept of ancillary rights. A second way to increase LHRs supply is to help to change the language corpus of an endangered language so that it is more necessary or attractive in the eyes of actual or potential speakers (Darquennes, 2013). In order to make any modifications to the minority language's corpus it must be very clear that doing so is not just a matter of linguistics but that it involves making sense in the social context and being connected with those who speak the language. Last but not least, the government can provide training or job opportunities for anyone who speaks the endangered language whether it be translators, community liaisons or front-line government workers. By supplying a language that is more desirable, the demand for the language can increase which can lead to more speakers of the language in the future.

The government can also increase LHRs demand through its LPP in a multitude of ways. According to Skutnabb-Kangas (2011), one way is to encourage people to become competent in the endangered language as this helps people to realize that it can be used in a wide variety of areas and domains such as in formal education, work and extracurricular activities so that language use is not just in the home. Another way is to directly promote the minority language (Grin, 2000) which seems to be similar to the earlier discussion of promotion rights, albeit from the demand side as opposed to the supply side of promotion. According to Darquennes (2013), increasing LHRs demand can occur in three distinct ways with the first one being attempting to influence the social status of the minority language and increasing the functional range (the formal and informal varieties of the language) and functional spread which involves the language being utilized not only locally, but also regionally, nationally and even internationally in different contexts.   The second way to increase LHRs demand involves taking actions which

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lead to an increase in social prestige (i.e., reputation) for the language and a major way to do this is to secure the legal status of the language as an official or co-official language. The third way involves promoting the learning of the endangered language so that more people want to be competent at the language which leads to a greater number of speakers. To accomplish this, the minority language must be taught in the public and private school system in kindergarten, primary, secondary and post-secondary education with the goal of the endangered language being one of the main languages of instruction.

The role of university institutions in the supply and demand of LHRs for Colombia's indigenous peoples

According to Sharma (2015), universities play a critical role in the development of civil society and social transformation. Universities are leaders not just in the teaching and learning of subjects but they also help with the development of professional skills and attitudes, as well as with the development of student personality. Universities help students to acquire the knowledge and skills to be successful in society but they also help to create sustainable development and help to enact processes related to social change and development. The impact of universities can be transformative when they can impact political, economic, social and cultural factors in societies, and these are all factors that are involved in the demand and supply for LHRs. Because universities are educational institutions, their role is critical in helping to further the collective LHRs of indigenous peoples and linguistic minority groups to help to ensure that these groups are not forced into assimilation so that they can transfer their language to subsequent generations (Skutnabb-Kangas T. , 2016).

Universities can increase LHRs supply in a variety of ways. One way is to offer programs that teach the minority language as well as any related courses related to linguistics and language rights, as well as programs that certify students in areas such as translation, interpretation and teaching of the minority language. The university can provide job opportunities for anyone who speaks the endangered language whether it be translators, community liaisons or front-line university workers. By supplying a language that is more desirable, the demand for the language can increase which can lead to more speakers of the language in the future. Universities can also allow their teachers to do outreach in the community to assist government or community projects

aimed at changing the language corpus of an endangered language with a great deal of community engagement so that the endangered language can become more necessary or attractive, leading to affect demand for the language (Darquennes, 2013).

According to Underriner and Jansen (2018), the teaching of endangered languages (especially those that are local) in universities has a myriad of benefits. One benefit is that it leads to a richer student academic experience, supports the revitalization of languages, addresses human and linguistic right issues and it makes institutions stronger by acknowledging and incorporating the perspectives of indigenous peoples. To develop programs and courses centered around minority languages, it is important to consider the needs of the universities as well as those of indigenous communities to ensure that everyone is in the same page with the goals of developing speakers of endangered languages while creating and developing community relations with great community participation. Indigenous language programs must have a culture place-based curriculum and educational approach that puts the community at the center so that students can learn core values related to culture, land, food, religious traditions, history and language. During language classes, learning must be entered around the traditional ways, the teachings/experiences of Elders (past and present), traditional foods, the seasons, the protection of land and water resources and scheduled trips to Tribal nations and areas of interest to the students. The commitment of the university towards language revitalization is critical because there will always be some resistance to minority language programs (due to prioritization of powerful languages) so vigilance, active promotion of minority languages value and defending the university's language revitalization strategy is critical. Underriner and Jansen mention that indigenous students who have been part of indigenous language and cultural programming have a great deal of pride when they see that their languages are "at the table" with other languages in university programming and that it is given recognition as a world language, along with the respect and prestige of other languages.

Andrea and Fayantb (2016) believe that it is critical that indigenous languages are taught in post-secondary institutions so as to revitalize indigenous languages and support processes of reconciliation between indigenous populations and other groups. One of the greatest obstacles for indigenous language teaching in universities is the fact that English hegemony is tremendous in higher education, not only in places like Canada but all around the world. English hegemony
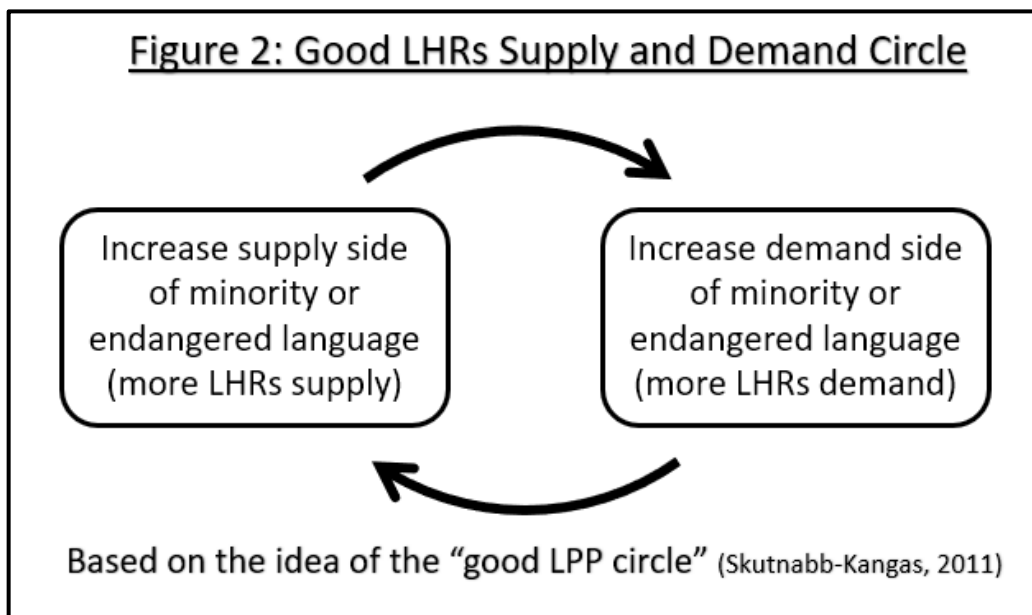
makes it very difficult for other languages to be taught at universities so careful planning is required, especially because English hegemonic forces will provide resistance by painting indigenous languages as not being suitable for learning in formal settings. May (2015) believes that societal institutionalization of the language is critical so that an endangered language becomes common place and taken for granted in a wide range of formal and informal domains and contexts (as cited in Andrea and Fayantb (2016)). Universities must consider that indigenous language teachers must plan for both indigenous content and language development so the teacher education programs must prepare them for a more difficult endeavor. Because of the death of indigenous languages and because many of the speakers are Elders, when a university finds a fluent indigenous language teacher it is important to connect with them so that they remain with the program and because it may require some convincing to get them to travel to the city and to go to a campus that may seem large and foreign. A community-based approach means that knowledge requires getting out of the classroom and that the whole community must be involved since indigenous peoples must be leaders in the process of language preservation, revitalization and improvement. Universities need to know how to 1) consult, collaborate and work with indigenous communities to ensure the community's language needs are met, 2) commit budget funds towards material translation, 3) hire teachers from a wide range of degrees, including those who lack formal education but may have a great deal of traditional and linguistic knowledge and 4) support a class delivery which may have greater costs due to the need to learn in a wide variety of settings that occur outside of the classroom and the university campus.

Universities can also increase LHRs demand in a multitude of ways. According to Skutnabb-Kangas (2011), one way is to encourage people to become competent in the minority language (through language promotion or academic program incentives) as this helps people to realize that it can be used in a wide variety of areas and domains such as in formal education, work and extracurricular activities so that language use is not just in the home. Another way is to directly promote the minority language (Grin, 2000) which seems to be similar to the earlier discussion of promotion rights but from the demand side as opposed to the supply side of promotion. According to Darquennes (2013), increasing LHRs demand can occur by increasing the functional spread which involves the language being utilized not only locally, but also regionally, nationally and even internationally in different contexts. Universities can have events like job or education fairs that help to show that there are job and educational

opportunities in the endangered language, thereby demonstrating that the language is worth studying. Universities can promote the learning of the endangered language through conferences and academic projects so that more people want to be competent at the language which leads to a greater number of speakers in the future.

Putting it all together: Government and university institutions and their impact on LHRs for indigenous peoples

As demonstrated in the previous sections, government and university institutions can impact both the demand and supply of LHRs for Colombia's indigenous peoples. The demand and supply side are both interconnected and in fact, they create what Skutnabb-Kangas (2011) calls a "good LPP circle" where demand increases due to supply, leading to an increase in supply and so on. For the purposes of this report, because it's not just government that can impact LHRs supply and demand via LPP, the cycle will be called a "good LHRs supply and demand circle" (see figure 2 in the next page). The good LHRs supply and demand circle can eventually lead to the normalization of a minority language to the point where it is used in both government and private settings and where it becomes a valuable linguistic capital resource which can be converted into other forms of capital and benefit. The end result is the granting of indigenous people's LHRs and greater access to participation as well as a greater application of democratic and equality principles.   When both government and university institutions partner up with indigenous communities, the end result can be tremendous by increasing both the demand and supply of LHRs. Skutnabb-Kangas points out that developing a "good LPP circle" is a priority because many governments in particular practice a bad LPP circle whereby, due to fears of indigenous self-determination and MTM (mother-tongue medium) education, many governments actually limit the supply of LHRs (e.g., not providing funding for MTM education) so as to contain any demands, and not allowing for any growth in indigenous LHRs.

Figure 2: Good LHRs Supply and Demand Circle

Increase supply side of minority or endangered language (more LHRs supply)

Increase demand side of minority or endangered language (more LHRs demand)

Based on the idea of the "good LPP circle" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2011)

Linguistic Capital: Competitive Advantage in an Information Age

Defining linguistic capital

Linguistic capital is a concept that has become quite important as a result of the importance of plurilingualism. One of the most prominent scholars to discuss linguistic capital is Bourdieu (1991) who connects the ideas of language competence and linguistic capital, which he believes to be a form of cultural capital related to dominant cultural values (as cited in (Nishiokaa & Durranib, 2019)). Bourdieu believes that students who belong to the higher classes who excel at the dominant language will experience greater success than students who are marginalized due to lower dominant language competence. The privileged students end up having a high-value linguistic capital that gives them an advantage inside and outside of school (especially if the language is the country's official language) while the marginalized students are at a relative disadvantage. Bourdieu argues that the idea of dominant languages does not occur only within the confines of a country but also occurs between countries as Centre countries impose a second language onto Periphery countries which is a form of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson R. , 1992). The language of Centre countries becomes a dominant language while indigenous languages are seen as inferior and are therefore pushed out and minimized.

Linguistic capital can be viewed from a variety of perspectives. Linguistic capital can be said to increase when there is additive language learning (extension of total linguistic repertoire), it can remain the same when there is subtractive language learning (a new dominant language replaces the mother tongue) (Skutnabb-Kangas & McCarty, 2008) or it can decrease when a language is forgotten and not replaced by another language. Some international languages such as English or French are seen as highly visible and valuable additions of linguistic capital while some ethnic or indigenous languages are treated as invisible and non-valuable additions of linguistic capital (de Mejía, 2004). The English language is said to have a high market value because it claims to give job opportunities for teachers and students of that language (Blommaert, 2009) but non-international languages that have a minimal market value can have a high non-market value because of the intangible benefits they give to their speakers (Schroedler, 2017). When considering non-market value languages, it is important to note that they contribute to linguistic diversity, multilingualism and a healthy language ecology.

Putting it all together: Local indigenous languages and foreign Languages

Colombia's linguistic capital is made up of both indigenous and foreign languages and both of these groups must be preserved as these languages either have or can have high market value and high non-market value. In the case of Colombia, many indigenous peoples are forced or pressured to leave their territories due to threats of violence or a desire for greater economic opportunities and when they get to the cities, indigenous peoples face racism and discrimination which quite often leads to subtractive language learning as indigenous peoples focus on using Spanish as opposed to speaking their indigenous languages. When indigenous children enter the educational system outside their territories, they not only have to adapt to learning the powerful official language of Spanish but they also have to learn the powerful global language of English and this only puts increased pressure on children to further get away from their indigenous language and culture. Foreign languages do not currently compete with indigenous languages but they compete between each other, especially those foreign languages which are considered to be powerful languages with lots of speakers which quite often are those that also have high market values.

In Colombia, as shown by the Ministry of Education's definition of bilingualism as English and Spanish and by the ministry's definition of foreign languages as being only English, non-English foreign languages are under attack due to a lack of government support and university support. Universities tend to teach a few powerful high market value languages but rarely do they teach low market value languages such as those of indigenous peoples. Through government and university investment in indigenous languages, indigenous languages can develop a high local market value which can only continue to grow over time. Teaching languages that presently have low market value but that have a high non-market value due to their importance for local speakers is a priority given that preserving Colombia's linguistic diversity is a way to retain and increase the country's linguistic capital. The LPP of Colombia's government should prioritize additive learning as this is the key to increasing linguistic capital and should move away from its current policies which, for indigenous peoples, tends to create subtractive learning by replacing indigenous languages first with Spanish and then with English in some situations. When the Colombian government and university institutions work together to create additive learning opportunities for indigenous languages and all foreign languages (not just English), then and only then, will the country's continuous drop in linguistic capital be stopped, leading to a preservation and growth in Colombia's linguistic capital.

Findings and Discussion

The focus of this report has been on answering the research question in order to discover the lessons that linguistic imperialism and linguistic human rights can give to Colombia to maximize linguistic capital. As a result, the findings and discussion that follow are centered around four key lessons that will help Colombia to maximize its linguistic capital by mitigating the loss of current linguistic capital while creating the conditions for future linguistic capital growth.

Lesson 1: Minimizing linguistic imperialism from foreign groups will help to maximize Colombia's linguistic capital.

This report focused on three foreign groups: The British Council, ETS and NESTs. What follows is an analysis of these three groups according to figure 1 in this report (please see the

final section of the Linguistic Imperialism chapter) that considers three dimensions in order to determine the level of contribution towards linguistic imperialism. Based on the ideas of Phillipson and Rapatahana, the three dimensions are 1) a powerful group discriminates others on the basis of language, 2) a powerful group is favored over others on the basis of language and 3) a powerful groups acts to receive great financial benefits. As figure 1 shows, the level of linguistic imperialism contribution depends on the number of dimensions that a given powerful group may possess.

Around the world, the BC has pushed hegemonic native speakerism ideas that privilege English and marginalize other languages. When the BC believes that English should be the language of school, work and home in India, it is basically saying that the local languages are not good enough and when the BC sees linguistic diversity in the European Union as a problem and that English should be the primary language of the EU, these are examples of the BC meeting conditions 1. Condition 2 is met when British English is favored over other English varieties and over other languages and condition 3 is met because the revenues of the BC in 2018/2019 were £1,250 million which are approximately US $1.6 billion (British Council, 2019). Phillipson (2016) accuses the BC of transitioning smoothly from colonial linguistic imperialism to contemporary linguistic neoimperialism. Phillipson believes that the BC has undertaken studies of language education all around the world and that they are fully aware of the negative consequences of their ideology and structural actions but they continue to do so for motives related to profit and ideology. As a result, the BC is considered a high-level linguistic imperialism contributor (level 3) and unless the BC changes its ways or its role in influencing English language policy in Colombia is modified, the British Council will continue to be an obstacle to the maximization of linguistic capital in Colombia.

ETS's TOEFL and TOEIC (along with the British Council's IELTS exam) have received great criticism for pushing inner circle norms and values onto students worldwide. As a result, it can be said that ETS meets dimension 2 of figure 1 since its brand of American English is favored over other English varieties and over other languages. The standing of American English is high all over the world and it is favored over other types in places like Korea or the Philippines. ETS also meets dimension 3 because its 2016/2017 revenues were US $1,406,594,609 (ProPublica, 2019) and this figure in 2019 can probably be expected to be of a greater magnitude. As a

result, the ETS is considered a mid-level linguistic imperialism contributor and it is imperative that it changes its ways so that it no longer forces American norms and values onto Colombian students.

NESTs as a whole are not a powerful group in terms of money but they are powerful in terms of the influence that they can have on local Colombian students. NESTs are not guilty in terms of creating native speakerism but their actions may make them guilty of promoting it and maintaining it. Quite often, because NESTs have not received an education that has made them conscious of the implications of native speakerism, English hegemony and linguistic imperialism on local students, many NESTs repeat the false discriminative narratives pushed by organizations like the British Council (dimension 1). NESTs can be favored over others based on the variety of English they speak which means they meet dimension 2. NESTs cannot profit immensely from any ideological or structural actions that they take so they do not meet dimension 3. Dimension 1 can also be met if NESTs discriminate students on the basis of language and one example of this is when NESTs consciously or due to institutional policy reasons decide to ban Spanish in the classroom. The author of this report communicated by email with an administrator at an English private school in Colombia for job purposes and the staff member said that they only hired native speakers with little to no Spanish knowledge because Spanish was a distraction and this individual asserted that "Spanish speakers have always been the worst part of teaching the language here in Colombia." The staff member (who most likely was an American native speaker) said that teaching only in English was a "proven methodology taught by every TEFL institution and used in all countries to teach all languages" (Branschat, 2017). NESTs who are monolingual may feel uncomfortable in a classroom where Spanish is the norm so they may enforce an English only policy because of their own fears and not because it is what is truly best for the students. NESTs do not meet dimension 3 and some may meet dimension 1 while others may meet dimension 2. This means that NESTs can range from not being a contributor to linguistic imperialism (level 0) all the way to a mid-level contributor (level 2).

Lesson 2: Minimizing linguistic imperialism from domestic groups will help to maximize Colombia's linguistic capital.

This report focused on three domestic groups: the Colombian government (Ministry of Education), political and economic elites and NNESTs. Just as in lesson 1 previously, these three groups will be analyzed according to figure 1 in this report (please see the final section of the Linguistic Imperialism chapter) that considers three dimensions and four levels in order to determine the level of contribution towards linguistic imperialism.

The Colombian government was the primary decision maker in all aspects of the National Bilingual Program and it was the Ministry of Education that approved the teaching and testing system that the British Council developed and all of the discourses associated with it. When the British Council says that English will lead to greater work opportunities and a better economic state, the BC is basically saying that English is to be favored over other languages because it is the best suited for economic development, without considering the local conditions of inequality that prevail in Colombia. When the British Council says that English is the key to accessing knowledge, science and technology, it is indirectly saying that Spanish is not well suited for these areas of higher sophistication. By endorsing these views, the ministry is meeting dimensions 1 and given that part of the reason why the government chose the British Council was due to economic and political reasons (González-Moncada, 2007), the Ministry of Education also meets dimension 3. Dimension 2 is met because the ministry does favor a powerful group over other local groups on the basis of language. As a result, the ministry of education is considered a high-level linguistic imperialism contributor because of the way it defined bilingualism and because of its endorsement of the English teaching and testing system that the BC created. The fact that the government chose foreign knowledge, expertise and systems as opposed to local ones in informing language policy reflects the government's actions in supporting English hegemony.

Political and economic elites have shown a great deal of preference for the English language by making it a requirement for many jobs in Colombia. When this occurs, elites are showing a definite preference for English and for those powerful inner circle groups who push for English hegemony (dimension 2) while discriminating against those Colombians who may not have the necessary English level despite of having the qualifications necessary for a job (dimension 1).

Because English is not necessary for the wide majority of jobs in Colombia, the elites do not receive any great financial benefits from these actions so they do not meet dimension 3. Colombian elites understand the importance of keeping the official language strong so it is not so much that they want to undermine Spanish, it is just that they do their best to push English higher and higher in Colombian society. Because the elites meet dimensions 1 and 2, they are classified as mid-level linguistic imperialism supporters (level 2) and it is important that they enforce the development of job descriptions that truly reflect the actual qualifications of the jobs and not making highly desirable but unnecessary qualifications mandatory which discriminate against highly experienced and competent professionals who may not have the necessary English proficiency.

NNESTs as a whole are not a powerful group in financial terms but they are powerful in terms of the influence that they can have on local Colombian students. NESTs are often marginalized because of native speakerism but that does not mean that their actions may not make them guilty of promoting it and maintaining it. Quite often, because NNESTs have not received an education that has made them conscious of the implications of native speakerism, English hegemony and linguistic imperialism on local students, many NNESTs repeat the false discriminative narratives pushed by organizations like the British Council, especially the ones that favor English over other languages (dimension 1). NNESTs who learned English abroad can be favored over NNESTs who learned English in Colombia based on the variety of English they speak which means they can meet dimension 2. NNESTs cannot profit immensely from any ideological or structural actions that they take so they do not meet dimension 3. Dimension 1 can be met if NNESTs discriminate students on the basis of language. Because NNESTs are bilingual, they are not fearful of speaking Spanish in class unlike many monolingual or low-level bilingual NESTs. However, because of pressure from school administrators, many NNESTs can actually choose to not use Spanish in class which at times can be counterproductive towards the learning process. NNESTs do not meet dimension 3 and some may meet dimension 1 while others may meet dimension 2. This means that NNESTs can range from not being a contributor to linguistic imperialism (level 0) all the way to a mid-level contributor (level 2).

Lesson 3: Improving indigenous peoples' living conditions will help to maximize Colombia's linguistic capital.

The Colombian government plays a critical role in the supply and demand of LHRs but what is most important is that it develops real empathy for the difficult and dire conditions that indigenous people in Colombia have found themselves in, starting with colonization and its associated linguistic and cultural genocide. Indigenous people in Colombia had to survive genocide, culture clash and cultural/linguistic oppression and poor living conditions and they have had also had to deal with all the violence and displacement associated with Colombia's armed conflict. In North America, it is now accepted that intergenerational trauma (also known as transgenerational trauma) occurs when the trauma-related stress by survivors is untreated and thereby passed on to subsequent generations. In the case of Canada, many indigenous people are suffering from intergenerational trauma due to the trauma inflicted on them by residential schools and by the kidnapping of indigenous children by Canadian authorities to place them in residential schools (Berube, 2018). Colombia's indigenous peoples may still be experiencing intergenerational trauma from the linguistic and cultural genocide that they had to go through and due to the continuous oppression and poverty that they have had to go through and continue to go through. Providing LHRs to indigenous peoples is not just about preserving their languages, it is about giving indigenous the dignity that has long been denied to them and to right the wrongs of previous government policies that have tended to be majority focused, monocultural, monolingual, colonialist, invasive and not focused on indigenous rights (Rusinque, 2019). Rusinque discusses how many indigenous peoples in Colombia are forced to leave their territories due to situations of danger, poverty or uncertainty and they are forced to learn Spanish to access schooling or work opportunities which weakens their indigenous culture and language and which can eventually destroy their indigenous identity (Rapatahana, 2012).

At the present time, Vaupés has highest suicide rate in Colombia due to the high number of indigenous peoples that are committing suicide there (Quintero C, 2018). The reasons why so many indigenous peoples are committing suicide can be attributed to the clash between indigenous communities and the current systems of colonization, along with cultural uprooting (from displacement or boarding schools) and environmental deterioration (Rusinque, 2019). Quintero shows that in Vaupés, the suicide rate is much greater for men than women and this is partly due to issues related to indigenous education. Although the Constitution guarantees

education in co-official languages within indigenous territories, the reality is that there are a lot of problems in delivering equitable education to Colombia's indigenous populations. Young indigenous men are forced to go to boarding schools which takes them out of their community which means that they are unable to find a partner to start a family with and they lose their traditional place in the community. Because there is a lack of investment by the government to ensure that indigenous peoples have schooling close to where they live (in Vaupés the school can be one to two days away), many parents are forced to send their young children to far away boarding schools due to threats by ICBF (*Instituto Colombiano de Bienestar Familiar*) to forcibly remove indigenous children and to put them in a boarding school. Removing indigenous children to far away locations means that the children are removed from their family unit which was the technique used in residential schools to destroy indigenous families, as well as indigenous culture and language. It is obvious that the government needs to understand the difficult living conditions of Colombia's indigenous peoples and that it must act to alleviate this great suffering. Indigenous peoples in Colombia have the right to mother tongue education within their territories as stated in the constitution and they must have reasonable schooling options that do not separate indigenous youth from their families, communities, culture or language.

There has been a lot of displacement of indigenous peoples and to understand the difficulties of integration into big cities, one can look at the case of Cali Colombia where there are currently six sizeable indigenous communities: the Kofa, Misak, Quichua, Inga, Yanacona and NASA. According to a documentary made by *Hecho en Cali* (2015), there was very little acceptance of indigenous peoples in the city of Cali at first but overtime, the communities have been able to become part of the city although there are still quite a few problems that need to be resolved. To begin with, indigenous peoples in Cali face a lot of discrimination due to the fact that they are different from people from the city. In the area of education, many indigenous children are mocked in their schools for their mother tongue or for the way they speak Spanish which leads them to try to speak only in Spanish and to forget their mother tongue. Indigenous adults face a lot of discrimination in the workplace and when they do find work, they are often exploited, with the women becoming cleaning ladies and the men becoming security guards. Indigenous peoples are often not given health services and they are told to go to their territories and because many of them do not speak Spanish, they are forced to accept not receiving medical services in Cali.

Whether it be indigenous peoples in their traditional territories or in the cities, it is obvious that they need the help from a more empathic government who is truly committed to improving the quality of life of indigenous peoples and in the long term, this will help with the preservation and maximization of Colombia's linguistic capital.

Lesson 4: Revitalizing indigenous languages will have the greatest impact on Colombia's linguistic capital.

According to ethnologue.com, Colombia currently has 85 languages and of those, 80 are indigenous languages (94.1% of the total). Out of the 80 indigenous languages, 28 are in trouble in terms of their survival and 15 are dying which means that over half (53.8%) of Colombia's indigenous languages are having real trouble surviving. By targeting the 43 languages that are at risk, the government would ensure that in the near future, Colombia's linguistic capital would not drop by such a huge magnitude. Although government support and university support are critical to the demand and supply of LHRs that was described in this report, a third strategy is perhaps the most important which is the empowering of the indigenous peoples of Colombia to have greater control over the future of their languages. Given the fact that the Colombian constitution of 1991 gives co-official language status to indigenous languages, the one way to revitalize indigenous languages is for the government to commit to UNDRIP's article 14: the right of indigenous peoples to mother tongue education.

Indigenous mother tongue medium (MTM) education is the key to ensuring that Colombia's indigenous languages are not lost which would lead to a tremendous drop in Colombia's linguistic capital. Skutnabb-Kangas (2017) asserts that indigenous children who are taught in their mother tongue perform much better in school and they in turn do not suffer from the many consequences of being taught in the dominant language which include leaving school early, higher unemployment, drug use, criminality and suicide. Additional consequences of not having MTM are related to a loss of cultural and linguistic identity which often leaves indigenous children in a state of limbo (Quintero C, 2018). The educational system in the dominant language leads indigenous children to slowly separate from the indigenous ways of their parents, grandparents and communities, until they no longer see themselves as neither members of the dominant culture or their indigenous culture. Giving indigenous people control over the

education of their children will lead to the retention of linguistic capital and will maximize the changes of intergenerational transmission.   Equally important is that by taking control of language education, indigenous peoples will be able to strengthen the cohesion of their communities, leading to a revitalization not just of their languages but also of their culture and traditional ways.

Once indigenous peoples have more control over MTM education in their communities, they may choose to be fluent in one or many co-official indigenous languages, as well as in the official language of Colombia and even in a foreign language. There are many advantages in plurilingualism and according to Skutnabb-Kangas (2002), it is easier to learn additional languages due to a transfer of languages as well as benefits in the areas of flexible, divergent and creative thought and innovation. These areas mean that plurilinguals and countries with high levels of plurilingualism will do very well in today's information society and that these benefits will remain true even among plurilinguals who have little to no formal education. Indigenous plurilingualism would mean that the chances of Colombia's linguistic capital growing would be much greater and it would also mark a return to the long tradition of bilingualism and multilingualism that was a part of indigenous tribes in the area where Colombia now resides prior to colonization (de Mejía, 2011).

Conclusion

Colombia's linguistic capital is in really bad shape given that over half of Colombia's indigenous languages are in danger of dying over the next few decades. The Colombian Ministry of Education hired the British Council to develop an English teaching and testing program that promised Colombians access to benefits such as better economic conditions and access to higher knowledge. Although a few Colombians may be able to access such benefits, the majority of them will not and it is irresponsible that the Colombian government would support discourses that give the impression that these rewards are automatically acquired just by learning English. Guerrero (2010) correctly points out that English hegemonic discourses related to access to wealth and knowledge keep circulating in societies to the point where they become truths in the mind of most societal members. Colombia is a place with great linguistic diversity and as Guerrero correctly points out, it is narcissist and egocentric to believe that English is the key to

solving Colombia's problems and that it will help to create the equality that the country has longed for since its colonial beginnings. English is considered a high market value language because of the potential for jobs and economic opportunities that it is supposed to provide given its status as a powerful language but life is not just about having more, it is also about being more (Yanilla Aquino, 2012). Perhaps the most important way to be more as an individual and as a society is to realize that things such as culture, language, identity, respect and dignity are not trivial things that can just be played with or thrown away for the sake of material goods and economic development.

Linguistic imperialism in the form of English hegemony is alive and well in Colombia and its existence poses a real threat to the survival and revitalization of indigenous languages in the country. The only way to maximize Colombia's linguistic capital is to stop its current downward spiral and to also create the conditions for future linguistic capital growth. To accomplish this, it is necessary not just to decrease the linguistic imperialism contributions of foreign and domestic groups in Colombia but to increase the supply and demand of LHRs for Colombia's indigenous peoples. Stopping the death of Colombia's indigenous languages and revitalizing these languages is critical given that these languages make up 94.1% of Colombia's current linguistic capital. Increasing foreign languages is also important for Colombia's linguistic capital but the priority has to be indigenous languages not just because of their magnitude but because of their potential to develop a local high market value and because of their high non-market value which is related to the many functional and identity benefits that they give to their speakers. As previously mentioned, non-market value languages are critical because they contribute to linguistic diversity, multilingualism and a healthy language ecology. Indigenous languages are not only Colombia's heritage but they are also a world heritage that must be preserved so as to maintain the linguistic and cultural diversity of not just Colombia, but also the world.

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