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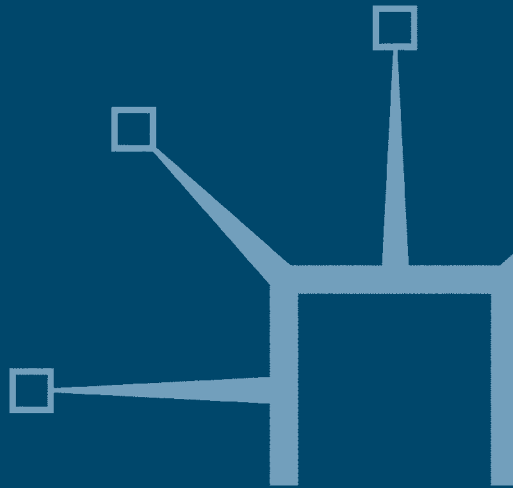
Can Schools Save Indigenous Languages?

Policy and Practice on Four Continents

Edited by

Nancy H. Hornberger



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Nancy H. Hornberger
University of Pennsylvania

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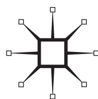

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To my *ahijado* Justo Ramos and
the schoolchildren of Kinsachata and Visallani,
past, present, and future

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Preface

The immediate inspiration for this book came at the 2005 World Congress of Applied Linguistics Featured Symposium, *Can Schools be Agents for Indigenous Language Revitalization? Policy and Practice on Four Continents*, held in Madison, Wisconsin. I am grateful to Richard Young, Professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA and Chair of the Congress, for inviting me to organize a symposium on Indigenous languages; to Alister Cumming, Professor at the University of Toronto, Canada, and to the journal *Language Learning*, for the Language Learning Roundtable Conference Program funding which supported the symposium participants who traveled from afar; to all those who attended and offered their comments and insights on our theme; and to Gabrielle Hogan-Brun, Professor at the University of Bristol, UK, who then and there invited me to prepare a book based on the symposium for her series, Palgrave Studies in Minority Languages and Communities.

The enduring inspiration for the book comes from the importance – indeed urgency – of our topic and from our authors' lifelong engagement with it. Each of the four colleagues who presented cases at the symposium – Vuokko Hirvonen, Luis Enrique López, Stephen May, and Nicanor Rebolledo, and the four who willingly agreed to comment on those cases afterward – Leena Huss, Nkonko Kamwangamalu, Bernard Spolsky, and Teresa L. McCarty, has, in one way or another, dedicated a lifetime to activism and research in the policy and practice of Indigenous education and indigenous language revitalization. I am profoundly grateful to each one for the enthusiasm and expertise they share with us here.

I thank Jill Lake, Senior Editor at Palgrave Macmillan, for her unfailing encouragement and patience as I put this book together. I gratefully acknowledge Multilingual Matters Publishers for permission to reprint the chapter by Stephen May and Richard Hill, which originally appeared in the *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 8(5): 377–403 (2005).

University of Pennsylvania master's student Michelle Kirchgraber helped me prepare the manuscript for the publisher. I am especially grateful to University of Pennsylvania Educational Linguistics PhD student Katherine S. Mortimer who enthusiastically took up the task of preparing the index and whose own research on Guarani and bilingual education in Paraguay

promises to shed further light on the role of educational policy and practice in Indigenous language revitalization.

The roots of my own inspiration for this work lie in the years I have spent living and working in the Andes, on and off since 1970. For that, I thank my husband Stephan Hornberger and the Quechua Community Ministry which he for many years directed, Fulbright-Hays and the Inter-American Foundation for funding my research in Puno in the early 1980s, and PROEIB Andes for welcoming and supporting my occasional teaching, consulting, and research in Cochabamba since the mid-1990s. My humble thanks to Fredy Quispe Ticona and to the Master's Program in Applied Linguistics at the University of the Altiplano in Puno, for enabling me to briefly revisit in 2004 the Quechua communities of Kinsachata and Visallani in Puno where I lived for much of 1982–83 and to whose schoolchildren this book is dedicated.

NANCY H. HORNBERGER

Series Editor's Preface

Worldwide migration and unprecedented economic, political and social integration in Europe present serious challenges to the nature and position of language minorities. Some communities enjoy protective legislation and active support from states through policies that promote and sustain cultural and linguistic diversity; others succumb to global homogenization and assimilation. At the same time, discourses on diversity and emancipation have produced greater demands for the management of difference.

This book series has been designed to bring together different strands of work on minority languages in regions with immigrant or traditional minorities or with shifting borders. We give prominence to case studies of particular language groups or varieties, focusing on their vitality, status and prospects within and beyond their communities. Considering this insider picture from a broader perspective, the series explores the effectiveness, desirability and viability of worldwide initiatives at various levels of policy and planning to promote cultural and linguistic pluralism. Thus it touches on cross-theme issues of citizenship, social inclusion and exclusion, empowerment and mutual tolerance.

Work in the above areas is drawn together in this series to provide books that are interdisciplinary and international in scope, considering a wide range of minority contexts. Furthermore, by combining single and comparative case studies that provide in-depth analyses of particular aspects of the socio-political and cultural contexts in which languages are used, we intend to take significant steps towards the fusing of theoretical and practical discourses on linguistic and cultural heterogeneity.

GABRIELLE HOGAN-BRUN

Notes on Contributors

Richard Hill is Senior Lecturer in the School of Education, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand. He trained as a New Zealand primary school teacher in the late 1980s, and taught in bilingual and kura kaupapa Māori schools through the 1990s, before taking up his position at the University of Waikato. His research interests are in bilingual and immersion education, Māori-medium education, and second language acquisition. In conjunction with Stephen May, he has published a number of research reports and academic articles over recent years in these areas. He is currently conducting an ethnographic study of Māori-medium schooling, with particular reference to issues of biliteracy and English language transition.

Vuokko Hirvonen is Professor of Sámi Literature and School Research at the Sámi University College in Guovdageaidnu, Norway. In 1999 she published her doctoral thesis on Sámi Women's literature (*Saamenmaan ääniä-Saamelaisen naisen tie kirjailijaksi; SKS/Sámeatnama jienat-Sápmelaš nissona bálggis girječállin* [*The Voices of Sápmi-Sámi Women's Way to Authorship*] in both Finnish and Sámi. Recently she served as project manager for the Evaluating Reform 97 Sámi for the Research Council of Norway (2000–03). In this project, she published a monograph, *Mo sámáidahttit skuvlla?* [*Sámi Culture and the School*: *Reflections by Sámi Teachers and the Realization of the Sámi School. An Evaluation Study of Reform 97*] and an edited volume, *Sámi skuvla plánain ja praktihkas* [*The Sámi School in the Curriculum and Practice*] (2003). She has been working on questions concerning Sámi teacher education for nearly twenty years.

Nancy H. Hornberger is Professor of Education and Director of Educational Linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania Graduate School of Education, USA, where she also convenes the annual Ethnography in Education Research Forum. She specializes in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology, language planning and educational policy, bilingualism and biliteracy, and educational policy and practice for Indigenous and immigrant language minorities in the United States and internationally. She has published widely in national and international scholarly journals. Among her books are *Bilingual Education and Language Maintenance: a Southern Peruvian Quechua Case* (1988), *Indigenous Literacies in the Americas*

(1996), *Continua of Biliteracy* (2003), the *Encyclopedia of Language and Education* (2008), and co-edited volumes on *Sociolinguistics and Language Teaching* (1996, with S. McKay) and *Research Methods in Language and Education* (1997, with D. Corson). She co-edits an international book series on Bilingualism and Bilingual Education published by Multilingual Matters. Professor Hornberger has held visiting academic appointments in Bolivia, Peru, Brazil and South Africa, and has served as specialist for the US State Department, the United Nations, and the Fulbright Program.

Leena Huss is Associate Professor and Senior Lecturer at the Centre for Multiethnic Research at Uppsala University, Sweden. In 1991 she published a doctoral thesis on child bilingualism in Sweden and more recently the volumes, *Reversing Language Shift in the Far North: Linguistic Revitalization in Northern Scandinavia and Finland* (1999) and *Språkliga möten. Tvåspråkighet och kontaktlingvistik* [*Linguistic Encounters. Bilingualism and Contact Linguistics*] co-authored with Ulla Börestam (2001). She has also co-edited *Managing Multilingualism in a European Nation-state: Challenges for Sweden* (2002, with Sally Boyd), *Transcending Monolingualism: Linguistic Revitalization in Education* (2003, with Antoinette Camilleri Grima and Kendall King), and *International Obligations and National Debates: Minorities around the Baltic Sea* (2006, with Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark, Alastair Walker and Stefan Oeter). Her current research interests include language policies and language planning in Scandinavia, bilingualism, bilingual education, and linguistic revitalization. She is a long-time member of the Sweden Finnish Language Board in Sweden and during 2000–04 she was the Swedish member of the Council of Europe expert committee monitoring the implementation of the Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in Europe.

Nkonko M. Kamwangamalu is Professor of Linguistics and Director of Graduate Studies in the Department of English at Howard University in Washington, DC, USA. He has taught linguistics at the National University of Singapore, the University of Swaziland, and the University of Natal in Durban, South Africa, where he was Professor and Director of the Linguistics Program. He holds a PhD in linguistics from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, and has also received a Fulbright award. His research interests include multilingualism, codeswitching, language policy and planning, language and identity, new Englishes, and African linguistics. He is the author of the monograph *The Language Planning Situation in South Africa* (2001), and has guest-edited special issues on this and related topics for the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*

(2000), *Multilingua* (1998), *World Englishes* (2002), and *Language Problems and Language Planning* (2004).

Luis Enrique López is Principal Advisor to the Program in Bilingual Intercultural Education for the Andean Region – a graduate training program and research and development center serving six Latin American nations, with headquarters at the University of San Simón in Cochabamba, Bolivia. He specializes in the applied sociolinguistics of Indigenous languages and peoples and, in particular, in the design, implementation, and evaluation of educational programs for Indigenous populations. Author of numerous articles in international journals and volumes, his recent book publications include *Diversidad y Ecología del Lenguaje en Bolivia* [Diversity and Ecology of Language in Bolivia] (2006), *De Resquicios a Boquerones: La Educación Intercultural Bilingüe en Bolivia* [From Fissures to Craters: Intercultural Bilingual Education in Bolivia] (2005), and *La educación intercultural bilingüe en América Latina: balance y perspectivas* [*Bilingual Intercultural Education in Latin America: Retrospect and Prospect*] (2003), and two volumes co-edited with I. Jung – *Sobre las huellas de la voz* [*Footprints of the voice*] and *Abriendo la escuela* [*Opening the school*] (1998 and 2003). López is an editorial board member of the international journals *Language Policy* (USA), *Linguas Indígenas* (Brazil), *Trabalhos de Lingüística Aplicada* (Brazil), *International Journal of Intercultural Education* (United Kingdom), and *Prospects* (Switzerland). He has served on numerous international working commissions, including UNESCO's World Commission for the study of world languages.

Stephen May is Foundation Professor and Chair of Language and Literacy Education, and Research Professor in the Wilf Malcolm Institute of Educational Research, School of Education, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand. He is also a Senior Research Fellow in the Centre for the Study of Ethnicity and Citizenship, Sociology Department, University of Bristol, UK, where he worked for much of the 1990s. Stephen has written widely on language rights and language education, with a particular and longstanding interest in Indigenous education. He has recently edited, with Sheila Aikman, a special issue of *Comparative Education* on the latest developments internationally in Indigenous education (39(2), 2003). His recent books include *Language and Minority Rights* (2001), which was shortlisted for the British Association of Applied Linguistics (BAAL) Book Prize 2002, *Indigenous Community-based Education* (1999) and *Critical Multiculturalism* (1999). He is a founding editor of the international and interdisciplinary journal, *Ethnicities*, an Associate Editor

of *Language Policy*, and is on the editorial boards of the *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *International Multilingual Research Journal*, *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, *Language and Education*, and *Sociolinguistic Studies*.

Teresa L. McCarty is the Alice Wiley Snell Professor of Education Policy Studies at Arizona State University, USA. An educational anthropologist, she has been a curriculum developer, teacher, and coordinator of American Indian education programs at the local, state, and national levels. From 1989 to 2004, she served as Department Head, Interim Dean, and Co-director of the American Indian Language Development Institute at the University of Arizona. A Kellogg National Fellow, her research and teaching focus on American Indian and language minority education, Indigenous language revitalization and maintenance, language planning and policy, and ethnographic methods in education. She has published widely on these topics, including guest-editing theme issues of the *Bilingual Research Journal*, *Practicing Anthropology*, *Journal of American Indian Education*, and *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. She is the former editor of *Anthropology & Education Quarterly,* and the director of a national study of the impacts of native language loss and retention on American Indian students' English language learning and school achievement. Her most recent books are *A Place To Be Navajo – Rough Rock and the Struggle for Self-determination in Indigenous Schooling* (2002), *Language, Literacy, and Power in Schooling* (2005), and *To Remain an Indian: Lessons in Democracy from a Century of Native American Education* (2006, with K.T. Lomawaima).

Nicanor Rebolledo Recendiz holds a doctorate in anthropology from the Iberoamerican University in Mexico City and is Professor at the National Pedagogical University, in the Department of Bilingual Intercultural Education. Dr Rebolledo specializes in the anthropology of education and intercultural education, and has worked in the professional development of indigenous teachers in Mexico and Brazil. He has published articles on political anthropology, anthropology of education, intercultural education and cultural ecology. Professor Rebolledo is a member of the prestigious National Research System of Mexico and participates in the Seminar on Anthropology, History, Philosophy, and Sociology of the Mexican Anthropological Association.

Bernard Spolsky is Professor Emeritus of English at Bar-Ilan University in Israel, where he was also founding director of the Language Policy Research Centre. He has taught in high schools in New Zealand, Australia,

and England; and at Hebrew University in Israel, McGill University in Canada, and Indiana University and University of New Mexico in the USA. Professor Spolsky has carried out research and published widely in applied and educational linguistics, language testing, sociolinguistics, and language policy. He has written and edited a dozen books and published over 200 book chapters and journal articles. Recent books include *Sociolinguistics* (1998), *The Languages of Israel* (with Elana Shohamy, 1999), *Concise Encyclopedia of Educational Linguistics* (1999), and *Language Policy* (2004). He is editor (with Francis M. Hult) of the *Handbook of Educational Linguistics* (forthcoming 2008). He was founding editor of the journals *Applied Linguistics* and *Language Policy.* Dr Spolsky has been President of International TESOL, Secretary of the American Association of Applied Linguistics, President of the Israeli Association of Applied Linguistics, Chair of the Board of Trustees of the Center for Applied Linguistics, and President of the International Language Testing Association. He was awarded Guggenheim and Mellon fellowships, and has been Senior Research Fellow at the National Foreign Language Center and the Center for Advanced Study of Language and a Visiting Research Fellow at University of Auckland International Research Institute for Indigenous and Māori Education. He is at present writing a book on language management.

1
Introduction: Can Schools Save Indigenous Languages? Policy and Practice on Four Continents

Nancy H. Hornberger

The precarious circumstances of the world's Indigenous languages are by now well known: of 6800 languages currently spoken in the world, not only are more than half at risk of extinction by the end of this century (Romaine 2006: 441), but approximately 95 per cent are spoken by less than five per cent of the world's population (May 2001: 2), mainly Indigenous languages and speakers. Meanwhile, more than half of the world's states are officially monolingual, and less than 500 languages are used and taught in schools. Not only the survival of Indigenous languages is precarious, but also especially the survival and economic viability of their speakers in national contexts where educational systems massively fail Indigenous people, closing them out and leaving them illiterate and oppressed in their own land (Kamwangamalu 2005).

This volume offers a close look at Indigenous language revitalization efforts in schools, on four continents, to compare and draw out successes and challenges in this work, both in the schools and in the wider societies in which the schools are situated. We start from the premise that Indigenous language revitalization is worth doing, both for the sake of the speakers of the languages and for the ways of knowing and being that their languages encode and express. Our focus here is on *how* to achieve Indigenous language revitalization, and in particular, the role of schools in that endeavor.

We recognize that schools alone are not enough to do the job. Indigenous language revitalization always occurs within an ecology of languages, in a context of other local and global languages with their relative statuses and uses in domains and social fields such as employment, religion, government, cultural life, media, and others. Indigenous language revitalization is subject to the vagaries of policy, politics, and power; and it is subject to the economics of the linguistic marketplace.

Nevertheless, schools do have an inevitable and important role to play and it is this role that we explore here.

By the same token, we recognize that Indigenous language revitalization is never only about language, but also about the identities and experiences of speakers and communities. Nor is Indigenousness found only in rural, traditional communities and territories, but increasingly also in urban contexts, in a world in which by 2025, two-thirds of the world's population will live in urban areas. Nor, finally, is revitalization about bringing a language back, but rather bringing it forward (Hornberger and King 1996). All these realities infuse and inform the chapters herein.

The volume is comprised of this introduction and eight chapters organized into two parts: four chapters in Part I, describing and analyzing particular cases of school-based Indigenous language revitalization on four continents, and four chapters in Part II, discussing, reviewing, and commenting on the cases, while also incorporating insights from still other cases. In both parts, the combined perspectives of recognized, senior scholars and on-the-ground innovators provide both in-depth coverage of the cases and a critical perspective on them.

The cases taken up here are the Māori of Aotearoa/New Zealand and the Sámi of the Nordic countries, the Hñähñö of Mexico, and Quechua and other Indigenous languages of Latin America. Māori and Sámi are cases of remarkable successes in Indigenous language revitalization over the last quarter century, while the Mexican case considered here is in an initial stage and the other Latin American cases cover a spectrum of experience. Yet all the cases face similar questions and issues.

With regard to Indigenous languages in schools:

- Is the Indigenous language (IL) taught to all students or only to Indigenous students (and if the latter, how are they identified or defined)?
- Is the IL taught as medium, first language (L1), second language (L2), subject?
- Is the IL taught in a monolingual immersion or bilingual/biliterate program structure?
- What is the role of codeswitching in IL instruction?
- What is the role of writing in IL instruction? And what of the visual, audio, spatial, artistic, electronic, and other modes?
- Is the IL taught as many varieties or only one?
- Who are the teachers? Are they speakers of IL? Literate in IL? How were they trained – where, by whom, in what language? Are teachers Indigenous-minded or 'West-minded'?

- Is the Indigenous curricular content transformative – or additive – in relation to the official curriculum? And how so?

With regard to the role of schools in Indigenous language revitalization:

- How can we develop a broader array of functional uses in society for threatened Indigenous languages?
- What do we understand by the term bilingual program in an Indigenous language context?
- Is the role of teacher as cultural mediator effective for Indigenous language and culture maintenance and revitalization?
- How can we go about incorporating Indigenous values and knowledge in school curriculum, pedagogy, and assessment?

In all, we pay particular attention to how, on the one hand, ideological spaces opened up by policies or discourses may carve out implementational spaces; and on the other, implementational spaces at classroom, school, and community levels may serve as wedges to pry open ideological spaces that are closed or closing (Hornberger 2002, 2006a).

In Chapter 2, '"Out on the fells, I feel like a Sámi": Is There Linguistic and Cultural Equality in the Sámi School?', Vuokko Hirvonen of Sámi University College in Guovdageaidnu, Norway, and author of the first doctoral thesis written in Sámi (Hirvonen 1999), reports on her evaluation study of Sámi teachers' views on the possibilities of implementing Norway's Reform O97 Sámi (O97S) in practice, on the local level. The adoption of the O97S Sámi curriculum marks, in her words, 'the biggest step ever taken in Sámi educational matters … the first time that the Sámi got a separate curriculum which has an equal status with the national curriculum'. To put the O97S reform and her evaluation study in context, she provides an overview of the historical development of Sámi schools in Norway since 1967, as well as statistical information on their current coverage and enrollments – some 3000 students in Norway being taught in Sámi, in close to 30 schools (in the 2004–05 school year).

Hirvonen discusses the O97S Sámi curriculum and Sámi language instruction provisions in detail, evaluating them as strong, weak, or non-forms of bilingual education (following Baker 2001 and Skutnabb-Kangas 2000), and concludes that there are three main forms of language programs in use with Sámi: mainstream with foreign language teaching, late-exit transitional, and maintenance or heritage, of which only the last can be considered a strong form of bilingual education. Drawing on teacher narratives from the evaluation study, Hirvonen provides examples

of innovative pedagogy in the teaching of Sámi language and culture, while also identifying a series of challenges yet to be met, among them the need for schools to give systematic priority to hiring bilingual personnel and to teaching not only Sámi language but other subjects in Sámi as well.

In Chapter 3, 'Top-down and Bottom-up: Counterpoised Visions of Bilingual Intercultural Education in Latin America', Luis Enrique López of PROEIB Andes at the University of San Simón in Cochabamba, Bolivia, reviews challenges and initiatives arising from the direct involvement of diverse Indigenous communities and organizations of Latin America in determining their own education from the bottom-up. The analysis seeks to establish to what degree these challenges and initiatives coincide with top-down governmental designs for bilingual intercultural education (EIB), a widespread educational model in Latin America (compare López 2005, 2006) – where overall more than 40 million people claim Indigenous identity or speak an Indigenous language and no less than 400 different Indigenous languages are in active use. His focus is on experiences directed toward the revitalization of Indigenous languages in national contexts where, despite increased national and international attention to the Indigenous question, heritage Indigenous knowledges and the languages which convey them are threatened by the ever greater advance of Western traditions and a hegemonic way of life – creole by nature in Latin America and expressed through the Spanish language.

In particular, López draws our attention to key issues raised by contemporary Latin American Indigenous leaders, intellectuals, and organizations, including demands for expansion of EIB to all rural Indigenous communities as well as to urban areas, where Indigenous populations are increasingly present; the need to extend EIB to hegemonic Spanish-speaking populations and not just to the Indigenous; the urgency of modifying the official curriculum to acknowledge Indigenous sociocultural practices and ways of life as integral to an alternative knowledge system; and the obligation to take action toward the rescue and revitalization of endangered and vulnerable Indigenous languages. He outlines a series of ideological/epistemological tensions that will have to be resolved if EIB is to contribute effectively to Indigenous language revitalization in the Latin American context, namely counterpoised top-down governmental and bottom-up Indigenous visions of inclusion versus exclusion, pedagogy versus ethnic reaffirmation and epistemology, and economy versus identity in relation to literacy.

Chapter 4, 'Māori-medium Education: Current Issues and Challenges', by Stephen May and Richard Hill of the University of Waikato in

Hamilton, New Zealand, summarizes key issues and challenges arising after more than 25 years of Māori-medium education in Aotearoa/New Zealand, drawing from international and historical perspectives on Indigenous education and language minority rights (compare May 1999, 2001, 2004). From the establishment of the first *Kōhanga Reo* (preschool 'language nest') in 1982, Māori-medium education has been predicated upon the principle of *He kōrero Māori* ('speaking in Māori') and the practice of full immersion, as distinct from bilingual education involving use of both Māori and English. Whereas in the international literature on bilingual education, immersion is seen as a form of bilingual education, in the Māori experience the two are sharply distinguished. The aims of Māori-medium education have been first and foremost the revitalization of the language, at which considerable success has been achieved; more recently, a complementary focus on the educational effectiveness of Māori-medium education has begun to emerge. May and Hill explore the negotiation of, and occasional tensions between, the wider goals of Indigenous Māori language revitalization and the successful achievement of bilingualism and biliteracy for Māori learners in Māori-medium educational contexts. They draw particular attention to the reality that most students currently in Māori-medium education are L1 speakers of English and L2 speakers of Māori, as are many of their teachers, and point to the implications of this not only for Māori programs but also for Indigenous heritage language education programs situated in similar language shift ecologies elsewhere in the world.

After reviewing key evaluations of Māori programs undertaken over the past 20 years, including those by the government's Education Review Office and the National Education Monitoring Project, the authors highlight two indicators of good practice for further development of Māori-medium education: one relating to levels of immersion and the other to the Māori L2 language base of the majority of students. Specifically, they call for a reconsideration of the full immersion-only philosophy in light of research evidence around the world that partial immersion programs can be effective as additive bilingual programs as well; they simultaneously caution that partial immersion programs that have less than 50 per cent instruction in the target language should be redesignated as Māori language support programs rather than bilingual or Māori-medium. With regard to the Māori L2 language base of the students and teachers, May and Hill warn that many programs are not teaching sufficiently through Māori for the students to achieve bilingualism and biliteracy, and that consideration needs to be given both to teacher professional development in Māori academic language and

Māori-medium pedagogy, and to providing students adequate time and exposure to Māori to enable their acquisition and development of Māori academic language proficiency in addition to the Māori conversational competence already being achieved.

Chapter 5, 'Learning with Differences: Strengthening Hñähñö and Bilingual Teaching in an Elementary School in Mexico City', by Nicanor Rebolledo Recendiz of the National Pedagogical University in Mexico City, Mexico, centers around the difficult schooling through which Indigenous Hñähñö residents of Mexico City pass, focusing on the case of the Alberto Correa Elementary School and in particular the objectives and initial year of an experience in bilingual education set in motion in the school. There have been strong waves of Indigenous migration to large cities in Mexico over the last half-century, mainly to Mexico City (Federal District) where despite their growing numbers, discrimination is a daily lived reality for the Indigenous migrants. Hñähñö, who number close to 300,000 and constitute Mexico's sixth largest Indian group, began to arrive in Mexico City in the 1940s, most coming from Santiago Mezquititlán in Querétaro and maintaining ties with their community up to the present.

Although Mexico's national curriculum has long been a monolingual Spanish one, the government has recently undertaken reforms emphasizing educational attention for the Indian population in the Federal District and including the introduction of intercultural bilingual education (EIB) in some schools (compare Rebolledo 2002). Currently, an estimated 10,000 students of Indian origin attend schools in Mexico City, and the Secretary of Public Education identifies approximately 200 public schools in the Federal District with Indigenous enrollments. Alberto Correa School, unlike many of the others, serves a majority Indigenous student population: 80 per cent of the students are bilingual Hñähñö-Spanish speakers. With the school facing a situation of high absenteeism, low academic performance, as well as problems of drug addiction among the students and a school climate of discrimination against all things Indian and against Hñähñö as a language, the author, himself a Hñähñö speaker, has undertaken with colleagues a series of activities to establish a policy of Hñähñö revitalization and a model of bilingual Hñähñö-Spanish teaching at the school. Among the challenges the team has tackled, in ongoing and at times frustrating negotiation with the school staff, are fitting Hñähñö into the existing curriculum and schedule, locating qualified Hñähñö teachers, and designing the actual Hñähñö-Spanish bilingual curriculum.

Part II turns to perspectives and commentaries on the above cases, by four authors with distinguished research records in the field of Indigenous

language revitalization, who bring to their commentaries both their specialist experience in particular cases and their international perspective on a wide range of cases.

In Chapter 6, 'Revitalization through Indigenous Education: a Forlorn Hope?', Leena Huss of Uppsala University in Sweden, considers the problem of what to do about the shortcomings of Indigenous education. She takes a clear-eyed look at the disappointments in what has been accomplished in Sámi-medium education, as documented in Hirvonen's chapter and enriched by her own work on minority languages and Indigenous language revitalization in Scandinavia and Europe (Huss 1999): despite the strong political position of Sámi in the Nordic countries, too few children take part in Sámi-medium education, and in many schools with only a few non-Sámi pupils, Norwegian nevertheless tends to dominate in practice. She points out that the minor and most endangered Sámi languages are in an especially precarious state.

Huss notes various discouraging parallels with the other cases herein: that many Sámi pupils, like the Māori pupils May and Hill describe, are second language learners of Sámi, which the schools inadequately recognize and plan for; that many young Sámi, like the Hñähñö Rebolledo works with or the Latin American Indigenous groups more generally that López describes, leave the traditional areas in search of work or further education and 'end up far from local Indigenous communities and language and culture competent elders, overwhelmed by a strong majority culture'. Withal, Huss ends with an affirmation that an additive approach is indeed possible for Sámi and for other Indigenous languages worldwide – an approach combining Indigenous education based on Indigenous language and Indigenous knowledge with bilingualism and equal opportunity in the wider society. Far from being a forlorn hope, she reminds us that this 'struggle without end' can be as 'healing and empowering' as it is 'onerous and frustrating'.

Chapter 7, 'Commentary from an African and International Perspective', by Nkonko Kamwangamalu of Howard University in Washington DC, USA, takes up the question of how society can ensure that Indigenous languages and Indigenous knowledges continue into future generations, and the role mother tongue education might play in that purpose, comparing and contrasting the cases in Part I with efforts to revitalize Indigenous languages through schooling in Africa and globally. In Africa, he points out, discussions about mother tongue education from the colonial era to the present have been informed by competing ideologies of development and of (mental) decolonization, with the former implying use of colonial languages in education in order to provide the African

child access to processes of development, and the latter calling for replacing ex-colonial languages with Indigenous languages as media of instruction in order to counteract the effects of colonialism in stripping the African child of his/her cultural heritage.

Kamwangamalu traces renewed interest in mother tongue education in post-colonial nations of Africa and around the world to theoretical developments around language ecology and the valuing of local languages, to unrealized expectations of national unity via use of a national (ex-colonial) language in the post-colonies, and to widening gaps between elites educated in the colonial language and masses foreclosed from access to it. Yet he cautions that mother tongue education has the potential to disempower Indigenous peoples if it is used to marginalize, segregate and discriminate against them, perhaps especially the case in Africa, as compared to other parts of the world.

Taking note that mother tongue education is not always welcomed in Indigenous communities, Kamwangamalu summarizes questions and suspicions raised by parents and communities as recounted in the Sámi, Māori, Hñähñö, or Latin American cases in Part I, adding others from the situations of Tamil in Singapore (Gupta 1997), aboriginal languages in Taiwan (Li 2003), and Black communities in South Africa (Kamwangamalu 1997). He concludes that unless and until wider societal factors such as 'political will, economic returns, grassroots support, involvement of non-governmental organizations, availability and allocation of human and material resources' are set to support the use of Indigenous languages alongside the schools, speakers of those languages are likely to continue to choose the 'breadwinner' ex-colonial language, thereby feeding into the 'main conduit for language shift and loss in many Indigenous communities around the world, and in Africa in particular'.

In Chapter 8, 'Riding the Tiger', Bernard Spolsky of Bar-Ilan University in Jerusalem, Israel, poses the volume's question in terms of whether schools can preserve rather than weaken the heritage language of Indigenous peoples, that is, whether those who wish to preserve their heritage language and culture can ride the educational tiger that seems intent on consuming it? He begins by clarifying what he understands by 'saving a language' – alternatively revernacularization, revitalization, or regeneration, depending on particular situations and goals; and by 'Indigenous' – which he takes to mean 'a usually self-identified minority whose earlier rule of the territory is meant to give them a stronger claim to recognition than other more recent immigrants'.

Commenting on the four cases in Part I, and drawing also on perspectives from his own work on Māori, Navajo, and Hebrew (Spolsky 2002,

2003; Spolsky and Shohamy 2001), Spolsky concludes that the cases document that, with commitment and with help from majority governments or international bodies, it is indeed possible for Indigenous minorities to 'ride the tiger by harnessing the proven language shifting function of school systems in the direction of language maintenance', and that schools can thus help in the pursuit of saving the Indigenous language, though, with other authors herein, he acknowledges that schools alone are not enough. Failing full-fledged language revitalization, two more restricted potential successes Spolsky draws from these cases are the role of language education policy as a focus for mobilization of an ethnic movement, and the value of even a passive knowledge of the heritage L2, as a contribution to ethnic identity and to a linguistic reservoir available for potential future use. These two results, he says, permit a modestly positive answer to our question.

The volume concludes with Chapter 9, 'Schools as Strategic Tools for Indigenous Language Revitalization: Lessons from Native America', in which Teresa McCarty of Arizona State University in Phoenix, USA, taking as premise the caveat that schools *cannot* achieve the goal of saving Indigenous languages on their own, argues that this begs the question of just what 'schools *might* do to promote, maintain, and revitalize Indigenous languages'. Drawing on the cases in Part I and her own work with Native American communities and schools in the USA (McCarty 2002; McCarty and Zepeda 2006), she begins with evidence that, even in the face of the historical oppression of Indigenous peoples around the world, strong Indigenous bilingual/immersion/intercultural education (IBIIE) programs can do much to stabilize and strengthen Indigenous language proficiency and use and enhance educational opportunities and outcomes among the younger generations. In addition to recalling Sámi maintenance, Māori full immersion, and Latin American Indigenous bilingual intercultural education (EIB) programs highlighted in Part I, she provides examples from US Hawaiian and Navajo immersion that point to the effectiveness of sustained and academically rigorous Indigenous-language immersion programs as an 'alternative to English-only schooling, even for students with limited proficiency in the Indigenous language'.

Beyond these evidences of IBIIE's effectiveness in strengthening Indigenous languages and Indigenous education, McCarty tackles the question of IBIIE's role in advancing 'a larger decolonizing and democratizing project'. All the cases in Part I contain elements of an intercultural approach that extends two-way IBIIE to dominant sectors of society, with the goal and potential of combating societal racism and discrimination.

In the Sámi, Māori, Hñähñö, and other Latin American cases, recent government and educational policy initiatives give strong support to Indigenous languages and multilingualism; McCarty provides examples of courageous school-based Native American educational efforts in New Mexico, Hawai'i, Alaska, and Arizona that wedge open implementational spaces for Indigenous languages and multilingualism in the face of ideological closing-down in the current US context of dominant monolingualism and pervasive English-only educational policy (compare Hornberger 2006a).

McCarty recalls Hawaiian activist Sam L. No'eau Warner's admonition that language issues are always people issues, and affirms that when we ask whether schools can save Indigenous languages, we are really asking about the fundamental right of choice of the Indigenous people who speak those languages to make their own decisions about the content and medium of their children's education. It's not about saving a 'disembodied' language but about achieving social justice for a people, and in this project, 'schools alone cannot do the job, *but* in tandem with other social institutions, they can be (and have been) a strategic resource for exerting Indigenous language and education rights'.

Whether the answer to our volume's question – *Can Schools Save Indigenous Languages?* – is a modest, nuanced, or enthusiastic affirmative, or simply a courageous stance in the face of discouragement over the many challenges remaining ahead even after so many have been overcome, we are above all conscious of the necessity for Indigenous peoples to take the lead in these matters. We advocate for the rights of Indigenous peoples to exercise both voice and choice in determining their own Indigenous language revitalization and education processes (Hornberger 2006b; McCarty 2006). Activation of Indigenous voice(s) through use of the Indigenous language in school can be a powerful force for enhancing Indigenous children's learning and promoting the maintenance and revitalization of their languages (Hornberger 2006b: 290). Equally important is Indigenous choice, entailing 'the right to linguistic and cultural distinctiveness and to self-education according to local languages and norms' (McCarty 2006: 313, citing Lomawaima and McCarty 2006). Choice and voice together open up new possibilities for Indigenous language revitalization and for empowering educational alternatives (McCarty 2006: 313).

By whatever name we refer to the school's teaching and use of Indigenous languages – whether Indigenous language-medium education, bilingual intercultural education, intercultural bilingual education, Indigenous education, mother tongue education, IBIIE, or heritage language education – we are convinced that schools have a powerful role to

play in Indigenous language revitalization and the empowerment of Indigenous communities. Too often, though, school-based efforts 'miss the mark' for having failed to 'include the Indigenous understanding, goals, purpose, and voice' (Romero-Little 2006: 400). A theme resounding in these pages is that of Indigenous peoples reclaiming ideological and implementational spaces 'articulating and constructing their own distinct paradigms based on Indigenous epistemologies and rooted in self-determination and social justice' (Romero-Little 2006: 399). We hope that this volume contributes a step along that way.

Note

Here and throughout, we capitalize Indigenous when it refers to people(s), in keeping with the practice of Indigenous organizations such as the Indigenous Language Institute of Santa Fe, New Mexico, USA, or the American Indian Language Development Institute at the University of Arizona, USA.

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Part I
Case Studies on Four Continents

Firstly, indigenous languages support the identity of ethnic groups and help present unique cultural heritage and centuries-old ways of thinking. When an ethnic group loses its language, it loses a huge part of its identity. Secondly, the more languages that exist in our world, the richer it is says Andrey Kibrik, director of the Institute of Linguistics of the RAS.Â Khanty Roman Tylchin in a classroom of a public school that teaches three students, in the camping ground of Ust-Vatyegan belonging to Khanty indigenous people, in Nizhnevartovsk district of Khanty-Mansi Okrug. Ramil Sitdikov/Sputnik. Schools as Strategic Tools for Indigenous Language Revitalization: Lessons from Native America. Pages 161-179. McCarty, Teresa L.Â Bibliographic Information. Book Title. Can Schools Save Indigenous Languages? Book Subtitle. Policy and Practice on Four Continents. Taipei secondary school student Lai Wei-li swayed awkwardly while trying to make music with a Saisiyat tribal instrument of dangling bamboo tubes strapped to her back. Image caption The group plays Saisiyat tribal instruments strapped to their backs. "It's really cool and interesting. It's harder than it looks.Â This is the state of indigenous languages in Taiwan. The island is considered by many anthropologists to be the source of Austronesian languages; all but one of the four primary branches are found here. It is believed that Austronesians migrated from mainland Asia and Taiwan to South East Asia, the Pacific islands, East Timor and Madagascar thousands of years ago.