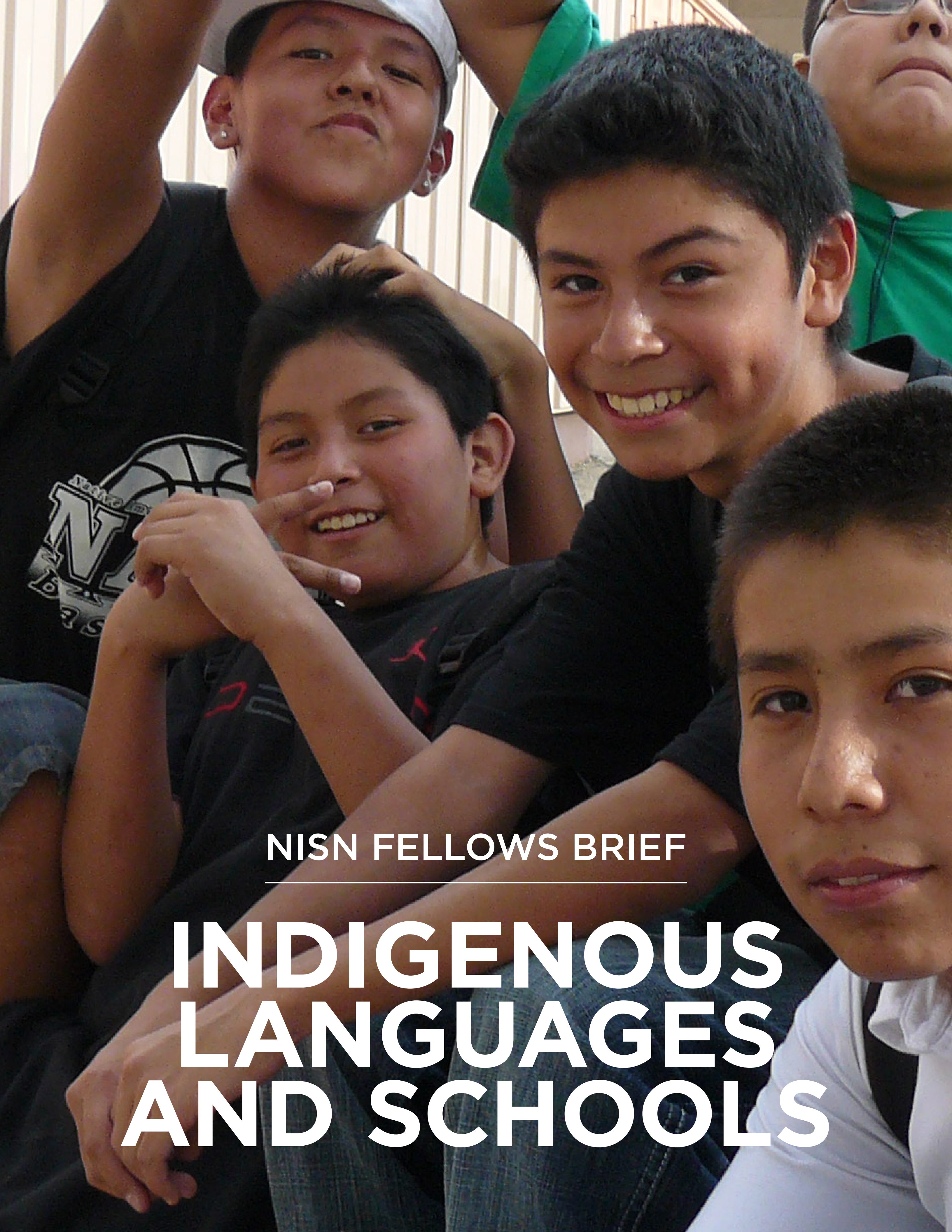

NISN FELLOWS BRIEF

INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES AND SCHOOLS

INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES AND SCHOOLS

While opening a new school to serve Native students is an endeavor in and of itself, including Native language instruction connects a school to the rich world—and myriad challenges and controversies—of the indigenous language revitalization movement. This brief seeks to provide an overview of "language shift" (often called language loss) in Native communities and the policy landscape that surrounds language shift as it relates to the concerns of current and future school leaders. We will present three case studies of schools that teach Native languages and the planning considerations related to each approach. The brief also may provide a useful bibliography of sources around indigenous language research, teaching and learning that school leaders may use for charter applications, program planning and curriculum design.

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LANGUAGE SHIFT

Between 300 and 600 languages are native to what is now the US and Canada; as of 2011, an estimated 169 are still spoken (McCarty 2013, 9). This number alone shows the magnitude of *language shift*, or the shift of a community from using one language to another, often from a heritage language to using English or other dominant languages (Sallabank 2013, 9). Of roughly 400,000 estimated speakers of Native languages in the US in 2010, around half were speakers of Navajo, and half of all speakers of Native languages lives in only nine counties in three states: Alaska, Arizona and New Mexico (McCarty 2013, 9). This phenomenon is not limited to Native North America: of the estimated 7,000 languages currently existing, 50% may no longer be spoken by 2100, and others predict the extinction of 90% or more of these languages (Crystal and Krauss in Sallabank 2013, 3).

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

The causes of language shift are varied and may be different from community to community. Key to understanding language shift is understanding that it is often related to the *language ideologies* of individuals and communities, or "largely tacit, taken-for-granted assumptions about language statuses, forms, users and uses that, by virtue of their 'common sense' naturalization, contribute to linguistic and social inequality'" (McCarty 2011 in Sallabank 2013, 64). Language ideologies are ideas about language and can take many forms:

- Language ideologies may be negative and may be related to a decrease in language use, such as when a minority language is viewed as "dying" or as not useful for life in modern society (Sallabank 2013, 66).
- Such negative views of Native languages are affected by ideologies about dominant languages such as English. Dominant languages may "signif[y] progress and [be] associated with modernity and advancement…Conversely, non-dominant cultures are relegated to a position of the past, as static and vanishing" (Lee in Wyman et. al 138).
- Language ideologies can also promote positive views of a language, such as recent "broadly positive rhetoric about 'saving' endangered languages" (Sallabank 2013, 66).
- The idea of languages as being sacred and/or closed to outsiders are examples of language ideologies common in some Native North American communities, including some Pueblo communities in New Mexico (Cowell 2012, 179).
- The idea that Native languages are endangered and in need of revitalization—as described in this brief!—is itself an example of language ideology. Such "discourses of endangerment" "map … onto a much older, pernicious notion of extinction (or near extinction) of Native people as group … and has the potential to promote defeatist expectations among language users and 'Why bother?' stances among potential language learners" (King and Hermes 2014, 270).

A recent survey of Native youth in New Mexico found a variety of language ideologies. The majority of youth "expressed great respect for their language and heritage…and did not question the intrinsic value of their heritage language (Lee in Wyman et. al., 137). At the same time, "many youth revealed expressions of embarrassment for their own limited Native-language ability, [though] not necessarily embarrassment or shame with the language itself (Lee in Wyman et. al. 137).

Aspiring school leaders should be aware that students, families and community members will all bring their personal and communal language ideologies to discussions about language learning, and that these ideologies may differ from each other and from those of school staff. School leaders can use Appendix A of this guide as a tool for examining their own beliefs about languages and language learning.

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES: WRITTEN AND ORAL TRADITIONS

While all language ideologies of students and their families will affect language learning in school, of special relevance for school staff are language ideologies concerning whether languages are written or oral only, as this greatly affects how a language might be taught in school. Both oral and written languages are common in Native North America. The Yup'ik, Navajo, Cherokee and many Algonquian tribes have had writing systems for two centuries or more (McCarty 2013, 13). At the same time, many tribes and groups maintain languages that are oral and have no written alphabet, such as the Cochiti Pueblo in New Mexico (McCarty 2013, 13). School leaders and staff should learn the about local community members' language ideologies and about cultural ideas governing language use before engaging in detailed language planning.

LANGUAGE POLICY AND PLANNING

Also critical for aspiring school leaders is the recognition that by endeavoring to teach Native languages in school, the students, families and school staff will—wittingly or unwittingly—become involved in *language policy and planning*, or actions designed to halt or reverse language shift (Sallabank 2013, 2). Language policy may be carried out by entities such as schools, tribal governments or universities, and it can also refer to decisions by individual people, families and communities to speak a language at home or to use a language for community activities (Sallabank 2013). Language policy can be formal, such as organized efforts or laws designed to support language use, and it may be informal, such as groups of people organizing themselves to learn or use a language. Language policy also refers to both intentional and unintentional uses of a language and how that affects a community (Sallabank 2013).

Four main areas comprise language policy and planning, all of which have the potential to involve schools:

- Status planning: Setting goals and making plans for how the language will ultimately be used. For example, a community may set a goal of having a language be used as the language of daily exchange, or having a language proclaimed as the official community language (Hinton 2001, 52).
- Prestige planning: Setting goals and making plans to "foster a positive attitudes towards multilingualism, linguistic diversity or a particular language" (Sallabank 2013, 27).
- Acquisition planning: Setting goals and making plans for the language users, and answering questions such as "How will the language be taught, and to whom?" This area of planning is likely where schools would be most involved (Hinton 2001, 52).
- Corpus planning: Setting goals and making plans for the language itself. This could include development of new vocabulary to modernize the language or development of dictionaries or other language documentation resources. This part of planning may involve linguists, anthropologists or other language professionals (Hinton 2001, 52).

See Appendix B in this guide for a more detailed description of the language planning process that you might use to design your school's language program.

"OFFICIAL" LANGUAGE POLICY IN THE UNITED STATES

Many educators of Native students are familiar with the history of Indian education in the United States, in which students were often forcibly sent to boarding schools in an attempt to eradicate Native culture—and Native languages. In 1990 and 1992, that began to change with the passage in Congress of the Native American Languages Act, which protects the right of Native nations to use Native languages in education (De Korne 2010). More recently, the 2006 passage of the Esther Martinez Native American Languages Preservation Act has provided funding for Native language revitalization activities, such as the development of language curricula and the founding of "language nests" for preschool children to learn Native languages (De Korne 2010).

LANGUAGE POLICY AND PLANNING: WHERE DO SCHOOLS FIT IN?

Language shift, language ideologies and language planning: in these broad, community-wide or even worldwide projects to sustain or revitalize Native languages, where do schools fit in? If the goal is reversal of language shift, many scholars believe that "in general school programs are not sufficient to produce proficient speakers of Aboriginal languages, and thus have a limited (albeit significant) effect on language revitalization" (Hornberger 2008 in De Korne 2010). Going further, some believe that "school programs can do more harm than good, insofar as they shift the responsibility for transmitting the language in the home…to the school, at best such a poor alternative" (Krauss in McCarty and Nicholas 2014, 107). Most scholars seem to rest in the middle, acknowledging that "the reality is that in settings around the world, schools—the single place where children spend much of their waking hours—are looked to as prime sites for language reclamation" (McCarty and Nicholas 2014, 107). Other scholars paint a more hopeful picture, pointing out that public schools often are anchor institutions in their local communities, especially rural communities, and thus are uniquely suited to support language revitalization efforts of the broader community (Ngai 2012, 35).

Thus, educators should be cognizant of language planning initiatives taking place in the broader community and should craft goals for language programs that meet student needs while taking these community trends into account. Phyllis Ngai's book *Crossing Mountains* is likely to interest many aspiring school leaders who work with Native students, especially chapters four and onward that provide detailed case studies of different Montana schools striving to provide Native language education (Ngai 2012).

BARRIERS TO SUCCESSFUL NATIVE LANGUAGE PROGRAMS

Despite a rich recent history of Native language revitalization efforts in North America and around the world, "many efforts have faced challenges in meeting their (often ambitious) objectives with respect to language learning" (King and Hermes 2014, 269). There are many reasons why language programs may not live up to expectations:

- Lack of clear goals and methods for evaluation. According to Sallabank, language policy evaluations are somewhat rare, and there is not a consistent model or framework that practitioners use to evaluate language revitalization efforts (Sallabank 2013, 204). This leads to a lack of knowledge about which measures work and, subsequently, a lack of effective implementation (Sallabank 2013, 204). To mitigate these barriers, it is important for schools to establish up front their language program's goals, how students will be assessed, and how the program will be continually improved.
- Stakeholders' lack of clarity around goals and expectations. Researcher Erin Flynn Haynes documents the closure of a Native language program in Oregon in part because non-Native teachers perceived students as not making progress in the language, while their parents perceived great progress and were very supportive of the language classes (Flynn Haynes 2011, 152). School leaders must not only establish goals for a language program but must ascertain that all stakeholders are clear on the outcomes expected of the language program.
- Stakeholders' previous experiences with ineffective language learning methods. In the Ojibwe language revitalization community, where there remain only a few fluent native speakers of Ojibwe and most learners learn the language as adults, King and Hermes find that ineffective, passive methods of language learning may inhibit students' progress while remaining popular in a given community (King and Hermes 2014). For example, it is common belief in the Ojibwe community that spending extended time listening to elders speak the language, such as during a ceremony, is one of the best ways to learn the language (King and Hermes 2014). While this may be beneficial for some learners (especially those who may have grown up listening to spoken Ojibwe), it does not offer language learners an opportunity to practice speaking and is thus less effective as a language learning method (King and Hermes 2014). As with language ideologies, school leaders should be prepared for stakeholders to have had a variety of past language learning experiences, both negative and positive, and to be prepared to explain how—and why—their program may differ from stakeholders' past experiences and why it will be beneficial for students.

BUILDING A LANGUAGE PROGRAM

There likely are three main ways a Native language program can be structured:

- Offering Native languages as electives: Language instruction is offered as an elective, much like more commonly taught languages such as Spanish. The language goals for students may vary widely depending on the school and local context.
- Dual-language immersion: Typically (but not always) offered at the elementary level, the goal of these programs is usually fluency and bilingualism in two languages. Instruction usually begins in kindergarten or first grade, with students learning 100% of the time in one language and then shifting to learning equally in both languages by 5th grade or so.
- Community-driven language initiatives: Under the Esther Martinez federal grant program, many tribes around the country are winning funding to develop their own language revitalization initiatives. A school leader may encounter a community initiative that the school can support, even if tribal or community members prefer that the language not be taught in school (or simply are not ready, for a variety of reasons, to offer school-based language classes). The language goals for students may vary widely depending on the local context.

CASE STUDY: NATIVE LANGUAGES AS AN ELECTIVE

The Native American Community Academy in Albuquerque, New Mexico offers Navajo, Lakota, Zuni, Keres (Laguna Pueblo) and Tiwa (Isleta Pueblo) as elective in its 6th-12th grade school. Head of School Duta Flying Earth describes their language program.

CHOOSING A PROGRAM MODEL AND SETTING GOALS AND EXPECTATIONS

Describe NACA's language program.
Of the five languages we offer now, two—Navajo and Lakota—are universal offerings that all students have access to. Three are not available to all students—we have partnerships with the pueblos, and they want control over who teaches the language and to whom. A number of pueblos speak Tiwa, but at NACA only the Tiwa students from the Isleta Pueblo are allowed to take it. We didn't get much pushback about this—other people seem to understand the reasons.

How did you choose language electives as the language program model for NACA?
We looked at a few different models of language instruction, such as dual language immersion. We quickly realized that it was unrealistic to do an immersion program given the number of tribes represented at NACA—we have over 60 tribes represented. It would ultimately have left students out if we had gone forward with an immersion model and it would have been difficult to pick a language. … It fit well with the college preparatory and wellness focus of our school.

What are the goals the language program?
What are the expected outcomes? Our model is an "enrichment" approach…in that we try to instill students with a level of proficiency in conversation so by time they leave NACA can have a 2 to 5-minute conversation in the target language. Within the past few years, as we document our program, realistically we know that we won't produce fluent speakers by time they exit NACA. [I say this] with the caveat that we're trying to instill students with the tools to walk down that path of fluency [if they have future opportunities to study the language].

PLANNING THE PROGRAM

How did you determine who needed to be involved in planning NACA's language program?
Keres (Laguna Pueblo): We talked with them first. A few of our employees and our volunteer coordinator at the time were Laguna, and we leveraged parents who were Laguna who were passionate about bringing the language to NACA. They made initial efforts to reach out [to the Laguna Pueblo government] and conceptualize the program, gathered a bit of the info about what needed to happen to become certified. They also worked with the Laguna administration to help them understand the state requirements to become a certified language teacher. It definitely helped that tribal members reached out. Pueblos often want to have a say in who teaches the language and to whom.

How did you involve families and community members in planning the language programs?
We met with the families whose students would take language to get a sense of what they wanted to experience in the curriculum, trying not to be bogged down by a pre-created curriculum.

We had specific conversations about what language loss and retention looks like for them. For example, we heard stories from people: "I wasn't raised with the language but then I became fluent." Or the opposite: "I didn't think language was useful, so I didn't teach it to my kids." It is good to engage community in those conversations—how critical is language learning in your child's life, how critical is it to reinvigorate the energy around that? We continue to do this on a quarterly basis [with language-focused events for NACA families].

We tried to gauge what [families] wanted students to learn… There were different responses.

- *Lakota:* I remember a few conversations: What does a quality program look like from diaspora perspective such as Lakota, without access [in New Mexico] to fluent speakers of the language? Some parents said "I want my student to be able to introduce themselves, identify certain things in their language, and engage in a conversation with their relatives for a few minutes."
- *Navajo:* For Navajo, the program is more land-based in that we have access to fluent speakers. [Families' language goals] were very much more about the continuation of the language, and the expectations [for fluency] were higher. It was important for us to understand that and engage in conversation about what does that look like for a program that teaches the language one hour per day for the whole year?

What structure did you use to plan the language programs?

- *Lakota:* This was harder to do because we're 1,000 miles away from where the language is spoken. The planning involved mostly school staff working with the Lakota Language Consortium.
- *Pueblo languages:* We had a de facto informal committee comprised of tribal members, parents, teachers and NACA staff who had a stake in making sure the program happened. Planning the actual curriculum was mostly done by the language teachers.

How long did the programs take to plan?
For Lakota, my planning happened over one school year, 6 months more intensively. And then the first few years I delivered instruction, so I was always planning something for myself to teach [and building out the curriculum].

CURRICULUM

Where did your language curricula come from? If you created it, what did that process look like?
You will need to have an entrepreneurial spirit! We had to assess … who were the gatekeepers for this particular language? Who were experts in particular areas, and who has experience with high-quality language instruction? And upping the ante a bit, not just who is doing a language program, but who is doing it effectively? How do we jump on that wave of development?

As odd as it sounds, there had to be a level of permission that was granted. Even for Lakota—anyone can learn and teach it—I probably could have started unilaterally, [but I consulted with Lakota tribal members]. In retrospect, the consultation lent itself well to future collaboration. There was a credibility attached to the language program. So wasn't like 'There is this guy named Duta Flying Earth and nobody knows him.' Having some credibility was much more advantageous [in the long run].

For [Lakota], it was the Lakota Language Consortium [a South Dakota nonprofit dedicated to revitalization of the Lakota language]. We brainstormed together—what does it take to have high-quality program? Not necessarily content, but strategies and methods by which language was taught, especially for other programs that might be one hour a day. [Duta then created NACA's Lakota curriculum himself, and continued to modify it each year he taught the language].

TEACHERS

Who teaches in your language program and how were they trained?

- *Navajo and Lakota:* It was rocky in first few years; we had teachers come and go. The teacher we have now is a fluent native speaker and has been working very hard for last few years to learn about best practices in language instruction [on the job at NACA]. The Navajo teacher is a NACA employee.
- *Lakota:* Myself and other Lakota teacher [are] second-language learners who were conversational in the language. The current teacher wasn't trained as a teacher and had the content knowledge [but not the teaching skills]. We had a one-year onboarding process for that teacher: They team-taught the course with me. They were paid on contract basis for how many hours they came in. They then moved to full-time and teach the language program (and is a NACA employee).

- *Keres and Tiwa:* NACA did not train these teachers. The current Keres teacher had gone through a lot of elementary and middle school curriculum development training, mostly through the Laguna tribal education office. The Keres and Tiwa teachers are not NACA employees; they work for the pueblos and are detailed to NACA.

How were these teachers certified?
There needs to be connection/partnership with the Native group, and you need to know the process, what needs to happen, when and where. If we want to incentivize someone to obtain a language teacher certification, you need to know what they have to go through in order to get it.

- *Get creative.* The state of New Mexico doesn't offer a Lakota certificate or teaching license. So I went to our local tribal college in South Dakota and got a language teaching certificate. So there was credibility in both sides—I was a certified New Mexico teacher and could teach a language, but I had to work around how we were reporting it to the state, how do we list it in our student information system. Those are all considerations.
- *Know what the teacher can teach.* You can't have a language teacher teach a core content area if they're not endorsed. So as a school, what does that mean? Having a license doesn't mean they can teach anything. You need to understand what the license does and does not let you teach.
- *Bilingual education.* How does the language program fit in with bilingual and Title III programming? There could be extra money for the school if you report it correctly. Also investigate how you can get Indian Education funds for the program.
- *Funding.* How will you pay for the language program and make it a priority? As charters, you develop your own budgeting structure, pay for teachers.

How did you build relationships with tribes to ensure teacher certification?
We were able to ensure certification because of partnerships with those pueblos. For Keres, we had to have a relationship with the language department and the pueblo governor to offer the language in our school. It was also about being smart about request—we could say "We have X percentage of students from your community, this many parents" so it didn't sound like a bureaucratic request.

So it's important to connect to the right person and ask them about process. It may be a political process. For example, we were trying to get the Navajo teacher certified, and the question became "Who do you know who could press the issue?"

How does NACA navigate the process of working with teachers who are not officially NACA employees?

- *Sign MOUs with tribes or pueblos who provide teachers to your school.* We talked about alignment with school calendar, and also from school perspective, being flexible. More often than not, a teacher detailed to NACA may hold high responsibility in the community, so there may be days when the person can't come to school. So getting ahead of the curve: if that happens, is the department responsible for detailing someone else? We need to secure substitutes for when that person is out.
- *Outline clear expectations for teachers in the MOU.* Since person will be teaching at this school, is it opt-in to participate in professional development, or is it required? And how will we evaluate the program—how do we know the goals and outcomes of the program are being fulfilled? How will the teachers be evaluated?
- *Space for teachers.* Our teacher now for Tiwa comes and goes. It is possible that she would have preferred for to have an office or classroom at the school. Where will teachers work?

What are the language teachers' goals?
Across the school, we have NACA-specific standards—what students should be learning by time they exit the school and what that look like according to core values.

Right now, we don't have specific expectations for how advanced students must become in the language each year. One of biggest reasons we don't have them is because we don't know whether teachers are effectively using pre- and post-tests and short-cycle assessments to be able to keep track of this information. What we're in the midst of determining

right now is: What does accurate assessment look like for student who has gone through entire year of Level 1? It's also tougher for the Pueblo languages; we're more hands-off and haven't tried to be hands-on. It's a hot topic for them too: How do we assess students.

How are the language teachers evaluated?
In short, the same way as every other teacher: 4 observations per year (1 per quarter) and a follow-up conversation to discuss specific areas. New Mexico uses a teaching rubric to break out the domains of planning, delivery of instruction, and participation in the professional community.

It's challenging because language instruction is a specialty area. Teachers say: "I wish I could have someone observe me who specializes in the language I teach." They are difficult to find. I can go in and I am a "specialist" in Lakota language, but I can't necessarily evaluate Navajo.

What ongoing professional development do language teachers receive?
There is a language and content group that meets. The challenge is how carve out time for language content—not all teachers in the group are language teachers. The language teachers often engage with the Indigenous core content—having conversations about content, personal wellness, and NACA-specific stuff—but they don't often get to delve into nuanced perspectives on language instruction. [But in the group] we have leaned in more to the question of what does effective language instruction look like? Or effective teaching of sentence structure? What does ineffective language teaching look like? And how do we scaffold this kind of instruction? The group meets quarterly, and we want to move to a monthly meeting.

CASE STUDY: NATIVE LANGUAGE IMMERSION

The Puente de Hozho ("Bridge of Beauty") Bilingual Magnet School in Flagstaff, Arizona offers a Spanish-English dual language program and a Navajo-English immersion program for students in grades K-5. Principal Dawn Trubakoff describes their language program. Puente de Hozho is a magnet school within the Flagstaff Unified School District (FUSD) and was founded in 2001 by Dr. Michael Fillerup, who served as the district's director of bilingual education.

CHOOSING A PROGRAM MODEL AND SETTING GOALS AND EXPECTATIONS

How did you choose immersion as the model for Puente de Hozho?
The school originated as a Title VII grant—Dr. Fillerup, the school's founder, started the ball rolling. Dr. Fillerup is Anglo but lived on the Navajo reservation and speaks Navajo—he knows the culture very well. He went to the community and families, and they looked at it as revitalization of Navajo language and culture. Parents were very much interested and driven by the idea of revitalization.

Did you consider any other school models?
No, I don't think so. Dr. Fillerup presented it as full-on immersion school. He was the director of bilingual education and is highly educated in that area. He put together the way school would work: "Here is what kids need. What do you think?" He got approved by the school board and then went to community.

Describe Puente de Hozho's language program.
Students in [the Navajo immersion] classrooms are all of Navajo ethnicity—we wouldn't turn Anglo students away, but they tend to be more interested in Spanish. Non-Navajo parents think the program is a cool idea, but they realize that the culture is big focus and that their kids don't have the cultural ties to it—they don't have aunties, they don't have family living in hogans, etc.

All of our Navajo kids do come speaking English but usually not Navajo—but the immersion model for kindergarten and first grade is 90% immersion in Navajo. In first grade, students then move to speaking 80% Navajo and 20% English. In second grade, it is 50-50 Navajo and English. It is not an isolated language class—the language is connected to content. We do teach Navajo grammar, but we don't just teach Navajo—the regular standards all kids learn in other schools, our kids get.

What are the goals of the language program? What are the expected outcomes?
We have three goal areas: academics, bilingualism and culture (ABC). We also have the idea of the "power of two:" that all students will come out with an academic command of both English and Navajo or both English and Spanish. [Students learn two languages at the school, not all 3].

PLANNING THE LANGUAGE PROGRAM

How did you involve families and community members in planning the language programs?
There were lots of community meetings. We are part of the Flagstaff Unified School District (FUSD), so we had to deal with that too. We're a magnet school for the district—we had to go to the school board and those meetings and secure that process as well.

Mostly people in Flagstaff were consulted [rather than on the reservation]—FUSD was helping because [they saw the school as a way to support] our most at-risk kids. We mostly talked with those families.

How long did it take to plan?
Most of it was driven by the [Title VII] grant—it took about a year to plan.

What structure did you use to plan the language programs?
Most of the program planning was done by FUSD staff in the bilingual education department, with input from families.

FAMILIES AND COMMUNITY MEMBERS

What are your program's goals for family/community involvement?
We are a Title I school, so we have a school-wide improvement plan and all of that. We follow the family involvement pieces for that—all three language programs follow the same guidelines. We have a family involvement night—it might reflect a certain topic, maybe reading, math, or language acquisition to educate parents.

In second and third grade, we have lunch once per month, and parents come in to read with students. Teachers post Navajo vocabulary online, and parents can go online and hear the Navajo pronunciations. We ask students to read 20 minutes per night in that language.

In the Navajo program, families don't always themselves speak Navajo, so when kids come home, it is hard for parents—they are the only ones who can help the kids with Navajo homework and they don't know it. Before they enter the school, parents do a tour with me to get an understanding of what that is. It is one thing to say, "I want my kid to learn Navajo"—it is another thing to see them teach math, "this is the commitment you're making!" We encourage parents to struggle [with Navajo] with their kids. Also, Arizona is an English-only state, so parents must sign a waiver saying "I understand my child learn academics in a language other than English."

CURRICULUM

Where did your language curriculum come from? If you created it, what did that process look like?
We have created a lot of it. We wanted to make sure our Navajo kids had a viable curriculum—that if they left our school they wouldn't be behind. So we had to marry traditional teachings and concepts with what the district was using overall. For years, staff had a day off every month so they could align and write curriculum. For example, a second grade teacher had no curriculum the first year we had second graders, so we looked at the rest of the district and determined how the science piece fit in, how the Navajo piece fit in to the district and state standards. And then teachers wrote and translated materials. We did this one grade level at a time. [Puente de Hozho started with kindergarten and first grade and added one grade per year up through 5th grade].

Where do you get your materials?
We do use some materials from the Navajo Head Start. For science, we used a book called "Walk in Beauty with Science"—it has 2nd through 6th grade Navajo vocabulary. It's from the San Juan (NM) School District—we use a lot of their materials. It's really old, from 1988, but we do pull from documents. Then, we really had to create our own documents. We also use a book called "Dine Traditional Teachings on Wildlife" from the Window Rock (AZ) School District. Don't be afraid to reach out to other districts; don't reinvent the wheel!

We would also as a staff decide, "We need to focus on writing," so as school we adopted the Six Traits writing strategies. The English, Spanish and Navajo teachers all do the same tasks. We take curriculum we know to be sound and put it into Navajo. And we adapt it for ELLs and second language learners. Every kid in our school is one!

How do you assess students' language proficiency?
We created the Diné Oral Language Proficiency Test—it uses a rubric, and we give it every year to see where students have progressed. With bilingual education funds, we also have the Navajo teachers stay for one week at the end of the school year to work together and look at test scores. We don't have a standardized test, so they do that. They need the time to prepare. [The Spanish teachers do have a standardized test and so do not need this extra time].

What is the process for revising and updating the curriculum?
We revise it often because the state changes the standards. [The school is revising it now to align with the Common Core]. Since students are learning 50% of day with high-stakes testing [as a measure of learning], we adjust content to reflect the tests kids will take. So we are always revising. We give teachers one day per month to align content and curriculum between grades. Funding can be a challenge [to pay teachers for this time].

We also have a different focus each year— one year reading, one year math, one year writing, then a fourth year tightening it up, throwing things out. We plan for what we will focus on each year. It is constant! That is the biggest thing about doing curriculum—you can't let anything drop off your radar. It has to be continually brought into everyone's view so everyone is not doing their own thing. In an immersion school, each year builds on the year before, and if everyone is not aligned, the kids will have trouble the next year.

What challenges did you encounter in developing the curriculum?
We developed high-frequency word lists—we had to figure out what those were for Navajo and add that in. In Navajo, there are many differences from clan to clan [in how words are pronounced and used]—we constantly had parents say, "We don't say it like that!" There was lots of parent education, "This is the way we do it here." We struggled with that for 5-6 years until we were set: "This *is* the second grade vocabulary, this *is* the third grade vocabulary, this is where they will be at each grade level."

TEACHERS

Who teaches in your language program and how were they trained?
The Navajo teachers are all native Navajo speakers as their first language. Navajo teachers are difficult to get—someone might speak Navajo, but it is hard to teach content in Navajo to small children. They have to follow the same guidelines as other teachers and be highly qualified under federal standards, etc.

They fell right into the training—we provided job-embedded training, collaborative teams, PD, and time to get together to align content vertically. But they did not have experience with immersion programs before—they are learning how to do that at our school. The Spanish and English—most of them are also learning the immersion model.

How are the teachers certified?
There is less of a challenge with the certification process per se and more with finding the people. We really struggle—we are always one short, so we go and recruit people. People who speak Navajo don't necessarily know how to teach content in Navajo to small children. And we don't know until they are in there for 4-5 months teaching if they can put content into Navajo explanations. We work closely with Northern Arizona University [in Flagstaff] and their Native bilingual program. So we have Native American students do student teaching, and we try to snag as many of those as we can.

What are the language teachers' goals? How are they evaluated?
I have to use same evaluation tools as they use across the district—exactly the same. I observe their lessons and use the same tool. [There is no piece of the evaluation tool that evaluates teachers specifically on their implementation of an immersion model]. Part of our goals here is only speaking Navajo to kids—so I make notes on [whether teachers are meeting our expectations for immersion]. I make notes on whether materials are posted in Navajo, whether objectives are written in Navajo, etc.

What ongoing professional development do language teachers receive?
During specials, we have collaborative time for grade levels for 60 minutes. During that time, they might say, "We need better training on this math strategy," or, "We need to bump up our writing." I have two people who facilitate these meetings—they do research, figure it out, and in this one hour per week we provide them with those strategies. So it is about doing research together on the materials we want to implement.

Once a month, we have a two-hour PD on a Friday, an early release day. Last year we used this time to focus on writing—showing samples, discussing anchor papers. This year we have a different focus. We do book studies, those kinds of things, higher-order question strategies. For their own PD plans, [the Navajo language teachers] go to conferences and pursue [language teaching skills] on their own. We don't provide anything here for them per se [on how to teach Navajo].

CASE STUDY: COMMUNITY-DRIVEN LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION

The 1,200-member Ysleta del Sur Pueblo in El Paso, TX offers a Southern Tiwa language immersion daycare and pre-K classes for three and four-year-olds. The pueblo recently won an Esther Martinez grant from the Department of Health and Human Services to develop the curriculum for the four-year-old program. Rich Hernandez, the pueblo's language coordinator, says the eventual vision is to build an immersion school for school-age students.

The teachers in Ysleta del Sur's program all learned Tiwa as adults. Currently, there is not "intergenerational transmission" of Tiwa among pueblo members, i.e. children do not learn it at home from their families; pueblo members typically speak Spanish or English at home. The pueblo does not run its own schools; pueblo children attend the Ysleta Independent School District (43,000 students) or the Socorro Independent School District (44,000 students), traditional Texas public school districts in which fewer than 1% of students are Native American. Rich Hernandez and Cynthia Chavez, the pueblo's curriculum coordinator, describe Ysleta del Sur's current program.

CHOOSING A PROGRAM MODEL AND SETTING GOALS AND EXPECTATIONS

Describe Ysleta del Sur's language program.
The model we went with was more a heritage language model. When we thought about it, we wanted a way to teach the language and the culture. A lot of the tribal children here don't get that cultural upbringing—often one of their parents isn't a tribal member.

At the [Esther Martinez] grantee award meeting, I remember talking to woman from Hawai'i. When they teach their language, they teach all facets—when they dance, they explain to children what that movement means in the dance. It is not just the language—if students don't understand the reasoning or the essence behind the language, we're not really doing our job.

Currently, we have four classes for daycare and pre-K for 3- and 4-year-olds. We also have an after-school program, K-5th grade, that runs from 5-7 pm. [Students travel to the program from the Socorro and Ysleta ISDs].

Cynthia Chavez, curriculum coordinator: Our model is called a heritage language model. We like it because culture weighs heavily into it—you can have speakers who are fluent and speakers who do not speak the language and still participate. So we used the children as gateway to the parents to get them involved in community events that maybe they weren't going to anymore. It has gone full circle—we are getting other agencies involved. The pueblo environmental agency is involved with the planting and the harvesting [with the students]. The police department gets involved when we talk about safety.

How did you choose this program model over others?
I think we looked at a few other ones: dual-language and full immersion. But the heritage language model better fit us given the time we have with the children. We couldn't do full immersion because we didn't have anyone [to teach]. For dual language, seeing the time required, it just wouldn't work out. When we heard about the heritage program, we felt that's what we really want to do. It encompasses the whole of what it means to be Tiwa.

What are the goals of your program? What are the expected outcomes?
We are still in the process of setting formal goals for the grant funding. Since we don't have a full school like everyone up north has, our goal is to get the kids to hear and speak the language in such a short time. Our goal is to hit them at the daycare, and then in the pre-K teach them a little more about the language, and then a little more in the after-school program when they are older.

As a long-term goal, it would be nice to have a full-on school: a charter school or other school where we had the students from K to 6th grade. And when we get them into high school, we would have fluent speakers again.

PLANNING THE LANGUAGE PROGRAM

What was your planning process for setting up your language program?
We do have a Language Committee under the grant. We have been meeting every 2-3 months. It's comprised of some elders, educators, parents, and a couple more on the pueblo council and traditional council. They'll oversee everything: we will present the curriculum to them and they will approve the techniques and what would be best for the children.

How do you involve the community and pueblo government in the planning process?
We want to keep community informed of what we're doing. To me, if we don't keep the community involved, they won't give you any support. We will have functions where bring kids out, parent-teacher conferences, sending home handouts on what we taught kids today and ask them to practice with their parents. It has to be culturally relevant and get the approval of the tribal council—we don't want things to be taught that shouldn't be taught.

We have had tremendous support from tribal council—they don't want to see the language go to sleep. As for community, there have been moments of enthusiasm and moments of apathy, but on the whole there has been a positive response. Parents, at home, even if its five minutes of speaking and practicing with your child, that's what will save us.

What challenges have you encountered in planning this program?

- *Skepticism about "usefulness" of the language.* It's "How do we get more involvement?" It's prominent on any Indian reservation. You have that apathy: "Why do I need to learn the language if no one else is speaking it?" I get it from my friends in Isleta Pueblo up north: "Well why learn the language? You can't text with it!"
- *Misconceptions about language learning.* Or if a child says something a different way, adults will correct the kid and the kid just shuts down. When I speak the language here with my class, I tell them: "You will say it wrong and that's OK!" You have to be willing to make fun of yourself.
- *Stigma around speaking the language.* I think that's the problem we have: we've had so much trauma and forced migration, and with Indian schools the language is now a scary thing for students. And the elders, they don't want their kids to go through what they went through. When the elders went to school and people heard they were Indian, they were ridiculed for that.
- *Including non-tribal members.* And for example, my wife: do we teach her the language, because she's a not a tribal member? That may be the only way to save the language, if both parents can speak it.
- *Monumental nature of the work.* We worry about falling behind, but then you step back and think that what how what you're doing is important to do for your community. One day you might get a chance to stand up in the Texas Senate and say something in Tiwa. In my lifetime, hopefully my daughter will grow up speaking three languages; it would be incredible.

EndangeredLanguages.com has us listed as a dead language—but we say no, we have a pulse! Right now it's a headache, but once this is rolled out, it will really give us that relief.

What resources do you recommend in planning a language program?

- Institute for Indigenous Languages (ILI): They are helping us formulate the curriculum.
- American Indian Language Development Institute (ALDI), at the University of Arizona in Tucson: I went there for an intro to linguistics class.
- Miromaa software: Based out of Australia. You can set up free software where you can archive and teach your own language. It's safe so no one else can get in there. It has everything we need—you can put in your own language, you have audio, you have video, all this stuff in one place. The only thing you have to worry about is the license on the computer. Once we get that up and running, I know my language won't be lost in mountains of paperwork; it is there in the safe cloud.
- Isleta and Sandia Pueblos (in New Mexico, who also speak Tiwa): They also helped me to learn my language again. The education department at Isleta invited us up, and they were very gracious about helping us out.

TEACHERS

Who teaches in your language program? How and where were they trained?
Four or so teachers. Me, Silvia, Rick and Luisa were trained in the apprenticeship model [i.e. learning Tiwa from an elder who spoke the language fluently]. I attended the intro to linguistics class at ALDI, and me, Luisa and Silvia attended classes at ILI. Rick learned Tiwa from one of our last full fluent speakers.

We all learned the language as adults—Tiwa is our second language. Luisa, Silvia and Rick all learned from a man named Mario Hankerson. Mario would come to your house, sit there and talk to you, but he would do it in a full immersion. I think for a lot of us, that is the best way to learn.

I went to another training in Second Language Rapid Acquisition, and that was one of the first ones I really liked. It was full immersion and you didn't have to worry about writing it. The teacher said: when you're a baby, your mom doesn't write the word bottle for you she just shows you the image. In our case, our long-term goal is just to have speakers. We do have an alphabet and are in process of putting together a dictionary. But if you can speak the language first, we'll be okay.

How are teachers certified?
We have talked about it [but have not pursued certification]. The red tape with the state of Texas, it's just hard.

We would like to get teachers into the high schools at Isleta and Socorro, where the kids could have it as a foreign language. I know some universities do accept Native languages as a foreign language [for college entrance requirements].

CURRICULUM

Information from Cynthia Chavez, curriculum coordinator at Ysleta del Sur.
Where did your curriculum come from?
We got a demonstration grant for Native American children so we could serve as a model for other Native preschools. That grant ran from 2011 to 2015. I have an early childhood background and a bilingual teaching certificate. We needed to use the state-adopted curriculum that had been written into the grant, but all the curricula approved by the state were westernized. So the needs of the Pueblo children not specifically met in terms of culture, language, and traditions.

We were using a curriculum called "Big Day for Pre-K," and [we modified the curriculum to align with] what happens in the pueblo throughout the year. The very first unit was "Ready for School," and we invited the parents to come and do a round dance with the children. The parents were excited: they thought the children would be safe at the school because they felt safe themselves.

We started introducing the language by labeling first, giving things names related to the things we were teaching that month. So anything taught in western curriculum—phonological awareness, etc—they would learn and be ready for

kindergarten, but we also embedded the Tiwa vocabulary words that go with each theme. We also did traditional ceremonies, teaching the meaning behind the dance and doing the dance with the students, invite the pueblo war captain and traditional council. It was the same with harvesting in the fall and planting corn in spring, kids participating in shucking the corn, blessing it in the fall. That's how we're embedding it. Instead of us meeting the needs of the westernized curriculum, we're turning it around.

The resources for anything cultural comes from the [pueblo] traditional council. So nothing is put into lesson plans or the curriculum unless it's approved by the council. But the lessons to be taught will be similar to any other curriculum: we use Bloom's taxonomy, strategies for reading aloud, strategies for teaching vocabulary. And who wrote the curriculum? We have a tribal consultant with a lot of years of experience. We are lucky to have her—she has been a good mentor to everyone here. She is wonderful! We also have a curriculum committee and all the people on it are tribal, so they give input.

A challenge is that we don't have a lot of books that are written for Pueblo tribes. Because there are 20 tribes, you might find one from Picuris, one from Isleta [but none for Ysleta del Sur]. So Rich is having the community come together to write simple books for the children to understand.

What is next for this curriculum?
In 2014, we won an Esther Martinez grant for four more years. That comes on the heels of what we've been working on, so concepts, language, traditions, everything is going to be written down. It will include professional development for teachers: in addition to learning their language, they will learn strategies for teaching for teaching a second language.

What is the process for revising and updating the curriculum?
One of the things we're doing first and foremost is we're using the pre-K curriculum to bring it down to younger ages, to write lessons for 3-year-olds, 2-year-olds and infants. We will do the gradual-release model [to train teachers] and see how much the teacher can accomplish on their own. We are also going up the grades. Right now we only have an after-school program [for older kids], but we're teaching the same concepts and language. And of course we eventually want our own school. I am excited because I can use this. We're really making plans for the future. We have a group of elementary kids and right now they're building adobe ovens—*hornos*—for the tribe and they love it.

If someone in your community wanted to start a school serving Pueblo kids, what would be your advice?
You need to build a good base of tribal teachers. If you don't have that, it will be difficult to do anything. Because those teachers in that school will mentor younger ones, and they will keep them in the pueblo. You might have a beautiful school, but it won't have the culture and language embedded in curriculum. And when you have that base, people are more excited, want to learn and do more, and it gets the community more involved.

And what I am trying to do right now is reaching out to the university to see if we can start a teaching lab here just for Native American teachers where their language would be credited as part of a bilingual immersion program.

TOP RESOURCES FOR SCHOOL LEADERS

Aspiring school leaders would benefit from reading the resources below:

- *Designing and Implementing Two-Way Bilingual Programs: A Step-by-Step Guide for Administrators, Teachers and Parents* (2003) by Margarita Espino Calderon and Liliana Minaya-Rowe. For those interested in designing an immersion program, this is probably the best beginning resource.
- *Saving Languages: An Introduction to Language Revitalization* (2006) by Lenore A. Grenoble and Lindsay J. Whaley. Chapter 7, "Creating a Language Program," should be especially useful and includes several planning tools.
- *Bringing Our Languages Home: Language Revitalization for Families* (2013) by Leanne Hinton. Great resource for families looking to support their child's language learning, with practical tools and tips.
- *Crossing Mountains: Native American Language Education in Public Schools* (2012) by Phyllis Ngai. Gives detailed case studies of Native language programs in 3 Montana districts, with several suggestions for improving planning and operation of Native school language programs.

APPENDIX A: TEN GUIDING PRINCIPLES FOR TEACHERS

Reprinted from *Negotiating Language Policies in Schools* (2010) by Kate Menken and Ofelia Garcia (eds).

Chapter 16

Moving Forward

Ten Guiding Principles for Teachers

Ofelia García and Kate Menken

The diverse cases in this book place educators at the epicenter of the dynamic process of language policymaking, highlighting how they time and again act upon their agency to change the various language education policies they must translate into practice. We have seen how educators "stir the onion" by creating ideological and implementational spaces for multilingualism within their own practices, even in highly centralized contexts and educational systems that assert great control over educators and their languaging. We have also seen how educators can close off those spaces. At times educators' sense-making is directed by their prior experiences or personal identity, as individual cognitive forces shape their interpretations and enactment of language policies. At other times, it is instead external or situational forces that motivate educators' decisions and the policies they ultimately enact. As we have stated, variations in policy implementation are not a problem that should be avoided, particularly when policies hold the potential to marginalize language minorities. Instead, we simply need to gain deeper understandings of this variation to help educators negotiate this complex terrain when faced with their own policy decisions and to help policymakers who are working from outside of classrooms create policies that assume and allow for such variances.

In this final chapter, which reflects just the actual beginning, we speak to you who are educators—particularly teachers—and are faced with language policy negotiation, recreation, and implementation as policymakers in your own right. We draw upon the lessons learned in this book to offer you a set of principles to help you make sense of this complex terrain, to see yourselves as policymakers, and to act upon the agency and power that you have. As these principles reflect, we feel it is first necessary for you to turn inward before you can act outwardly. Thus, these principles focus on you as they spiral their way through the layers of the onion.

Ten Guiding Principles for Teachers

1 **Understand your own sociolinguistic profile and language practices.** Conduct a self-reflection by answering the following questions:

- How many languages do you understand? Speak? Read? Write? Sign? How well? How did you develop these ways of languaging?

- How would you describe your languaging at home? With different people?
- How would you describe your languaging in social situations?
- How would you describe your languaging in professional situations?
- How would you describe your languaging in your classroom as a teacher?

2 **Know the sociolinguistic profile and practices of the students in your classroom, school community, students' families, and the community surrounding the school.** By closely observing the activity of the classroom, school, families, and community, as well as conducting a sociolinguistic survey of the classroom, school and community actors, answer the following questions:

- What are the sociolinguistic practices of your *students* in *classrooms*?
- How do students language in classrooms? In what varieties? For what purposes? In what media? When and where?
- How do students language in the playground and cafeteria? In what varieties? For what purposes? In what media? When and where?
- What are the differences in languaging among students of different ethnicities? Genders? Socioeconomic class?
- What are the differences in languaging among individual students?
- How well do students language in different varieties and domains or contexts?
- In what ways are students encouraged or discouraged to language in your classroom in the ways that they language outside of school?
- What are the sociolinguistic practices of the *school community*?
- How do members of the school community, other than students, language? For example, how do principals and administrators, clerical staff, maintenance and cafeteria staff, support personnel, and others language? In what varieties? For what purposes? In what media? When and where? What, if any, are the differences between actors in their languaging, and what might be their motivations?
- To what extent do actors in the school community language in different varieties and do they do it well?
- What are the sociolinguistic practices of the *families of the students*?
- What are the languaging activities and varieties of the parents of students? Of their younger and older siblings? Of their grandparents and extended families?
- How do students language at home? In what varieties? When? Where? For what? With whom?
- What are the differences between the students' languaging with parents and with their older and/or younger siblings? With their grandparents and extended families?
- How well do family members language in different varieties?
- How well do students language within the family in different varieties?
- What are the sociolinguistic practices of the *community*?
- What languaging is heard or read around the block of the school? In other words, what is the linguistic landscape around the block? How

are people languaging in the street? In nearby stores and institutions? What are the languages and language varieties used in signs and billboards? What are the messages communicated in the different languages? Are different languages relegated to more official use in signs? Reflect on the reasons for the community's languaging.

- What languaging takes place in the larger community from which most students come? What languages are used in the larger stores and in important institutions? What languages are used in smaller stores and other institutions? What languages are commonly heard in the street? What are the languages and language varieties used in signs and billboards? What are the messages communicated in the different languages? Are different languages relegated to more official use in signs? Reflect on the reasons for the languaging used in the community.

3 **Know the societal language management policy.** Obtain information from the internet or other sources that would enable you to answer, with detail, the following:

- Do you live in a society that has an overt policy for language education? If so, what is it? Who determined the policy? Were all key stakeholders involved? Is it a national policy? If not, at what level has it been mandated? How do you feel about it?
- If there is an overt language education policy, how is it being implemented? When? By whom? Are there sufficient resources and support for it? What kind of teacher education or professional development plan has been instituted? Is it being supported by authoritative bodies? If so, what is their role? Are these bodies functioning at a national, supranational or sub-national level?
- Are there other mechanisms, other than overt policies, through which language policies are being encouraged? What are they? What are the *de facto* policies they create in schools? How do you feel about these?
- Is there ideological and implementation space for multilingualism in the policies?
- How well do these policies match the sociolinguistic profile and practices of your students, school staff, families, and community, as well as your own?

Know the school's language education policy. Reflect on your school language policy and then answer the following questions (if you're a new teacher, go through the school archives and/or speak with veteran teachers to learn about the policy):

- Does your school have an explicit language education policy? If so, what is it? How was it developed? Who participated? Was it a rigorously democratic venture in which all participated? Were there meetings with students, staff, parents, and community? Do all school stakeholders believe in, support, and act upon the policy?

- Does your school have an implicit language education policy? If so, what is it? How was it developed? What mechanisms are in place to support it? Do all school stakeholders believe in, support, and act upon the policy?
- Do all educators in your school interpret and implement the policy in the same way?
- What was the motivation for the policy? Was the motivation educational or otherwise?
- Has the policy been tested and adjusted over time? If so, what adjustments have been made? Why? How have these adjustments been made?
- What other educational policies must your school negotiate that impact language education? Do these support or undermine your school's language education policies?
- What other daily practices occur in school that can be considered mechanisms of language education policies? Are they hidden or overt? Do they support positive social change?

5 **Understand your beliefs, attitudes, ideologies, and motivations.** Conduct a self-reflection by answering the following questions:

- What are your beliefs about a standard language and/or other varieties?
- How would you describe your language identity? Are you and your students linguistically similar or different?
- What are your attitudes toward bilingualism? Do you believe there are cognitive consequences, and what might those be? Are there social consequences, and what might those be? If you had children, would you want your children to be bilingual or monolingual? Why?
- Do you hold any stereotypes of children who are linguistically different?
- Can you describe instances of linguicism you have witnessed?
- What are your beliefs about translanguaging in bilingual communities?
- What are your beliefs about translanguaging as a pedagogical tool?

6 **Understand the beliefs, attitudes, ideologies, and motivations of others.** Reflect on all of the information that you have gathered and answer the following questions:

- What are the attitudes of the school administration, the teaching and nonteaching staff, parents and families, and the community toward the present language education policy (or policies) that are being followed in the school? How does each of these stakeholders differ regarding the importance of the policy and its implementation?
- Is there a difference between those who favor the policy and those who oppose it? What might be the motivation for those differences?

7 **Know the staffing, organization, and leadership structure in your school.** Interview principals and teachers if necessary to make sure you can answer the following questions:

- How are classrooms in your school staffed? Is this adequate to meet the goals of the school's language policy and otherwise support effective language instruction?
- Is the leadership style in the school collaborative? For example, do teachers work together toward certain language goals?
- Are there shared values among the staff and is there an ethos of caring?
- Is the discourse used among the staff one of respect, collaboration, and inclusion of language differences? Are all staff members given a voice in school decisions that affect them?
- How is the relationship between school staff, parents, and community members?

Understand how the curriculum and pedagogy are interrelated with language education policies, and the ways that you act as a policymaker in your school or classroom. Read the sources in the bibliography and then reflect on what you know about the effect of your own curriculum and your pedagogy on social life.

- In what ways do you interpret the different language policies you negotiate in your classroom, and how do you implement them? In the process, how do you act as a policymaker?
- In what ways is the curriculum inclusive or exclusive of linguistic and cultural diversity? Does it convey the worldview of your students, their families, and their community?
- How do you plan for different ways of languaging to be allocated in the curriculum?
- Do you allow translanguaging in your classroom? Why or why not? When? And with what effects?
- What are the languaging arrangements that you make in your classroom to include different language practices? What are its effects?
- What are the strategies you use in teaching and how does this relate to students whose language practices are different?
- Do you scaffold instruction linguistically? Do you contextualize? Model? Bridge? Plan for multiple entry points? Use different grouping strategies that ensure each student has a voice?
- Do you plan curriculum and language objectives concurrently? Why or why not?
- Is biliteracy an important goal of your curriculum? If so, how do you develop it and sequence instruction? What pedagogies do you use to address this development? What other societal concerns do you have to keep in mind in order to implement literacy education policies?

Understand how ways of assessing students are interrelated with language education policies. Read the sources in the bibliography then reflect on what you know about the effect of your own assessment policies and practices on social life.

- What assessments are used in your school? What are the purposes of each assessment? Does the assessment match the purposes for which it was intended?
- Which assessments being used are high-stake tests imposed by educational authorities? What decisions are being made on the results? Does the test serve a gatekeeping function?
- Which assessments being used are formative assessments conducted by you? In what ways do they support your teaching and your students' growth?
- What language and cultural matters need to be kept in mind when developing assessments?
- What effects do different kinds of assessments have on you and your students, and what relationship do they have to language policy? Do the assessments have a positive or negative overall impact on your instruction and on your students' educational experiences? How do the assessments improve schooling for your students, if at all?

10 **Remain critical and aware of language education policies.** Understand the effects of language education policies on social justice and issues of inequality among linguistic groups and your own power as a policymaker.

- What are the effects of the present language education policy, as you enact it in your classroom, on equality among students? How is their languaging represented and included in your language education policy? In what ways have you as a policymaker carved our implementational spaces for multilingualism and muticulturalism in your classroom?
- Is your role in constructing language education policy acknowledged?
- What would you have to do to equitably build on, and use, the languaging resources of your students? Your school? Families and the community?
- How can you advocate for language education policies that are sound for your own students, and your school community?

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APPENDIX B: STAGES OF LANGUAGE PLANNING

Reprinted from *The Green Book of Language Revitalization* (2001) by Leanne Hinton and Ken Hale (eds).

CHAPTER

5

Language Planning

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Like language policy (Chapter 3), language planning takes place at many levels in society. Most books on language planning are about planning at societal governmental levels. In the United States, language policy and language planning at the federal level have a big impact on local speech communities. Often, too, language planning even in smaller organizations, such as in public school systems, may sometimes take place without adequate consultation with the indigenous communities whom these policies might affect. This chapter is not about these external types of language planning, but, rather, about community-based language planning, or "language planning from the bottom up," as Nancy Hornberger labels it (Hornberger 1997).

Language planning is essential for a good revitalization program. This does not mean that a community has to plan before it can do anything else. Often experience in language projects is necessary before people have the knowledge to do good overall planning. In this chapter I will go over some of the steps that are necessary for language planning and some of the components of a good language plan.

Some of the reasons language planning is important are:

(1) The thought processes and research involved in language planning help a community establish reasonable and realistic goals and help find the most effective methods and strategies of reaching those goals.
(2) Language planning helps a community keep an eye on long-term goals and the "big picture" in which various projects take place.
(3) Community-based language planning is a way of making sure that the community, rather than outside agencies such as governments, public schools, and so on, stays in charge of its own language policy. Outside agents may be an important component in language revitalization and may even help in language planning, but they should not be the ones to determine the future of the language. As one member of the Karuk language committee said, "[T]he very establishment of a committee has been a positive step towards the people's 'ownership' and self-determination about how Karuk will be introduced as a common language" (Sims 1996, 20).
(4) Language planning can help to coordinate what might otherwise be disparate or conflicting efforts by different people and groups.
(5) Good language planning can help to prevent or reduce factionalism and rivalry that might otherwise arise around language and reduce the effectiveness of revitalization efforts.

So important is language planning that the Administration for Native Americans, which distributes $2 million a year in grants to tribes doing language revitalization, now insists that the first grant a tribe must apply for is a "planning grant," and only after carrying out a year of planning can they then apply for an "implementation grant."

Who does language planning? Language planning can be done by a community, a school, a classroom, a family, or even an individual for his or her own language learning. We will assume here that a community is doing the planning, but many of the steps and components would also be part of a school language plan.

Anyone and everyone can do language planning. You do not need a formal committee to do language planning; it can just be done by interested people or at town hall meetings. However, often the task is taken on by a committee, either one formally appointed or an informal committee that is

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open in membership and formed voluntarily. For a community or school, then, language planning may begin with the formation of a committee of people who are knowledgeable, dedicated, and have a sense of responsibility toward language revitalization. These people may well be the same people who will apply for grants, teach the language, and so on. In some communities the committee may consist of elders, with perhaps some younger prime movers joining in who have an interest in and knowledge of language revitalization. This language committee might simply provide philosophical oversight and suggest general goals in language revitalization, or it might make various decisions and even perhaps manage the implementation of programs. It all depends on the particular structure of a given community and its situation. Each one of the steps below might be either carried out by the committee or assigned to other groups or consultants for implementation. The committee will find itself most effective if community participation is encouraged every step of the way.

PLANNING AS AN OPEN-ENDED PROCESS

One of the first things to know about language planning is that it is an open-ended, ongoing process that continues to take place even during implementation of the program. The Hualapai linguistic and educational expert Lucille Watahomigie teaches in classes and demonstrations that the process of language revitalization involves a cycle she calls a PIE: Planning, Implementation, and Evaluation (Fig. 5.1). You plan what you will do; you implement the plan; you evaluate what you have done; and then you plan some more.

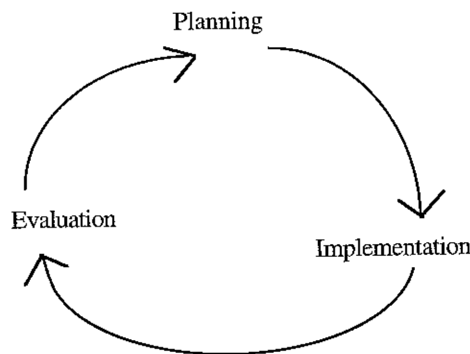

FIGURE 5.1 PIE: Planning, Implementation, and Evaluation (illustration by Lucille Watahomigie)

TYPES OF PLANNING

Hornberger lists four types of language planning and two appraches (1997, 7):

Approaches: One approach is policy planning, and the other is cultivation planning, which will be the main focus here. Within these two planning approaches, Hornberger identifies four types:

(1) *Status planning,* about the uses of language. The possible *cultivation* goals of status planning would include long-term goals involving maintenance and revitalization. For example, setting up the goal of having the language become the main language of daily communication within the community would count as status planning. In the *policy* approach, the planning body might consider, for example, whether the local language should be proclaimed the official language of the community. An example of a policy about status planning is one that was developed by the Cochiti, which stated that the tribal government should provide a model for the rest of the community by using the Cochiti language at the tribal office at all possible times (see Chapter 7).

(2) *Acquisition planning,* about users of the language. Under the cultivation approach, this kind of planning involves the maintenance or reacquisition of the language by members of the community. How will the language be taught, and to whom? Decisions about whether there should be a school-based language program and/or programs to teach adults and families and about what methods will be used to teach the language fall under this type. Under policy, this program might state policies about language acquisition at work, what the language of instruction will be at school and so on. The Cochiti, for example, made a policy that all tribal employees who did not know the language should learn it, and all tribal employees who did know the language should teach it. They declared that the first 15 minutes of every workday would be a gathering for a language lesson.

(3) *Corpus planning,* about language itself. Here planning might include modernization of the language—the creation of new vocabulary or the development of new genres to fit modern communicative needs. For example, the Hualapai schools have developed (written) genres of poetry. Traditionally the Hualapai had stories and songs that exhibited many poetic elements, but the actual writing of poetry did not exist until it was developed in the schools. Hawaiians established the Lexicon Committee to develop and authorize new vocabulary to fit the needs of the classroom in language immersion schools (Chapter 13). The investment of authority in this committee is an example of policy planning. Their work in developing new vocabulary is cultivation planning.

(4) *Writing,* Hornberger's final category, about writing systems. Cultivation planning would include the design and reform of writing systems, and policy planning would include the official sanction of a particular writing systems. The Cochiti developed a policy that their language not be written at all.

STAGES OF PLANNING

An excellent discussion of language planning is found in Brandt and Ayoungman 1988. They include implementation and evaluation as part of the planning process and label the steps as follows:

> There are seven basic stages or phases in the language planning process: the introductory stage; preplanning and research; needs assessment; policy formulation and goal setting; implementation; evaluation and last, replanning. These should not be considered as irrevocable steps, but as necessary stages that need to be repeated as needed. We propose using a *Spiral Model* in which all the stages suggested in the model are reviewed continuously and added to and/or revised. In other words, there is always room for improvements and adaptation, especially as the situation changes. The planning process will take years and should be viewed as a continuous process without a final stopping point, just as the chambered nautilus adds additional chambers as it grows. (Brandt and Ayoungman 1988, 51)

Although Brandt and Ayoungman place goal setting with policy formulation, they also talk about goal setting as a process that takes place previous to goal setting. Goal setting really has a place in various stages of language planning. General and long-term goals might be set quite early in the planning process, but specific short-term goals might take place later, after research and setting language policy. Here I will modify the stages outlined by Brandt and Ayoungman and will discuss goal setting as part of stage 2, and again in stage 6. We talk about stages or steps in language planning, but the order of the steps should not be considered rigid. Each step feeds into all the others.

Stage 1: The Introductory Stage

In this stage, highly motivated people (whom Brandt and Ayoungman call "catalysts") initiate activities, recruit others, and seek community involvement. Committees may be formed at this point, and community meetings might be held.

Stage 2: Goal Setting

What do you want to accomplish? Do you have an overall goal of reversing language shift so that the language becomes the main language of communication in the community? (Such a goal may take generations to accomplish.) Or perhaps the goal is really something else, such as the maintenance of traditional religion or lifeways, with language as a means to that end. Do you have the goal of developing new fluent speakers? Perhaps the goal is simply to make children appreciate their language and teach them something about it. Perhaps the goal is instead to document the language—to videotape the elders or develop a dictionary. Goals may be lofty or small. If they are lofty, you will need to develop smaller objectives to carry out the larger goal. Think about both short-term and long-term goals and about how short-term goals will help reach the long-term goals. (You may have to redo your goals when you find out what your resources are. Resources and goals are intertwined and feed back on each other.)

Brandt and Ayoungman suggest that the first stage of goal setting is something they call "futuring," which should take place in a community meeting. Here the members of the community are asked to consider and express their ideals for the future of the community, with an emphasis on language, but not leaving out other aspects of life which may ultimately be relevant to language. The ideas can be brought out through brainstorming (see below). Questions to the participants might include:

What role would you like to see the language play in our community?
What abilities or skills (language proficiency, communicative competence) do you want to see?
What characteristics do you want to see in the citizens of our community in the 21st century (thinking especially about those who are young children now)?
What value systems do you want to see in them?
What community contributions do you want to see them make?
What are the most important aspects of our way of life which you want to see continued?
What aspects of our way of life would you like to see changed? (adapted from Brandt and Ayoungman 1988, 65–66)

While many of these questions are not directly related to language, all of them have implications for language planning. For example, if one ideal is that future citizens of the community should be more involved in traditional ceremonies, then a language program should be partly based on ceremonialism, teaching children the language arts they need to participate in ceremonies and, if the language program is to be school based, arranging for field trips or school holidays to support their attendance at ceremonies.

Goals are often set by brainstorming. As Lucille Watahomigie does in classes on language planning (e.g., at

AILDI—see Chapter 29) and as Brandt and Ayoungman describe, planners (hopefully with strong community presence at this stage) can brainstorm together as follows (the same process would be used for futuring, above):

> *Purpose:* to identify and prioritize community goals based upon what has been identified in [the futuring process, above]
>
> *Materials:* flip chart and markers. Each ideal identified [in the futuring process] should be permanently recorded for later reference and use and possible distribution to participants and others as needed.
>
> *Activity:* choose a recorder and without criticism place the factors identified on flip charts. Distribute a list of the ideals identified in [the futuring process] to all participants or place it in clear viewing for all.
>
> (1) Without discussing how ideals should be accomplished, begin a new list of those ideals which community action could clearly affect, and place those which it could not on a separate list. Some general statements may need to be rephrased into more specific goals. Once these have been listed, distribute the list to the participants for step 2.
>
> (2) Prioritize this list of things into those which are most important based upon group consensus, assigning a rank of 1 to the most important and so on down the line. These now become the goals of the language planning process. (Brandt and Ayoungman 1988, 66)

Since we are talking about language planning, how a language revitalization program could be designed to effect each ideal must be kept in mind. Goal setting will take place on a more detailed basis as subsequent stages are reached. Once you know your resources and needs, for example, goal setting can become more precise and informed.

Stage 3: Preplanning and Research

This is the stage at which planners survey their communities, discover their resources, research their language, and find out what other revitalization programs are doing.

The Language Survey

One of the most important steps in language planning is to find out the attitudes of the people in your community. To what degree are the members of the community interested in language maintenance or revitalization, and what kind of projects would they like to see? While community meetings can tell you a great deal about this, they do not necessarily represent the views of those who do not attend the meetings. The community language survey has the function of helping planners understand the attitudes of the whole community toward the language and language maintenance or revitalization, and individual members' willingness to participate in the process. The language survey can also tell you about the degree of language knowledge and usage in the community. The survey will thus help you learn about the human resources for language in your community—for example, how many fluent speakers there are, how old the speakers are, and how well they know the language.

Surveys might be based on open-ended oral interviews, which are a rich source of information, or, on the other end of the continuum, might be written in a multiple-choice format, which makes them more quantifiable and easier to obtain from large numbers of people. Written surveys are usually anonymous—that is, the respondent does not put down his or her name. This is important for getting honest answers to what could be sensitive questions. You need to include questions eliciting some basic demographic data such as the respondent's age.

Questions about degree of knowledge and exposure to the language might look something like this (although this is by no means the only possible format):

How well would you estimate that you can speak [language name, e.g. Tohono O'odham]?
______ Fluently
______ Somewhat well: can make myself understood, but have some problems with it
______ Not very well: know a lot of words and phrases, but have a hard time communicating
______ Know some vocabulary, but can't speak in sentences
______ Not at all

How well do you understand [language name]?
______ Understand everything someone says to me
______ Understand mostly, but not completely
______ Understand some words and phrases only
______ Not at all

To what extent do you and your family use [language name] at home at the present time?
______ Always
______ Sometimes
______ Never

When you were growing up, how often did you hear [language name] in your home?
______ Always
______ Sometimes
______ Never

When you were a small child (before school age), how often did you speak [language name] at home?
______ Always
______ Sometimes
______ Never

Once you started going to school, how often did you speak [language name] at home?
______ Always
______ Sometimes
______ Never

These are only a few of the questions that could be asked. Depending on your needs, and on the patience of the people you ask to fill it out, the survey may only be a page or two, or it may be many pages.

Surveys of adults often take the form of asking people to

mark on a scale the degree to which they agree with certain statements. For example, some of the questions designed to elicit language attitudes and interest in revitalization might look like this:

It is important for members of our community to know their language.

Agree strongly			Disagree strongly	
5	4	3	2	1

An important part of being [e.g., Navajo] is to know the language.

Agree strongly			Disagree strongly	
5	4	3	2	1

Our community should make efforts to teach the language to people who don't know it.

Agree strongly			Disagree strongly	
5	4	3	2	1

Our language should be taught in our schools.

Agree strongly			Disagree strongly	
5	4	3	2	1

It would be a good idea to provide classes for families on how to keep their language in use at home.

Agree strongly			Disagree strongly	
5	4	3	2	1

It would be a good idea to develop a writing system for our language.

Agree strongly			Disagree strongly	
5	4	3	2	1

I would be willing to assist in a language program.

Agree strongly			Disagree strongly	
5	4	3	2	1

You should probably do a pilot test of your survey, because often you will find that some of the questions you ask on the first draft are unclear or objectionable; or you may find, by interviewing people while you administer the survey, that some important questions have been left out.

It may be that you only want to administer the survey to adults; a more thorough approach would be to administer it to all age groups, at least from elementary school on. Surveys for children would have to be rather different from surveys for adults (see Sims 1996).

Administering the survey individually to people while in their presence gives you the best chance of getting a response from everyone. It also allows you to discuss language knowledge and language revitalization in a more open-ended way with people, affording you the opportunity to learn much more than if you only use a quantified written set of questions. Surveys can also be administered to groups and collected on the spot. Alternatively, they can be mailed out; but sometimes this will mean that many will not respond. Following up mailings with phone calls or visits will increase the response rate.

Surveys may of course be of different types than the kind illustrated above. Just to give an example, a large language community serviced by multiple schools might want to use a survey to find out what sorts of language teaching and materials preparation are going on in various schools.

Finding Your Resources and Constraints

What and whom do you have available to help you in the planning and implementation of a language revitalization program? What constraints are there that you need to work within?

Human Resources

Some of the human resources in your community may have been discovered by the initial survey described above. The human resources include:

(1) Speakers—your most important resource!
(2) Community members who have been working with language in one way or another, such as trying to learn the language, teaching it in school, developing materials, and so on. Often individuals or small groups are doing independent work on language, and whenever possible, it is very important to incorporate them somehow into an overall language plan, to avoid factionalization, reinventing the wheel, and other such problems.
(3) Community members with expertise in traditional ceremonialism, traditional medicine, knowledge of plants and animals, native crafts, subsistence on the land, and so on.
(4) Language supporters and advocates within the community—perhaps the tribal council or other governing body.
(5) Experts in the community with skills useful to language revitalization, such as teachers, artists, grant writers, computer experts, and so on.
(6) Associated outside consultants, such as linguists, anthropologists, or education consultants who have worked in your community.

Cultural Resources

What active traditions, ceremonies, and native skills are present in your community? These can be extremely important resources for language revitalization efforts.

Documentation Resources

(1) Linguistic materials and publications on your language
(2) Writing systems developed inside or outside the community
(3) Classroom materials, books, language teaching manuals and curricula, Web sites, CD-ROMs, and other such items that have already been developed in or for your community
(4) Tape recordings, video recordings, and so on, developed by outside professionals or by community members
(5) Useful books, articles, Web sites, and so on, on such relevant topics as language teaching theory and methodology, and a new but growing literature on language revitalization.

Besides identifying these resources, their value to your goals must also be assessed.

Model Programs Elsewhere

While each community has a unique set of resources, needs, and goals that will make its language revitalization program unique, the experience of other communities doing language revitalization can provide a great deal of inspiration. Visits to interesting language programs or communication with the people that work in them can be tremendously educational and helpful in language planning for your own community.

Institutional Resources

Some endangered languages are taught at universities. One can learn Hawaiian at the University of Hawai'i. There are American universities and community colleges that teach Navajo, Ojibwa, Dakota, and other Native American languages. Gaelic can be learned in schools and universities in Scotland and Ireland, Welsh in Wales, and so on. While the very small language communities will not find universities teaching their languages, such institutions may nevertheless be capable of providing assistance in other ways. There may be important archives or clearinghouses that have materials of use to your community. Consultants of various sorts might be available from universities or other institutions. Some institutions may have departments that can be helpful in training, or in developing materials.

Equipment and Supplies

What is available to your language efforts in terms of equipment and supplies, such as computers and software, tape recorders, video cameras, printing capabilities, and the like? The presence or absence of the more expensive items may play an important role in your planning.

Funding Sources

What foundations and granting agencies might be able to fund your projects? Are there community-internal funding sources? Funding is a complex and difficult issue, but we all have to face it.

Constraints

What constraints are there that will affect your language program? For example, Hopi language planners in 1998 identified a constraint against centralized language programs as being that the villages were autonomous and wanted to guard their autonomy by designing their own programs. Dialect differences between villages were another constraint. Thus, although diplomatic coordination of existing programs could be useful, any program that went against the village autonomy and dialect preservation might well prove unsuccessful (class presentation by instructor at AILDI, 10 June 1999).

Many constraints operated in California that resulted in the basic design of the California Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program (Chapter 17). The fact that California has such great language diversity and, in some cases, such small populations speaking these languages means that classes in the languages at universities would be impossible, as would K–12 immersion schools of the sort found in Hawai'i (Chapters 12 and 13).

Step 4: Needs Assessment

Once you know what you have in the way of resources, you will also know what you need. Do you need funding? How much? Will you need to bring in consultants? What kind of training will be needed? What kinds of equipment will have to be obtained? What kind of space will you need? Specifics of a language plan may well be determined by these needs. For example, if your community wants language teaching to take place in the school, but you find that you have no language teachers who are speakers and no speakers who are teachers, you may well need to develop a specific plan for producing speaker-teachers. This may involve teaching present or future teachers the language (which could mean, for example, the establishment of a master-apprentice program such as that described in Chapter 17); or it may involve teacher training for speakers. You may find that there are actual laws that make it difficult to implement a language program. The problem that speakers are usually not teachers may lead you into the realm of lobbying your government for legislative changes allowing speakers special status that can put them on a school payroll. An example of the necessity for legislative lobbying is found in Hawai'i, where a Hawaiian language immersion program could not be established until the state law that mandated that all teaching be in English was changed (see Chapter 13).

Step 5: Policy Formulation

Language policy consists of a set of statements and mandates about language based on philosophy and ideology within the language community. Language policy need not always be a part of planning, and it need not be a formal document, but it may be. A language policy statement could contain some or all of these sections, among others:

(1) A general mission statement about language or language related issues
(2) A statement about the philosophy and value of the local language
(3) A statement declaring the official language(s) of the community
(4) Information on the role and authority of various bodies, including local governing or policy-setting bodies, community members, and committees
(5) A list of prioritized goals

(6) Statements on policies about orthography and literacy (such as acceptance of an official writing system or rejection of writing systems altogether)
(7) Statements about intellectual property rights, copyrights, and so on
(8) Statements about social, cultural, religious, situational, and political constraints that may affect language programs, such as constraints on when traditional tales can be told or in what context certain sacred songs must be sung

Depending on the situation in your language community, it might be important to develop a formal language policy that can be presented to an authoritative body for endorsement (such as a tribal council, school board, or regional or national governing body). However, a language policy may often be written and rewritten for years by planners before it is deemed appropriate to submit it to an authoritative body for endorsement (if ever).

Step 6: Goal Reassessment, and Developing Strategies and Methods to Reach Your Goals

At this stage, the planners are well informed about general community goals, resources, needs, and policies within the context of which a language plan will be implemented. Now is the time to do a more detailed look at goals, and strategies and methods to reach those goals, along with a proposed timeline. Here is where planners will design the nature of specific programs and projects, adopt methodologies, decide on funding strategies, training methods, and so on. Writing proposals and holding training seminars may be taking place at this point.

Step 7: Implementation

Now the program begins! Whatever you have planned now takes place. Materials, reference books, and curriculum are developed. Archives grow. Teaching happens. The community is doing the real work of language revitalization.

Step 8: Evaluation

The people involved in revitalization must evaluate the progress and effectiveness of the program on a regular basis. Evaluation may include such things as the assessment of language proficiency of learners, the amount and quality of materials developed, the degree to which desired groups are involved (such as the elders who are the speakers of the language), and so on. Whatever the community is doing, is it working? Evaluation may take place informally, where people meet to discuss the good and bad points of the program, or it may involve more formal processes such as the administering of tests to students.

Step 9: Replanning

Evaluation of the program leads back to planning. Given that problems were identified in stage 8, how should the program be modified to solve them? Given that successes were identified in stage 8, does this mean that the community is ready to implement a more advanced goal? Replanning will take place on a constant basis once a program is under way.

CASE STUDIES OF LANGUAGE PLANNING

The Karuk Language Restoration Committee

Christine P. Sims (1996) did a study of Karuk, an endangered language of California. The tribe formed the Karuk Language Restoration Committee in 1988; it is open to any tribal members who wish to be involved but has a core group of about ten active members. The committee was established by the members themselves, but in 1993 it was officially sanctioned by the Karuk Tribal Council, who provided limited financial support. Some members are native speakers; several have participated in the California Master-Apprentice Program and are second-language speakers of varying proficiency. These same members have conducted summer language camps, teach the language in the schools and preschool programs, or hold adult language classes. Thus a great many active language revitalization efforts were taking place before the committee began serious language planning.

The committee began a planning process in 1989 that began with an assessment of Karuk language vitality and reasons for its decline. The committee came up with the following general proposals:

(1) Recording the elders
(2) Developing new fluent speakers over an extended period of time
(3) Educating the community about language restoration and cultural preservation
(4) Involving the community in designing and evaluating a Karuk language restoration program
(5) Promoting community participation in activities where the language could be used

Nancy Richardson Steele, a member of the committee, stresses that language planning is an ongoing process. It is never possible, nor is it desirable, to come up with a finalized rigid plan that will then be implemented without any changes. As plans are implemented, it will be found that some ideas work well, some do not. Some projects require a longer or shorter time period (usually longer) than projected. People get burnt out; other people join in with new skills and knowledge. Research and the experiences of other communities present new ideas and possibilities that people might want to incorporate into a plan for language revitalization. Funding

for specific projects might be obtained, or perhaps not obtained, which would necessitate rethinking the plan.

In my university, each department is asked to come up with a five-year plan—every year! Thus we are always thinking five years ahead, but our plans change according to our experience in any given year. Language planning could take place along similar lines. Of course, even if a committee develops a five-year plan, it must be based on goals and missions that may be longer term. The major goal proposed by the Karuk language committee is to make Karuk a language that will one day be used again in the daily course of life. Such a goal is known by the committee to be very long range indeed, and five years was seen to be the minimum time needed to make even a slight initial impact on the language situation.

In summary, Sims says this about the role of Karuk language planning:

> Language planning has undoubtedly been an important factor in all of the initiatives that Karuk people have taken. Planning, for instance, has been instrumental in helping individual Karuks identify needed resources for training, creating opportunities for more Karuk people to be involved in language learning, and in learning appropriate methodologies for language teaching. Much of what has taken place within the last few years has been through individual tribal member efforts in carrying out the goals of Karuk revitalization. The Language Restoration Committee provides the authority for the many different efforts being carried out in Karuk language revitalization. And although community-wide collaboration is not always evident and often difficult to coordinate between various communities, the fact that Karuk people are involved in language restoration at the grassroots level is a considerably different approach than what was tried in the past. (Sims 1996, 20)

The Yurok Language Committee

The Yurok Language Committee consists primarily of elders who speak the language and care greatly about its continuation. An example of language planning by that committee which I observed personally serves as a model for how planning can overcome divisive issues. Yurok is one of several languages in northern California which adopted the UNIFON writing system in the 1970s, an alphabet of odd symbols which was introduced by the training staff from the Center for Indian Community Development at Humboldt State University. (See further discussion of UNIFON in Chapter 19.) UNIFON engendered a great deal of controversy and was especially disliked by linguists, in part because for most of the languages to which it was applied, it failed to represent certain distinctive sounds and overdistinguished nondistinctive sounds. The Yurok version of UNIFON was reasonably good in terms of accurately representing its sounds, but it was not based directly on the Roman alphabet, which meant that it could not be typed, it was impossible to enter on a computer without a special font, and people could not readily use their knowledge of English orthography in learning the system. Nevertheless, some people liked UNIFON precisely *because* it was not based on English and thus symbolized the separate identity of Indian people and the separateness of Indian languages from English. UNIFON was taught to a number of native-speaking elders, some of whom produced some important materials using that writing system. For example, one Yurok elder, Jessie Exline, has produced a very large and impressive dictionary manuscript of Yurok using UNIFON.

The staff who played the leadership role in the teaching and support of UNIFON are no longer at the university. Linguists working with the tribes continue to use Roman-based orthographies in their work, and in some cases young tribal members studying linguistics have become convinced that the Roman-based systems are superior, for the reasons outlined above. Other young tribal members who see UNIFON for the first time are simply horrified by the foreignness of the symbols. So over the years, the languages using UNIFON have one by one abandoned the system and replaced it with Roman-based alphabets.

However, the elders who learned the system did so with great effort and devoted many hundreds of hours to learning and producing materials using it. The abandonment of UNIFON could negate all their work and devalue the products of their efforts. This would create a potentially dangerous situation wherein the elders, who are the most valuable language experts in the community, could become estranged from the younger generation of language activists.

The Yurok language committee, many members of whom know UNIFON, met the issue of orthography head on. They discussed all the pros and cons of continuing to use UNIFON as the official orthography, and as a group they decided to work on the development of an alternative system. They invited various linguists in to present potential replacement alphabets and to teach the committee how the Roman-based orthographies correlate with UNIFON symbols. They themselves assumed the responsibility of approving the final choice of a writing system. They also decided that at least for now, future publications would be done in both orthographies.

Thus, careful decision-making averted a blowup between orthography factions, made certain that the elders who knew UNIFON were shown proper consideration and respect, and thus assured continued cooperation between all parties. By inviting linguistic consultants to propose orthographies but keeping the final decision on orthography as the responsibility of the committee, the committee also asserted community control over language policy.

CONCLUSION

Darrell Kipp, one of the founders of the Blackfeet immersion school system in Montana, often cautions people wanting to save their language not to wait until conditions

are just perfect. "Just do it!" he says. Planning need not be a hurdle that one must get over before language revitalization can begin. If someone has a particular project she or he wants to do, it can be undertaken without necessarily waiting to see how it fits into a large overall language plan for the community. Nor, as we have seen, should language planning ever be thought of as complete. Constant evaluation needs to go on as action is implemented. A continuous evaluative and replanning component to a language program can help coordinate different projects within a community, develop funding for them, reduce the intensity of factionalism, and ensure that language revitalization efforts develop effectively.

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APPENDIX C: SUGGESTED ELEMENTS OF A NATIVE LANGUAGE PROGRAM

"Moving Toward the Language: Reflections on Teaching in an Indigenous-Immersion School" (2007) by Mary Hermes (in the Journal of American Indian Education).

"Grassroots Suggestions for Linking Native-Language Learning, Native American Studies, and Mainstream Education in Reservation Schools with Mixed Indian and White Student Populations" (2006) by Phyllis Ngai (in Language, Culture and Curriculum).

"Bilingual Education in Rural Schools with Native and Non-Native Students: Indigenous-Language Programme Elements for an Inclusive Model" (2007) by Phyllis Ngai (in the International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism).

Moving Toward the Language: Reflections on Teaching in an Indigenous-Immersion School

Mary Hermes

A powerful tool for creating culture while at the same time, a cognitively rigorous exercise, Indigenous-language immersion could be a key for producing both language fluency and academic success in culture-based schools. Drawing on seven years of critical ethnographic research at Ojibwe schools in Minnesota and Wisconsin, this researcher suggests Indigenous schools consider shifting from a culture-based curriculum to teaching culture through the Indigenous language. In this article, the researcher chronicles her thinking that led to direct involvement in the founding of an Ojibwe language-immersion school. Reflecting on one year of co-teaching, some of the successes and challenges of teaching in a new immersion school are articulated.

Introduction

For the past 13 years I have been working between theory and practice. I feel compelled to enact what I write about, thinking alone is not enough (Lather, 1991). Always on the lookout for ways to improve culture-based education, I read, write, think, and just when I start to feel useless, I get drawn back to the act of teaching children. In the fall of 1999, I was having conversations with a friend about collaborating to start an Ojibwe-language immersion school. This article tells the story of how my research in American Indian education brought me to the point of shifting from research about Ojibwe culture-based curriculum to participation in founding an Ojibwe-language immersion school. Particularly, I focus on my year as a co-teacher at the school in order to reflect on what worked and what did not. Being a progressive teacher educator, I had a golden opportunity to research, design, select, and then enact the curriculum I was planning. I want to write about this year in a way that is accessible to others who may be contemplating starting immersion schools. As Cleary and Peacock (1997) emphasize, brilliant academic writing amounts to very little if no one working in the field or the community reads it.

As our Indigenous languages become more and more endangered, immersion schooling is the buzzword. As our Indigenous languages are said to be dying out, immersion schools and revitalization efforts are budding all over Indian country. The start-up years for these programs pose myriad challenges. This story is not a complete road map or how-to-guide; however, I hope it is one story among many more to come that will chronicle our collective thinking on how to revitalize our Indigenous languages.

Background: Culture-Based Education and Methods

Culture-based education has been actively funded, implemented, and researched for at least the past 30 years (Demmert & Towner, 2003). Some recent extensive literature reviews (Demmert & Tower, 2003; Deyhle & Swisher, 1997; Lomawaima, 1995; McCarty & Zepeda, 1995) are helpful in consolidating the wealth of information that is currently available as well as considering the next strategic steps for the Indigenous education movement. In this article, I consider language revitalization as a powerful part of this broader movement and begin to create links between the ideas within these often time-separate literature bases: culture-based research and language-revitalization efforts.

Varied as the Indigenous nations are, it is difficult, and perhaps not desirable, to make sweeping conclusions about the culture-based movement as a whole. Following Lomawaima (1995), I agree that nation-specific research is needed and place my critical ethnographic research as a part of the literature on Ojibwe culture-based education. In the first part of this article, I summarize the research I conducted in culture-based education over the past 10 years. This work directly led me to see the importance of Ojibwe language in this area (Hermes, 2005a). The second part of this article is devoted to reflections on the work I did as a founder, and then a co-teacher, in a new Indigenous-language immersion school. In bringing the formal research and informal reflections together, I hope to interconnect the areas of language and culture. Within educational academic traditions these areas are most often disjointed, but within Indigenous traditions culture and language are often spoken of in the same breath.

I reject the notion of “objectivity” in research and opt instead to reveal some of my own positionality, or perspective really, so you may understand the lens through which I will view this work. In many ways I am both an “insider” and an “outsider” to the Native communities I in which I work and reside (Fine, 1994; Foley, Levinson, & Hurting, 2000; Hermes, 1998; Narayan, 1993). As a person of mixed Native heritage, an adoptee and researcher, I am drawn to culture-based schooling and language to learn for personal reasons as well to learn “what I can learn.” In some ways, I am an “insider” to the communities I work in; I have multi-layer relationships with many of the people. For example, I have relations, friends, former students, children of former students, and many other community connections with the teachers, students, and parents I write about, as well as a common identity and heritage. However, in other ways I am, and will always be, an “outsider.” I am not an enrolled tribal member here, nor do I have the

longstanding family-tribal connections to this place that many of the tribal members and lastly, I am an academic, which at times can put even insiders on the outside (Cleary & Peacock, 1997; Narayan, 1993; Smith, 1999). My experience as someone raised in an urban environment, by a White family, is a different experience than those of the Native people who were born and raised here. I work at a university 90 miles north of the Indigenous community I live in. This is neither bad nor good, but hopefully does, in part, help to give context to the position I am writing from. Clearly, it is an oversimplification to say either "insider" or "outsider," as so many of the people in the community are many shades in between.

In my research, I am influenced by principles of activist research (Gitlin, 1994), Native American methods (Haig-Brown & Arichibald, 1996; Hermes, 1998) and feminist (Fine, 1994; Lather, 1991) research methodologies. These methods concur in saying that research priorities come from the needs of communities, and in this way research can be reciprocal rather than exploitative. Reciprocal research provides information back to the community that serves a need and leverages the power of the university to focus on these needs. As a American Indian academic, I feel a responsibility to work across the borders of the university and put energy back into the Native community (Ibanez-Carrasco & Meiners, 2004). This type of research often challenges existing priorities and discourses in academia (Grande, 2005; Smith, 1999) bringing multiple perspectives as well as multiple agendas to bear on the nature of the research project.

Summary of Research Findings: A Friendly Critique

Over the past 10 years, I have closely observed and participated in a variety of Ojibwe tribal schools, and I have asked: What kinds of meanings do people make out of the notion of culture-based curriculum? We have assumed all along that we know what is meant by culture, while at the same time we have struggled with defining and implementing culture-based education (Hermes, 1995; 2005a). Informed by critical cultural anthropology (Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Eisenhart, 2001; Gonzalez, 2004; Levinson & Holland, 1996) theoretical shifts in my thinking about culture have helped me to understand culture as more of a process than a product. This shift in understanding became a powerful lens for interpreting the teaching of language and culture in culture-based programs.

In late 1995, I completed a long-term research project in which I engaged on many levels with the problems of developing culture-based curriculum for the Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwe Schools (Hermes, 1995). Through this research, I saw how powerful culture-based curriculum could be to motivate and create self-esteem for students. Evidence from other sites also suggests that Native culture and traditions are assets to student success (Deyhle, 1992; Ledlow, 1992) and that culture-based schooling is in many ways a successful approach for American Indian/Alaska Native students (see, for example, Deyhle & Swisher, 1997; Lipka, 1991; Lipka, Mohatt, & The Ciulistet Group, 1998; McCarty, 2002; Watahomigie

& McCarty, 1994). Although I support these findings, I also identified a challenge for culture-based curriculum: Culture was not usually integrated into academic disciplines, but rather taught as a separate and isolated subject. Culture and language classes taught traditional seasonal subsistence skills, outfit making, stories, teachings, and cooking skills, for example. These areas of knowledge and tradition were isolated from the majority of classes offered at the school. Informants were telling me that culture was constrained by the structure of schooling. My original research question about meaning became more pointed: How could Ojibwe culture be present in schools in a way that did not artificially constrain the creative power of culture? Tom Peacock summed it up when he said, "We've institutionalized culture, where is the meaning? The greatest error in Indian education is that we've institutionalized that stuff. Culture is just what we do" (personal communication, June 2003).

Students interpreted the split in curriculum (i.e., culture based curriculum versus academically or disciplined based curriculum) as an identity choice or *dichotomy*. Reaffirming a fear three generations old, stemming from boarding school days, students read the choice as: Be academically successful or be an Ojibwe (Adams, 1988; Hermes, 1995). This disintegration of culture-based schooling presents a false dualism between academic success and cultural success. This finding resonates with Deyhle's findings in the Navajo Nation (Deyhle, 1992) and African American community as well (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). However, not all students felt torn by this split, they just felt underserved. One fifth-grade student, already confident in her identity, just wanted academic rigor: "Indian! I don't need anybody to teach me how to be an Indian, that's what I am. I want them to show me how to be a doctor" (as cited in Hermes, 1995, p. 122).

Constrained by the dominant structures of schooling, what part of culture can be taught in a classroom? And how can it be more deeply integrated into all aspects, all disciplines of school? Inserting culture into an institution is problematic. It is messy and complicated, and needs rigorous, long-term attention in order to produce curriculum that is based in the culture and is developed deeply enough to encompass and satiate the Western academic standards of American public schools (see Hawaiian and Alaskan examples of cultural standards). Communities need the freedom, and the power, to change the institution deeply (Lipka & McCarty, 1994) if they are to change the base of a school. Because of these challenges, and due to (influenced by) the responses from my informants, I began to see teaching through an Indigenous language as a partial solution, or at least a powerful strategy, in the evolution of culture-based schools (Hermes, 2005a; 2005b). In looking for more complex explanations of school failure as well as deeper iterations of culture-based curriculum, I began to hear what the elders were saying about "teach the language."

Respondents answered clearly that culture and language were the important parts of what the tribal school should teach. However, it was difficult for anyone to say exactly what they meant by culture, or specifically what or how the school should teach. The one exception to this was Ojibwe language. Ojibwe language

can be taught and immediately implemented in schools. The desire for Ojibwe language to be taught in schools was iterated over and over, at nearly every interview, by every elder. Teach the language. This is one tangible piece of Native culture that we can grab onto and insert into schools, and eventually the language will change the culture of the school.

Language Revitalization and Indigenous-Language Immersion Schools

The importance of revitalizing Native languages is recognized among linguists and community members alike. It is at once a direction for research, action, and documentation (Cantoni, 1996; Hinton & Ahlers, 2000; Hinton & Hale, 2001; Krauss, 1998; Leap, 1988; Lipka et al., 1998; McCarty, 1993; Reyhner, 1997). Pioneered in the United States by the Hawaiians, Blackfeet, Navajos, and Mohawks, the Indigenous-immersion method is quickly being recognized as one of the most effective tools for restoring Indigenous language while simultaneously teaching for Native student academic success (Aguilera & LeCompte, 2007, pp. 11-37; DeJong, 1998; Greymorning, 1997; Kipp, 2000; McCarty, 2002; Wilson & Kawaiʻaeʻa, 2007, pp. 38-55).

Language immersion is not only a powerful tool for revitalizing Indigenous languages, but research from other immersion schools shows there are meta-cognitive benefits as well (see Demmert, 1994; Pease-Pretty On Top, 2003). Increased overall language abilities, and gains in other academic areas, have been documented in students who have high levels of proficiency in both their first and second languages (Baker, 2001). For this reason, using an Indigenous language as the medium of instruction in a school resolves the (sometimes) perceived dilemma between academic and cultural success. Seeing through an Ojibwe lens, experiencing the world through the Ojibwe language, students will not fear acculturation due to academic success. Administrators can meet content standards, while teaching though the Ojibwe language.

Starting up Waadookodaading

At another tribal school site I visited, the Elder's Council had already made the decision to teach culture only through the language (Hermes, 2005a). This directive spoke volumes to me. I had been involved in conversations with a friend, Emma, about starting a charter school in Hayward, Wisconsin (near the Lac Courte Orielles Reservation). Emma and her partner, Jaaj,[1] are Ojibwe language activists and wanted to start an immersion school. I was teaching at Carleton College and was considering a move back to the Hayward area to be more involved in the Ojibwe culture. I was familiar with charter schools from my work in Minnesota with an American Indian arts education group that started a school. Although often thought of as a move to privatize public education, charter schools also represent an opportunity for marginalized groups to re-invent schooling with the financial support of the state. Emma and Jaaj asked if I could help start an immersion school. We met that spring and decided we would share ideas and combine talents to start a school. I had a background in building curriculum for American Indian charter

schools, and I was anxious to learn about immersion. They had language proficiency and a great desire to do something about language shift in the community. In hindsight, I can say we really didn't know how much work starting an immersion school for an endangered Indigenous language would be. Starting a school means creating structure and curriculum, along with community support, facilities, and funding. In our case, we were creating the curriculum with nothing but a dictionary, a few grammar books, and a few elders. That is, the entire curriculum needed to be newly created. This alone doubled the workload for teachers, but we did not have double the staff to meet this need.

In the pilot year, we operated a kindergarten program, partially through an Administration for Native Americans language grant held by the Lac Courte Oreilles Community College. We borrowed a conference room from the principal at the tribal school and worked with four Elders and two non-certified teachers. We had six students for a half day of classes. My language colleagues had visited Darrell Kipp at the Piegan Institute in Montana, and had taken his advice to heart. When asked how to start an immersion program, he told them, "Just do it," and that is exactly how we started (Kipp, 2000). While operating the kindergarten program, we organized and planned for the charter immersion school. In May 2001, we were granted a charter by the Hayward Community School Board to operate a K-12 Ojibwe-immersion school. As of May 2005, the school is completing its fifth year of operation. Currently, the school has grown to a preK-4 program for 25 students housed within the Hayward Public School building.

The mission of the school is to create fluent speakers, intergenerational relationships, and environmental awareness. That is, in addition to being intensely focused on revitalizing the Ojibwe language and producing speakers, we believe our students can and will choose many divergent career paths. We want them to love learning and be capable of finding solutions for our rapidly changing planet. In short, we are "thinking globally while acting locally." Here we share the goal with the culture-based movement, we hope to ground our children in their identity as Ojibwe, and we see the world through this identity and language.

In many ways the school's start up has been heralded as a success. It has grown from just a few families to many; students are learning Ojibwe and generally keeping up with tests and standard curriculum; the operating budget is healthy. Staff has grown from three volunteers to over seven full-time paid positions. The status of the language has been raised; no longer is it "dying" but something people are engaged in every day. Language-curriculum development has been immense. Students, nearly all of them new to the Ojibwe language, are immersed in the language, not submerged. Teachers are mindful of content appropriate for grade level while at the same time attempting to scaffold language learning into lessons. Since Jaaj, Emma, and I started, many people have stepped forward to help in whatever ways they can. Some are working on their language skills, some got involved in governance and others simply came to every event they were invited to. Through the efforts of many different people in the community, the dream of an immersion school is a reality.

Although we do not have hard data to show our success as of yet, we feel our success can be measured in at least three other ways: start up, parent participation, and student motivation. The actual start up of an Indigenous-immersion school, with only one year of planning time, is a success story we would like to share. More planning time would have resulted in better preparedness, but on the other hand we were not completely unprepared. During the last five years (one year as a pilot and four as a charter) of operation, we have begun to create curriculum and literacy materials in the Ojibwe language. This means we are creating a literate tradition for an oral language.

Also during these years, the participation of our parents has been between 90% and 100%, compared to other Native education programs in the public schools that have average participation in the range from 40%-70% (M. Cox, Superintendent of Hayward Schools, personal communication, 2003). When enrolling in Waadookodaading, parents are asked to agree to volunteer at the school eight hours per month. This was an idea directly borrowed from the Hawaiian immersion school movement. Hoping to bolster our small staff with parent volunteers, there are many opportunities for parents to help. They may assist with curriculum, field trips, administration, cleanup or organizing events. Parents who enroll their children in this program want them to learn Ojibwe and are generally willing to participate in order for that goal to be met. Due to our students' learning experiences, parents, extended families, and friends are now interested in learning the language. Attendance at our language retreats doubles every year.

The most important way we count our success is by our students. They are motivated to learn the Ojibwe language beyond our dreams. They are hungry for it. They are not intimidated and never say, "This is too hard." They are inspiring us all to learn; they are inspiring a generation of learners. We have tapped into a deep desire to learn, and this desire spills over into every other academic area. We are creating a love of learning.

Meeting the Challenges of an Endangered Language

The greatest challenge in building an Indigenous-immersion school is the reality that the language is endangered. This leads to a sense of urgency and makes for a fast-paced, neverending work environment. A shortage of language resources, both curriculum and teachers, and the need to quickly build a parent network are challenges that add to this sense of urgency. The other theme of this story is that the idea of an Ojibwe-language immersion school is a radical break with tradition. For the past 150 years, schools have been the place where English-language skills are acquired, refined, and practiced (McCarty, 2002). In a small rural community, an immersion school in an Indigenous language is a radical break with this recent tradition of school as a means to learn English. This community paradigm shift requires a tremendous amount of change in a small amount of time. It requires community building on many fronts. People cannot be forced into change; trust, relationship building, and a shared commitment are all qualities that require time

and patience. We remind ourselves at meetings and retreats that this work is hard on our relationships and takes time.

Language Resources: Curriculum and Teachers

Perhaps one of the most unique challenges an endangered-language school faces is the lack of language resources. We have two fluent teachers—one proficient teacher and one fluent elder—who work at the school on a regular basis. When we started, we had a few printed materials. We started with only Ojibwe-language dictionaries, some good phrase books, and lots of photocopies of a college Ojibwe-language course. Science, math, art, music, reading, and writing would be offered in Ojibwe, and yet we had no curriculum materials to speak of. Our only option was to produce them as we went along, and this was a big demand on the teachers and elders.

We have also had to look beyond the immediate reservation community. The Ojibwe people are divided into 18 sovereign nations in the United States and many more communities in Canada. Although they are united by language, ceremonies, and clans, numerous treaties recognize each reservation as its own sovereign entity. This means that each small community of about 2,000 to 3,000 people has its own government, enrollment procedure, and identity. This can create some barriers to working together. The language revitalization movement is spread out; activists and speakers from each community are trying to work together. Speakers from other Ojibwe reservations, from Canada, and from Minneapolis-St. Paul have all aided us in our mission. Trapping and storytelling retreats, curriculum breaks, summer camps, ceremonies, and conferences all provide opportunities for us to converge and meet speakers who are willing to help. This convergence is a positive thing for a nation that has been historically divided by colonialism. It is also a challenge for small bands that operate independently as sovereign nations.

Teachers need to be skilled in both language and pedagogy in order to teach in an immersion setting. Immersion teaching requires a very high level of language proficiency. Situated near a reservation of about 3,000 enrolled members, there are approximately 10 fluent speakers remaining. The few elders who do speak Ojibwe as a first language in this area are in their 60s and are not likely to be the main teacher for an elementary classroom. Some of these elders have been instrumental resources in starting the school; they come every day to assist in the classrooms. There are only a handful of other highly proficient second-language speakers in this area, and few of these are certified teachers. Since Ojibwe reservations are anywhere from 100 to 1,000 miles apart, the geographic distance between communities (some who have speakers, and some who do not) is also a challenge. Within this context, finding teachers continues to be one of the greatest challenges of the new immersion school. To date, five teachers have relocated to the Hayward area to be a part of this immersion school.

Parents and Community

The task of establishing any school is monumental. Establishing a school in an endangered Indigenous language that is spoken locally by only a few people is even harder. The amount of work and the pressure of urgency are ongoing. And yet, we cannot rush to produce teachers who are speakers, when we know that at this point it takes anywhere from five to seven years to attain proficiency. We are slowly getting more and more people involved, and slowly developing a governing structure that is fair and inclusive. In the past two years, more parents have become centrally involved, taking on tasks such as becoming board members and directors. Community members committed to the language have also taken on some of the work and responsibilities of running the school. Between the administrative structural work, the labor-intensive curriculum development, and the ever-demanding teaching pressures, we are always busy. These pressures are stressful and antithetical to the deeper, important goal of community building: We have to remind ourselves to stop and have fun with each other.

I believe for the parents this work has great rewards, but great demands as well (Hermes, 2004). Pila Wilson warned us that for the first parents of the first immersion students, the work is "gut-wrenching" (Hermes, 2004). Many parents in our community are not sure what to think of immersion. (Can you imagine not understanding the homework your children bring home?) Every year we struggle with finding teachers, funding, and facilities. The school's future is never guaranteed. I believe this is what Pila meant by "gut-wrenching." We are at the same time trying to do something good for our children, as well as for the community and the language. We are always trusting that it is not at the expense of our children's education. This is the challenge of being an immersion parent.

We know it may take longer than four to five years of immersion for the language to "stick" (Hinton & Hale, 2001; Pease-Pretty On Top, 2003). And we also know that using a language in school does not ensure revitalization; it is only a start. That is, if our children are in immersion from kindergarten through grade four, and thereafter are in seven years of "English immersion," we are hoping they will retain the fluency in Ojibwe they have gained through our program. To ensure this, and for the overall revitalization of the language, we are working on using Ojibwe in our homes and community. For example, Waadookodaading sponsored a parent language class for four hours a week, informal dinners and events that use Ojibwe are happening more often, and, as always, the language continues to be used in ceremony. We visit each other's homes and use Ojibwe—because this is really at the heart of revitalization.

Reflection on Teaching at Waadookodaading, 2003-2004

During the first three years, I was involved as a behind-the-scenes person (parent, director, proposal writer, board member, and curriculum designer). In the fourth year, I took time away from my university position to be a full-time co-classroom teacher for a combined class of grade 2-3-4 students. Later in this paper, I will

reflect more specifically on some of the teaching issues that we faced during that year. These issues are relevant to teaching Indigenous languages and the development of effective methods, an issue that I believe lies at the center of successful language-revitalization efforts.

I worked as a co-teacher in the multiple-grade (2-3-4) classroom alongside a non-certified teacher, Jaaj, who has a high degree of proficiency in Ojibwe. My language skills were only at a high-beginning level at the start of the school year. Part of my job was to teach English, while Jaaj taught math through Ojibwe. This allowed us to split the students into developmental levels for both math and English. I also worked on curriculum planning for the three grades we were teaching. This involved the "big-picture" work—making sure standards were met, keeping up with the public school curriculum, preparing for testing—as well as the immediate curriculum creation of themes, units, and lessons. This work was exciting to me as it was an opportunity to research the best progressive, constructivist, student-centered curriculum available, and to think about what would work in an Ojibwe-immersion environment.

In the end, we implemented a hands-on, environmental, and thematic-based curriculum, which we were creating one step ahead of our teaching. All academic and traditional subjects were taught through the Ojibwe language except for English. Culture and cultural teachings were infused throughout the day, which was appropriate and easy to do with the environmental themes.

During the 2003-2004 school year, the K-4 program was delivered 80%-90% in the medium of the target language. Students were encouraged, but not forced, to respond in Ojibwe. At the start of the school year, the students in the grades 2-3-4 class were using about 12% Ojibwe in their classroom talk. Even though the majority of them had had two or more years of immersion, they were still mostly responding to us in English. Due to a number of factors, by the end of the year, the usage went up to 50% or more. Chris Jones, an intern from Marlborough College, devised a behavior analysis program to measure the amount of Ojibwe spoken by students and to increase this amount (Jones, 2005.) In collaboration with the teachers, he devised a system of extrinsic rewards and reminders to raise the target-language speech levels of students. Students received individual tickets when they were "caught" speaking Ojibwe, and Chris measured the overall amount of Ojibwe he heard spoken in class, three times a day (at random times.) This worked to motivate students individually as well as to work toward this goal as a group. For example, students worked together to earn special days, like a cooking day, Game Boy day, and other special days that they had brainstormed and voted on. They also individually received tickets for speaking Ojibwe, which could be exchanged for books on Friday afternoon. Although the costs and benefits of extrinsic motivation are beyond the limitations of this article (see, for example, Kohn, 1996) this particular reward program was of immediate benefit in raising the students' attempts to speak Ojibwe. Attempting to speak Ojibwe in an environment where mistakes can be made and corrected is an essential part of learning the language (Supahan & Supahan, 2001). For an

endangered language, this opportunity is rare and precious. I would argue that creating an artificial and immediate motivation for students to practice speaking their heritage language was a successful and much-needed strategy for enhancing student oral proficiency. This was one strategy that was successful, though many more questions concerning teaching strategies remain.

Teaching Method Questions

How Can Adults Both Help the Program and Learn the Language?

We have found a resource in people who want to learn the language. Many people have some language skills but have not had a chance to hear or practice the language. The school provides this opportunity, and yet we are currently mostly a resource for preK-4 children. The question, which we debate, is: Is this a place where adults can also learn the language? Adult learners, like all learners, will make mistakes when learning to speak Ojibwe. If they are perceived as teachers, students may copy their mistakes and risk fossilization. However, the school provides a rich environment for hearing and practicing conversational Ojibwe, one that intermediate learners are desperately in need of. Nearly all of the students who enter the school have had very limited exposure to the Ojibwe language. Only one student entered the school with oral proficiency in the language; others rarely hear Ojibwe spoken. In order for the school to move beyond the problems caused by the constant shortage of teachers and speakers, we must somehow create adult speakers. A critical mass of teachers is needed to teach at the school, create curriculum, and support parent learning. Clearly, we need a teacher education program that would create fluent speakers who are also trained teachers (Pease-Pretty On Top, 2003). A lack of fluent speakers with teaching degrees is currently an obstacle.

Should We Teach English?

In the first few years we were idealistic. We did not want to deliberately teach English in our Ojibwe-immersion program. Our children are surrounded by English and, for the most part, only heard Ojibwe when they were at school. We wanted to be like the Hawaiian and the Maori language immersion programs and not add English classes until Grade four (Wilson & Kamana, 2001). However, the first language of our students is English, and most students do not hear Ojibwe spoken on a regular basis, if at all. We are, in some concrete ways, teaching them a foreign language or a heritage language. Research in reading suggests that students need to learn to read and write in their first language first, before we try to teach them literacy in a second language (International Reading Association, 2001). Furthermore, we were overwhelmed with creating curriculum in Ojibwe. Because it is traditionally an oral language, Ojibwe literacy teaching materials are nonexistent. The task of creating a reading program in Ojibwe is also a task of creating a children's literature tradition in Ojibwe.

All through the program we have supported English by teaching reading to our youngest students, supported with 30 minutes of silent sustained reading.

Our kindergarten and first-grade teachers have taught phonics, whole language, spelling, and other skills offered through English. The goal has been to have students reading in English by the end of first grade. During the 2003-2004 year, we formally added a 1-hour-a-day class for the older students as well. This is an entire language arts program, with reading, writing, multimedia skills, and spelling. I found that the English program can also shore up areas where our curriculum resources in Ojibwe are lacking. For instance, we have yet to develop a complete social studies curriculum, so in the English class our content was often social studies in nature.

Computer skills, such as Internet research, PowerPoint, and word processing, were also folded into the English program. Chris Jones was able to develop a multimedia unit for the program as well. His knowledge of computers and multimedia and his skills working with groups of children helped to provide much-needed assistance. During the last two months of school, he helped plan and teach a movie-making unit. With the third and fourth grade, we created short movies that were completely in Ojibwe. Students learned co-operative working skills, rotating specific roles such as: actor, producer, camera person. Once they successfully worked in a group in all of these roles, they were free to write and design their own short skit. Multimedia is a powerful means to get the Ojibwe language back into the homes of the students and parents (Kroskrity & Reynolds, 2001). Also within this additional English program, we were able to tap into volunteer reading tutors, which has been a tremendous help to some of our struggling readers. In these ways we were able to creatively use the first language of students to support their learning of the second language.

Constructivist or Direct Instruction?

Being a progressive educator, I brought a philosophy of education informed by constructivism into the school. Learning centers, Investigations in Data, Number and Space, and FOSS2 science kits were all curriculums I thought would provide for student-centered curriculum. This belief was tempered by the reality that students' only exposure to the Ojibwe language was through their teacher; naturally, this could suggest a more teacher-centered approach. A student-led lesson where they were exploring magnetism, for example, without any direct language instruction first, would result in that science period immersed in English. This describes the tension between a constructivist approach and the need to be teacher centered. These two ideas hung in constant balance, sometimes being pulled one way, sometimes the other. There were no clear-cut answers. There were, however, ways to find compromise. For example, in science, more advanced speakers were partnered with beginning students. After a vocabulary lesson by the teacher, the vocabulary was then applied and used during the experiment phase of the lesson. Most units ended in students discussing their findings and/or writing them up in their science journals. Often the teacher would give an Ojibwe prompt or even a model sentence to aid in the construction of their responses. However, their discussion certainly was limited by their ability to

communicate in Ojibwe. When the preschool started in January 2004, the staff members were trained in Montessori methods. This philosophy results in methods that also tend to be student centered. Preschool staff also wondered if they should be speaking more Ojibwe to students and be more directive and teacher centered.

The literature tells us that many Native children learned through oral traditions (Archibald, 1990; Sheridan, 1991). In this tradition, the onus for learning is on the learner. The learner must find the question, identify and approach the appropriate person for an answer, and accept some responsibility for the answer he or she gets. In this tradition, not only are students actively involved, they are responsible for initiating the entire process and motivated by survival. This is in sharp contrast to current school settings, where students are generally directed through every step of the day. Oral tradition may suggest that correct pedagogy is in the student-centered approaches. Questions for further research are: What methods and pedagogy does the Ojibwe language itself suggest? Are there approaches to teaching that are inherent in the language?

What is Indigenous Immersion?

This is the most pointed question of the language revitalization movement: What exactly are Indigenous-immersion methods (Hinton, 2001, 2002; Supahan & Supahan, 2001)? Beyond using the language as the medium of instruction, what specifically are the most effective methods or teaching strategies for an endangered, Indigenous language? How is this immersion method different from other language-immersion methods? These questions present opportunity for ongoing research into practice. Kipp (2000) provides a starting point when he describes total physical response (TPR). Students are introduced to simple commands through actions. They comprehend and respond at the same time. Quickly, they also learn to use the command. Similarly, in their discussion of communication-based instruction, Supahan and Supahan, (2001) outline five steps for setting up immersion lessons: Setting the stage, comprehensible input, guided practice, independent practice, and assessment. In many ways, variations of both of these processes were used in our daily teaching.

Delivering school content without students understanding at least some specific vocabulary first tends to be a wasted lesson. Our approach in the 2-3-4 room was to introduce a unit by first introducing essential or new vocabulary (comprehensible input). For example, the water unit started with a traditional oral teaching by our classroom elder. Next we would create a key vocabulary list of new words or concepts. Usually, there was a core process that we would introduce to the students involving those words. For example, in the creek study of the water unit, we measured the health of a nearby creek by having students sweep the bottom with nets and count the various types of creatures found. The process for sweeping was turned into a five-step song: Sweep the creek, put the creature in the container, listen for the whistle, come and show us whom you have caught.[3] This provided a starting place for students to understand the actual lesson, a place to scaffold for meaning, and then to practice language creation (guided practice

and independent practice). Although comprehension assessment was ongoing, often the science units would have a more cumulative, formal assessment. In this particular unit the advance students, in partners, created a chart and presented their data interpretation. This gave students another opportunity to orally synthesize and create in the target language.

Just speaking to the children in the language is not enough (sink-or-swim method.) There is a time when the direct teaching of grammatical concepts to students can provide much-needed keys to their construction of complete thoughts in the target language (Hadley, 1993). Jaaj recognized this, and in response we added a class called *"Inwewin"* (Ojibwe-language practice and grammar) for this purpose. Without the pressure of academic subject content, we used everyday language to teach, demonstrate, and practice language constructions. Movement and manipulatives added to the fun and created a much-needed break from sitting at desks. I often used the first language to explain grammatical concepts in this class—concepts that were applied and enacted many times throughout the day in other classes.

Conclusion

There is much research to do in support of Indigenous immersion (Hinton & Hale, 2001). As a direction for teaching culture in schools, immersion education has much to offer. It is a strategy that could be implemented in tribally controlled schools immediately, even if one speaker and one teacher are available. It could be tested in one or more classrooms, at least during the cultural activities and classes. If language becomes a central piece of culture-based curriculum, a central materials development center would quickly be necessary (D. LaSuier, personal communication, 2000). Ojibwe language has the potential to shift the paradigm of culture-based education from teaching about Ojibwe culture in and through English, to teaching through Ojibwe language. In this case, any content could be taught, and the way of understanding would still be culturally based. The focus of culturally based shifts from *content* to the *medium of instruction*. Although this may seem like a subtle shift, this would represent a paradigm shift. Indeed, the move from thinking about culture as curriculum content, to thinking through and creating in the Indigenous language would represent an entirely new focus for many Indigenous nations.

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ENDNOTES

[1]Emma and Jaaj (George in English) are pseudonyms for these two teachers.

[2]Investigations in Data, Number and Space, Cambridge, MA, *http://investigations. terc.edu/* and Full Option Science System, University of California, Berkeley, *http://lhsfoss.org/ index.html*.

[3]*Gwaaba asabiins, ashi makakoonsing, aandotan! Andotan! Awiiya? Awiiya? Awenen ge-tedebinnian?* English translation: Sweep with the net, put it in the bag, listen for the whistle. Anyone? Anyone? Who did you catch?

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Grassroots Suggestions for Linking Native-Language Learning, Native American Studies, and Mainstream Education in Reservation Schools with Mixed Indian and White Student Populations

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Indigenous-language education is critical in the rural and small-town communities with mixed native/non-native populations that constitute the headwaters of many dying tongues. Emerging from interviews conducted in 2002 and 2003 on the Flathead Indian Reservation with 89 study participants holding diverse perspectives is the need for a unifying reservation-wide preK-16 language curriculum that will bring about continuous and meaningful connections (1) across Indian-language-education programmes, (2) between Indian-language classrooms and mainstream classrooms, and (3) between native language education and Native American Studies. This paper considers the grassroots suggestions for building such a curriculum encountered among cultural and community leaders, educators and parents, historians and politicians, Indians and non-Indians, and advocates and sceptics of indigenous-language education. The study findings indicate that framing indigenous-language learning as part of place-based multicultural education is a promising approach. Prospects for indigenous-language survival can be enhanced by moving native-language education in a direction that is acceptable to and beneficial for most, if not all, members of mixed communities in a global age.

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If learning endangered languages continues to decline, 90% of the world's 6000 plus languages are likely to become extinct by the end of the 21st century (Krauss, 1992). Among the 300 known indigenous North American languages, 57 are spoken by only a few aged speakers (Krauss, 1998). English is taking over indigenous languages at such a rapid rate that that 'we stand to lose more indigenous North American languages in the next 60 years than have been lost since Anglo European contact' (Krauss, 1998: 10). The death of languages results in the irretrievable loss of unique intellectual wealth for humankind (George *et al.*, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999). International experts, researchers, and practitioners are calling for collaboration within and across communities to safeguard endangered languages (see e.g. Fettes, 1997; Fishman, 1997a;

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LaFortune, 2003; McCarty, 1998; Silverthorne, 1997; UNESCO, 2003). At the local level, the urgency of Indian-language revitalisation requires the continuous joint efforts of cultural leaders, speakers of the remaining languages, educators, policymakers, linguists, parents, grandparents, the young, and other Indian and non-Indian language-education advocates. Agreements among local stakeholders are needed to guide educational efforts and individual, family, and community actions on behalf of threatened indigenous languages.

However, indigenous-language revitalisation efforts remain scattered and individualistic, especially in rural, small towns with mixed native/non-native populations (see e.g. Hinton, 1998; McCarty, 1998; Ngai, 2004). The headwaters of many dying tongues are often places where the mainstream culture flooded the local heritage. Although some on-going efforts in these mixed communities have yielded positive results, the long-term outcomes of most indigenous-language-education programmes are in doubt (Krauss, 1998). For instance, school-based language programmes (e.g. early-childhood immersion) are mainly short-term. Indian-language public-school programmes tend to be disconnected from mainstream education and after-school activities. Community-based informal efforts in heritage-language maintenance, such as using the language in community gatherings, generally lack continuity and inclusiveness (Hinton, 1998; Krauss, 1998; Lopez, 1998; Ngai, 2004; Sims, 1998). How can educators (natives and non-natives) involved in different community contexts develop collaborative linkages across educational programmes and efforts that will support learning a local indigenous language?

The Need for Grassroots Input

In searching for ways to enhance collaboration and continuity for language revitalisation in mixed communities, I turned to local stakeholders for suggestions. Fishman (1991), in his seminal work *Reversing Language Shift*, repeatedly emphasises the value of grassroots involvement. He maintains that language-revitalisation efforts must be based primarily on the community of language users and advocates. For both practical and political reasons, language-education efforts need to be built on local input, local commitment, and diverse local talent (Fishman, 1991). Language planning is part of a community's right to self-determination (Francis & Reyhner, 2002). Radford Quamahongewa, a Hopi elder insists that 'local people should set their goals; they need to become owners of their goals and finance the achievement of those goals themselves' (Reyhner, 1996: 28). Nonetheless, as Fishman (1997b: 121) points out, 'the unique assets of the view from within have long been overlooked'.

The research project on which this article is based explicitly set forth to find out what language-education strategies members of mixed communities on the Flathead Indian Reservation desire, what steps they believe should be taken, and how they propose that suggestions be implemented. The Flathead Indian Reservation, where only 17% of the population are Indians, is the current home of the Confederated Salish-Kootanei Tribes. Some 1–2% of the tribal members speak the Salish language and the majority of these speakers are elders (Silverthorne, personal communication, 2001). In research on this reservation, I encountered diverse voices regarding ways to help

strengthen indigenous-language education. The challenge is to integrate these varied perspectives into an Indian-language-education framework that incorporates suggestions acceptable to Indian and non-Indian stakeholders and policymakers, community leaders and administrators, and parents and educators.

Data collection occurred from April 2002 to October 2003. I conducted a total of 101 individual interviews with 89 research participants holding diverse perspectives (including cultural and community leaders, educators and parents, historians and politicians, Indians and non-Indians, advocates and sceptics of indigenous-language education). Forty-one of the participants identified themselves as Indians; 48 are non-Indians. The study used theoretical sampling. The researcher selected 25 participants, who are not professionally associated with these districts for interviews because of their experiences with and/or influence on reservation-wide native-language education. Sixty-four participants either work for or are involved in three selected public-schools districts. These three districts are different in terms of the proportion of Indian/non-Indian students and experience with native-language education. District A has close to a balanced population ratio among Indians and non-Indians. The political atmosphere in this district reflects this even split. A portion of the community supports Salish learning in public schools and a portion objects to it. District B has more Indian than white students. It offers a K through 12 Salish-language programme along with a K through 12 Native American Studies programme. A native teacher describes this district as 'the forerunner in providing K-12 Salish language instruction and Native American Studies on the reservation'. District C has more white than Indian students. This district historically has included a strong anti-Indian population, although racial barriers are slowly breaking down. Currently, however, no Salish-language education programme or Native American Studies programme is in place in District C.

The study applied the constant-comparison method and three stages of coding that are similar to open, axial, and selective coding procedures (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) in the identification, analysis, and integration of grassroots suggestions for increasing and improving indigenous-language learning in the mixed communities. This article explores the ideas encountered around the Flathead Reservation.

Grassroots suggestions for building a common language curriculum

One of the key findings that emerged from the study concerns the community-identified need for a unifying reservation-wide preK-16 language curriculum that will bring about continuous and meaningful connections (1) across Indian-language-education programmes, (2) between Indian-language classrooms and mainstream classrooms, and (3) between native language education and Native American Studies. Study participants consistently pointed to the need for a common curriculum for Salish-language education on the Flathead Indian Reservation. The lack of a common curriculum that guides teachers to help learners advance their language proficiency by grade level is perceived by participants as one of the main stumbling blocks hindering full Salish-language revitalisation. For instance, in District A,

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educators suggested using a written curriculum to end isolation of the Salish programme. These participants maintained that a written curriculum will allow for sharing of information about Salish classes among mainstream teachers, parents, and school-board members. In District B, Indian-language advocates called for a language curriculum that assists children to develop communicative proficiency. In District C, Indian-education supporters believed that a common curriculum can help teachers integrate some language, along with Indian studies, in mainstream classrooms.

What does the term 'curriculum' mean in the context of Salish-language education? What kind of 'curriculum' would meet the needs of Salish-language teachers, mainstream teachers who would like to support Salish learning, and students who are enrolled in Salish classes? What dimensions should a 'curriculum' include so as to enhance Salish teaching and learning? This article sets forth a curriculum configuration that is based on participant suggestions and reinforced by reference to other studies and insights.

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Defining 'curriculum'

The idea of a common 'curriculum' conveys a number of possibilities. According to Wiles (1999), the term 'curriculum' can mean a selected subject matter for learning, a learning plan, a school experience, or a planned learning outcome. On the Flathead Reservation, a tribal-education leader contends that 'the word curriculum presents a problem [because] different people mean different things'. This participant observes that some local people use 'curriculum' to refer to a collection of teaching resources; some use it to refer to detailed lesson plans, and others use it to refer to teaching methods. The definition used in a study about new teachers' experiences with curriculum and assessments appears to encompass the needs expressed by participants in this study. In 'Lost at Sea: New Teachers' Experiences with Curriculum and Assessment', Kauffman *et al.* define 'curriculum' as:

> what and how teachers are expected to teach. A complete curriculum specifies content, skills, or topics for teachers to cover; suggests a timeline; and incorporates a particular approach or offers instructional materials. If well developed, it can also give new teachers insight into how students make sense of key concepts, the potential misunderstandings students may have along the way to comprehension, and the instructional strategies that are particularly effective for teaching a given concept or skill. (Kauffman *et al.*, 2002)

An 'operational curriculum' that a teacher can follow week-to-week or day-to-day is more desirable than a topical curriculum (Kauffman *et al.*, 2002: 275). Educators involved in Indian education on the Flathead Reservation expressed the desire for specific curricular guidance. They hoped to adopt or adapt lessons and materials that had been proven successful for teachers before them. In other words, a Salish-language curriculum should specify content along a time line and suggest ways for teaching specific content. However, a tribal-education leader cautioned that the common plan must not be 'prescriptive'. It should allow for flexible use of teaching methods.

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Functions and benefits

Many participants discussed the importance of unifying all Salish programmes. Most mainstream educators perceived a need for a curriculum that would help mainstream teachers reinforce Salish learning. Some participants raised the possibility of developing a common curriculum that links language education to Native American Studies (NAS). A common language curriculum to be used throughout the Reservation can be a solution to these concerns if it introduces consistency across Salish-language education programmes, between Salish classrooms and mainstream classrooms, and between language education and NAS.

Consistency Across Salish-Language Programmes

As participants pointed out, a common curriculum would unify programmes offered in the community, the public-school system, the tribal high school, and the tribal college. A pre-K to 16 curriculum will allow all programmes to build upon one another. For instance, Salish programmes in public schools can aim to develop further the skills and knowledge that children acquire through Headstart programmes and the immersion early-childhood programme. Moreover, public-school programmes can serve to prepare learners for advanced language development at the local tribal college. Within the public-school setting, a common curriculum is needed to standardise Salish programmes across school districts. According to a school administrator and a tribal educator, student mobility is high on the Reservation. If all Salish teachers adopt the same curriculum, continuity in learning can be maintained even when students move between districts.

Consistency between Salish classrooms and mainstream classrooms

A written curriculum that includes topics, concepts, expressions, and words covered in Salish classes would serve as a guideline for mainstream teachers to reinforce Salish learning in their classrooms. If the benchmarks and standards of the language curriculum can be aligned with those of mainstream content standards, mainstream teachers can 'see' where and when to integrate the Salish words, expressions, cultural concepts, themes, and the unique cultural perspective into their lessons. At the same time, alignment also would help Salish teachers figure out what skills and concepts covered in mainstream classrooms can be reinforced in Salish classes. Two-way reinforcement, as suggested by participants, facilitates learning. If teachers can guide learners to compare and contrast the mainstream perspective and the Salish perspective, the comparative approach will take students one step further in refining their understanding of the subjects covered in both curricula.

Consistency between language education and Native American Studies

Two-way reinforcement can also occur between mainstream classes and a NAS class and between a language class and a NAS class. The on-going state-wide discussion regarding ways to implement Indian Education For All

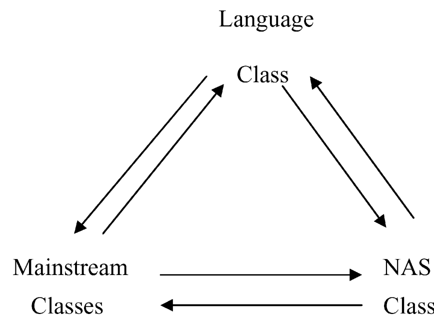

Figure 1 Three-way reinforcement

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law focuses on integrating NAS into the mainstream curriculum. This focus is relevant to districts such as District C where the predominantly white community is not ready, as participants indicate, for a separate NAS programme. In districts with a student body that is comprised of at least half Indians, such as District A and District B, the discussion has moved beyond integration into including a K-12 NAS programme as part of basic education for all. In District B (where a NAS programme is in place), educators suggest that Salish learning be reinforced in NAS classes that are conducted in mostly English. One proposal is that Salish teachers cover selected concepts, topics, and/or themes that are part of a NAS curriculum, but only in Salish. Sandra Fox (2002), a nationally-known Indian educator recommends that NAS and language courses be organised around the same unit topics so that the two can complement each other. Fox (2002) maintains that NAS topics provide structure and substance for language instruction.

Furthermore, a common curriculum that is designed to embody both language education and NAS and, at the same time, to be aligned with mainstream content standards will facilitate three-way reinforcement among the Salish class, the NAS class, and mainstream classes. Figure 1 captures the suggested three-way linkages.

Consistency between teaching training and teaching

A common curriculum will facilitate teacher professional development and teacher preparation. According to Wattenberg and Hansel (2002: 22), studies that examine the connection between professional development and student achievement suggest that 'professional development is most effective (1) when it is focused on the content teachers must teach and how to teach it or (2) when it is provided in concert with a curriculum and helps teachers to understand and apply that curriculum'. Thus, the on-going professional development offered to Salish language teachers will more likely improve Salish learning if such training aims to help teachers effectively implement a common curriculum.

Moreover, a common curriculum that interweaves experienced Salish teachers' input will pave the way for the next generation of language teachers. New teachers will not need to re-invent the wheel; instead, they can concentrate on building onto the current foundation. If all language teachers

use the same curriculum, they can share teaching materials and instructional ideas and collaborate on refining the curriculum continuously. To facilitate teacher preparation, the suggested common curriculum can include insight into how students acquire the Salish language as a second language, the potential difficulties students may have along the way in developing communicative proficiency, and the instructional strategies that are particularly effective for teaching certain aspects of the language.

Curriculum Dimensions

A former Salish- and Kootenai-language college teacher advocates the use of a 'concept-based' approach for planning language lessons. He suggests that language teachers 'choose specific concepts in the language that clearly demonstrate what it is that you [the teacher] want them [the students] to understand [about] the other [such as the Salish] perspective'. He explains that this approach allows language teachers to 'take concepts that [mainstream] teachers are teaching and, . . . step back, and look at them from the Salish perspective'. In addition, 'concepts' can be grouped under 'topics' and 'themes'.

Concepts, topics and themes

Concepts, topics, or themes can serve to link the Salish classroom with the mainstream classroom. For example, the Salish concept of caring for the mother earth can be included in a thematic social studies unit or science thematic unit that addresses topics related to environmental protection.

While Salish concepts can be reinforced in mainstream classes, concepts from the mainstream curriculum also can be re-visited in Salish in the language class. The same approach can be applied in linking Salish classes with NAS classes. The arising question is: What 'concepts' should be taught in Salish? In response to this question, district-based and non-district-based participants pointed to three main content areas: cultural studies, academic concepts and skills, and language for everyday communication.

Cultural

Under the cultural content area, participants came up with topics and themes that they would like to see included in a Salish curriculum. Most participants perceived Salish-language education as a tool for learning about the Salish culture. The subjects that are significant to Indian participants and are appealing to non-Indian participants include the following:

- history (e.g. history of the tribes, stories about the past, the struggles between whites and Indians, and place names);
- stories (e.g. creation stories, coyote stories, warrior stories, winter-time legends, constellation stories, stories of elders' lives, and stories associated with names given to children);
- ceremonies (e.g. songs and dances, wakes, and spring gathering);
- world views and values (e.g. love, respect, discipline, understanding each other in a diverse world, extended family, understanding the environment, proper relationships with everything around you, ways of living

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and being with the land, kinship, humor/jokes, and meanings of living in a community);

- multicultural education (e.g. alternative strategies for solving problems, consensus building, conflict-resolution skills, analysis of local issues from multiple perspectives, living in two worlds, and meanings of heritage in modern life);
- traditions (e.g. games, traditional food, and celebrations);
- customs (e.g. the right way of cleaning animals, praying before using the meat and digging up plants, drying meat, tanning hides, canoe making, clothes making, beading, quilting, digging camus, digging bitterroots, and picking berries); and
- nature and wilderness studies (e.g. stars, plants, flowers, herbs, status of the forest, Mission Mountains, fish species, endangered wildlife, weather, four seasons, chokecherry month, hunting month, etc.).

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This list of suggested topics and themes serves as a starting point where curriculum developers can extract 'concepts' to be included in a Salish curriculum. These cultural concepts, topics, and themes can be used to compose the Salish component, along with components about other tribes, of a NAS curriculum that applies a similar 'concept-based' approach. Ideally the same selected Salish concepts, topics, or themes can be covered in both the NAS class and the Salish class at more or less the same time. This way, students can learn about a selected topic in their first language (English) in the NAS class and then proceed to hear and talk about the same topic in Salish during the language class. While the focus of Salish classes should be on language development, the focus of NAS should be on facilitating content understanding. For example, if 'four seasons' is the topic for September in the kindergarten NAS curriculum and the Salish-language curriculum, the NAS teacher would guide students to understand the seasonal activities of the Salish people (and of other tribes) while the Salish teacher would teach the words and expressions for describing Salish seasonal activities and for explaining Salish traditions based on the seasonal cycle. Even though the focus of NAS is on content, the NAS instructor can reinforce the language by integrating key Salish vocabulary and expressions related to the selected Salish topics and themes into NAS lessons.

Similarly, the same selected concepts and topics can be integrated into mainstream classrooms by using a comparative approach. For example, if 'four seasons' is one of the topics covered in the Salish class and the NAS class in kindergarten, mainstream teachers can guide kindergarteners to compare the Salish interpretation of 'four seasons' with the western understanding of 'four seasons' in a related science unit. In the process, mainstream teachers also can reinforce the key Salish words and expressions related to the topic. Such three-way reinforcement of language and cultural learning can occur alongside three-way reinforcement of academic skills.

Academic

While teaching some cultural knowledge through the language, Salish teachers can, at the same time, reinforce academic skills that are covered in the mainstream curriculum. For instance, while teaching Salish language related

to the selected topic – 'four seasons' – in a kindergarten classroom, the Salish teacher can reinforce academic skills, such as observing, listening, counting, measuring, estimating, comparing, retelling stories, etc., that are covered in the mainstream kindergarten curriculum. An example is a Salish-language lesson about 'autumn'. The Salish instructor can tell and have learners re-tell Salish stories related to autumn months, take students to a forest to observe foliage changes, and help students collect, count, and sort fallen leaves. The teaching process can be conducted in Salish. If the academic objectives of Salish-learning activities can be aligned with those set forth in the mainstream curriculum, the Salish class will become not only a domain for students to acquire the Salish language through familiar activities, but a place where students can consolidate academic skills through application or practice in a local context.

Similarly, as suggested by an experienced teacher who has taught in one of the selected districts for over 30 years, the NAS class can operate to reinforce both the Salish language and relevant academic skills. For example, the NAS instructor can reinforce key Salish words and expressions related to 'autumn' activities, while teaching about Salish and other tribal traditions and customs surrounding the autumn months. At the same time, NAS teachers can design learning activities that reinforce relevant academic skills (e.g. reading and writing). One example is to assign kindergarteners to create a little book of drawings and simple words about the autumn activities of a local tribe. The teacher can divide a class into several groups. Each group could cover a different tribe in Montana.

Everyday

Teaching about the Salish culture and reinforcing academic skills can be complemented by helping learners develop communicative competence in the Salish language. A Salish teacher can constantly interweave language use and usage for everyday communication into the instructional process, no matter what the topic of the day is. For instance, on the way to the forest to observe foliage changes, the Salish teacher can be teaching kindergarteners words, expressions, and language use and usage about greeting the driver, taking a bus (e.g. staying in line), safety issues (e.g. not extending arms out the windows), and simple ways of protecting the natural environment (e.g. not leaving garbage on the trail). In order to help learners build up communicative competence step by step, a language curriculum needs to outline in detail a systematic language-acquisition plan for pre-K to 16. For example, what are the words, expressions, and sentence patterns that should be taught by the end of each quarter or semester of each grade?

In the suggested curriculum, each selected concept, topic, or theme can be linked to a list of relevant commonly-used words and expressions, specific vocabulary, and related language patterns that are derived from a systematic language-acquisition plan. NAS teachers and mainstream teachers can use this list to reinforce language learning outside of a language class.

Language standards and benchmarks

Language content and performance benchmarks and standards for pre-K to 16 can shape the development of a detailed language-acquisition plan and

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vice versa. Carefully developed language benchmarks and standards, as participants suggest, are necessary for guiding learners to progress from a beginning level to an advanced level of language proficiency through a preK-16 language curriculum.

The *Montana Standards for World Languages* (1999) serves as a helpful reference for developing content and performance standards for specific Indian languages. They include five content areas: communication, cultures, connections, comparisons, and communities. These content standards address all of the three thematic foci proposed by study participants. Content standards 1, 2, 3, and 9 address the everyday context. Through studying a language other than English, learners should be able to 'engage in conversation' with speakers of the target language, 'provide and obtain information, express feeling and emotions, exchange opinions', and 'convey ... ideas to listeners ... for a variety of purposes' in the language. Content standards 2, 3, 5, and 7 address the academic context. Through studying a second language, learners should be able to 'interpret written language ... on a variety of topics', 'convey ... concepts ... for a variety purposes', 'further knowledge of other disciplines', 'recognize different languages use different patterns, and apply this knowledge to their own language'. Content standards 4, 6, 8, and 9 address the cultural context. Learning a minority language allows learners to understand 'the relationship between the perspectives, practices, and products/contributions of cultures studied and use this knowledge to interact effectively in cultural contexts', acquire multicultural perspectives 'through authentic materials ... within cultures', understand 'the concept of culture through comparisons of the culture studied and their own' (*Montana Standards for World Languages*, 1999: 1). These content standards capture the benefits of learning a second language, including Indian languages, that are consistent with reasons presented by study participants for advocating Salish language education. They also are aligned with the public-school Indian-language programme objectives suggested by participants. Therefore, these content standards can be easily adapted for a common Salish-language curriculum, guiding the design and implementation of language teaching units and lessons that aim to benefit all students (both Indian and non-Indian).

The Montana Performance Standards for World Languages include four language proficiency levels (advanced, proficient, nearing proficiency, and novice) for Grade 4, Grade 8, and Grade 12. These distinctions are consistent with study participants' hope that learners can progress from one level of language proficiency to the next and eventually reach communicative competence. Thus, the adaptation of these performance standards in a Salish-language curriculum will help clarify expectations and goals for language teaching and learning. Such clarity allows for language-programme evaluation, and, hence, for identifying interventions that are necessary for helping all learners advance toward proficiency. Clear goals also allow for pinpointing the professional-development needs required for enhancing the effectiveness of language instruction. Explicit expectations that are endorsed by the school and the Indian community can serve to motivate learning and teaching.

Nevertheless, the K-12 Montana Standards for World Languages provides only the basis for a specific set of language benchmarks and standards for a

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pre-K to 16 Salish-langauge common curriculum. More specific benchmarks, along with a systematic Salish-language acquisition plan, need to be developed for each grade level.

Native American Studies content standards

NAS-content standards and a NAS common curriculum are yet to be developed on the Flathead Reservation, or at the state level. If Salish-language learning is to be aligned with and, hence, reinforced by the Salish portion of NAS courses reservation-wide, a common NAS curriculum needs to co-exist with the suggested common Salish-language curriculum. At the tribal level, developing both the common language curriculum and the common NAS curriculum at the same time will allow for collaboration and coordination among tribal educators. For instance, the list of topics and themes suggested by study participants can serve as one dimension not only of a common language curriculum, but of a common NAS curriculum as well. The NAS curriculum can elaborate on the suggested themes and topics and include detailed and in-depth information and discussion of the heritages and contemporary issues of tribes on the Flathead and other reservations in Montana and beyond.

Mainstream content standards

Indian and non-Indian educators on the Flathead Indian Reservation have made efforts to align NAS lessons with mainstream content standards. For example, the NASA Native Earth System Science Curriculum developed by Salish educator Julie Cajune and colleagues and the Culturally Competent Standards Based Math and Science Lessons developed by teachers of the Flathead Reservation in cooperation with Salish Kootenai College Rural Systemic Initiative refer to relevant national science standards and state science and math standards respectively. A similar alignment strategy can be used to highlight the linkages between the suggested Salish curriculum and mainstream curricula. For example, if 'four seasons' is one of the themes included in a kindergarten Salish course (and perhaps a NAS course), the suggested Salish common curriculum can specify the kindergarten science standards, math standards, art standards, and social-studies standards that are relevant to the theme. This way, mainstream teachers can 'see' when and where to reinforce the Salish words and expressions related to selected topics or themes and to integrate the Salish knowledge and perspective in comparison with the mainstream perspective.

Activities, assignments, materials, and resource persons

A common curriculum can include suggested instructional strategies, classroom activities, homework assignments, reference materials, and resource persons along with each topic or theme. Study participants believe that former and current Salish teachers need to consolidate teaching/learning ideas and materials that individual teachers have developed over the years so as to upgrade Salish-language programmes and to prepare new teachers for teaching the language efficiently and effectively. Suggestions from outside experts, such as experienced indigenous-language teachers from other reservations, literacy-development experts, and second-language educators, and

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ideas from relevant teaching guides and research literature are also helpful in enriching this dimension of the suggested operational common curriculum.

In other words, a common language curriculum functions as a link in several ways. It bridges among Salish teachers and Salish-language programmes. It connects Salish to NAS and to mainstream curricula. It ends the isolation of a Salish programme from the rest of the school and from the wider community. With objectives and contents clearly laid out, advocates are able to promote the language programme as inclusive and relevant to all children. Educators, parents, and community members would know what to expect, and their expectation are likely to motivate learning and effective teaching.

The curriculum dimensions suggested by district-based and non-district-based participants form the configuration for a common language curriculum (see Table 1). To develop a detailed operational curriculum fully, further research is required to gather input regarding the following areas:

- topics and themes distribution from preK to 16 (i.e. which topic or theme should be covered at which grade?);
- a progressive language-acquisition plan (i.e. what aspect of the language should be taught at which grade?);
- key Salish 'concepts', cultural constructs, or perspectives related to each topic or theme;
- common words, key vocabulary, expressions, and language patterns associated with each topic or theme;
- instructional strategies for delivering lessons about each suggested topic or theme;
- activities and assignments designed for each topic or theme; and
- teaching and learning materials based on each topic or theme.

The remaining questions are: Can the Indian community reach a consensus regarding selected 'concepts', topics, and themes that represent their culture? What are the specific content and performance standards that will be acceptable to most, if not all, Indian and non-Indian educators? Can language teachers and language advocates agree on a language-acquisition plan? The constant comparison method (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), that I used for identifying components for public-school Indian-language programmes for mixed districts in this study, can be adopted to answer these research questions through a follow-up research project that aims to build a common operational curriculum based on diverse grassroots input (Table 1).

Proposed new approach for mixed public-school districts

In addition to a unifying curriculum, we need an instructional effective approach for connecting language learning to children's lives. What would appeal to potential learners and supporters in the new millennium? A language of the old, a language of the past, and language education that is irrelevant and useless for most would not be popular. For instance, the research participants in this study who perceived Salish in these ways tend to be unsupportive of language programmes in schools. In contrast, a language of the young, a language of the place, and language education that prepares students for global living would appeal to most of the participants. Salish-language-education advocates

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Table 1 Suggested configuration for a common Indian-language curriculum for pre-K to 16

Grade Level	*Timeline*	*Themes*	*Specific concepts or topics*	*Language acquisition plan*	*Language performance standards*	*Language content standards*	*NAS content standards*	*Mainstream content standards*	*Key words & expressions*	*Suggested activities*	*Suggested assignments*	*Available materials*	*Resource persons*
Pre-school	September–November	Everyday (focus on everyday language at the pre-literacy level)					N/A	N/A					
	December–February	Everyday											
	March–May	Everyday											
Kinder-garten	September–November	Everyday			Based on K-12 Montana Standards for World Languages	Based on K-12 Montana Standards for World Languages	Yet to be developed (it can be tribal specific)	E.g. Social Studies Content Standards, Science Content Standards, etc.					
		Cultural											
		Academic											
	December–February	Everyday											
		Cultural											
		Academic											
	March–May	Everyday											
		Cultural											
		Academic											
[etc.]	[etc.]	[etc.]											
College years													

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desire to recruit young language teachers whom they believe will change the perception of the language and energise language learning. The implication is that Indian languages need to take on a new image and Indian-language education needs to head in a new direction in order to reverse the trend. In school districts with a mix of Indian and white student populations, framing language learning as part of place-based multicultural education using a comparative approach will steer Indian-language education in a promising direction.

Multicultural Education

In the selected mixed districts, Indian leaders would like all students to learn about the local Indian heritage, while white parents perceived preserving Indian heritage as irrelevant to non-Indian students. If Indian education (including language learning) is to be relevant and beneficial to all, the overarching goal of a language programme should aim to help all learners develop multicultural competence that is applicable in the mixed community, the diverse US society, and the globalised world. Indian-language education can be framed as a form of multicultural education that aims to achieve such a goal. For instance, as participants point out, Salish-language education promotes interest in cultures other than the mainstream. Teaching a language other than English introduces students to a perspective outside of the one in which they grew up. Learning a minority language allows learners to develop cross-cultural sensitivity and become aware of diversity existing in the world. Being exposed to a local Indian language helps students appreciate the fact that 'my' way is not the only way. Such understanding prepares learners to accept differences among cultural groups and to live peacefully and work collaboratively with people of diverse backgrounds locally and beyond. The benefits of such multicultural education are relevant not only to whites who live on the reservation, but to Indian students as well. While white students are surrounded by non-whites, Indians constantly move between their Indian community and the mainstream society. Moreover, the line between whites and Indians is blurred by globalisation. We all live in the midst of transnational exchanges and interflows. Today's students need to learn to handle the fluidity of identities and associations (de Courtivron, 2000). Educators of the 21st century need to prepare all students to participate effectively and meaningfully in diverse local and global environments. In the context of mixed schools on rural reservations, Indian-language education as a form of multicultural education is the place to start.

A comparative approach

Through learning an Indian language, students gain an understanding of the culture, the worldview, and the communication style embedded in the language. If Indians learners are guided to compare their Indian perspective and their unique style with those of the mainstream, they will be able not only to distinguish their Indianness, but to develop cross-cultural understanding that allows them to move comfortably between the mainstream society and the Indian community without the need to choose to belong to only one or the other. If white learners are guided to compare the local Indian heritage with

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that of their own, they will gain an understanding not only of the place, but of their own selves as shaped by the mainstream white culture. Furthermore, comparison can reach beyond Indian and white to include finer distinctive heritages (e.g. Irish and Scottish heritages within the mainstream culture and Salish and Pend d'Oreille within the local Indian culture). Inclusive multicultural education for educating global citizens needs to supersede the division between whites and Indians, 'we' and 'they' (Banks, 1991, 1997). Students can think globally while learning about local Indians if the Indian-education programme (including language learning) can be garnished with a comparative dimension.

By comparing multiple perspectives embedded in different languages, students can learn about existing diversity as well as develop the analytic, emotional, creative, communicative, and functional competencies (Koehn & Rosenau, 2002) required for effective and meaningful participation in the diverse US society and the globalised world. *Analytic* competence involves the ability to link others' conditions to one's own circumstances and vice versa and to discern effective transactional strategies that help bridge differences. *Creative/imaginative* competence means the ability to tap into diverse cultural perspectives for inspiration to solve problems. *Emotional* competence allows one to open up to divergent cultural influences and to develop a sense of cross-cultural efficacy. The *communicative* dimension includes language and intercultural communication skills that facilitate conflict resolution, negotiation, and collaboration. *Functional adroitness* includes the ability to develop and maintain positive interpersonal and working relationships with different people. Achieving these competences should be the goal of multicultural education for the 21st century. Indian education (including Indian-language learning), implemented through a comparative approach, can be a vital part of multicultural education. The unique contribution of a local Indian-language education programme to K-12 multicultural education is its role in bridging the local and the global.

Place-based education

How can the local teach us about the global? What is the link between education about the place and education about the world? What is the relationship between local Indians and global citizens? How can we avoid letting Indian education be buried by comparative studies? A place-based approach to multicultural education provides the key.

Learning occurs through experience (Dewey, 1938), and experiences are contextualised in a local place. Face-to-face local interactions that involve all senses are powerful place-based learning vehicles for facilitating skill development (Hannerz, 1996). The local is the place where multicultural competencies required for global living are nurtured, tested, and applied. Immersion in a local environment that allows for daily interactions with persons of diverse backgrounds is a form of multicultural education for enhancing competencies applicable in cross-cultural contexts. Thus, Indian education can be framed as a form of place-based multicultural education designed to help learners develop transferable cross-cultural competencies through experiencing a local Indian culture. For instance, learning about local Indian history helps students

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discern effective cross-cultural transaction strategies based on past successful and unsuccessful experiences as well as the collaborative ability to articulate new and shared cross-cultural syntheses. Analysing contemporary issues from the local Indian perspective is a learning process that contributes to the development of flexible ability to employ an extensive and complex range of multicultural accommodative strategies and interaction paths and the ability to overcome conflicts and accomplish goals when dealing with multicultural challenges. Participating in local Indian cultural events and traditional practices allows learners to develop confidence in self and others' cultures, the ability to manage multiple identities, the ability to relate to and maintain positive interpersonal relationships with people of diverse backgrounds. Learning an Indian language from local speakers facilitates development of the ability to listen to and discern different cultural messages, the ability to engage in meaningful dialogue with non-native English speakers, and the ability to resolve communication misunderstandings across different communication styles (see Koehn & Rosenau, 2002).

These learning outcomes are derived from knowing a non-mainstream culture and language in depth. Deep understanding allows for fruitful comparisons. Therefore, Indian education as a form of place-based multicultural education needs to remain Indian for the most part. The teaching content of such programmes should focus on Indian heritages, including Indian languages, while cross-cultural comparison can be used as a learning tool that allows for application of knowledge gained.

Learning to be local in order to be global is relevant and beneficial for all (both Indian and white). The combination of place-based education, multicultural education, and a comparative approach points to a new direction for Indian education, including indigenous language education, in public-school districts with a mix of Indian and white student populations. Appropriate multicultural teacher education is urgently needed to facilitate the implementation of such a vision.

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Bilingual Education in Rural Schools with Native and Non-Native Students: Indigenous-Language Programme Elements for an Inclusive Model

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The inclusive bilingual-education programme suggestions and insights presented here are derived from grassroots input on the Flathead Reservation. This study focuses on the emic point of view. Views from the inside are valuable because they provide authoritative interpretations of local conditions. The author conducted 101 interviews with 89 educational stakeholders holding diverse perspectives on indigenous-language education in public schools on the Reservation. The bilingual-education components addressed by the research participants include objectives, target population, frequency, and curriculum. Some of the participants' suggestions are applicable reservation-wide and some are specific to one of the three rural school districts selected for the study. These data are separately analysed and reported in two different sections in this paper. Although the envisioned bilingual-education programme will not, by itself, save any language, it can complement other community efforts by supporting Native-language education, creating a positive community environment for place-based language and cultural studies, and solidifying the foundation for further intensive second-language learning. The grassroots suggestions presented in this paper advance the goal of reversing language loss, in addition to enhancing place-based multicultural education for all. In the context of rural districts of mixed populations, the future of indigenous-language learning lies in well-planned coordination and collaboration among tribal and non-tribal entities, multiple language programmes, committed language educators who work in different settings, and curriculum developers from inside and outside of the language classroom.

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Introduction

The past inability of public schools to revive dying languages led Krauss (1998) and Fishman (1991) to argue that the primary responsibility for indigenous-language sustenance should lie in the hands of parents and grandparents at home. There is reason to believe, however, that collaboration within the entire community is more likely to reverse the trend (Silverthorne, 1997; UNESCO, 2003). Although the responsibilities for the survival of indigenous languages cannot be shouldered by schools alone, 'schools can

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build on the knowledge of the home and bring informal, family- and community-based language experiences to the process of formal learning' (Watahomigie, 1998: 7; see also McCarty, 2002).

This paper is based on findings from a study that aimed to collect suggestions for developing effective indigenous language education that would be feasible in rural public-school districts with a mix of Native and non-Native students. Public-school efforts are particularly vital given that as many as 75% of the Native students in the USA are enrolled in such mixed-population settings. The inclusive bilingual-education programme suggestions and insights presented here are derived from grassroots input on the Flathead Reservation in the northwest of the US. The bilingual-education components addressed by the research participants include objectives, target population, frequency, and curriculum. Some of the participants' suggestions are applicable reservation-wide, and some are specific to one of the three rural school districts selected for the study. These data are separately analysed and reported in two different sections in this paper. The conclusion returns to the issue of how public schools can contribute to indigenous-language maintenance in rural areas with mixed student populations.

Numerous studies have shown that support of the formal educational system is a necessary condition for language maintenance (Hornberger, 1997; McCarty, 2003; Spolsky, 1999). Linguist Joseph Poth, Head of UNESCO's Languages Division, asserts that 'a language is always in danger when it isn't part of the school curriculum' (cited in *UNESCO The Courier, 2000*: 1). A public-school programme involves a 'bottom-up' language planning process because it can allow for local decision-making, control, and participation. At the same time, a public-school language-education effort 'calls for a new set of relations between the indigenous and non-indigenous student, and between the indigenous and non-indigenous educator/planner/policy maker' (May & Aikman, 2003: 143). In short, top-down and bottom-up co-operation and reinforcement are necessary for sustaining indigenous-language education. Public schools operate as dominating economic and, therefore, political institutions in many small towns and rural communities (McCarty, 1998).

If efforts to reverse language shift are to be successful, they must target and transform multiple forces and institutions in each dimension of the full social, cultural, religious, and political context (May, 1999; Spolsky, 2002). The public school system is a key part of that complex tapestry. Furthermore, public schools serve the majority of the young members of a community and, hence, are in a position to help create the 'territorial niches' that indigenous languages need to survive and flourish (Laponce, 1987: 3). A school possesses the local infrastructure needed to mobilise community-wide indigenous-language-maintenance initiatives (Spolsky, 2002).

Moreover, public-school personnel are in a position to demonstrate and promote the instrumental value of the local Indian language. They can affirm the value of the Indian language in the public domain (see Fettes, 1997). Indian-language-education programs that utilise protected time and space in public schools can serve as important domains for using and, hence, promoting indigenous languages (Stiles, 1997). Although a school-language programme is not likely to reverse language shift by itself, it increases the

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perceived value of Native-language education. Teaching a local heritage language alongside the formal school subjects included in the mainstream curriculum can promote the co-privileged status of the heritage language, and stimulate interest in learning and using the language for new everyday purposes, and in new everyday contexts that often depart from traditional ones (Fettes, 1997; Stiles, 1997).

If one accepts the argument that schools and Indian-language school programmes play an important, even indispensable, role in Native-language revitalisation (Francis & Reyhner, 2002; McCarty, 1998, 2003; Watahomigie, 1998), then the key issues confronting today's educational systems are programmatic in nature. How can public schools help strengthen indigenous languages? What might a feasible model for rural public schools with mixed Native and non-Native populations look like? Although the majority of Native students in the US attend public schools with mixed populations, little research has been carried out to explore these questions. Well-known bilingual and indigenous-language education models are unlikely to work in rural public schools with mixed populations. In the following section of this paper, I will explain why a context-specific bilingual-education model is urgently needed.

In language-education research, 'the unique assets of the view from within have long been overlooked' (Fishman, 1997a: 121). Views from the inside are valuable because they provide the only authoritative interpretations of local conditions (Fishman, 1997a; Warner, 1999). This study focuses on the emic point of view. Here, I highlight grassroots responses collected from the Flathead Reservation. As an outsider, I refrain from imposing a critical view on the grassroots insights reported here.

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Lack of Language-education Models for Rural Mixed Public-School Districts

An indigenous language can grow in and through a public school if a long-term, effective Indian-language-education programme is in place to supplement language learning before school, out of school, and after school (Fishman, 1997). Well-known bilingual education programmes tend to work well in large cities and nearly exclusive ethnic-minority communities, such as Indian reservations. Can the language-education models developed for these contexts accommodate the conditions encountered in rural public-school districts? Are they useful for increasing and improving indigenous-language learning in schools with a mix of Native and non-Native populations?

Krashen and Biber (1988) advocate a developmental bilingual-education programme, which has been adopted or adapted by a number of schools in California. Under this programme, enrolled minority students learn all core subjects (except art, music, and PE) in their first language at the beginning level, while developing English-language proficiency in ESL classes. At more advanced levels, students study some core subjects in English with the assistance of ESL teachers in 'sheltered' classes. Eventually, minority students are expected to join mainstream classes-first, maths and science and, later, social studies and language arts. This model allows for continuous L1

development as an extra-curricula activity for enrichment purposes. Programmes similar to this one are widespread in New York (*The New York Times, 1999*). These programmes belong to the 'traditional bilingual program' category (*The New York Times, 1999*: A22).

Specific to indigenous-language education, three well-known models are the Navajo, the Hawaiian, and the Blackfeet language programmes. The Piegan Institute of Browning, Montana, established a Blackfeet immersion school for children aged 3–12 in 1995 (Kipp, 2000). The immersion programme is based on the 90/10 and 50/50 Canadian immersion models (see Ovando *et al.*, 2003 on the Canadian model). Children enrolled in this mixed-grade programme, housed in a spacious one-room school building, learn in Blackfeet 90% of the time until they reach age 8. After that, they learn in Blackfeet 50% of the time, and in English 50% of the time until age 12, when they have to join the English-medium mainstream public schools.

The Rock Point Community School and the Fort Defiance Elementary School on the Navajo Reservation in Arizona offers programmes that are both developmental and immersion in nature. Although nearly all of the children enrolled in the programmes are Navajo, only some speak the heritage language. For those who speak Navajo, this bilingual programme is developmental in nature; for the others, it would be an immersion experience. For the community, it serves to maintain the heritage language. At the Rock Point Community School, students begin reading and writing in Navajo. About two-thirds of the instruction is in Navajo during the kindergarten year. Kindergarteners learn maths and social studies in English. By second grade, 50% of the instruction is in English and 50% is in Navajo. Students begin to use English for reading and writing in the second grade, and, thereafter, they read, write, and learn maths in both languages. In the upper grades, one-sixth to one-fourth of the instruction is in Navajo and the rest is in English (Holm & Holm, 1995; McCarty & Watahomigie, 1999; Reyhner, 1990, 1992). Under the Fort Defiance School programme, the kindergarten and first-grade students were immersed almost entirely in Navajo, except for 40 minutes a day of small-group instruction in English. In the second and third grades, students learn in Navajo for a half-day and in English for the other half of the day. Fourth and fifth graders spend about an hour using Navajo in group work (Holm & Holm, 1995).

Modeled after Maori early childhood immersion-Kohanga Reo (King, 2001; Shafer, 1988), the Hawaiian language nests, *Aha Punana Leo,* aim to expose preschool-age children to their native language and culture. Language nests are community-based preschool centres, where Hawaiian-speaking teachers from the grandparent generation interact with children and their English-speaking mothers in Hawaiian (Warner, 2001; Wilson & Kamana, 2001). The Hawaiian immersion model relies on the targeted heritage language even more extensively than the Canadian-French 'super-immersion' model. Formal English instruction is limited to one hour per day from fifth grade through twelfth grade; the rest of the school day is conducted in Hawaiian during those years (Warner, 2001).

One shortcoming of some developmental/immersion bilingual-education models is lack of continuity. Under the model adopted in Rock Point

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Community School, and the model designed by Krashen and Biber (1988), most content subjects are taught in English in upper grades.

The Blackfeet immersion programme is for young children, but not for teenagers. It focuses on elder-child bilingualism rather than parent–child bilingualism. If children are not provided with the chance to continue to use their native language during their teenage years and beyond with their immediate family members and peers, their native-language skills are likely to be underdeveloped and eventually forgotten.

The Hawaiian model extends from pre-school to college, and the Rock Point Navajo programme extends through middle school. Although continuity can be realised in these speech communities, only a small fraction of the Native populations benefit from these long-term programmes. For instance, while there are 11 pre-K immersion programmes and 10 elementary sites, there is only one state-established Hawaiian-medium education programme in an intermediate/high school, and one comprehensive preK-12 site (Wilson, 1998, 1999; Wilson & Kamana, 2001). All other intermediate and high school programmes consist of supplementary language courses that are housed within English-medium schools (Wilson & Kamana, 2001). Similarly, in Arizona, 'only ten percent of Navajo pupils receive any Navajo language courses, [which are] almost always presented as supplemental programs' (Spolsky, 2002: 156). At the high school level, only isolated teachers are teaching the language with little support (Holm & Holm, 1995; Spolsky, 2002). In other words, continuous learning of the Hawaiian language and the Navajo language is possible only for a small proportion of the young people residing in the communities where these languages belong. When language learning is not a school-wide and a district-wide effort, it is difficult for the few participating students to create opportunities to use the language and to maintain their interest in learning.

In addition, not all of these models are inclusive in nature. The language-nest programmes and the Blackfeet programme are designed mainly for English-speaking young children of Native decent whose parents value the importance of exposing their children to their heritage language as a form of cultural enrichment and, at the same time, are able to afford the 'luxury' offered by private educational organisations. Kipp (2000) explains that a private school that charges tuition helps parents perceive the value of the immersion programme. However, as a result of their non-inclusive nature, the impact is smaller-especially in rural, small towns with mixed populations. If only a handful of young children are able to benefit from private indigenous-language programmes, indigenous-language death might be slowed, but the trend will not be reversed. For instance, the Blackfeet programme serves about 45 children each year. Although it is considered to be one of the most promising indigenous-language programmes in the US, it has not been successful in reversing the trend of language death. According to Rosalyn LaPier (2001, November, guest lecture at The University of Montana-Missoula), one of the key officers at the Piegan Institute, the Blackfeet language remains a dying language.

Furthermore, the Rock Point model, and the Krashen and Biber model are designed specifically for non-native-English speaking children whose primary

need is considered to be English-language development for academic purposes (while maintaining their Native language-in-culture). In the case of Hawaiian language education, 'the question of who should learn and speak Hawaiian' arises frequently. Some believe that 'the Hawaiian language is fundamentally for Hawaiians' (Henze & Davis, 1999: 13). Originally, the Hawaiian immersion programmes aimed to help Hawaiians learn and speak Hawaiian as a second language. Although there have been many non-Hawaiians enrolled in the language programmes, these programmes would most likely survive without the non-Hawaiian participation because Hawaiians account for 19–33% of the total population of about 220,000 in the state (Wilson, 1999). In small, rural communities, however, excluding non-Native learners from Native language programmes would greatly reduce the survival chance of the language programme and, hence, the language.

The non-inclusive models in Arizona, California, and Hawaii are unlikely to be applicable in most small, rural towns with mixed populations because they have been designed to work under conditions that typically do not exist outside of large urban areas or nearly exclusive Native American communities. First, the programme must be supported by a sizable ethnic group, whose members value their heritage language, and are able to raise sufficient funding to offer a non-inclusive education programme for Natives only. Second, the language must have the appropriate written form for recording information concerning a wide range of subjects so that it can be used for teaching content areas of the mainstream curriculum. Third, financial and human resources must be available for the production of extra teaching materials not required for regular mainstream schools. In the US, these conditions do not exist in most small rural towns.

Many small, mixed communities are the headwaters of dying indigenous languages. Given the absence of an appropriate and viable model for indigenous language-education programmes in rural public schools with mixed Native and non-Native student populations (Ngai, 2002), the author carried out field research aimed at identifying elements that could serve as the basis of workable indigenous-language public-school programmes in rural public-school districts with mixed populations.

Research Site and Method

I conducted the study on which this article is based on the Flathead Indian Reservation of the Confederated Salish-Kootanei Tribes in Montana. On this reservation, according to the census of 2000, about 17% of the population are American Indians. The low percentage of Native population on this reservation can be attributed to the Hellgate Treaty of 1855 and General Allotment Act of 1887. These policies allowed for the opening up of the Flathead Indian Reservation to White[1] homesteaders and the forced sale of tribal lands to Whites at clearly below-market prices (Bigart & Woodcock, 1996; Smith, 1995). In 1910, 'a Presidential Proclamation opened "surplus" reservation lands to White settlement. Since then, non-Indians settled much of the land in the valleys' (Camel *et al.*, 1996: 3). The continuous influx of Whites to the reservation forced Indian people to learn English in order to function in an

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economy dominated by Whites. Presently, about 70 people speak Salish (one of the two local indigenous languages) on the Reservation, and the majority of these speakers are elders (Silverthorne, personal communication, 2001). Nearly all child- and adult-learners acquire the language as their second language. On the Flathead Indian Reservation, a variety of Salish-language classes ranging from a K-5 immersion school, Headstart programmes, and informal-learning sessions to college courses have been available to interested residents (Silverthorne, 1997). Other local language-maintenance attempts include teaching ceremonial language through ceremony, conducting summer-immersion programmes for families, and forming a Salish choir (Silverthorne, 1997). Ceremonies, elders' gatherings, and language 'classrooms' are the contemporary places where the Salish language is heard.

Data collection for the study occurred from April 2002 to October 2003. I conducted a total of 101 individual interviews with 89 research participants holding diverse perspectives. Forty-one of the participants identified themselves as American Indians; 48 were non-Indians. As in grounded-theory research, I applied theoretical sampling in this study. I selected participants from groups of individuals who were theoretically relevant to the goal of identifying components of a potentially feasible school programme acceptable to members of the local community. The following criteria guided initial sampling:

- Select samples that are theoretically relevant to identifying programme components (Strauss & Corbin, 1994, 1998).
- Systematically seek multiple perspectives/voices (Strauss & Corbin, 1994: 280).
- Apply theoretical sensitivity to issues of class, race, and power (Strauss & Corbin, 1994: 280).

On the basis of the above criteria, the persons selected for initial interviews included elected officials and appointed public-education officers, superintendents and school principals, supportive and non-supportive mainstream teachers, supportive and non-supportive parent leaders, school-board members, the head of tribal education, and the cultural leader of the selected Indian community. These individuals represented the diverse voices of Indians and Whites, community leaders and educators, stakeholders and administrators, and supporters and non-supporters of indigenous-language education. The samples are theoretically relevant because all samples are likely to be influential in education-policy making and future educational reform.

In this study, the sampling list served only as a starting point. Sampling, in fact, continued throughout the research process. The initial group of participants recommended individuals, who, from their perspective, had been influential in supporting or obstructing the development of Indian education (including Indian-language education) in the selected districts and/or on the reservation.

The final samples included 64 interviewees who either worked for or were involved in three selected public-schools districts, and 25 participants who were not professionally associated with one of these districts, but were

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experienced with and/or influential regarding on reservation-wide indigenous-language education. The three districts included in the study differ in terms of the proportion of Indian/White students and their experience with Indian-language education. District BR has close to a balanced population ratio among American Indians and non-Indians. District MI has more American Indian than White students. District MW has more White than American Indian students.

Interview data in the form of grassroots input comprise the building blocks of the resulting Indian-language-education programme frameworks. I conducted a total of 101 individual interviews, which serve as the only source of data in this study. The interviews initiated a discovery process. They provided opportunities for brainstorming approaches to problems and alternatives that would accommodate local conditions and diverse perspectives. I formulated the interview questions based on insights gained from review of the literature on indigenous-language education, and from a pilot study conducted with experienced Montana educators. The following interview protocol, which addresses essential dimensions of programme design and implementation as exemplified in relevant bilingual-education models and well-known indigenous-language programmes (see e.g. Amrein & Pena, 2000; Batchelder & Markel, 1997; Krashen & Biber, 1988; Ngai, 2002; Reyhner, 1992; Sims, 1998; Valdes, 1997), provided opening guidelines for the unstructured interviews:

(1) What efforts have been successful in helping to increase the learning of the Salish language in your school district?
(2) Why do you think current efforts have not succeeded in reversing the trend of diminishing use of the Salish language?
(3) What do you think public schools should do to help increase the learning of the Salish language among young people in your school district?
(4) What are the possible ways to integrate Salish-language learning into the public-school curriculum?
(5) What would be the design of an ideal Salish-language programme in terms of the following areas:

   - objectives
   - grade levels
   - subjects taught in Salish
   - required teacher qualifications and teacher training
   - the place of the programme in the current school organisation
   - length and frequency of the Salish class(es), etc.?

(6) Do you think such programme would work in your school district? What are the obstacles and what are the facilitating factors?
(7) How do you think the obstacles can be minimised or even removed? For example:
What kind of professional development can be provided?
What qualifications are acceptable?
What are the possible sources of funding?
What should be the minimal level of external (or central) funding?

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How can collaboration between the tribe(s) and public educators be facilitated?
What can the tribal council and the cultural committee do to help?
What can school administrators and teachers do to help?
What can student leaders and parents do to help?
What can you do to help?

(8) What are the innovative ways to gain support from policy makers and stakeholders?

(9) What compromises/accommodations must advocates make in order to gain support from policy makers and stakeholders?
For example: If some people oppose . . ., how much would you compromise?

(10) What compromises/accommodations must policy makers and stakeholders make in order for such a Salish-language programme to become feasible?
For example: If an advocate proposes . . ., would you find it acceptable? How much would you compromise?

(11) What are the key components of a public-school Salish-language programme that are acceptable to both Indians and non-Indians?

(12) What are your suggestions regarding possible ways to establish these components?

The interview protocol served as a general guide for unstructured interviews rather than as a rigid template (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Follow-up questions emerged spontaneously during the interview process. Each interview lasted one to two hours. All participants read and signed copies of an informed consent form. I tape-recorded all (but four) interviews with the consent of the participants. Then, I prepared a full written transcript of each interview (about 1000 pages total). The detailed written record allowed for line-by-line coding and analysis (see Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Data analysis in this study involved three stages of coding that are similar to open, axial, and selective coding procedures (see Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Stage-I coding aimed to sort incoming data into preset and newly discovered categories. Stage-II coding operated to sew pieces of saturated sub-categories together to form a preliminary set of programme components (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Stage-III coding involved a comparison of the program components identified for mixed schools on the Reservation, and those for each of the selected districts, in order to generate a general framework useful beyond the research sites. I compared the four sets of components against each other for both similarities and differences.

Before conducting any interview, I received approval to carry out this study from the director of the Tribal Education Department, Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes, the director of the Salish and Pend d'Oreille Cultural Committee, and the superintendents of the three selected districts. When requesting interview appointments, I explained that I was a doctoral student interested in learning about community members' thoughts regarding Salish language education as part of my doctoral dissertation. Out of the 91 people I contacted, only two refused to be interviewed. Nearly all of the people I

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contacted expressed appreciation for the opportunity to discuss Native language education, which had been one of the dividing issues on the Reservation for many years. For the most part, participants perceived me, non-Indian and non-White, as an outsider who played no part in the deep-rooted conflicts between Indians and White over issues of land, water, hunting grounds, forest management, etc. on the Reservation. As a result of this perceived 'neutral' position, I was able to ask questions that explore possible approaches for facilitating collaboration between the two groups, and pose questions that prompt participants to consider common ground not immediately apparent to insiders. Although my philosophical perspective and beliefs shaped the interview protocol, my involvement primarily was governed by concerns to be honest, to give voice to local people, and to include diverse perspectives (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992).

While working to identify Indian-language-education programme components and to generate programme frameworks based on grassroots input from an 'insider' perspective, I incorporated compromises or accommodating suggestions that participants in the study reacted to. In this way, the 'outsider' point of view operated to bridge the gap among diverse local perspectives without imposing an external viewpoint on local issues that did not respect local inclinations.

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Local Suggestions Applicable Reservation-wide

Study participants clearly defined the role of public schools as supplementary and complementary to community-based language revitalisation efforts (such as the one immersion school on the reservation, language classes for adults, and informal learning from individual speakers). When asked to describe essential elements of an effective public-school Native-language programme for their mixed communities, participants identified goals that are relevant to both Indians and Whites. They also identified the target population for, and desirable frequency of, language programmes in districts with mixed student populations. To help increase and improve indigenous-language learning in that context, participants proposed a common progressive language curriculum and an integration approach.

Objectives beneficial to natives and non-natives

Nearly all study participants agreed that, in mixed districts, language-programme goals for Indian students and for White students should be similar, although expectations for each group differ in certain ways. For both White and Indian students, according to study participants, indigenous-language education should aim to enhance cross-cultural understanding, teach a world view in addition to the mainstream US perspective, and help develop basic knowledge of a language other than English. For Indian students, learning their heritage language is a way to maintain their tribal identity and pride in their tribal heritage. For White students, learning a local indigenous language provides cultural enrichment.

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Enhance cross-cultural understanding for all

Study participants believed that teaching a local heritage language in school would help bridge the gap between Whites and Indians. The Indian-language program, according to the participants, should be designed to help White students understand the Native people and accept the importance of the language to Indian people. It should help Indian students compare the two worlds in which they live and, hence, develop the competence required for effective participation in both worlds. Participants argue for learning the Salish language (and the English language) together as an act of learning from and sharing with each other. If a language programme promotes students' acceptance of each other's language, as the local teachers participated in the study pointed out, it would serve to hold the mixed student body together.

Enhance multicultural competence for all

The local Salish educators advocated that a language programme should aim to help both Indian students and White students see the world from multiple perspectives, and, hence, learn to respect different worldviews in a diverse society. A Salish-language educator urged language teachers to teach the language in a way that would allow both White and Indian students 'to make relationships with different things' and 'to categorise things in ways that would not be possible within English'. One of the goals of including a language other than English in the curriculum, as some participants pointed out, would be to expand the minds of the young regardless of their ethnic backgrounds.

Enhance second-language awareness for all

Study participants agreed that a Salish-language programme should aim to help learners develop basic knowledge of the Salish language. According to the local teachers who participated in the study, one of the practical goals of learning Salish should be to help increase children's linguistic awareness. Although some children, especially White children, might not find the chance to use the Salish language in the future, learning the written form of the Salish language would help them become familiar with the International Phonetic Alphabet. That would be helpful for learning other languages. If a Salish-language programme aims to stimulate children's brain development, to expose them to different sounds, and to enhance their awareness of the differences among languages, it would be valuable to all.

Enhance Salish-language proficiency for Indians

For Indian children, participants believed that the goal should reach beyond linguistic awareness to include developing oral proficiency and communicative competence in the Salish language. A tribal-education leader remarked that 'children using the language on the playground is more my goal than writing a thesis or poetry.' Local language-revitalisation advocates perceived public-school programmes as part of their efforts to 'create a healthy re-growth of people who can speak the language.'

Enhance self-esteem for Indians

To Indian children, tribal leaders maintained, the language is 'a piece of their identity'. A Salish teacher affirmed that 'Indian children need to retain their ancestral language and the ways of the past so that they can be people who have an identity.' Teaching the language is a way for Indian educators to transmit their heritage culture to the young. Both Indian and non-Indian participants agreed that one of the main goals of a Salish-language program should be to help Indian children know who they are and to connect with their own heritage. 'Knowing who you are gives you self-esteem, pride, and a greater sense of self-worth', an Indian educator pointed out. The participant added that 'if we teach the language, more Indian students would stay in school'.

Enhance cultural experience for Whites

For White students, learning the Salish language is part of 'an academic package'. Indian and non-Indian educators believed that 'knowing another culture through learning another language is good [for all children in general]'. A tribal-education leader suggested that 'it's like a foreign exchange experience' for White students. One of the goals should be to help non-Indian students understand their own culture better through learning about others. Instead of focusing only on Salish-language skills, local parents and non-Indian educators suggested, White students should also be encouraged to learn about the perspectives and culture embedded in the language.

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Target population

For all

A tribal-education leader explained that 'although the goals are different for White and Indian students, the mixed student body should be served by one unified program in the public school setting.' The reasons expressed are multifold. A Salish elder maintained that it would be important to keep all children, Indian and non-Indian, as a group in order to maintain their friendship. Moreover, local tribal leaders believed in exposing the broadest number of students possible to the language, in the hope that one or more of them would create his/her opportunities for further learning. An education leader explained that 'we don't know who is going to have the ability and the interest, or something is going to spark them and they are going to take off.'

Although, according to two Indian-language-education advocates, a few Indian people do not want non-Indians to learn their heritage language for fear that they would misuse the traditional knowledge, an Indian-education leader insisted that 'we are at a stage and an age that we should welcome all'. Therefore, public-school programmes should be designed for all and include all. The potential challenge of an inclusive approach is that limited resources are used for teaching the basics to all. Since linguistically talented and interested students are not provided with opportunities and a learning environment in which they can advance, one local suggestion is that honours classes in Salish and additional immersion experiences outside of the school (e.g. experiences with the elders in a form of mentor-apprenticeship format) should be available for talented students.

Optional

Participants expressed different opinions regarding whether the Salish-language class should be optional or required. More than half of the participants believed that Salish-language courses should be optional in the public-school setting. One Salish elder stated 'I don't like to force people.' When asked whether the Salish language should be required in public schools, a tribal-education leader rejected the idea, saying 'I don't want the Salish language to be defeated that way.' A White public-education administrator predicted that 'if the language class were not optional, people would resent it.' On the other hand, a few Indian participants insisted that an Indian language should be required in all schools on the reservation. Some believed that at least it should be required for Indian children. Given the lack of consensus over this issue, several districts on the reservation have come up with a solution that satisfies both sides. In these districts, all K-5 students are scheduled to attend the Salish class unless their parents decide to pull them out during that period. This strategy has been working well in districts without consensus on this issue.

Starting young

All participants agreed that starting the Salish programme at the kindergarten level is crucial. The unanimous belief is that 'the younger the children start learning the language, the better the chance they will achieve proficiency.' Without indicating awareness of the second-language-acquisition theory of the 'Critical Period', which suggests that one must start learning a language between ages 6 and 11 in order to achieve native-like proficiency, all of the participants appeared to have the gut feeling that young children's brains are more flexible for acquiring more than one language. Further, experienced Salish teachers pointed out that the older the learners became, the more inhibited they would be in trying to speak a language other than their mother-tongue. Therefore, given the limited resources, participants urged that efforts be concentrated on early grades.

Frequency

Another key element that research participants emphasised is an adequate amount of exposure. The recurring criticism of current programmes focused on a lack of time provided for Salish-language learning. Participants proposed different models for elementary programmes:

- 75 minutes once a week (as recommended in the federal world-language guideline);
- one hour in the morning and one hour in the afternoon;
- 15 minutes every day; or
- 20 minutes every other day.

In elementary schools, participants supported a minimum of 60 minutes a week. Some strongly believed in daily exposure. For high school, the consensus was that Salish should be offered on a par with other optional foreign language(s). In other words, it should be a full class period every day.

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To increase students' exposure to Salish language, a few participants raised the idea of decreasing class size as an addition to, or a substitute for, increasing frequency. Either approach would require an increased number of teachers. For districts where financial resources are not available for additional teachers, participants suggested increasing exposure for interested and talented students instead of for all.[2]

A Common progressive curriculum

Public-school educators and the younger generation of Indian language-education advocates proposed a common progressive Salish-language curriculum to help improve the quality of Salish public-school programmes. The suggested key feature of this curriculum is that it should facilitate learning to progress from one level to the next. Clear objectives, standards, and benchmarks for each grade level were considered as essential elements by local educators who participated in the study. Regarding curriculum content, suggestions included cultural studies, academic skill reinforcement, critical language for everyday use, and common lexicons.

Benchmarks and standards

Some proposed a three-level language scheme (i.e. beginning/primary, intermediate/middle, and advanced/high-school) to guide K-12 Salish language learning. An Indian-education leader suggested that the focus of the beginning/primary level be on awareness of sounds and rhythm, learning basic grammatical rules, and vocabulary. At the intermediate level, the focus should be on learning to spell and read with the International Phonetic Alphabet, composing sentences, and expanding vocabulary. At the high-school/advanced level, the focus should be on understanding advanced grammatical structures, further expanding vocabulary, and conversing.

A school administrator suggested that benchmarks and standards be developed based on this general three-level scheme. With benchmarks and standards, the participant explained, public-school administrators would know how to support the Salish language programme. For instance, they would know what kind of teacher training is needed, what to expect from students, and how to fit the program into the school organisation. Moreover, a common curriculum would allow for consistency and continuity in learning even when students move between schools. According to experienced Indian and non-Indian educators, this is important because student mobility is high on the reservation.

Common lexicons

In terms of the content of language learning, a tribal education leader suggested that a language curriculum be developed based on frequently used words. He suggested that the 100 most common words would be covered in the primary grades. A non-Indian public-school administrator suggested adapting the goal of English-literacy development, namely, to develop 3000 words vocabulary between ages 5 and 11. This participant emphasised that the focus be on interactive, action vocabulary for communication purposes instead of just nouns. The next question is what words should be selected? What

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should be the topics and themes that provide the context for language learning?

Everyday context

Young Salish teachers believed that the Salish language should be taught in the context of children's everyday life. They argued that children relate more readily to topics pertaining to their culture than to the elders' culture. They suggested teaching children Salish words and expressions for discussing basketball, football, their favourite athletes, current issues, and things that would be considered real and relevant to their lives. Along the same vein, a middle-aged Salish-language teacher suggested teaching children Salish by integrating the language into the children's world. For example, this participant proposed teaching Christmas songs and making up children games in Salish. Moreover, a non-Indian parent emphasised the importance of 'tapping into the passion that children have' and 'making it personally meaningful to individual persons'.

Cultural context

While the younger Salish teachers preferred separating Salish-language education from Native American Studies (NAS), the majority of the participants expressed strong interest in helping children learn about Salish history, culture, traditions, and world view through Salish-language education. Regarding what should be taught in Salish, Indian participants identified subjects that they considered significant, and non-Indian participants identified subjects that they perceived as appealing. Specific suggested topics and themes include the following:

- History (e.g. history of the tribes, stories about the past, the struggles between Whites and Indians, and place names);
- Stories (e.g. creation stories, coyote stories, warrior stories, winter-time legends, constellation stories, stories of elders' lives, and stories associated with names given to children);
- Ceremonies (e.g. songs and dance, wakes, and spring gathering);
- World views and values (e.g. love, respect, discipline, understanding each other in a diverse world, extended family, understanding the environment, proper relationships with everything around you, ways of living and being with the land, kinship, humour/jokes, and meanings of living in a community);
- Multicultural education (e.g. alternative strategies for solving problems, consensus building, conflict-resolution skills, analysis of local issues from multiple perspectives, living in two worlds, and meanings of heritage in modern life);
- Traditions (e.g. games, traditional food, and celebrations);
- Customs (e.g. the right way of cleaning animals, praying before using the meat and digging up plants, drying meat, tanning hides, canoe making, clothes making, beading, quilting, digging camus, digging bitterroots, and picking berries); and

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- Nature and wilderness studies (e.g. stars, plants, flowers, herbs, status of the forest, Mission Mountains, fish species, endangered wildlife, weather, four seasons, choke cherry month, hunting month, etc.).

Academic context

A suggested alternative focus is to use Salish to reinforce mainstream academic content such as maths concepts, science concepts, reading/writing skills, etc. as standardising testing,[3] is often perceived as an obstacle that prevents squeezing an 'extra' subject into the curriculum. For example, according to the mainstream teachers who participated in the study, the Salish teacher could help primary-grade students practice addition and subtraction, describe the weather and change of seasons, re-tell stories, and engage in reading and writing in Salish. A bilingual-education specialist maintained that 'in order for schools to see Salish learning as a valuable piece of the curriculum, it needs to be seen as reinforcing what goes on in school. Making the Salish program as an integral part of the mainstream curriculum is the best way to go.' This way, the participant contended, 'the language program is put in the same context of the other curriculum subjects so that it's not seen as taking time away from those subjects, and the public-school educators would not feel that they have to cut their core curriculum in order to ''squeeze in'' Salish.' Moreover, an Indian education leader pointed out, parents were pressing for their children to learn maths, science, and reading so that they would become professionals. Thus, parents would more likely to support Salish learning if it is combined with academic enhancement.

Integration

Reinforcing mainstream academic content into the Salish-language class can be complemented by integrating some Salish language into the mainstream curriculum. Participants urged mainstream teachers to help establish connections between Salish-language learning and learning that occurs in the mainstream classroom. For instance, Indian and non-Indian educators suggested that mainstream teachers use words, expressions, and concepts covered in the Salish-language class in their lessons, in order to help students perceive Salish as relevant to the rest of their learning. Also, according to the participants, students would perceive the language as valuable if mainstream teachers validate it by using it in the regular classes. Without integration, a public-school administrator pointed out, 'the Salish teacher would isolate him/herself and it would make it easy for administrators to come along and cut it.'

The local Indian educators believed that Salish language could be integrated into maths, science, and English. Along the same line, participants agreed that Salish language should be integrated into Native American Studies, which normally are taught in English.

Indian participants cautioned that a separate Salish language class should remain even though some language can be integrated into other classes. This comment was based on the fear that integration could eventually replace a separate language class. An Indian parent leader pointed out that integration without focused language learning in a protected arena would likely lead to

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diminished language learning. Moreover, a respected Salish cultural leader and language teacher maintained that 'a separate language class would be more holistic and not so piece-meal.' Logistically, a Salish college educator believed, it would be easier to teach the language in a separate class rather than forcing pieces of it into other classes. In other words, Salish-language education in public schools should be integrated, but remain separate at the same time.

To summarise, both Indian and non-Indian supporters of Salish-language education agreed that the role of public school primarily is not to develop fluency, but to validate the indigenous language, expose all children to the language, and help interested learners lay the foundation for further pursuit of the language. In order for such programs to be beneficial for all and to contribute to overall language-revitalisation efforts, a common progressive curriculum and school-wide integration is essential. I perceive these local suggestions as applicable in any of the public schools on the Flathead Reservation. The next section focuses on suggestions specific to the three selected districts with unique characteristics.

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Local Suggestions Specific to the Three Selected Rural Schools

A district with balanced Indian/White student ratio (BR)

District BR has a student population of around 540. The percentage of Indian students has ranged from 42 to 55% in recent years. A portion of the community support Salish learning in public schools and a portion object to it. The situation faced by Indian-language education supporters in the school district requires careful balancing. A school administrator {S2} explains that

> It's a matter of moving carefully and slowly through the political mine-field of this community . . . [This is] a situation where school administrators have to walk on the middle line. I am responsible for both the Native and the non-Native communities. I have to keep both of them not necessarily happy, but relatively satisfied. I have to make sure every student's heritage is recognised and celebrated here.

The balance that has been achieved for the past years manifests itself in the K-6 plus 9-12 Salish-language programme that is staffed by 1.25 teachers. During 2003/2004, all 220 K-6 children were provided with the opportunity to receive 40-minute (a full class period) Salish language instruction every third or fourth day. In the high school, the two full-period classes (90 minutes) were offered every other day. Out of 181 high school students, 28 were enrolled in the Salish courses. The arising question is: how can Salish education in the district be improved and increased while balancing opposing interests?

In addition to the relevant programme elements suggested for reservation schools with mixed populations in general, local participants believed that an effective indigenous-language programme should be one that creates an affirmative atmosphere. A workable programme also needs to bridge key sectors of the community and it should be inclusive, but optional.

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Affirmative atmosphere

Indian-parent leaders and school administrators in District BR agreed that an affirmative atmosphere in support of Salish language and cultural learning is a crucial element of an effective Indian-language-education programme. Local school-board members emphasised the need to 'pump in some positivism, energy, and enthusiasm' to the Salish-language programme in the school.

First, 'Indians need to be empowered so that they could take the lead in supporting language efforts,' a school administrator asserted. The administrator proposed celebrating and honoring the achievements of the bilingual elders-the cultural leaders who served as role models for kids. For instance, authoritative figures respected by young people can help improve attitudes by explaining to Indian students that 'you don't have to give either one up. Hold on to your English and still learn the heritage language.' To improve the image of Salish-language learning in the district, a grandparent suggested giving awards to outstanding Salish learners in school. For language learning to occur, a teacher maintained that:

> The Indian students need to believe it's important, it's valuable, and it's worth their time ... They need to be proud of who they are ... If speaking to elders is the only reason, they will never learn it. They need to feel the need for learning-which can be ethnic identity, a need to belong ...

In short, the Salish language needs to be promoted as valuable. An administrator emphasised that 'everybody needs to value it because it's hard to be who you are if your peers are cynical about it.' Support for Salish language needs to be seen everywhere in the school. This participant stated that:

> It doesn't matter how good your classes are, the climate is the key ... It has to be responsive to the needs of the students, especially those of Indian children ... Indian parents are far more sensitive because of the historical context of the school.

To create a positive political atmosphere in the district, according to a local school administrator, 'trust and understanding ought to be built among stakeholders (teachers and parents) and policy makers (school board members and administrators) through inclusive decision making.' He believed that some open, honest dialogue between Indians and non-Indian educators would create a more trusting relationship. The administrator maintained that people should talk to each other to work things out. For instance, Indian teachers could 'assure people by showing them the curriculum [that] the teacher is not biased, and [that] what is being taught is accurate, real research-based information.' Indian participants agreed that communication is a key. Local Indian-parent leaders highlighted the need for a partnership between parents, teachers, Indians, and the school through 'open conversations and the willingness to listen'.

Moreover, teachers need to model inclusion of the language. A Salish teacher and a school-board member pointed out that 'if teachers use Salish

words and phrases (e.g. greetings), the kids would be motivated to learn.' Indian participants emphasised the role that teachers could play. The belief is that teachers from the local community, who know everybody in community, who like people in the community, and who respect diverse cultures would help to create an affirmative atmosphere.

To create an affirmative atmosphere in the classroom, one suggestion is for Indian parents to invite Salish guest speakers to school throughout the year. It would help if Salish people were perceived as welcome in the school. Other participants suggest a number of critical ingredients for creating a welcoming school climate:

- bringing in Salish guest speakers throughout the year;
- decoration using artifacts that honor Indian/Salish language and culture (e.g. paintings and posters);
- Salish signs around school and Salish labels in the classroom;
- entire staff (teachers, bus drivers, lunch ladies, etc.) supportive;
- collaborative working relationship between mainstream teachers and Salish teachers;
- parents and grandparents involved in creating a conducive environment;
- use of some Salish terms around the school (e.g. the playground, basketball game, cheers, parades, field trips, recess, etc.).

Inclusive, but optional

Some participants argued that the language programme must be inclusive, while others believed the programme ought to be optional. In order to balance the interests of the supporters and the non-supporters of Salish-language education in this mixed school district, it could be both.

From a local educational leader's point of view, it would be easier to guarantee funding for a programme that is inclusive and beneficial to all children than one that serves only a small portion of the student population. In addition, it is easier to guarantee funding for a programme that aims to improve students' learning in multiple areas (e.g. reading and writing) than one that teaches only an Indian language.

From an Indian parent leader's point of view, more children are exposed to the language through an inclusive programme and the chance that the language reaches potentially interested learners is higher than otherwise. The participant added that 'it's important to have a broad base of learners in order to be sure we are not missing some potential kids.' In addition, 'people are more likely to perceive the class as important if it's for all rather than it's optional.' A Salish teacher believed that an optional Salish class is likely to be perceived as a sub-standard class.

The arising question, then, is: what type of scheduling would allow the Salish program to reach the maximum number of children? Given the limited availability of Salish teachers, a broad-based programme would mean a small quantity of instruction for each student. Each kid would have a taste of the language, but not enough to develop proficiency. Moreover, according to a local educator, 'some kids did show some interest in the language, but it became very boring for them because other kids didn't and it did not progress fast.' In that case, supplementary language-learning opportunities, such as an

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after-school programme, lunch-time programme, study-hall programme, etc. are essential for developing language proficiency.

Alternatively, one administrator proposed turning broad-based Salish education into a Salish-honors class to nurture only those (about 25–30 students) who are interested and motivated. A former Salish teacher in the school agreed that a special honours class would allow gifted children to do more with activities centered around the language. The administrator suggested that 'Salish educators could make the Salish class a privilege for talented students ... [They could] test them and find out who has linguistics intelligence, get recommendation from teachers and parents, ... [and] interview why they want to be in it.' In this way, 'you make it a privilege to be in the group ..., then, suddenly, expectations rise for everybody ... The tide raises all boats, it doesn't just raise one boat ...' While local administrators were inclined to believe that 'we can provide more for a few than a little for all,' Indian educators and parents strongly believed that the 'honours class' should be an addition rather than a replacement for the current inclusive arrangement.

From the perspective of non-Indian parents, the Salish class must be optional. A parent, who had pulled her children out of Salish classes, used the terms 'choice' or 'options' 24 times in a 45-minute interview. Non-supporters indicated they would accept the Salish programme in the school as long as their children are not 'forced' to take the class. Administrators, school-board members, and Indian-community members concurred that Salish should be optional, even for Indian children, because 'if you force them, they resent it', as a participant explained. An Indian elderly community member maintained that 'language learning should be strictly voluntary, but educators should use enticement to attract learners.' Then, the remaining questions is: how to make a Salish course optional without making it peripheral?

The balancing act here is that schools need to give parents the option to pull their kids out and provide a reasonably meaningful alternative, while keeping Salish as the better option. Otherwise, as a school administrator cautioned, many parents would pull their kids out and turn the language class into the 'dumping ground' as it was before.

A district with more Indian than White students (MI)

District MI is composed of more Indian students than White students. Over the past two decades, according to a district administrator, the percentage of Indian students has been consistently $>65\%$. District MI offers a K through 12 Salish language program along with a K through 12 Native American Studies program. Study participants claimed that District MI is 'more advanced' because a K-12 programme is rare in Montana.

The district first offered Salish-language instruction in 1972. An experienced Salish teacher believed that 'having Salish classes and teachers in the school helps keep the Salish culture alive'. The current programme allows for 20 minutes of Salish instruction once a week in kindergarten and first grade, and twice a week from Grades 2 to 6. In the middle school, Salish is an elective class for one semester (one hour every day for nine weeks). In the high school,

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the language is available as an elective class for four years. Along with the language programme, the Native American Studies programme allows for 15 minutes of instruction of non-tribal-specific Native Americans Studies once a week for kindergarten and first-grade students, and twice a week from second through sixth grades. In the middle school, NAS is a required class for one quarter. In high school, it is an elective course.

In addition to the elements suggested for reservation schools with mixed populations in general, participants from the District MI suggested two key elements that would help improving Salish-language education in the district. The proposed district-specific elements include active and interaction approaches and the level of demands from the Indian community.

Active and interactive approaches

In this relatively supportive district, discussions had moved beyond the goals and the value of Salish-language education. Study participants focused on searching for ways to improve the existing language programme. Both educators and parents strongly believed that innovative, active, and interactive approaches would significantly enhance Salish instruction. An administrator maintained that the selling point of Salish education had been learning the language in the local cultural and natural environment. Along the same vein, parents suggested moving the Salish class out of the classroom. Instructional strategies considered by study participants to be most appealing included activities in the woods, field trips to culturally meaningful sites, and other community cultural events. The White parents also believed that the involvement of respected Indian elders would be an important element of Salish-language education and that their non-Indian children would learn a great deal from the elders.

In terms of instructional strategies, 'entertaining' and 'engaging' are the key words that capture what participants envisioned as effective. The mainstream classroom teachers in this district highly recommended the adoption of Total Physical Response (TPR) for teaching Salish (see Asher, 1996). One of the primary teachers contended that 'it is essential for the Salish teacher to instruct in a way that would tie the language to all the senses.' She explained that some children tend to be more visual while some are more kinetic. Instead of listening and repeating words, local educators suggested that children should be learning the language through singing, drumming, motions, and actions.

Along with fun activities, study participants suggested incorporating cooperative learning, immersion, and literacy development into Salish-language education. For many years, a couple of mainstream educators in the district had been urging the adoption of immersion in Salish classes. They believed that to maximise the benefits of the limited time available for Salish instruction, everything should be in Salish and students should be talking to each other in Salish during Salish classes.

A Salish-language teacher, who lived in the district and teaches in another district, recommended the inclusion of writing. This teacher believed that practice in writing Salish in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) would facilitate Salish acquisition. Along the same vein, a mainstream teacher in the district developed a series of big books that aimed to help children recognise

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Salish words written in IPA. According to a former Salish Native-American-Studies teacher, a successful past experience involved having children write their own books in Salish. One arising question is: what are the sources of support for improving the existing programs? In districts with more American Indians than non-Indians, demand from the Indian community is an essential element of an upgraded programme.

Indian community demand

Local administrators, a teacher, staff members, and a school-board member testified that the school administration would respond to community demand and concerned parents' desire to expand and upgrade Salish-language education in the district, although the administration seldom took the initiative to come up with action plans. A couple of long-time staff members observed that 'if there are several parents who demand more opportunities for Salish language, the administration is likely to listen to parents' suggestions.' Also, one of the staff members affirmed that 'if kids are trying, adults would respond to kids.' If advocates want Salish to be required in the high school, an administrator believed, 'Indian parents' demand will make it happen . . .'

Based on an understanding of the administration's intention, a White teacher called for more push from the community. An Indian teacher concurred that 'concerted effort, a louder voice, needs to come out from the Indian community.' Referring to the local demand for Salish-language education, the two widely respected Salish-language teachers in the district insisted that '[Indian] parents should be responsible' and '[Indian] parents have to want it'. Along the same line, local school administrators emphasised that an 'IEC [Indian Education Committee composed of Indian parents][4] needs to communicate that demand to the school administration.' A school-board member revealed that 'the school board listens to IEC quite strongly . . . Pressure has to come from a stronger IEC.' In this regard, a former Indian teacher proposed that, if necessary, the local IEC should 'use the law to demand more language be used in the school environment.' In addition to parents' demands, a school-board member maintained that 'student interest and commitment from the Indian people' would be crucial for influencing the local school-board's position in supporting Indian-language education. An administrator agreed that 'the passion and vision from the community is what would convince.' The power of students' voices and parents' suggestions cannot be underestimated. Local demand is a vital element of high-quality Salish-language education in mixed public-school districts.

A district with more White than Indian students (MW)

In District MW, the Indian student population consistently is the lowest on the Flathead Indian Reservation. According to an administrator in the district, approximately 2% of the district population and 10% of the student population are tribal members. In 2003, among the 325 students enrolled in the district, 30 students identified themselves Indians. All study participants agreed that District MW had been perceived as a White district on the Flathead Indian Reservation. A White participant described it as 'the oasis' in the middle of the reservation. An Indian participant described it as 'the irony' in the centre of the

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reservation. According to an advocate of Indian education, District MW historically had a strong anti-Indian population. Nonetheless, racial barriers are slowly breaking down. The barrier-breaking tool is education, even though currently there is no Salish-language programme or Native American Studies programme in place. The local advocates maintained that Indian education in the form of integration should continue. The task at the moment is to lay the groundwork for a feasible Native-language program. Language programme elements required for this gestation stage include long-term goals, framing strategies, and external support.

Long-term goals

A school administrator wondered 'how many more generations it's going to take' for the community to accept fully Indian language education in the school. While being aware of the hesitancy existing in the district, Indian-education advocates believed that if they continued to work on breaking down barriers, raising awareness, and nurturing interests among the young, then Salish-language learning and Native American Studies would become parts of the mainstream curriculum in a few years. The Indian-education advocates concurred that their primary objective had been 'breaking down the barrier little by little'. They trust that through educating children about the local Indian heritage, the young generation would grow up with open minds and would, in turn, educate their parents to value all cultures. Their hope has been that Indian education would eventually 'remove the prejudice and discrimination' that were deeply planted in the community.

From the perspective of Indian Education Committee (IEC) members, the main goal is to raise 'awareness'. An Indian parent asserted that 'they [District MW residents] live here. They should know something about the Tribes and the reservation.' A school administrator hoped that awareness would bring about 'acceptance and tolerance'. A school board member, an IEC leader, believed that 'awareness will increase interest.'

The perceived feasible goal is to 'get kids interested so they will seek learning opportunities available elsewhere on the reservation.' 'The school's role is to make it interesting, positive, helpful, and to stimulate interest,' a parent maintained. The local consensus is that Indian-language learning is for 'enrichment' and 'exposure' rather than the development of language proficiency. For instance, a couple of school-board members contended that the goal of exposing (non-Indian) children to an Indian language would be to help widen their experience and knowledge. An administrator believed that Indian-language learning should facilitate 'larger understanding of different people, cultures, and values.' A teacher stressed that it should help children respect all cultures and develop the ability to ask questions of different cultures. One of the school-board members pointed out that the goal should be to 'get kids to think in a different manner'. The emerging question is: if enrichment and exposure are what appeal to educators, parents, and school-board members in this type of mixed districts, how would a language programme or a language dimension in the mainstream curriculum be designed and framed to meet these goals?

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Framing

Indian studies or Indian-language education that is framed in terms of academic benefits for all students is more likely to be accepted in this type of mixed district. The local school administrators repeatedly stressed the district's 'academic' focus and the superintendent mentioned several times that all programs and activities must be beneficial to all. An acceptable programme needs to be perceived as helpful in strengthening and reinforcing basic academic skills. Parents need to be informed of the cognitive benefits of learning a different language. An administrator pointed out that Indian studies should be presented as 'relevant and useful rather than another Indian thing'.

In addition, a school-board member suggested that Indian studies would be better received 'if it is presented as multicultural studies'. A parent agreed that 'a multicultural perspective would be the best way.' Along the same lines, an administrator advised: 'Don't target one language or one culture, [but] make it multicultural. We are a multicultural society even though we live on the reservation ... [Students need to learn to] relate local things to bigger issues. It's not just about local.' Representing the anti-Indian mentality, a school-board member insisted that all classes should include not only Native American, but diverse voices. In the face of such resistance, another school-board member suggested presenting the Indian perspective as one of many perspectives in order to gain wider acceptance in the district. A teacher proposed framing Native American Studies as Western Montana History, in which the focus could be local history and cultures, including both the history of the White settlement and local Indian history and language. While not willing to 'compromise' her position regarding the importance of Indian education for all, an Indian advocate concurred that an inclusive approach would be fair. She explained that 'while learning more about who I am, I don't want them to forget who they are.' Learning from local cultures is a noble mission and, yet, remains a perceived luxury in rural public-school districts. To implement the suggested place-based multicultural education, external financial and human resources are indispensable.

External support

Given the academic priorities in the district, external funding would be essential for developing an Indian-language education programme. External funding[5] is needed in two categories: (1) the part-time or full-time salary of an Indian-language teacher, and (2) teacher training to help mainstream teachers integrate some language into their regular classes. Both an influential IEC member and a school-board member predicted that if a program would not affect the school budget, the school board and administrators would say 'yes' to a proposal.

A school-board member speculated that '80% of the community would accept a teacher or a trainer sponsored by the Tribes.' If the Tribes would send an Indian-studies/language teacher, a school administrator suggested, the school could offer an Indian studies/language elective course in high school and middle school as part of the fulfillment of state fine arts requirement. Local parents and IEC members expressed interest in having a teacher

sponsored by the Tribes to expose elementary students to some Salish language along with Indian art and crafts, as long as the financial resources would not be drawn from the district's central budget.

Most participants considered training current classroom teachers to integrate Indian studies into the mainstream classes as the needed first step in promoting studies of the local heritage in the district. In addition to the training provided by the local tribal college, administrators and teachers would like to receive training locally. An administrator suggested that the local tribal college send a trainer to deliver training at the school. He explained that having people 'doing some training and going to the classroom is part of building trust ... [If training and integration can be] worked in gradually, people see it's not so bad after all.' Convenient local training opportunities would motivate teacher involvement. Other incentives that participants mentioned include renewal credits and financial incentives as rewards.

Besides funding, a district like District MW needs external support in terms of determining what to teach, how to teach, and who to teach. Local educators indicated they knew little about Indian-language instruction. With regard to integrating Indian studies/language into mainstream classes, an administrator insisted that 'standards need to be set by the Tribes ... and teaching resources need to be provided by the Tribe.' A teacher maintained that 'a well-done curriculum is needed so that teachers don't have to re-invent the wheel.' This participant, who had been involved with the teacher training provided by the local tribal college, suggested a 'curriculum with topics that can be integrated in different subject areas (e.g. plants, information for chemistry, information for physics) ... such as a package in science with lessons and resources.'

While insisting on tribal involvement in promoting Indian education in the district, study participants warned that the involvement must play out in ways that would not be perceived as 'forced', 'mandated', or 'behind doors'. A school-board member declared that 'we resent mandates. We resent it when the state, tribal, or federal government put a thumb on the school board and on the teachers ... They are taking education away from all students.' Both supporters and non-supporters stressed the importance of open communication with the school board and the community and the importance of allowing teachers to take the initiative in supporting the implementation of Indian education in the school.

Although District MW has long been perceived as an anti-Indian, racist, conservative mixed district, the local Indian Education Committee members and proactive individuals have made progress in breaking barriers and changing attitudes through education and outreach. While gaining local acceptance is an immediate concern and a long-term goal, securing external funding and tribal support in determining what to teach, how to teach, and who to teach is a crucial step yet to be taken.

Conclusion

The bilingual-education programme suggestions and insights presented here are derived from grassroots input on the Flathead Reservation. Local leaders, actors, and stakeholders know best what are desirable and feasible in

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their public-school districts. Individuals perceive the issues related to Indian-language education in public schools from different angles. The Indians' point of view often is different from that of the Whites. Supporters of Native-language education perceive possibilities that non-supporters overlook, while non-supporters perceive constraints that supporters need to understand. Educators and community leaders usually agree on the objectives of Indian education, but differ in their advocacy of means for achieving the goals. Stakeholder concerns influence policymaker priorities and vice versa. Weaving input from members belonging to each of the relevant groups constitutes a vital first step toward developing an inclusive dual-language education program model for rural public schools with mixed Native and non-Native populations.

Study participants' suggestions provided a valuable basis for developing Native-language programmes that would be feasible and acceptable in rural public-school districts with mixed Native and non-Native populations. Among the suggested elements, some demand more urgent attention than others in individual districts. Each district is likely to have its own set of primary concerns. A comparison of the three selected districts indicates that the Indian/White student ratio is a key factor determining the priorities of a district. The Indian/White student ratio in a district appears to correlate with the political atmosphere surrounding Indian-education policies in the district, the orientation of community members and educators toward Indian education, and the level of acceptance regarding an Indian-language programme in the school district.

This paper focuses on describing key programme components that are important considerations for initiating effective Native-language education in the public-school arena. This focus does not mean that public schools can or should take the sole responsibility for teaching indigenous languages. School programmes play an important role in supporting and supplementing language learning that occurs at home, in the community, and through other formal language programs. When language learning is not a school-wide or a district-wide effort, it is difficult for the few participating students to create opportunities to use the language and to maintain their interest in learning.

The researcher elicited suggestions for developing a language-education model for a context where intense immersion programs, such as the Navajo and Hawaiian models, are neither feasible nor appropriate. The insights derived from a grassroots vision of bilingual education in public schools with mixed populations focus on increasing interest in and improving the perceived value of the local heritage language. The language-learning outcomes of the suggested bilingual-education programme cannot be expected to be as advanced as those associated with more intense immersion programmes. However, feasibility is a critical asset in the context of rural mixed schools. Although the envisioned bilingual-education programme will not, by itself, save any language, it can complement other community efforts in supporting language learners, creating a positive community environment for language learning, and solidifying the foundation for further intensive language learning. While one person, one school, or one programme model is unlikely to save any diminishing language, practitioners need to explore models that

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complement and enhance existing efforts. The grassroots suggestions presented in this article advance the goal of reversing language loss. In the context of rural districts of mixed populations, the future of indigenous-language learning lies in well-planned co-ordination and collaboration among tribal and non-tribal entities, various language programmes, language educators of different settings, and curriculum developers from inside and outside of the language classroom.

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Notes

1. Whites and Indians are the terms used by Native Americans and European Americans to address each other and themselves.
2. Further research is required to prove the effectiveness of the proposed programme. These grassroots suggestions are based on study participants' understanding of the feasibility of the approaches and the availability of necessary human resources. The participants identified obstacles that would prevent their suggestions from being implemented. However, discussion of existing obstacles and ways to remove those obstacles are outside the scope of this paper.
3. At the time of research, NCLB was not yet in effect. Therefore, participants did not specifically comment on the impact of NCLB. However, participants identified standardised testing required by the state as an obstacle to integrating indigenous study into the curriculum.
4. IEC refers to Indian Education Committee. Districts that receive federal funds (i.e. Impact Aid and Johnson O'Malley Fund) for Indian education are required by law to establish a committee composed of Indian parents (when available). The function of the committee is consultation.
5. In Montana, recent legislature designated funds for implementing Indian Education for All in public schools. Each school district will receive funds to educate all children about Montana tribes. Such funds can be used toward integrating Native language education.

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