W. James Jacob
Sheng Yao Cheng
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Editors

Indigenous Education

Language, Culture and Identity

≅ Springer

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Contents

Brief Author Bios

Stephen Backman is an international education practitioner who has worked in the fields of literacy, language policy, teacher education, curriculum development, and education systems strengthening in Africa for more than 10 years. He received his Ph.D. from Michigan State University in Curriculum, Teaching and Education Policy with a research focus on language policy in education. Backman currently works for RTI International as the Deputy Chief of Party for the Malawi Early Grade Reading Activity, a 3-year USAID activity providing support for improving the instruction and learning of reading in Malawi through teacher training, curriculum development, community mobilization, and policy support. His previous assignments in other USAID projects include: the Chief of Party of the Malawi Teacher Professional Development Support Program with Creative Associates (2011–2013) and the Chief of Party of the Southern Sudan Technical Assistance Program with AED and FHI360 (2010–2011). In addition to these assignments, Backman has conducted field research on language policy in education in Africa, the ethnography of education, and international development. He has taught at both the elementary school and university levels while leading a number of study abroad and field study programs to East and Southern Africa. Throughout these various activities Backman has been a strong proponent for the use of local languages as the medium of instruction in African schools, especially in the development of initial literacy skills.

Roger Boshier is Professor of Educational Studies at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada. He was born in Hastings, New Zealand, where he endured corporal punishment (caning), lazy teachers, and uninspired curriculum at the Hastings Boys' High School. However, with the unsolicited help of the Headmaster, he made an early escape from high school and, coasting on a miracle (or the timely intervention of an unknown benefactor) in 1960, landed at the lively (and inspired) Wellington Teachers' College. At the time, Wellington was enlivened with protests against the American war in Vietnam, racist rugby in South Africa and French nuclear testing in the Pacific. Boshier joined the Teachers' College Maori Club and became a leader of the New Zealand anti-Vietnam war and anti-nuclear

testing movements. After a short sojourn as a teacher, he did a Ph.D. in Psychology at Victoria University of Wellington—a leading centre for research on Maori issues where he became a Junior Lecturer in Psychology. Later he took a position at the University of Auckland. After Auckland continuously denied him sabbatical leave he took off for Canada and never came back. In 1996 he ran for election to the British Columbia legislature and very decisively (and luckily) snatched defeat from the jaws of victory. Despite having resided in Canada for 40 years, Boshier is a patriotic New Zealander and has several academic projects there—most involving Maori. His biggest project is a biography of Selwyn Muru—Maori painter, sculpture, activist, playwright, broadcaster, oratory expert, and, with Ralph Hotere and Para Matchitt, one of the remaining rascals of the 1950s "Tovey-generation" from Northland College. Boshier sat in Matiu te Hau's Maori language classes and, as such, has first-hand experience of the real deal!

Louis Botha is currently teaching as an Associate Professor at Oslo and Akershus University College. He works within the field of education, looking broadly at issues of hegemony and counter-hegemony in knowledge production. More specifically, his main research interests include indigenous knowledges and cultural-historical activity theory (CHAT), but also explores marginalizing and empowering processes in areas of education such as North–South collaborations, mentoring relationships and qualitative research.

David B. Braudt is a distinguished young social scientist whose training is diverse and continuing. He is currently a graduate student at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and a predoctoral trainee at the Carolina Population Center. His research interests include social stratification, education, international development, and statistical methods. These interests have taken him to many places and exposed him to a variety of cultures. As part of those travels he became fluent in Portuguese, an ability which allowed him to approach the case study of Timor-Leste in a manner otherwise inaccessible to non-Portuguese speakers. His contribution here is a continuation of research he began while attending King's College at the University of Cambridge.

Anders Breidlid is Professor in International Education and Development at Oslo University College. His Ph.D. is from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. He is Former Dean of Faculty of Education and Rector of Bislet University College, and Chair of the Board of the Centre for International Education (LINS) until 2007. He initiated the establishment of the Masters Programme in Multicultural and International Education, Oslo University College as well as the Development Studies Programme at Sagene Teacher Training College. In Sudan he established Arapi Teacher Training Institute, South Sudan. He has been a research fellow at the University of Cape Town and at universities in Cuba and Chile. Breidlid has headed various research projects funded by the Norwegian Research Council. His main professional interests are: international education and development, the globalization of educational discourses (the global archi-tecture of education), international politics, human rights, HIV/AIDS, indigenous

knowledges, education in conflict and African literature. He has published a number of articles and books on education and development as well as on African history and fiction. Breidlid has research experience from Sudan, South Sudan, South Africa, Kenya, Cuba, Chile, and the USA. He has also done consultancy work for various NGOs in countries in Africa and Latin America. His recent books include: *HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa* (2009) (with J. Baxen), *A Concise History of South Sudan* (2010) (with A. Androga and A.K. Breidlid), and *Education, Indigenous Knowledges and Development in the Global South. Contesting Knowledges for a Sustainable Future*, was published by Routledge in 2013.

Duane Champagne is a member of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa from North Dakota. He is Professor of Sociology, Law, and American Indian Studies, Co-chair of the UCLA Native Nations Law and Policy Center, Senior Editor for *Indian Country Today*, and Past Acting Director of Tribal Learning Community and Educational Exchange (TLCEE). Champagne was Director of the UCLA American Indian Studies Center from 1991 to 2002 and Editor of the *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* from 1986 to 2003, and again in 2011 to 2013. He has written or edited over 125 publications. Champagne's research and writings focus on issues of social and cultural change in both historical and contemporary Native American communities. He has written about a variety of indigenous communities including: Cherokee, Tlingit, Iroquois, Delaware, Choctaw, Northern Cheyenne, Creek, California Indians, Israeli Bedouins, and others. His most recent books are *Notes from the Center of Turtle Island* and *Captured Justice: Native Nations Under Public Law 280*.

Sheng Yao Cheng is currently Professor in the Graduate Institute of Curriculum Studies and Center for Teacher Education at National Chung Cheng University (CCU) in Taiwan. Cheng also serves as the Director of the Institute for Disadvantaged Students' Learning at CCU; Board Member of Chinese Comparative Education Society-Taipei; Program Chair of Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) Higher Education Special Interest Group (2009–2013); International Advisor of the National Center for University Entrance Examinations (Japan); Co-Director of Global Education, Training, and Leadership Institute; Affiliated Faculty Member, University of Pittsburgh Institute for International Studies in Education; Fulbright Visiting Scholar (2011–2102); and the Executive Editor of the *Journal of Comparative Education*. Cheng received his Ph.D. in the Division of Social Science and Comparative Education at the University of California, Los Angeles, in 2004 and the topic of his dissertation focused on the politics of identity and indigenous schooling between Taiwan Aborigines and American Indians. Cheng's recent research interests include higher education, comparative education, sociology of education, international educational reforms, and remedial teaching programs.

Rebecca Clothey is a faculty member at Drexel University's School of Education in Philadelphia, USA. She has had an interest in international education since she attended an international baccalaureate boarding school in India as a youth. She has lived on three continents and joined the faculty of Drexel University in 2006,

when she was hired away from a position in Beijing, China. She served as the Director of Drexel's Higher Education Program from spring 2007 to spring 2010 and served as the Director of Drexel's Global and International Education Program from spring 2008 to summer 2012. Clothey lived in China for 5 years working and researching in various higher education institutions throughout the country, including working at the Beijing Institute of Education, Capital Normal University, Southwest Jiaotong University, and Xinjiang Normal University. Clothey's research interests include internationalization, equity and access in education, indigenous education, higher education policy, and Chinese education. She has been awarded two Fulbright Fellowships for her research, one to China and one to Uzbekistan. Most recently, she published the co-edited volume, *Post-Secondary Education and Technology: A Global Perspective on Opportunities and Obstacles to Development* (with Stacy Austin-Li and John Weidman, Palgrave MacMillan). She has a Ph.D. in Administrative and Policy Studies from the University of Pittsburgh School of Education.

Elizabeth Durham graduated from Carleton College in 2012 with a Bachelor's degree in Anthropology/Sociology. She was a 2012–2013 Fulbright Student Fellow to Dschang, Cameroon, where she conducted anthropological research on attitudes and rumors regarding HIV/AIDS, government anti-AIDS programs, and the role of traditional practitioners in fighting this epidemic. She is a member of the class of 2015 at Linacre College, University of Oxford, where she is pursuing an M.Phil. in Visual, Material, and Museum Anthropology. Her budding research interests include medical anthropology, collective memory, museum studies, Francophone and Anglophone Africa, and African diasporas in the USA and Europe, particularly France and England.

Rocío Fuentes holds a B.A. in Psychology from the National University of Mexico, a Ph.D. in Spanish Linguistics, and a graduate certificate in education from the University of Pittsburgh. Currently, she is an Assistant Professor of Modern Languages and the Coordinator of the Foreign Language Teacher Education and Outreach Program at Central Connecticut State University. Fuentes' research focuses on the policies of intercultural education in Latin America, educational discourse analysis, and the development of intercultural competence by foreign language learners and teachers.

Evelisa Natasha Genova both a painter and a writer, is a recent Masters of Education graduate from Harvard University whose recent professional roles have included Implementation Coordinator and Management Consultant, Special Education Educator, and a Policy Research Consultant for the Oneida Indian Nation in Wisconsin. As a settler woman, born of Italian immigrant parents now in Toronto, her academic research and professional work is ignited by a lifelong commitment to working responsibly between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal contexts, with the particular accountability and trust that this cross-cultural relationship demands. Working with an asset-based approach, her continued research recognizes the longstanding importance of Aboriginal perspectives as critical narratives that must

disrupt the status quo of the Americas. Genova examines educational policies and practices that affect First Nations communities to better serve a shared goal of strong, self-sufficient, and proud native peoples in urban, rural, and traditional settings.

John N. Hawkins is Professor Emeritus and former Chair of the Social Science and Comparative Education Division of the Graduate School of Education and Information Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). He is also Director of the Center for International and Development Education, an organized research center focusing on global trends in higher education. He served for 12 years as UCLA's Dean of International Studies. He is an author of several books and research articles on education and development in Asia. He has conducted research throughout Asia since 1966 when he first visited the People's Republic of China. Hawkins is also Co-Director of the Asia-Pacific Higher Education Research Partnership, which is based at the East–West Center in Hawaii.

W. James Jacob is an Associate Professor in the School of Education at the University of Pittsburgh. His research interests include higher education management; HIV/AIDS multisectoral prevention, capacity building, and principles of good governance; indigenous education issues of culture, language, and identity as they relate to post-secondary education; quality assurance; organizational development; higher education strategic planning; and organizational effectiveness. He is the co-editor of two book series related to the development of comparative, international, and development education scholarship: *International and Development Education* (Palgrave Macmillan) and *Pittsburgh Studies in Comparative and International Education* (Sense Publishers). His most recent books include *Policy Debates in Comparative, International, and Development Education* (with John Hawkins, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), *Beyond the Comparative: Advancing Theory and Its Application to Practice* (with John Weidman, Sense Publishers, 2011), and *Inequality in Education: Comparative and International Perspectives* (with Donald B. Holsinger, Comparative Education Research Centre, University of Hong Kong and Springer, 2008). Jacob received his Ph.D. in Education from the Graduate School of Education and Information Sciences at the University of California, Los Angeles, in 2004 and a Master's of Organizational Behavior and M.A. in International Development from Brigham Young University in 2001. Since 2007, Jacob has served as the Director of the Institute for International Studies in Education at the University of Pittsburgh.

Jing Liu is Assistant Professor in Graduate School of International Development, Nagoya University, Japan. Currently, he is working on the "Re-Inventing Japan Project" funded by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science. This project aims at fostering a new generation of leaders for development through the Japan-ASEAN University Partnership. His research interests include sociology of education, ethnography of education, comparative education, policy analysis, inequality in education, migration issues, development education, and rural development. He graduated with a Ph.D. in 2013 from Nagoya University, where he completed

a dissertation titled *The Development of Inequality in Public School Admission: Public Discourses on Ze Xiao and Practices in Urban China*. His recent publications include a chapter "Light and Shadow of Public Education for Migrant Children in Urban China" in an edited book *Living on the Boundaries: Urban Marginality in National and International Contexts* (Emerald), a co-authored chapter with Shoko Yamada, "Between Epistemology and Research Practices: Emerging Research Paradigms and the Tradition of Japanese Comparative Education" in an edited book *Beyond the Comparative: Advancing Theory and Its Application to Practice* (Sense Publishers), and a journal article with W. James Jacob, "From Access to Quality: Migrant Children's Education in Urban China" published in *Educational Research for Policy and Practice*. In 2009, Liu also contributed to the *Systematic Monitoring of Education for All: Training Modules for Asia-Pacific* published by UNESCO Bangkok Office. He is member of comparative education societies in Hong Kong, Japan, and the USA. Since 2011, he has served as Coordinator of the Postgraduate Student Workshop for the Comparative Education Society of Hong Kong Annual Conferences.

Che-Wei Lee (Paljaljim Rusagasag) is a member of the *Paiwan* people from one of the 16 officially-recognized Taiwan Aborigines. He currently serves as a Program Coordinator at the Institute for International Studies in Education at the University of Pittsburgh's School of Education, and is a Ph.D. Candidate in the Social and Comparative Analysis in Education Program in the Department of Administrative and Policy Studies. His research interests include indigenous higher education, indigenous methodologies, comparative education, international organization and development education, anthropology of education, and cultural anthropology. Recent publications include a chapter with Kuan-Ting Tang "Reconstructing Subject and the Tenuous Praxis of Liberating Education: A Critical Ethnography of an Aboriginal Community-based School" in an edited book *The Compilation of Indigenous Peoples 2009*, which was published by the Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan.

Tiffany S. Lee is Dib4 [izhin7 (Blacksheep) and Naa[an7 (Oglala Lakota) from Crystal, New Mexico and Pine Ridge, South Dakota. She is an Associate Professor in Native American Studies at the University of New Mexico. Her research involves examination of youth perspectives with regard to language reclamation and identity. She also investigates socio-culturally centered educational approaches for Native American students. Her latest publications include "Critical language awareness among Native youth in New Mexico" (in press) in *Beyond Endangerment – Language in the Lives of Indigenous Youth* New York: Routledge and "'You should learn who you are through your culture': transformative educational possibilities for Native American youth in New Mexico" (in press, with N. Lopez) in *Cultural Transformations: Youth and Pedagogies of Possibility*. Boston, MA: Harvard Education Press.

Jerome Levi (M.Phil. Cambridge, A.B., Ph.D. Harvard) is Professor of Anthropology at Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota. He teaches and publishes widely on anthropological approaches to the study of ethnicity, religion, economics, and indigenous rights, and has conducted extensive fieldwork with indigenous peoples in Mexico (focusing on the Tarahumara/Rarámuri and Tzotzil-Maya), as well as in the Southwest United States, South Africa, Tanzania, Kenya, Israel, and the West Bank. Over the years, his work on the human rights of indigenous peoples has been presented to the United States Congress, the World Bank, and the United Nations.

Teresa L. McCarty is the George F. Kneller Chair in Education and Anthropology in the Graduate School of Education and Information Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles, and the Alice Wiley Snell Professor Emerita of Education Policy Studies at Arizona State University. Her research, teaching, and outreach focus on educational language policy, Indigenous/multilingual education, youth language, critical literacy studies, and ethnographic studies of education. A fellow of the American Educational Research Association, the Society for Applied Anthropology, and the International Centre for Language Revitalization, she has also been honored with the 2010 George and Louise Spindler Award for distinguished and inspirational contributions to the anthropology of education. Her books include *A Place To Be Navajo – Rough Rock and the Struggle for Self-Determination in Indigenous Schooling* (Erlbaum, 2002); *Language, Literacy, and Power in Schooling* (Erlbaum, 2005); *"To Remain an Indian": Lessons in Democracy from a Century of Native American Education* (with K. T. Lomawaima, Teachers College Press, 2006); *Ethnography and Language Policy* (Routledge, 2011); *Language Planning and Policy in Native America – History, Theory, Praxis* (Multilingual Matters, 2013); and *Indigenous Youth and Multilingualism* (with L.T. Wyman and S.E. Nicholas, Routledge, 2014).

Christopher B. Mugimu earned his Ph.D. in Education from Brigham Young University (USA) in 2004. He is currently an Associate Professor and Chair for the Department of Foundations and Curriculum Studies, College of Education and External Studies at Makerere University. His research interests include: comparative, international, and development education; higher education; assessment of learning; teacher education; and contemporary curricula issues such as HIV/AIDS education, language of instruction policies, indigenous education, and open education resources (OERs) provision in Africa.

Anthony Mugagga Muwagga is currently the Deputy Principal of the College of Education and External Studies at Makerere University. He has taught the philosophy of education and teachers professional ethics in the Department of Foundations and Curriculum Studies at Makerere University since 1998. He holds a Bachelor of Arts in Social Sciences, Bachelor of Philosophy, Master's of Arts in EPP, Master of Education (Occasional), and a Ph.D. from Makerere University, PGDE and Diploma in Child Rights School and Class Management from Lund University.

Mina O'dowd was awarded her Ph.D. in International and Comparative Education in 2000 by Stockholm University. Her work thus far includes school-based research on social competence and teacher expectations, work on education policy and their implications for learning and lifelong learning. She has also written on the philosophy of education and the concept of knowledge, while much of her research deals with education policy and its implications for practice and learning. Overall, the main theme in O'Dowd's work is social justice and the manner in which policy and practice in education and in other arenas not only fail to ensure social justice, but rather directly or indirectly contribute to the exploitation of individuals and groups of individuals on the basis of race, gender, social background or ethnicity. O'Dowd has recently returned from Bangalore in India, where she has been Visiting Professor at the Institute of Social and Economic Change. O'Dowd is Professor of Education at Lund University in southern Sweden.

Maureen K. Porter Ph.D. is an anthropologist of education educated in Wisconsin, Germany, Kentucky, and California. Her previous professional experience at the U.S. Department of Education and as Assistant to the Commissioner of Education in Minnesota provided opportunities to work with policy makers and community organizers working on indigenous participation and success. At Stanford University she worked with scholars and teachers dedicated to making curricula and schools more respectful and culturally-responsive for Native students and committed to engaging in social justice work that situated the long-term struggles of native peoples as part of global social justice and human rights movements. Her leadership in the field of international service-learning sustained her work with NGOs in Bolivia and Peru, where, over the course of a decade, they collaborated with indigenous Quechua people to build schools and community centers. Ethnographic research and multi-media productions on the role of traditional dance in Andean school life and an intercultural, multi-vocal set of podcasts (about potatoes and global warming made with fourth graders in North and South America) are just some of the recent products that embody her engaged scholarship and participatory approach.

Richard Scaglion is University Center for International Studies Research Professor of Anthropology and former Director of the Asian Studies Center at the University of Pittsburgh. His primary ethnographic focus in the Pacific Islands has been in Melanesia, but he has broad interests in comparative Austronesia, especially Polynesia. Scaglion has conducted long-term field research with the Abelam people of Papua New Guinea beginning in 1974. He is the former director of customary law development for the Law Reform Commission of Papua New Guinea; has been a Visiting Fellow at the Australian National University, the University of Hawai'i, and the East–West Center; and maintains a second home in Honolulu. He is editor or co-editor of *Polynesian Outliers: The State of the Art*, *Homicide Compensation in Papua New Guinea*, *Customary Law in Papua New Guinea*, and is author or editor of numerous other books and articles about Pacific Island cultures.

Edward Shizha is an Associate Professor in Contemporary Studies and Youth and Children's Studies at Wilfrid Laurier University in Brantford, Canada. He has published widely in refereed journals and contributed a number of book chapters in the areas of education and globalisation, education and development, post-colonialism, and indigenous knowledges in Africa. Dr. Shizha has two forthcoming edited books, *Restoring the Education Dream: Rethinking Educational Transformation in Zimbabwe* (African Institute of South Africa, Pretoria) and *Indigenous Discourses on Knowledge and Development in Africa* (Routledge, with Ali Abdi). He is the co-author of *Citizenship Educational and Social Development in Zambia* (Information Age Publishing Inc., 2010 with Ali Abdi and Lee Ellis) and *Education and Development in Zimbabwe: A Social, Political and Economic Analysis* (Sense Publishers, 2011 with Michael Kariwo) and co-editor of *Indigenous Knowledge and Learning in Asia/Pacific and Africa Perspectives on Development, Education, and Culture* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010 with Dip Kapoor).

Connie Ssebbunga-Masembe is a graduate of Makerere University (Uganda) and the University of Liverpool (UK). He is a specialist in applied linguistics with extensive research, consultancy, and classroom experience in general education, science education, literature education, and English as a second language. He was until recently the Dean of School of Education at Makerere University. He is currently Professor in the Department of Social Sciences and Language Education at the College of Education, Makerere University. His research interests include among others language of instruction policies, teacher education, gender education, open education resources, educational linguistics, literacy and development, HIV education, educational assessment, evaluation, supervision, management, and inclusive education.

Carol J. Ward is Associate Professor of Sociology at Brigham Young University and received a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1992. Her research interests include issues related to race/ethnicity, gender, education, and development efforts among rural populations, particularly American Indian communities in the USA and indigenous groups in Mali. Recent research includes an assessment of the impact on individuals and families of changes in food assistance programs serving reservation communities. This research included attention to health conditions and food security of participants in WIC, Food Stamps, FDIR and other programs. Other research, published in *Native Americans in the School System: Family, Community and Academic Achievement* (AltaMira Press 2005) identified a diverse range of influences on the high dropout rate among Northern Cheyenne high school students as well as factors contributing to school success. More recent research has addressed the impact of math and science curriculum reforms on Tribal College student retention and completion. She and her colleagues have published their research findings in a variety of social science, education, and health journals. She teaches courses in related substantive areas as well as qualitative, survey, and applied methods.

Hilary N. Weaver DSW (Lakota) is Professor and Associate Dean for Academic Affairs in the School of Social Work, University at Buffalo (State University of New York). Her teaching, research, and service focus on cultural issues in the helping process with a particular focus on indigenous populations. She currently serves as President of the American Indian Alaska Native Social Work Educators Association. Weaver has presented her work regionally, nationally, and internationally including presenting at the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues at the United Nations in 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, and 2013. She has numerous publications including the text, *Explorations in Cultural Competence: Journeys to the Four Directions* (2005) and is currently compiling an edited book, *Social Issues in Contemporary Native America: Reflections from Turtle Island*. Weaver has received funding from the National Cancer Institute to develop and test a culturally-grounded wellness curriculum for urban Native American youth, the *Healthy Living in Two Worlds* program.

Terry Wotherspoon is Head and Professor of Sociology at the University of Saskatchewan. He is also Adjunct Professor at Xi'an Jiaotong University, Lanzhou University, and Northwest University for Nationalities in China. He has degrees in Sociology and Education from the University of Saskatchewan and a Ph.D. in Sociology from Simon Fraser University. He has engaged in research and published widely on issues related to education, immigrant and minority populations, social policy, indigenous peoples, and social inequality. His research has been funded by several agencies, including the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, Saskatchewan Learning, the Laidlaw Foundation, and the Prairie Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Integration. A fourth edition of his book *The Sociology of Education in Canada* (the first edition of which was recognized in 1998 with a book award from the Canadian Association for Foundations of Education) is being published in 2014 by Oxford University Press. He has also coauthored or edited several other books, including *The Legacy of School for Aboriginal People: Education, Oppression, and Emancipation* (with Bernard Schissel); *First Nations: Race, Class and Gender Relations* (with Vic Satzewich); and *Multicultural Education in a Changing Global Economy: Canada and the Netherlands* (with Paul Jungbluth). He was the recipient, in 2002, of the Canadian Education Association's Whitworth Award for Educational Research. He was a founding member of the Prairie Centre of Excellence for Research on Immigration and Integration, and served as Chair of the Board of Governors for the third phase of the Prairie Metropolis Centre. He is currently Managing Editor of the *Canadian Review of Sociology*.

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

AANDC	Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada
AD/A.D.	Anno Domini
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AERC	Aboriginal Education Research Centre
AI/AN	American Indian or Alaska Natives
AICF	American Indian College Fund
AIDESEP	*Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana* (Interethnic Association for the Development of the Peruvian Rainforest)
AIDS	Acquired immune deficiency syndrome
A.M.	Ante Meridiem
ANA	Administration for Native Americans
ANC	African National Congress
ASDT	*Associação Social Democratica Timorense* (Timorese Social Democratic Association)
ASHE	Association of the Study of Higher Education
AYP	Adequate yearly progress
BEd	Bachelor of Education
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BC	Before Christ
BCE	Before Common Era
BIA	Bureau of Indian Affairs
BIE	Bureau of Indian Education
CD	Compact disc
CDA	Critical discourse analysis
CDKC	Chief Dull Knife College
CD-ROM	Compact Disc-Read Only Memory
CE/C.E.	Common Era
CGEIB	General Coordination of Intercultural Bilingual Education
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIPEY	Council of Indigenous Peoples Executive Yuan

CMEC	Council of Ministers of Education, Canada
CONAMAQ	*Consejo Nacional de Ayllus y Markas del Qullasuyu* (National Council of Ayllus and Markas of Qullasuyu)
CSIR	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
CUSO	Canadian University Service Overseas
DAC	Department of Arts and Culture
DC	District of Columbia
DEPRS	Distance Education Project for Rural Schools
DGEI	*Dirección General de Educacin Indgena* (General Directorate of Institutional Assessment)
DHRA	Department of Household Registration Affairs
DOE	Department of Education
DoH	Department of Health
DST	Department of Science and Technology
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
DVD	Digital Video Disk
EIB	*Educación Intercultural Bilingüe* (Intercultural Bilingual Education)
ELL	English Language Leaners
ERIC	Education Resources Information Center
ERO	Education Review Office
ETS	Educational Testing Service
EU	European Union
EUR	Euro
FEINCE	*Federación Indígena de la Nacionalidad Cofán del Ecuador* (Indigenous Federation of the Cofan Nationality of Ecuador)
FEINE	*Federación Ecuatoriana de Indígenas Evangélicos* (Federation of Indigenous Evangelists of Ecuador)
FOISE	*Federación de Organizaciones Indígenas de Sucumbio del Ecuador* (Federation of Indigenous Organizations of Sucumbio, Ecuador)
FPE	Free primary education
FRETILIN	The Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor
HE	Higher education
HEI	Higher education institution
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
IIRSA	Initiative for the Integration of the Regional Infrastructure in South America
IK	Indigenous knowledge
IKS	Indigenous knowledge systems
ILO	International Labour Organization
INE	*Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas* (National Institute of Statistics)
INEGI	*Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía* (National Institute of Statistics and Geography)

INLI	*Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas* (National Indigenous Languages Institute)
IPACC	Indigenous Peoples of Africa Coordinating Committee
IPO	Indigenous Peoples Organization
IWS	Internet World Stats
KMT	*Kuomintang*
L1	First language/mother tongue
LIEPs	Language-in-Education Policies
LINCS	Learning Integrated with Needed Construction and Service
LMS	London Missionary Society
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
M-leaning	Mobile learning
MOEC	Ministry of Education and Culture
MoI	Medium of instruction
MT(s)	Mother tongue(s)
MTV	Maori Television Service
NACA	Native American Community Academy
NCAI	National Congress of American Indian
NCLB	No Child Left Behind
NCTE	National Council of Teachers of English
NGOs	Non-governmental organizations
NIKSO	National Indigenous Knowledge Systems Office
NSC	National Senior Certificate
NYC	New York City
NZARE	New Zealand Association for Research in Education
OCW	Open CourseWare
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OFICL	Office for Israeli Constitutional Law
OISE	*Organización Indígena Secoya de Sucumbiós del Ecuador* (Secoya Indigenous Organization of Sucumbio, Ecuador)
PBS	Public Broadcasting Service
PdH	*Puente de Hózhǫ* (Bridge of Beauty)
Ph.D.	*Philosophiae Doctor* (Doctor of Philosophy)
PINGO	Pastoralists Indigenous Non-Governmental Organisations
PIRLS	Progress in International Reading Literacy Study
PMG	Parliamentary Monitoring Group
PNG	Papua New Guinea
PRATEC	Andean Project for Peasant Technologies
RNCS	Revised National Curriculum Statement
ROC	Republic of China
SASAS	South African Social Attitudes Survey
SDP	Strategic Development Plan
SEK	Swedish Krona
SEP	*Secretaría de Educación Pública* (Secretariat of Public Education)

SMS	Short messaging service
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
TCUs	Tribal Colleges and Universities
TDB	*Tséhootsooí Diné Bi'ólta'* (Navajo School at the Meadow between the Rocks)
TEK	Traditional ecological knowledge
TV	Television
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UDT	*União Democratica Timorense* (Timorese Democratic Union)
UIS	UNESCO Institute for Statistics
UK	United Kingdom
UN/U.N.	United Nations
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV and AIDS
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNPFII	United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues
UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor
UNWGIP	United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations
US/U.S.	United States
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WHO	World Health Organization
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

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Chapter 1
Global Review of Indigenous Education: Issues of Identity, Culture, and Language

W. James Jacob, Sheng Yao Cheng, and Maureen K. Porter

Abstract Introducing a topic as broad and important as indigenous education is difficult to do in a series of volumes, let alone in a single book. The focus of our book and this chapter is to highlight the interconnectedness of indigenous peoples in families, communities, nation states, and worldwide. We begin by defining foundational key terms (*indigenous*, *indigeneity*, and *indigenous education*) to provide readers with the standpoint from which we ground the focus of this book. We also introduce three issues of paramount importance to indigenous education—language, culture, and identity. The chapter also examines indigenous education literature from a global perspective as well as from six major geographic regions. Next, we introduce the 21 additional chapters in this book. Finally, a clarion-like call to action is made to indigenous leaders, policy makers, and educators everywhere to underscore the need that indigenous peoples have for representation, equality, and the ability to preserve their languages, cultures, and identities.

Keywords Indigenous education • Language • Culture • Identity • Indigeneity

Introduction

Defining terms associated with indigenous education is no easy task. We recognize that several terms should be identified and understood in order to provide a foundation whereupon the remainder of this volume can rest. Among these include *indigenous*, *indigeneity*, and *indigenous education*. In our attempts to provide

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definitions of these foundational terms, we are careful to recognize that multiple perspectives of these key terms exist and are often used and recognized by different peoples throughout the earth. By *indigenous* we refer to that which is local, original, or native to a geographic region.[1]

In the broader picture, many things can be considered indigenous to a land—for example, foliage, fruits, vegetables, animals, insects, birds, fish, and people. Each of these species and genotypes have their origins somewhere. Countless books and scientific studies have documented theories associated with the origins of each of these. In most cases, migrations, acts of God or nature (e.g., weather, climate changes, and natural disasters such as hurricanes, tsunamis, earthquakes, and volcanic explosions), explorations, war, and intermingling and intermarriages have helped spread seeds and heirs across multiple geographic regions. Humans are part of this web of life.

People are spiritually sophisticated beings who actively seek out ways of spreading, revising, and forging new modes of cultural expression. Language, identity, and culture all elevate indigenous people to agents who have sovereignty, voice, and integrity. Indigenous education is about holistically nurturing future leaders who will be able to speak and act on behalf of their people. We recognize the many characteristics that help determine and differentiate one group from another. These features and unique aspects include genetic makeups, communication patterns, beliefs, habits, traditions, handicrafts, clothing, technologies, funds of knowledge, and diverse ways of knowing. Indigenous peoples assemble in families, groups, tribes, and nations. While family structures and norms differ among indigenous peoples across the earth, most common traditional indigenous families consisted of a single father and mother. Polygamous relationships, including those who practice polygyny and to a lesser extent polyandry, also exist among some indigenous peoples (Zeitzen 2008; Starkweather and Hames 2012). Where many indigenous peoples follow matrilineal lines, others follow patrilineal lines. Regardless of the relationship status and practices among indigenous peoples, we recognize the great diversity which exists among indigenous peoples across the earth. These robust forms of adaptability are what unite indigenous people across space and time.

Indigeneity is a concept that extends the significance and power of identifying oneself as an agent of continuity and change. Naming, whether a person, or a political movement, makes one real. Indigeneity refers to the cultural identity politics of the First Peoples who inhabit a geographic location, island, or nation. As a noun or state of being, it brings together the purposeful and strategic enactment or invocation of the rights and norms that go along with being recognized as belonging to a geopolitical region. To these ends, it unites language, culture, and identity as the essential triad undergirding calls for indigenously-controlled

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[1]We recognize that many authors choose to consistently use capitalization of this term when referring to indigenous people in order to legitimize and recognize their formal status and prestige, just as Spaniards, African-Americans, and members of Deaf culture benefit by this form of respect. We have elected not to in order to remain consistent with the most common usage of the term in the literature, in most government documents, and according to the United Nations use of the term.

education. Its definition includes among other things the communication media, cultures, identities, knowledge systems, and technologies developed or possessed by indigenous peoples and deployed strategically on their behalf.

We see education not only as deeply tied to formal schooling but also as a greater process that extends far past the schoolroom door. Therefore, we define the term *indigenous education* as the path and process whereby individuals gain knowledge and meaning from their indigenous heritages. Indigenous education involves knowledge that is generated, obtained, and adapted to fit the historical contexts and needs of indigenous peoples and is then transmitted through educative means to others. It is communal and communitarian, gaining potency as it is shared and reshaped across generation and geography. We view education as a life-long process. Rather than a one-time event or a series of set-aside time periods over a course of years (e.g., the 12-year formal education from Grades 1–12 that is standard throughout most of the world today), we argue that indigenous education is an ongoing process, with continual feedback loops that occur in interaction with others. Infants, children, youths, young adults, and the elderly all play important roles in the indigenous education process. While adults generally lead the indigenous education process, children also take up this leadership role from time to time, teaching their parents important lessons that their parents may have overlooked in the daily grind. Indigenous education is a spiritual as well as a physical or mental learning process— it embodies and transcends both the world of the present as well as the spiritual or metaphysical world that includes life before birth and life after death of the mortal body. In this way, the indigenous education process is better understood as an eternal reciprocal, interactive, and symbiotic learning process.

Global Roots of Education for All

Indigenous education has prehistoric roots that date back to times when groups of indigenous peoples first came together in intentional, sustainable communities. The foundation upon which all education systems worldwide exist has historical roots in multiple indigenous peoples' pasts. Globalization has brought these multiple and disparate indigenous education roots together. Today, our largely Western-dominated world education systems are positioned at the top of a pedestal that seemingly rests on its own laurels. However, often hidden from view is the much more extensive root base that allows these formal structures to stand; these are the seldom acknowledged or visible indigenous education roots that draw sustenance and wisdom from across the earth's deep cultural history. The Global Indigenous Education Tree is symbolic of the tremendous indigenous education heritage we all share together (see Fig. 1.1).

We all share aspects of language, culture, and identity that help bind us together, while at the same time allowing for the celebration of differences. The Global Indigenous Education Tree also highlights the seasons and cycles of indigenous education, including the realization of how fragile indigeneity is. The Tree is

Fig. 1.1 The Global Indigenous Education Tree (*Source*: W. James Jacob and Dhimas Wibowo)

supported with a complex root system that stretches to the nethermost parts of the earth. Some roots are wide and primary; others are tributaries that support the primary roots.

The variegated forms in the upper part of the tree are likewise metaphorical illustrations of the profusion of a diverse, living education system. The trunk is wide and strong, its fibers entwined and supporting each strand like a mature sacred fig tree (*ficus religiosa*) trunk. Much like a full grown mighty oak tree, the Global Indigenous Education Tree can withstand the winds of adversity and

support a complex web of branches that reach high into the sky. Just as deciduous trees go through transitions during each season, so does indigenous education. The fertile green leaves in the figure resemble the summer season where indigeneity is central to the education system. Notice how several of these branches are bearing various kinds of fruit. The beautiful colored leaves—symbolic of the fall or autumn season—resemble how many indigenous education elements are beginning to fade. The dead branches are symbolic of the cold winter season and the realization that many indigenous languages, cultures, and identities are being lost from the earth. The budding and blossoming branches resemble spring, rebirth, and a continuation of indigeneity. Whether they are the beautiful blue flowers of the jacaranda tree that line the streets of Lusaka and Kathmandu, or cherry tree blossoms of Tokyo and Washington, DC, the Tree flowers exemplify the great indigenous education diversity that exists from peoples who have spread out across our vast earth. This part of the Tree is symbolic of a hope that indigeneity remains central to education in many aspects and has the potential to continue well into the future.

Global Review of Literature on Indigenous Education

The definition of indigeneity is a relative one; it is centered around a sense of distinctiveness and cultural coherence for those who live in remote or distinct locations (or pursue a lifestyle inconsistent with modern national boundaries), who speak some remnant of a distinct language, who struggle with/against concurrent claims for government authority, and who self-identify as belonging to a place prior to its annexation or colonization (Sanders 1999). The existence of tensions about the very recognition of their continued existence may, ironically, help to make their case for recognition. There is a continuum in which indigenous peoples become "ethnic" members of a region, of a larger national cultural dialogue, or even become essential to the mainstream sense of self. Whether romanticized through nationalistic folklore, commodified in popular culture, or essentialized in nostalgic dreams for autonomy, indigenous peoples are the lifeblood of regional identity, languages, and cultures. The challenge is to become visible in ways that convey agency and influence.

The influence of globalization on indigeneity and indigenous education has both positive and negative consequences. "It takes a village to raise a child," takes on new meaning within a globalized context. When the village boundaries expand beyond the traditional definition of a village or local community, a paradigm shift is needed. In this volume, the assembled authors lay out imperatives and offer well-informed suggestions for making this shift. In many societies, the world itself is our village, and emergent technologies allow indigenous and non-indigenous peoples to share ideas and knowledges like never before. We argue that the increasingly interdependent nature of our world has both potential education virtues as well as vices, both of which have consequences for multicultural education, which has a goal of social justice.

It is difficult to provide an accurate count of indigenous peoples in many countries and certainly the entire world. This is largely because of the generations of intermarriage between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples. Those who self-identify as indigenous peoples are increasingly only a fraction of the real number of peoples who inherit a geographic region or nation. This emphasizes the importance for each of us to better understand our own ancestral backgrounds through learning about our indigenous ancestries and heritages. Being able to show indigenous roots is important for identity purposes but also in terms of legal rights to services, land, and other programs. Funding and/or access to education opportunities is often determined based upon one's indigenous heritage.

Unfortunately, even best-intended government education policies can work to the detriment of indigenous language, culture, and identity preservation (López et al. 2013). Too often national education policies tend to smother indigenous learning and knowledge acquisition. This education stifling process is often for the sake of the broader societal goal of helping to unify nations and instill patriotism amongst citizens regardless of their ethnic background (May and Aikman 2003).

We recognize the communal equality, and sometimes superiority, of indigeneity and indigenous education compared to other ways of knowing and learning (Jacobs and Witt 2006). Conflicts often arise when dominant education systems favor prevailing languages, individual perspectives, and principles of competition, neoliberalism, managerialism, and individual recognition rather than indigenous languages and arts, principles of collective thought, and practices that are foundational to so many indigenous societies (Kēpa and Manu'atu 2011; Torres 2014). Some scholars argue that global education is patterned after a neo-liberal and market-driven "agenda" that supports competition and individualism over alternative and indigenous agendas (see, for instance, Ma Rhea and Anderson 2011). Unfortunately, along with the dying out of many indigenous languages, cultures, and identities, there is also an elimination of indigenous knowledges. Thus globalization can also work to the great detriment of indigenous people when it serves to privilege dominant or politically correct views rather than preserve the inclusive goals of indigeneity.

We also note how indigenous peoples worldwide generally have lower performance levels and higher dropout rates in formal education systems, less representation in formal higher education systems, and fewer graduates in many professional fields like medicine, engineering, law, and higher education than their percent of the population would or should otherwise render (Goldsmith et al. 2004; Langton and Ma Rhea 2009; Ewen 2011; Rigby et al. 2010; Brayboy et al. 2012; Cerecer 2013). These shortcomings in education achievements are based on sometimes decades of assimilation policies in many countries and modes of assessment and testing that do not recognize or legitimate indigenous expressions of mastery or models of nuanced cultural transmission. Formal education was often used as the means by which governments would mainstream, assimilate, and systematically destroy indigenous ways of knowing and learning. These formal education initiatives often had long-lasting negative impacts on indigenous languages, cultures, and identities (Tozer et al. 2002; Reynolds 2005). While assimilationist boarding school policies

no longer exist in the United States, Canada, and Australia, the lasting legacy for the students who participated and for generations of their posterity afterwards is noted by several studies (see for instance Deyhle 1995; Wotherspoon and Schissel 1998; Reyhner 2006). Some countries such as Vietnam continue to perpetuate active assimilation policies that in many ways threaten indigenous peoples' ability to preserve their languages, cultures, and identities (Jacob and Ha 2009).

Another important cornerstone in our global review of the literature is the need for indigeneity and indigenous education to stand on their own. In apologetic fervor, we argue that indigenous education should be able to flourish unabashed, unbridled, and independent of other ways of knowing. We recognize that all too often non-indigenous authors write popular histories of indigenous peoples that are partial in their outsiders' stance or level of discernment. Another often-lamented trend is for movies (e.g., Dances with Wolves or Avatar) that otherwise provide popular culture audiences with a respectful, if romanticized, account of Native life during conquest to rely on the device of having a White or bi-cultural character as the protagonist who saves the poor noble savages. The dearth of indigenous agency or broad-based leadership is reflected throughout the mass media, perpetuated by non-indigenous researchers in their studies of indigenous peoples, and is the primary storyline of the textbooks that fill our children's schools. In order to avoid what Birgit Brock-Utne (2000) laments as the "recolonization" of the indigenous mind, we argue for indigenous voices to be heard in every aspect of education, including in the learning, teaching, and researching arenas (see also Bishop 1990; Ricento 2000; May 2005; Johnson 2009; Hill and May 2013). This often means ensuring the many different ways of educating indigenous peoples include active participation and inputs from indigenous parents, leaders, and policy makers. Curricular design and implementation for and on behalf of indigenous peoples must be reflective by nature and ensure that it is relevant to local needs and contexts (Jacob 2009; Jackson-Barrett 2011). And, without a proactive effort to include indigeneity in the curriculum, the inevitable loss of indigenous knowledge will occur over time (Meaney and Evans 2013).

UNESCO (2008) advocates for the establishment of government-supported education policies about "inclusive education," which it defines as equivalent learning opportunities. In contrast, a language of equal opportunities has too often meant homogenous, dominant culture-normed, exclusively national language instruction that is standardized across subpopulations and is neither responsive to individual learning needs nor to the set of social factors which disproportionately impact indigenous peoples. While there are real limits to clustering native peoples with those who have very diverse sensory, cognitive, or physical difficulties, UNESCO does go on to highlight the kinds of vulnerabilities that have marginalized both groups. These include social inequalities in terms of access to schooling (both proximal and communicative/linguistic) and to appropriate pedagogy, cultural disintegration, migration and displacement, residential segregation, gaps in access to technology and their own media outlets, and the overall stigmatization of cultural and social diversity as a goal. The alternative is an approach to pedagogy and school governance that is flexible and responsive to both cultural context and community

modes of formal and nonformal learning across the generations. It is dialogical, with the teacher and administrators working in partnership with stakeholders who can share collective wisdom and understandings of their sense of place. Rather than (further) excluding and penalizing the divergent, inclusive education within the regular school system seeks a proactively multicultural approach, located conceptually within a framework of universal values, as the key to full citizenship and effective exercise of rights.

Indigenous pedagogies, methodologies, and research are crucial to have meaningful and sustained indigenous learning, regardless of the geographic location. We concur with Soenke Biermann's (2008) argument that there are multiple indigenous pedagogies, rather than a singular one. This is especially important from a global perspective, highlighting the great diversity in indigenous pedagogies that exist worldwide. Indigenous pedagogies include multiple modes and philosophies of instruction and teaching methods (Mudrooroo 1995; McNally 2004; Biermann and Townsend-Cross 2008; Harrington and CHiXapkaid 2013). Scholars recognize the importance of indigenous research based on indigenous funds of knowledge, epistemologies, data collection methods, and education dissemination media (Rigney 1997; Martin 1997; Atkinson 2001; Weber-Pillax 2001; Wilson 2004; Ismail and Cazden 2005). Indigenous research enables and empowers indigenous researchers to document their own histories, test theories, and find solutions to their own problems and challenges through evidence-based studies (Riggs 2005). Indigenous learning is also crucial at the global level, as it emphasizes the many ways in which indigenous peoples gain wisdom. By indigenous learning, we recognize the reciprocal and interactive nature of the learning process. Indigenous learning is both individual and communal, idiosyncratic and contextualized. It recognizes the stability that comes from acquiring life-skills that help preserve indigenous knowledges, practices, philosophies, and also comes from gaining deep wisdom about the pressures of broader societal contemporary contexts (Bin-Sallik 2003).

We also want to recognize that indigenous education has the potential to influence more than just indigenous peoples—all people of the earth have the ability to learn from each other. As portrayed in The Global Indigenous Education Tree, we are all interconnected. And since all human beings have indigenous roots, we encourage readers to learn more about their ancestries and indigenous family tree. Some of the most important lessons we can learn are from each other.

Regional Perspective from Africa

The continent of Africa is host to a wealth of diverse geopolitical regions, nearly unfathomable linguistic and cultural diversity, and nation states both ancient and among the youngest in the world. Indigenous inhabitants in this vast region of the world share similarities with other traditional, tribal, and transnationally displaced native peoples. There are also issues that shape the context of Africa that strongly impact educational praxis as it intersects with language, identity, and culture.

First, due to internal economic systems of distribution as well as strategically prioritized investments by external agents, African schools serving high numbers of indigenous youth have very limited resources per learner. Whether in sprawling cities or remote countrysides, schools have large initial enrollments but great disparities in who continues in schooling or who can attend regularly. Those who do come find swelling classrooms of children and few material resources to help them develop advanced skills and do well on high stakes tests. This greatly influences their ability to pass gatekeeping tests and to access to the more exclusive realm of tertiary education. But as many authors in this volume remind us, wealth is not just in monetary form. However, generational cycles of colonialism, internal displacement, regime change, home community disparagement, and low adult literacy keep many interested adults from fully participating and supporting the work of public schools (Omelewa 2008; Enwo-Irem 2013). Their indigenous knowledge about agriculture, husbandry, stewardship, and other forms of economic wisdom are seldom reflected in the hierarchical textbooks and lessons that prioritize Western, European modes of doing business.

Second, the multiplicities of languages that diverse cultural groups have cultivated are both a blessing and a challenge. Standardized curricula reflect national interests for a shared language and a core set of ideals, values, and allegiances. Questions of filial obligation are even more complex when individuals, families, tribes, ethnic groups, nations, and religions all vie for loyalty. Often the only shared language is one that was forcibly imposed during colonial rule; ambivalence about reifying the lingering power of these foreign tongues is mixed with practical desires to be part of international discourse and exchange (Omoniyi 2003). Further, while many of the indigenous languages may thrive in oral and performative modes, codifying indigenous tongues into written form is a task fraught with political difficulty and linguistic challenge (Akínyemí 2003). Conversely, as the amount of time youth spend in formal educational institutions increases and as the status of that knowledge grows, the relative status and necessity of mother tongues usually decreases. Some communities wish that their elders' literacies and native languages could co-exist with modern ones but the reality is that mother tongues are disappearing as older generations pass away (Brand 2005). Chapters in this book offer ideas about how to develop culturally-relevant pedagogies that cultivate bi- or tri-lingualism in Africa that offer youth enough time to have mastery over multiple modes of expression, not just flailing competency in each.

Third, mobility is a major trend that impacts indigenous education. Migration to urban zones for work, civil unrest over decades, outright warfare and ethnic cleansing, and newly legal opportunities to move and associate have changed the relevant "landscape" of reform. Students are increasingly exposed to diverse populations beyond their traditional local cultural milieu. Violence and recruiters may no longer stop at the schoolroom door, causing anguish for both boys and girls. Indigenous models of patrilocality, where new brides reside with the husband's kin and community, are changing, shifting expectations for early marriage or for remaining in a spot long enough to complete basic schooling. Opportunities to live in urban regions, whether they fulfill migrants' expectations or not, are mixing

and dividing what once were cohesive, culturally-coherent indigenous communities. Access to the internet and its varied virtual "communities" is a seductive, promising, and dangerous whole new means of escape, connection, and affiliation (William et al. 2010). Mobility and availability of teachers from diverse ethnic and class backgrounds also impacts the teaching workforce available for indigenous schools spread across the continent.

Fourth, "residual prestige" of colonizers' cultural systems, epistemologies, and concepts of history still shape the actual education provided to indigenous youth. As mediated through English, French, Portuguese, Afrikaans, Swahili, or another officially endorsed language, a few master languages force others to hold their tongues. A result of this is that the information and worldviews amassed in these languages are what is codified in schoolwork and tested on exams. Indigenous knowledge about arts, literature, dance, religion, and more is seldom seen as a core subject. At best it is part of what one gains through informal means or in addition to sanctioned school time. What is officially written and fits into Western "disciplinary" boxes has gained status and legitimacy (Glasson et al. 2010). All students are poorer for this loss of indigenous ways of thinking about people, places, the cosmos, and living a worthy life (Chilisa and Ntseane 2010).

Indigenous groups in Africa are divided from upper echelons of society—and from one another—by gulfs of geography, the lack of equitable access to higher education and hence policy positions, and lack of confidence and wisdom about what they and their ancestors could bring to the table (Ndhlovu and Masuku 2005). These divisions have a direct impact on who ascends to powerful policy-making positions in education and other fields. Indigenous Africans have been at the mercy of mercenary governments and merciless international banks. However boys and girls keep on coming to school to learn and to take skills home. Many students also share a stubborn resilience to persevere, the ability to adapt and move on, and in some places a renewed hope for peace and freedom (Higgs et al. 2003; Le Roux 2005; Le Grange 2007). What they and their fellow citizens will do to exercise their human rights and use collective natural resources is yet to be seen.

Regional Perspective from Asia

Asia is home to approximately 70 % of the world's indigenous peoples, including Adivasis, Ainu People, Assyrians, Marsh Arabs, Sakhalin, Taiwan Aborigines, indigenous people of the Philippines, and more than 50 ethnic minority groups in Mainland China (Abu-Saad and Champagne 2006). Most indigenous peoples of Asia view access to education opportunities as a critical pathway to bridging the educational attainment divide that often exists between indigenous and non-indigenous students. Compared to mainstream education systems across Asia, indigenous education specially focuses on teaching indigenous knowledges, models, methods, and content within the contexts of daily life. Along with the dynamic progression of modernity, colonialism, and globalization, multicultural education

and culturally responsive teaching have begun to be representative of major education reform trends throughout the region (Adefuin 2001; Lee et al. 2012). Moreover, several studies demonstrate how indigenous Asian languages, cultures, and traditions have regained some ground and status to continue, albeit within the confines and constraints that are imposed by often negative global and neocolonial influences of the dominant educational paradigm (Cheng 2004; Hawkins 2007; Cheng and Jacob 2008).

Indigenous models of education or indigenous ways of thinking have gained new momentum throughout the world in recent decades and this has certainly been the case in Asia. Unlike the resistance of modern culture and Western technology that pervaded much of the nineteenth century, a renaissance of indigenous education awakening began region-wide around 1990 and has continued to the present. During this time period, many Asian indigenous peoples emphasized the need to preserve and celebrate diversity that is often at odds with hegemonic national education systems and the pervading influence from the West. The central focus of this renaissance period resides in the notion that indigenous ways of knowing, learning, instructing, teaching, and training are potentially beneficial for students, teachers, and other societal members in a culturally sensitive manner beyond the standard Western curriculum and learning experiences that are so dominant throughout Asian societies today (Abu-Saad and Champagne 2006).

Because the region is so huge—and each national context often differs substantially from others within the region—the unique circumstances that indigenous peoples find themselves is worth noting. Conflict contexts position political and economic interests ahead of indigenous peoples' needs in Afghanistan and Syria. Post-war contexts are at the forefront of helping to shape formal and nonformal indigenous education initiatives in Sri Lanka and Vietnam. Recent political changes have given indigenous peoples of Afghanistan and Myanmar hope for greater equity and access to educational opportunities that they have been deprived of for many decades. Regime change and ongoing political, religious, and ideological strife remain a part of daily life in select regions of China, Israel, Iraq, and Pakistan. While many accomplishments have been realized to help establish greater equity and equality among the indigenous peoples of Asia, in some cases an equity regression has occurred where little or no education opportunities exist.

While many of the contemporary education challenges facing indigenous peoples of Asia come from outside or external forces, some are internal. For instance, many of the rising generations of Asian children and youth do not fully understand or value their indigenous heritages. The intractable influence of globalization and modernity (in terms of technology change and innovations) are factors that often facilitate the dying off of some indigenous knowledges and values because of the decreased need and lack of interests of the youth who leave their rural villages much earlier than their parents did before them. In many cases, these migrating youth never return to their homelands. Asia is full of indigenous government policies in support and against indigenous education initiatives (see for instance Dean 2004; Behera and Nath 2005; Chang 2005; Meng 2011).

Regional Perspective from Europe

Who are the indigenous peoples of Europe? As elsewhere in the world, the definition of European indigeneity is a relative one. The expanding discourse on the rights of indigenous peoples across the European Union and beyond its ever-widening borders has shifted along with, and sometimes in direct conjunction with, discourse about the rights of other minorities and special needs groups within the general population. Indigenous peoples stand at the very crux of what it means to belong in "Europe." The broadening concept of who can be an EU member and on whose terms these rules are negotiated spotlight at least three issues of particular significance for European indigenous peoples—mobility, sovereignty, and resource allocation.

People are moving around Europe at a striking and accelerating rate. Studying for terms at a different university, working on a transnational project, laboring in newly-opened markets, exchanging goods with Euros, being elected to new shared government structures, bartering products across national and geographic lines: mobility is the new currency. But not all migrants have equal access to newly-permeable borders or to the advantages conveyed by the top gatekeepers. Indigenous peoples have long transcended cycles of short-lived national boundaries, created their own long-distance exchanges of goods and services, and developed niche markets and vivid material culture. Indeed this is part of what sets indigenous peoples apart from other groups who are recognized as local and ethnic expressions of largely mainstream national cultures. Distinctiveness and cultural coherence across transient state boundaries, as well as freedom of movement, define the politics of indigeneity in Europe. As a result, where deeply rooted senses of belonging, responsibility, and potential clash with neo-colonial elements of EU expansion, there are conflict and problems.

A case in point is the Roma, also known as Gypsies or Travelers. As Conference synthesizers note in UNESCO (2008, p. 37), only recently has there been progress in seeing children such as the Roma as meriting a fully-inclusive education within regular schools. Sporadically excluded from state schools based on (lack of a permanent) residence, often segregated into Roma-predominant and poorly provisioned settings, and too frequently relegated en masse to special education classrooms without justification, the accumulated social and cultural disadvantages further reinforce their lack of status with any nation or interregional body.

This question of mobility, both in space (across state borders and geographic regions) and over time (with migration, forced displacement, and serial settlements), opens both challenges and opportunities for European educational policy makers. For example, if or when Turkey joins the EU, then where does the Union's borders end? If Kurds migrate and live fluidly over mountainous frontier lines into other nations, where does EU authority, even responsibility for its citizens' protection, extend?

A second trend that directly impacts indigenous people is the matter of sovereignty. If mobility is the currency of life in the new EU, sovereignty is its

right arm. Recognizing the rights of indigenous groups for self-preservation, both linguistic and cultural, is key to successful identity politics and to prosperity. This plays out differently for indigenous groups that are, by definition, in a severe minority in any one country.

The Basque case shows that by uniting across national borders and by pursuing multiple concurrent strategies, including establishing autonomous educational institutions that they control, indigenous peoples can survive and even thrive (Heideman 2010). Basques live in the mountain ranges that zig zag through the border areas of France and Spain. Their unique non-Indo-Germanic language far predates modern state boundaries. *The 1995 Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* (of the then Council of Europe) helped to set the bar for minority rights in regard to access to schools, media, public life, and language preservation through education (Council of Europe 1995). However, not all nation states signed on (including France) and implementation has been inconsistent. Thus, the situation faced by Basques who live in Spain versus those in France are considerably impacted by the relative exclusivity of national curricula, the net resources provided for mountain schools, and the viability of indigenous education councils. Spanish and French remain the respective lingua francas and local resurgences of Basque-medium education have had to exert pressure mainly at the margins. There are private and publicly supported Ikastolak, mostly in the Basque Autonomous Community and Navarre in Spain, in which indigenous students can learn primarily or entirely in the Basque language. Schools on the fringes of the Basque heartland and those in France still strive for equitable state funding, public recognition, and full bilingual education. These formal schools and the related political movements' community centers are where Basque language, identity, and culture can thrive alongside a sense of being part of a particular nation.

Questions of sovereignty in Europe raise interesting dilemmas. If the working definition of being indigenous rests on lack of political power or dominance, does enhanced political might strip them of their pseudo-privileged status? Thus, if the native people of Iceland or Greenland suddenly shift from being dispossessed, colonial subjects to citizens of their own sovereign nation, are they less legitimately indigenous?

Such questions and expanded conceptualizations can also help to reshape our notions of what constitutes viable geopolitical networks that augment independence, affiliation, and citizenship. Indigenous groups could become key players in brokering talks, showing modes of convergence, and offering new forms of self-governance. For example, how might relationships with the Russian Federation take on new contours if the aspirations of the transnational Sami adopt increasingly solid political form? How can trans-regional groups reshape the very concepts of sovereignty in a widening European Union? How might they offer new models of cooperation and shared governance?

Third, discourse connecting indigenous peoples and natural resources is not new. Sha Zukang, Under-Secretary-General for Economic and Social Affairs opened a United Nations publication thus: "Indigenous peoples are custodians of some of the most biologically diverse territories in the world. They are also responsible for

a great deal of the world's linguistic and cultural diversity, and their traditional knowledge has been and continues to be an invaluable resource that benefits all mankind" (Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2009, p. v). It is interesting to note that of all the riches, only those that have market value to outsiders are considered "resources." Indeed, these responsible custodians are themselves raw material for humanity writ large, struggling nobly to perpetuate vibrant cultures and retain traditional knowledge, "an invaluable source of ingenuity." Although seemingly magnanimous, such praise is often coupled with the patronizing construction of the noble savage as heroic (but sadly doomed) as global warming, transnational economies, and extractive industries take their toll.

Re-centering the discourse in Europe to an indigenous-centered ethic of care and ecology could go a long way in reversing these tendencies. An integrated focus on stewardship of natural resources links together concerns about mobility (as it applies to seasonal migrations and the viability of subsistence lifestyles) as well as sovereignty (as it impacts the ownership of land and mineral rights and the authority to preserve the integrity of territories). But it also adds more to the discourse; it adds the dimension of time and a sense of urgent timeliness.

Europe stretches from the Arctic Ocean well into the Mediterranean. Indigenous residents are keenly aware of the effects of globalization and its concomitant climate change. While they may reside on the geopolitical margins of Europe, they are just as dependent on climate-change inducing pollution and exploitive industrial practices as anyone else. In fact, as the Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2009) points out, they may be even more at risk. For example, Arctic communities have a much less diversified economic base and more seasonally restricted work patterns. Moreover, economies, especially cash economies, are highly dependent on boom and bust cycles of demand characteristic of extractive industries such as gas, oil, and minerals. Adding to this volatility have been externally imposed international treaties in Europe and beyond that, use non-indigenous ethical stances about animals and hunting to curtail or prohibit whaling and seal hunting. Rosemary Kuptana (1996) notes that the collapse of the sealskin industry has had devastating effects on the Inuit that went well beyond economic suffering since seal hunting was an essential lynchpin of indigenous culture, values, and practices. She notes negative social, cultural, nutritional, and psychological effects.

Questions about resource allocation need to shift beyond essentializing European native peoples as natural resources themselves or even beyond discourses about who has claims to what. They have more to do with owing than owning, about providing the means to enable different modes of living that cover the spectrum from subsistence to profit-driven. What would it mean for those at any point on this spectrum to live sustainably? How could indigenous forms of wisdom and ecological insight help to balance the imperatives of outsiders who do not intend to live permanently in the regions that they exploit?

Mark Fettes' (1999) reframing of these issues is particularly apropos when discussing indigeneity within Europe. Revisiting the intellectual fire that fueled much of sociological theory building in the West, he draws on German nineteenth century scholar Tönies' distinction between *Gemeinschaft* (usually rendered in

English as "community") and *Gesellschaft* ("society"). The former describes a collective ecology grounded in interdependence wherein people recognize the importance of place, continuity, and the spiritual oneness among humans and all life. The latter describes the newer sense of rationalism, individuation, alienation, and stratification that was linked to urbanization and industrialism. By necessity, European citizens, both indigenous and mainstream, craft lives out of elements drawn from both traditions.

Perhaps the ongoing struggle and priorities of indigenous peoples in Europe will help us to see beyond standardizing and superficial restrictions codified in some European Union regulations and practice to envision a more holistic, fluid, and inclusive sense of citizenship and full participation. Global sustainability is deeply tied to meaning-making and collective action that balances rather than denies diversity. Fettes proposes an "ecology of community" as the basis for a culturally-responsive indigenous education which responds to the core idea that "'community' expresses a longing for both solidarity and authenticity: for closeness to others, yet a sense of being true to oneself" (p. 29). Indigenous peoples know how to integrate multiple realms, living as they do at the converging crossroads of movements to redefine mobility, sovereignty, and the stewardship of natural resources. Taking the high road of not just preserving diversity, but of actively cultivating a multicultural state with free and full exercise of rights for all, may become increasingly essential for the survival of all. Heterogeneity may continue to be characteristic of, even prerequisite to, the success of Europe as a humane, sustainable, and interdependent *Gemeinschaft*.

Regional Perspective from Latin America

A Jamaican proverb states, "Before monkey buy trousers, him affi know whe fi put him tail" which means that you need to be certain that the fashions of others suit you before you rush to adopt them. This is a wise saying for indigenous educators in Latin America and the Caribbean. Latin America shares with few other regions a predominance of indigenous peoples and those of mixed heritage; however, indigenous needs, unique skills, agricultural acumen, and perspectives are seldom reflected in major national policies (Regalsky and Laurie 2007). Native peoples' major challenges concurrently point to unique opportunities and resources that could inform school reform at all levels. Finding solutions well-suited to their political, cultural, ecological, and linguistic context is of great importance for educators (Morales and Caballero 2002; Eiss 2004; Mendes 2005; Schroder 2006; Howard 2009; Rockwell and Gomes 2009; Burford et al. 2012).

Indigeneity in this region takes on many forms and layers of importance. Politicians pose with Andean farmers or rainforest dwellers in order to assert their solidarity with indigenous citizens and perhaps their own heritage. Activists claim shared camaraderie on the basis of membership in La Raza, yet enact policies that primarily offer subordinate roles and non-equitable status for non-mainstream

indigenous stakeholders. Urbanization and environmental devastation are rapidly reshaping where and how indigenous people live. Eco-tourism provides cash and incentives for indigenous peoples to engage in new enterprises and a cultural renaissance, while at the same time requiring them to negotiate with international tourism industries (Wilson 2008). Savvy and a strong sense of self are called for in these turbulent times.

Spanish and Portuguese dominate the region with French and English thrown in where there are vestiges of colonial influence (and current) political territories. Relationships with other nations dominant in the hemisphere have resulted in wide swaths of land (e.g., the Panama Canal or Puerto Rico) being under foreign influence and military presence. Numerous semi-official creoles and dialects as well as a resurgence of interest in indigenous tongues such as Quechua hearken to days when a vibrant symphony of indigenous languages could be heard from sea to sea (de la Piedra 2009). As in Africa, these too often have had to make way in formal settings, where the emphasis is on standardization, global competition, and national unification.

Indigenous peoples, while numerically present, even dominant, in some Latin American countries, almost disappear when formal decision-making bodies assemble (Van Cott 2007). Students who fully identify as indigenous are underrepresented among the top colleges and universities that feed into positions of power. There are not enough educators able to serve as organic intellectuals, that is, who are grounded in communities, are viewed as authentic and legitimate with local stakeholders, and who are invested in long-term work for social justice among their homeplace and indigenous kin (Horton and Freire 1990; Gramsci 1999). Highly stratified social systems reinforce great gulfs between elite-educated, wealthy, urban, and politically connected strata and the masses, keeping most indigenous people from accessing scarce, privatized resources (Schmelkes 2011). Inequitable distribution of resources makes it politically and economically precarious to sustain attempts to bring high quality education that opens doors and provides a sense of worth and dignity (Hornberger 2007; Ames 2012).

Against this backdrop of marginalization, there are interesting trans-national initiatives that transcend borders and narrow definitions of education (Mato 2000). Universities with special missions to bring together students from different countries work to build community around commonalities and a shared appreciation for indigenous regional contributions to world knowledge systems. These are places that important work has been done to write out indigenous languages and to ethnographically document heritage forms of indigenous wisdom. Educators and community leaders have also come together in broad bioregions, seeing that a common future depends on jointly addressing ecological and industrial concerns. Recognizing that indigenous people are just as vulnerable as others in society to pressures to make a living, to grow food, and to have new media and transportation options, they see the costs and environmental impact of local trade-offs. Extending this trend into cyberspace, indigenous groups fight for cultural survival, formal recognition, and free exercise of their internationally, if not locally, recognized

human rights (Reinke 2004). These new forms of alliance, outreach, and literacy are transforming what it means to be indigenous in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Brazilian Paulo Freire (1970) has reshaped world educational discourse with his concern for conscientization via education built around the actual lived needs of people rather than a standardized or externally-imposed curriculum. By coming together to name and address their priorities, indigenous peoples become empowered to read and transform their world. As indigenous communities speak back to national reforms that disregard, or actively work against, their interests, they exercise their voice. By coming together to reclaim words and languages in the formal educational sphere, they are rewriting an exclusive, colonial view of history and the dominant language of power (Stiegler 2008). By advocating in increasingly visible ways in elected office and on educational policy boards, they are claiming their place at the speaker's podium. The native voices coming to us from Latin America and across the Caribbean are gaining strength and potency (Madrid 2005). Now we need to do more to actually hear them and to heed their call for solidarity and support.

Regional Perspective from Canada and the United States

Marred by a history of colonization, the evolution of education policies and programs for and on behalf of the indigenous peoples of the United States and Canada span more than two centuries. Initial settlements by the predominant European colonizers led to successive forced migrations of indigenous peoples from their homelands. Eventually, many of these peoples were either removed entirely from their native lands or were forced onto reservations. Education was often used as a means of imposing a foreign system of knowledge on Native Americans rather than incorporating indigenous wisdom into these new North American nations' sense of self. Although, as Jack Weatherford (1991) notes, despite the extent to which indigenous Americans profoundly influenced the new colonists' democratic visions of post-monarchy modes of government, little formal acknowledgment of these roots can be found in today's textbooks. Assimilation policies put education at the forefront of the reconciliation periods that followed treaties and land relocations and restrictions. The establishment of boarding schools (both on- and off-reservations) was one way to rid American Indian youths of their native languages, cultures, and identities (Lomawaima and McCarty 2006; Harrington and CHiXapkaid 2013). In the United States, the Manifest Destiny mentality provided a rationale for teachers and missionaries alike to position indigenous knowledges at a subordinate level compared to "highly-evolved" Western science and education. Many of these initial colonial education efforts were dismal failures at all levels (Jacobs 2001; Spring 2009). This perspective was and in many ways still remains quite limited, when one considers that some of the greatest world civilizations and education systems existed in the ancient Americas among its indigenous inhabitants.

The many names by which Native Americans are known include American Indians, Alaska Natives, and First Nation peoples. Of the more than 700 American Indian and Alaska Native tribes in the United States, 564 are officially recognized by the government and "more than 60 [are] recognized by the states in which they are primarily located" (Faircloth and Tippeconnic 2013, p. 483; U.S. Department of the Interior 2013a, b). The Government of Canada officially recognizes 617 First Nations in addition to the Inuit peoples who reside primarily in the Arctic and subarctic regions of the world's second largest country (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada 2013).[2,3]

Since the early twentieth century, tribes have begun to deal with conflicts through governing and judicial means. Some tribes have representatives who meet directly with the governments of Canada and the United States. Smaller tribes do not always enjoy equal representation and educational opportunities as much as larger tribes do. Small tribes often must form a coalition with other tribes in order to fully exercise influence on education policies. Although some tribes have been granted sovereignty, like those living on many reservation lands in the United States, the governing ability of these tribes varies greatly. Whereas some receive federal recognition, others are only recognized by local state governments, and many others are not recognized at all. This has consequences for funding, governance, aid, transportation, regulation, and autonomy for those schools. Who maintains the ability to set standards for indigenous learning and education in formal school curricula is a matter of ongoing debate in the United States and Canada.

In addition to traditional ways of learning, ways of leading and teaching need to be considered in the indigenous education process. Carlotta Penny Bird et al. (2013) note that it is essential to have more positive role models of American Indians in teaching and leadership roles in the formal education system (Lynch and Charleston 1990; Faircloth and Tippeconnic 2013). Indigenous education will benefit from indigenous leadership to help ensure representation and thus a voice in key decision-making processes.

The role indigenous education plays in the preservation of American Indian culture varies greatly from tribe to tribe. Some tribes continue to perform traditional rituals and ceremonies, whereas others have assimilated into mainstream society and have lost these traditions. Because many of the textbooks and curricular

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[2]Métis peoples are also recognized as indigenous peoples at the provincial but not federal level in Canada.

[3]Some important organizations involved with indigenous education initiatives in the United States and Canada include the Alaska Native Knowledge Network; Alaska Rural Systemic Initiative; American Indian Education Foundation, American Indian Education Knowledgebase Mid-Continent Comprehensive Center; American Indian Higher Education Consortium; American Indian Science and Engineering Society; Assembly of First Nations; Bureau of Indian Education; California Indian Education Organization; Consortium for Alaska Native Higher Education; First Nations Schools Association; Indian-Ed.org: Tribal Sovereignty in Washington State; National Indian Education Association; Native Hawaiian Education Council; Office of Indian Education, U.S. Department of Education; and the Tribal Education Departments National Assembly.

materials used in mainstream Canadian and US government and private schools provide insufficient knowledge at best about indigenous histories and peoples—and in some cases misinformation or a perpetuation of commonly-held stereotypes or popular myths about indigenous peoples—accurate histories and information about indigenous peoples are often lost or misunderstood by indigenous and non-indigenous peoples alike. This only creates a vicious cycle of perpetuating negative stereotypes through the education system (Jacob and Bradshaw 2009; Cajete and Pueblo 2010).

Rather than succumbing to standardization and invisibility, some indigenous people have engaged in purposeful push-back and active reclamation of words, practices, and educational cultural activities. One of the most well-known celebrations accessible to both natives and non-natives is commonly known as a *powwow*. Often, several tribes are invited to participate, as are the members of the nearby towns and cities. Dancers and participants dress in their regalia representing their cultural heritage and tradition. They perform traditional dances and ceremonies that have been passed down from their foreparents. Neighbors and communities are invited to participate in these cultural events. Elsewhere, the Choctaw continue to play stickball according to tradition, but not as a means of settling disputes. To preserve many of their cultural traditions, the Diné (Navajo) have developed a phonetic writing system to record traditions and ceremonies that were passed orally from generation to generation.

Regardless of the school structures serving indigenous peoples in Canada and the United States, scholars continuously argue that education efforts for indigenous peoples must have meaning and be adapted to the needs of student participants. Education efforts needs to be culturally-tailored to fit indigenous peoples' unique needs and circumstances if they are to be sustained and supported (Ball 2003; McConnell 2013).

Regional Perspective from Oceania

A geographic region that spans half the earth, Oceania is comprised of tens of thousands of islands. Although many scholars debate the origins of the indigenous inhabitants of this vast region, many researchers believe the primary ancestors of most Polynesians and Micronesians originated from East and Southeast Asia. Oral histories and evidences also exist that indicate some Pacific Islanders migrated from the American continents (Jacob and Ji 2012; Jacob and Bradshaw 2009). These claims are based on linguistic and archeological evidence. We also note how many Polynesians share linguistic, cultural, and genetic characteristics with many Melanesian tribes.

Indigenous education in ancient Oceania helped to transmit and refine technologies and inventions that were adapted to the local contexts. Pacific Islanders viewed the great Pacific Ocean as a highway rather than a barrier. Navigation instruments used in the greater region include the Micronesian stick charts (or maps) that

displayed locations of islands, wind patterns, and ocean currents.[4] Past and present technologies are fundamental to sustaining indigenous ways of life in Oceania. James D. Marshall (2000) notes that traditional Māori technologies are often at odds with so-called "modern" or Western technologies. This dialectical nature of indigenous versus Western or modern technology is a matter of contemporary education debates in many countries (Lambe 2003; Morgan 2003; Hohepa 2013).

While viewed by many experts as an outlier region, Oceania could be argued to be a nexus between many indigenous peoples. The seafaring people of Oceania ventured as far west as Madagascar and settled as far east as Hawaii, Easter Island, and Tahiti. Maritime trade between the great Pacific and Indian Oceans hinged on the peninsular and island region surrounding the Malay Archipelago. Indigenous peoples intermingled and traded with peoples from far distances in this maritime trading environment. Migrations, wars, natural disasters, and trade helped spread the languages, cultures, and knowledges of these peoples. The distant location of so many thousand Pacific Islanders depicts "a complex network of international relations that span millennia and [they] were blessed with great autonomy during this time period as even the most powerful kingdoms had little to no monopoly of sea routes" (Jacob and Ji 2012, p. 82).

With the exception of the Kingdom of Tonga, all other Oceania islands were under predominantly European control for centuries. This colonial influence included the establishment of education systems to help maintain and support colonial superpowers. European languages were taught in schools and examinations required mastery of the colonizing languages. Within this context, indigenous languages were often devalued and deemphasized by colonizers and often by the indigenous inhabitants of Oceania. Most preexisting Oceanic education systems were curtailed by the colonial governments, with the result that only a small percentage of the indigenous peoples were educated and then only to help fill lower-level management positions in the colonial government and supporting economic system. Unlike other global regions, the British held onto their island territories several decades following World War II; France and the United States continue to hold onto their island territories to the present. Regardless of the location, European pedagogies and systems of school organization continue to play a decisive role throughout the region.

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[4]Pacific Islanders developed multiple navigation skills and mastered the art of oceanic voyaging through their knowledge of the stars, wind patterns, oceanic currents, and by following schools of fish and flocks of birds. Various ship designs commonly used throughout the Pacific were invented to fit the needs of the diverse geographic contexts. Double-hulled and outrigger canoe vessels were used extensively throughout the greater region, which enabled voyagers to more easily traverse over reefs, in between islands during low and high tides, and up rivers and tributaries to reach destined trade ports and entrepots. The use of large, double-hulled canoes in the Pacific dates back thousands of years and enabled Pacific Islanders to traverse vast regions of the world's largest ocean on a regular basis. These vessels were also generally easier to navigate than often larger and single-hulled vessels especially when traveling through thousands of islets, and reefs germane to the region. Single-hulled vessels were also developed primarily along the mainland and ports in the region were often adapted to accommodate these commercial vessels (Jacob and Ji 2012, pp. 82–83).

Contemporary indigenous education policies differ across Oceania. Indigenous Australians have a long history of suffering discrimination, including in the formal education system (Reynolds 1989; Pearson 1994; Orr 1999; Wenitong et al. 2007; Gray and Beresford 2008; Pearson and Daff 2010). After being granted citizenship by the government in 1967, indigenous Australians participated in multiple government education integration programs (Biermann 2008; Orr 1999). While traditional education policies mirrored those found in other nations—including assimilation and integration policies—more recent policies include having students learn in their local contexts. This includes making education opportunities available to those in remote and rural regions. Among the most effective formal indigenous education programs include involving indigenous teachers in the formal education system, where they are able to understand student language, culture, and identity needs (Bethel 2006; Gair et al. 2005). Indigenous teachers are especially important at the early-grade levels (Ismail and Cazden 2005; Biddle 2007).

Oceania is comprised of some of the most complex indigenous education national contexts on earth, especially among the Melanesian region. Past colonial languages and economic ties remain influential within the current global environment. Indonesia has roughly 17,000 islands and thousands of indigenous languages. Vanuatu is equally complex on a smaller scale, with English, French, and Bislama recognized as national languages (Crowley 2005). Where hundreds of indigenous languages exist in Melanesia, generally only one language is spoken in Micronesian and Polynesian island country contexts. Fiji has similar indigenous cultural and linguistic roots from both Melanesia and Polynesia and various dialects of the language exist. The most common dialect, Bauan Fijian, is spoken throughout most of Viti Levu and various other dialects are spoken on Vanua Levu, Taveuni, and the several other smaller island groups within the country. Preserving indigenous languages, cultures, and identities in Oceania is particularly difficult where urbanization continues to expand and diaspora groups of Pacific Islanders living in Australia, New Zealand, and the United States often outnumber the indigenous peoples in their home island nations. Pacific Islanders who migrate to other countries often find their languages, cultures, and identities looked upon as inferior and irrelevant (Doerr 2009; Kēpa and Manu'atu 2011). Kaupapa Māori theory and research are innovative ways in which scholars and practitioners are actively trying to preserve the local heritages of Pacific Islanders. Under this theory, indigenous peoples are encouraged to recognize the unique and valuable contributions their indigeneity contributes to education, science, and research. The theory is grounded on empowering indigenous peoples with the ability to help them learn from their own perspectives and ultimately to help them pursue a future that embraces the diversity of indigeneity. Kaupapa Māori theory originates from New Zealand, but is applicable to all indigenous peoples (Jacob et al. 2011; Kēpa and Manu'atu 2011; Hohepa 2013).

Whatever the region of the globe, indigenous peoples are working for a future in which they can not only survive, but also thrive. Education that incorporates both heritage as well as contemporary elements is central to sustaining indigenous lifeways as relevant and vital in a plural, mobile, and economically-interdependent world. While the different regions have unique histories, they reveal similar

challenges and share a common future. Changes in technology and the formats of schooling and university scholarship are reshaping potential venues for learning and reframing modes of reciprocal collaboration. This volume presents major themes at work in the landscape of indigenous education and activism, and together the authors offer rich examples of the ways that language, culture, and identity converge in new and exciting expressions of indigeneity in the twenty-first century.

Chapter Summaries of the Book

This book is organized into four primary sections. The first has six thematic chapters that look at global indigenous education issues and organizations involved with the protection and support of indigenous peoples. The second through fourth sections examine the trialectic ingredients of language, culture, and identity. We posit that these ingredients are central to the indigenous education process; they are the strong, convergent linkages between knowledge acquisition and transmission.

Section I: Thematic Issues on Indigenous Education

In Chap. 2, W. James Jacob, Jing Liu, and Che-Wei Lee examine regional indigenous education case study examples from Asia, the Pacific Islands, North America, and Africa. The chapter is structured around the *trialectic* topics of increasing importance to indigenous education literature: identity, culture, and language. Each of these areas is at the center of national and international policy debates and educational reform efforts. As globalization increasingly marginalizes indigenous languages, cultures, and identities, this chapter offers local perspectives and highlights areas of social justice where education can intervene in this predominantly negative trend that too often leads to linguistic and cultural genocide.

Rebecca A. Clothey introduces in Chap. 3 how technology is a potential means whereby education delivery can be adapted to best meet the curricular needs of groups of people that transcend traditional political boundaries and education delivery media. In this way, she argues that technology can play an important role in providing education to many of the world's indigenous peoples spread across the earth. Clothey is careful to note that technology is not a panacea to all indigenous education problems; she provides a list of several challenges that will have to be overcome if technology can play an important role in professional development and indigenous cultural preservation initiatives. Among the most important ingredients essential for sustainable indigenous ICT education initiatives is an enabling policy environment that supports implementing new technologies and delivery media.

In Chap. 4, Terry Wotherspoon highlights the need for more scholarship on indigenous peoples' informal learning and education experiences and programs. He views learning as a continuum, where formal education and learning are only part of the education process we participate in each day and throughout life. Indigenous

knowledges are predominantly transmitted through many different media, rather than just through the formal education system. While most informal indigenous learning activities tend to be focused on capacity building and cultural expression, Wotherspoon also recognizes that alternative education programs help focus on such things as building relationships, skills development, establishing genealogical linkages, and strengthening individual spirituality. Indigenous education to Wotherspoon—whether formal or informal—is a holistic and lifelong process that integrates all aspects of the human learning experience related to the physical, spiritual, social, and natural worlds.

Chapters 5 and 6 address indigenous higher education. In Chap. 5, Duane W. Champagne outlines indigenous knowledge and juxtaposes this with modern science and hegemonic knowledge from nation states. He presents a definition of the assimilationist anti-indigenous education model and introduces the indigenous paradigm related higher education. Finally, Champagne reminds us that we should have more research on indigenous rights and more indigenous representatives in tertiary education in order to improve indigenous higher education.

John N. Hawkins' Chap. 6 shifts the focus from a global stage to a national case study by examining the indigenous roots of higher education in China. To this end, Hawkins gives a historical overview that establishes how the multi-millennial indigenous legacy underpins many aspects of contemporary Chinese higher education. His thesis notes how Chinese higher education builds on cultural values, models, and practices that have since been institutionalized in our current higher education contexts. Rather than simply accepting outright that the dominant educational paradigm (Hawkins 2007) has single-handedly shaped Asian and Chinese higher education, Hawkins argues that China (and India) have adapted a hybrid system of higher education with embedded indigenous characteristics that in many instances date back millennia.

Section II: Language

As the editors of this book, we divided the rest of the volume into three sections that each bring to the fore specific emphases on language, culture, and identity. While we see these three as entwined, and thereby strengthened, by their complementarity, each part highlights the contributions of that aspect of indigenous education praxis. Language is situated first among the trialectic ingredients because of its central link to establishing indigenous culture and identity. W. James Jacob's introductory chapter (Chap. 7) to Section II addresses how indigenous languages are often under attack from within education circles. Because thousands of indigenous languages have relatively small native speakers—most of whom are elders—the reality is that many languages are threatened or dying. Jacob provides several attributable reasons that he terms *macroaggressions* and *microaggressions*, which have led to this global indigenous linguistic decline. Examples of these aggressions include a widespread nature of diminishing support, interest, and in some cases opposition to indigenous

language preservation; the decline is akin to an irreversible indigenous linguistic genocide. He concludes with four strategies to help reverse the linguistic genocide tide in an effort to strengthen and preserve indigenous languages.

In Chap. 8, Carol J. Ward and David B. Braudt provide a comparative case study of the ongoing language preservation challenges Native Americans and the indigenous peoples of Timore-Leste face in their respective contemporary education systems. Documenting the histories of the Northern Cheyenne in the United States, Ward and Braudt note how, like most American Indian tribes, the Northern Cheyenne were subjected to mainstream assimilation education policies that strove to integrate their children into mainstream language acquisition, culture, and society. This assimilation policy did not cease until the 1970s, when a period of self-determination began. The Northern Cheyenne were among the first American Indian tribes to establish a tribally-controlled school on their reservation, which has helped serve as a key factor in the survival of their peoples' native language and culture. With a colonial history that spans five centuries, the indigenous peoples of Timor-Leste have endured multiple waves of foreign language invasion and educational policies. Ward and Braudt recognize the role previous colonial powers had on this small island state, and continue to have following independence with the promotion of Tétum and Portuguese as official languages. While the contexts and languages differ, both the indigenous peoples of Timor-Leste and the Northern Cheyenne have endured striking similar histories and language revitalization experiences that continue today.

In Chap. 9, Connie Ssebbunga-Masembe and colleagues note that language is the most important factor in the formal education system, "because the transfer of knowledge and skills is mediated through the spoken or written word" (p. 2). Presenting data from 42 countries, the chapter addresses policy and practice issues in an ongoing debate of which language of instruction is most appropriate for teaching children and at what grade levels. They conclude with a section on best practices for governments to consider when dealing with students from multiple linguistic backgrounds, including those who are bilingual and trilingual and those who first learn how to read and write in their mother tongue normally perform as well or better in all academic areas when they eventually transition to the dominant language of instruction in later grades.

Mina O'Dowd examines in Chap. 10 how since World War II government (and European Union) policies have evolved in relation to the use of Sami languages in the formal education systems of Scandinavian countries. Since traditional Sami lands aren't confined to the modern-day borders of Finland, Norway, and Sweden, the chapter examines issues that pertain to local and international contexts and provide a vivid case for how current political boundaries often neglect indigenous perspectives related to indigenous people's needs. While the theory of autonomy and self-determination exists to some extent in each country, the level of language instruction implementation varies widely and largely depends on factors that relate to similar challenges identified elsewhere (see for instance Brock-Utne 2000, 2007), such as lack of qualified teachers, lack of local interest for language support, and the neglect, if not outright failure, of policy makers and government planners to ensure the implementation of education laws.

In Chap. 11, Roger Boshier uses the metaphor of the ancient moa in the title and throughout his chapter to show how the Maori of Aotearoa (New Zealand) have learned lessons from this now extinct bird to sustain and revitalize their indigenous language in order to save their language from a similar fate. Boshier notes that through educational reform, government intervention can help revitalize indigenous language acquisition. By elevating the Maori language to an official national language in 1987, over a century of colonial assimilation education policies have begun to reverse, at least to a limited extent. In many ways, governments that genuinely support the preservation of indigenous languages can learn from the Maori language revitalization case. But New Zealand is a unique context, an island state, and a location with one indigenous language (compared to several or hundreds of indigenous languages as exist in so many other countries already mentioned in this introductory chapter). Could the same government intervention have a similar effect on countries with two or more indigenous languages? Boshier's writing draws on his own heritage and thus paints a convincing picture nonetheless of the struggles and challenges that the Maoris of New Zealand have and continue to face in the revitalization of the Maori language—a struggle that will continue for many years into the future.

Examining language policy instruction and preservation among American Indian and Alaska Natives in the United States, Evelisa Natasha Genova (Chap. 12) recognizes how previous and current government policies both support and hinder indigenous language preservation. She draws from successful education initiatives in Australia and Canada that can be used as potential examples for the United States to learn from. Most of the shortcomings that hinder indigenous language advancement in the United States can be offset by four factors according to the authors: (1) establish a literacy definition to include a link between literacy and language (both dominant and indigenous languages), (2) use indigenous languages in English instruction, (3) improve the quality of teacher training, and (4) develop a more culturally-responsive curriculum that can be relevant to indigenous peoples needs and contexts.

Section III: Culture

Maureen K. Porter's introductory chapter to Section III frames four core elements of the concept of culture that are particularly salient for indigenous education. She then examines how culture has been metaphorically constructed in terms of "human rights" and as a "resource" in the international educational discourse and in practice, and looks at implications for framing indigenous education cross-culturally. Porter then moves beyond an introductory explanation of culture to focus on cultural wisdom derived from indigenous ways of knowing. First, acknowledging how we epistemologically make meaning in the world helps us to decenter Western worldviews and modes of inquiry. Second, she focuses on native traditions of conceptualization and visualization that integrate aesthetic and intellectual cultural repertoires. Both the process of engaging in artmaking and the products themselves are important tools for rethinking schools. Third, she reviews the importance of

interrogating what it means to do research in the academy, and looks at modes of scholarship and advocacy that legitimize new forms of partnership, engagement, and academic institution building. Throughout, she provides insights gleaned from a decade of service-learning work with indigenous communities in the Andes.

Richard Scaglion (Chap. 14)adds geographic diversity to the culture section with his analysis of indigenous education in the Pacific Islands. After a brief introduction that situates the epic of human cultural expansion across the expanse of ocean, he provides readers with a welcome overview of the varied kinds of topographies, social organizations, and kinds of traditional education provided to help youth find meaningful places within their communities. Much of his discussion revolves around a comparison of the expansion of Western/colonial schooling in Hawai'i and Papua New Guinea, both of which have undergone tremendous changes with the introduction of cash and tourist economies, migration, and problematic relationships with former colonizers. He develops Hawai'i as an instance of Polynesian "closed" culture in which authority, hierarchy, reciprocity, and patronage helped to distinguish those with the right of access to specialized or advanced knowledge. He characterizes Papua New Guinea, situated within the Melanesian cultural area, as a traditionally "open" cultural system of education in which there was widespread access to general knowledge as well as gender-specific training in life skills. His fascinating critique sheds light on the ways that each had vulnerabilities as well as attributes that intersected with colonizers' and missionaries' own goals for changing these indigenous societies. Full access to higher education, opportunities to translate skills into economic well-being, and deep understanding of both introduced and traditional wisdom all remain elusive goals. In the end, he seeks a balance of pedagogies and educational policies that could better prepare the younger generations for multiple lifepaths, self-determination, respect for indigenous knowledge, recognition of internal diversity, and more advantageous choices of how to reap the benefits of a globalizing economic system.

In Chap. 15, Edward Shizha advances a cultural critique of postcolonial education in sub-Saharan Africa. He highlights ways that Western, colonial elements, such as the language of instruction and epistemologies are still very much central to the educational enterprise. The result is, at best, cultural dissonance between school and home, and often, a far-reaching sense of disengagement and self-disparagement. He decries oppressive education that has led to (self-)silencing, both in terms of students not using their mother tongue while at school and in regards to dismissing indigenous worldviews and ways of knowing from the curriculum. He also reviews the ways that active, participatory learning has been relegated to a minimal role in formal schools, particularly when it comes to the intergenerational cultural transmission of authentic, adult roles that contribute to sustainable development. He seeks a critical and transformative educational system that would invest in indigenous youth as valued members of communities. To this end, he extends his prior scholarship and proposes a framework for the African school curriculum to be built around the cultural narrative of the nation. This approach could integrate both historical perspectives as well as a contemporary sense of agency among students, and thereby cultivate a liberating sense of ownership and responsibility for their communities.

Anders Breidlid and Louis Royce Botha (Chap. 16) provide a comparative national level critique of recent indigenous education initiatives in Chile and South Africa. Their goal is to model an anti-colonial approach that takes a more inclusive, global view of oppression as control, exploitation, domination and exclusion, and therefore is not limited to past colonial encounters, but rather includes neo-liberal democracies as well. Breidlid and Botha position indigenous peoples' cultures, particularly their spirituality, as a potentially countervailing force to the nearly exclusive Western scientific knowledge systems and schooling practices. They encourage us to view education as a cultural activity and to expand our repertoires of practice by fully incorporating indigenous worldviews and ways of knowing so that a more inclusive and respectful range of praxis and policy can lead to more equitable educational outcomes. However, their candid case studies of recent reforms in South Africa and Chile show the very real limits of political will and pedagogy in the mono-cultural schools that are at the heart of nation building. They unflinchingly show how academics and educational leaders, no matter their ethnicity, struggle to see past their own Western training and mindsets, to envision and implement truly transformative and liberatory practice. They encourage readers to view the concept of indigenous consciousness as a proactive, inclusive mode of incorporating indigenous culture into education reform while acknowledging the contextual difficulties of rising above the existing homogenizing, hegemonic framework.

In Chap. 17, Teresa L. McCarty and Tiffany S. Lee emphasize the need to view indigenous education in the United States from a different perspective, even a new different paradigm from traditional discourses and policy circles. Unlike other ethnolinguistic groups, the authors highlight how many Native Americans have great sovereignty compared to other minority groups. Many indigenous peoples of the United States maintain tribal sovereignty through treaties with the US government that include rights to land, language, and culture preservation. They conclude that indigenous education can serve as both "a tool for and an expression of self-determination and cultural survival" (p. 2).

Rocío Fuentes takes a detailed look at intercultural education in Mexico in Chap. 18, illustrating how the preferred purposes and processes of this policy differ across indigenous and official state worldviews. The ideology of *mestizaje* intersects with notions of national and global citizenship and as such, provides impetus for the controversies that the author explores at the local level. She notes that schools have been central to the project of managing linguistic and cultural diversity and creating a national identity. In her ethnographic case, the underlying tension between individualism and communality is at the crux of the matter. Through extended critical discourse analysis, she illustrates exchanges that reveal competing contextual pressures to foster cultural identity, loyalty, communal cultural values, agency, and fully-fledged contemporary citizenship. Her argument provides interesting parallels to other struggles for racial and ethnic rights, while challenging the reader to consider those human rights particular to indigenous peoples. For the P'urhépecha, only an educational discourse of respect that takes community and cultural nuance into account can satisfy indigenous educators.

Section IV: Identity

Sheng Yao Cheng's Chap. 19 introduces the final section on identity. After introducing the general concept of identity, Cheng provides a review of three types of indigenous identity: individual, communal, and external. He also argues how indigenous peoples are in a perpetual state of crisis, whereby they often must choose between mainstream society and their native origins, backgrounds, and contexts. This identity dialectic is part of everyday life for most indigenous peoples throughout the earth, and is supported by Cheng building upon the scholarship of others on such areas as identity formation, conflict resolution, and even how identity shifts ultimately can lead to a cultural turn in indigenous society.

In Jerome M. Levi and Elizabeth Durham's Chap. 20, they introduce the interaction between indigenous identity and global citizenship and examine the question of whether indigenous identity is a form of global citizenship. The authors discovered that indigenous identity primarily refers to local culture and traditional heritage first. Moreover, when the idea of citizenship constitutes a system of rights, indigenous identity exists more as a theoretical expression of global citizenship than as a concrete one.

In Chap. 21, Bartholomew Dean outlines the theory of indigenous educational practices, identity politics, and rapid urbanization in Peruvian Amazonia. First, he stresses the relationship between mobility and education and rethinks the technologies of social disruptions in Amazonia. Second, he mentions that the inter-subjective spaces might be a great solution toward a radical "decolonized" pedagogy. As a result, Dean highlights the possible future and reflects upon the meaning of social inclusion for indigenous education.

As a member of the Lakota tribe, Hilary N. Weaver analyzes the facets of Native American identity first in Chap. 22. Drawing on her own experience as a Native American, she presents a synthesis of some of the struggles experienced by Native Americans in their educational endeavors and a discussion of what is needed in order for education to be more culturally responsive and respectful. Finally, she concludes her chapter with reflections as a Native American parent with children in the public school system.

Conclusion

The problems and challenges that indigenous peoples currently face and will undoubtedly face in the future are as diverse as the many thousands of indigenous languages, cultures, and identities that exist today. Some indigenous peoples will be able to keep their traditions alive while living in mainstream societies. Others will experience a decline in interest and participation as modern cultural values and practices overtake traditional ways of learning and being. As younger generations

embrace modern/external cultural values and practices at the exclusion of those from their heritage, their ways of passing on what it means to be indigenous in the modern global village will diverge from their elders' ways.

Creating effective syntheses that combine the best of many worlds, respecting areas of incompatibility and incongruity, and protecting the right to remain sovereign and separate when needed are all viable paths for indigenous education to take. This book offers starting points for an effective, liberatory approach to educational policy and practice. We draw on the deep and varied traditions embodied in the Global Indigenous Education Tree in order to envision a future of reciprocity and respect. Both those who directly identify as indigenous and those who see themselves as allies can be part of socially just, multicultural education. Sonya Nieto (1999) provides a model for just such an inclusive mode of education, calling for an intentional, proactive stance that sees mere tolerance of different cultures as insufficient to shift away from a monocultural education system. She asserts that we need to all move toward acceptance and mutual respect so that we can create new models of multicultural education where affirmation, solidarity, and critique thrive. To these ends, effectively synthesizing cultural contributions and ways of knowing derived from numerous traditions is a responsibility of all members of a global society that is based on respect and human rights. Of utmost importance will be the ability of all of us to honor cultures and traditions foreign to our own and to live in a state of peace and harmony.

Across the globe, indigenous policy makers, scholars, and educators recognize the need for indigenous peoples to establish their own curricula and to exercise their voices in education circles to ensure they have representation, equality, and the ability to preserve their languages, cultures, and identities (Hamley 2001; McCarty et al. 2005; Cajete 2006). World cultures, traditions, and knowledges tend to change profoundly and sometimes irrevocably when a dominant culture is imposed through economic, military, or missionary imperialism. But imposition often builds walls rather than bridges. What is needed most in our increasingly interdependent world are bridges to span the gaps of inequality and injustice that have so long prevented indigenous and non-indigenous educators from coexisting in synergy. It is our hope that this volume will help build the desperately needed bridges for a more just future.

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Part I
Thematic Issues on Indigenous Education

Chapter 2
Policy Debates and Indigenous Education: The Trialectic of Language, Culture, and Identity

W. James Jacob, Jing Liu, and Che-Wei Lee

Abstract In this chapter, we explore several policy debate topics associated with indigenous education with a focus on the issues of indigenous languages, cultures, and identity. Highly political by nature, the terms *indigeneity* and *indigenous rights* are central to most policy debates with direct implications on social justice issues, human rights, and education in general. Besides examining global indigenous declarations that directly influence indigenous education, we also examine policy debate issues within five country contexts—in China, Mexico, Taiwan, Uganda, and the United States. We use the term *indigenous genocide* to account for any former, current, or future government policy that intentionally causes the assimilation of indigenous peoples into the dominant national culture. Examples are given in the five case countries of how indigenous genocide can lead to the genocide of indigenous peoples' languages, cultures, and/or identities. The chapter concludes by highlighting the central role indigenous education can play in being able to curb or reverse indigenous genocidal policies. Crucial to reversing anti-indigenous policies is the involvement and empowerment of indigenous peoples in every facet of the policy planning and implementation processes.

Keywords Indigenous education • Indigenous language • Indigenous culture • Indigenous identity • Indigenous genocide

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Introduction

Indigenous peoples represent a large proportion of the earth's population and a significant segment of our planet's cultural diversity.[1] Scholars argue that there are between 4,000 and 5,000 (King and Schielmann 2004) and 7,105 languages that are still spoken by indigenous peoples (Lewis et al. 2013). Most indigenous people suffer, to one degree or another, from poverty, discrimination, and sociocultural marginalization issues. Indigenous peoples make up about one third of the 900 million extremely poor rural people living on earth (United Nations 2008). In this chapter we explore several policy debate topics associated with indigenous education with a focus on issues of indigenous languages, cultures, and identity.

Many terms have been used to describe indigenous peoples, including *Native*, *Aboriginal*, *First Nation*, *indigenous*, and *local*. Generally speaking, there is no universal definition that identifies who is an indigenous person. This is especially true because no single definition can capture the diversity of cultures, languages, identities, histories, and other circumstances unique to all indigenous peoples. While some indigenous peoples make up the majority population of a country, the majority of indigenous peoples comprise only a minority population. The relationships between indigenous peoples and other groups vary from one country to another. One widely cited definition of indigenous peoples comes from the Convention of the International Labour Organization (ILO) in 1989 on "Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries." According to this definition, indigenous peoples are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop, and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions, and legal systems. To respect indigenous peoples around the world, we capitalize all ethnic, national groups, and associated adjectives grounded upon the standards of *The Chicago Manual of Style* (University of Chicago Press 2010), which not only specifies that "names of ethnic and national groups are capitalized" but also that "adjectives associated with these names [should] also [be] capitalized" (p. 401). We argue that writers of indigenous

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[1]The United Nations estimates that there are some 350 million Indigenous peoples or 5 % of the world's population; there are more than 5,000 different groups of Indigenous peoples who reside in more than 70 countries (see UNESCO 2006, p. 4; United Nations 2008, p. 3). However, we recognize that the total number of Indigenous peoples is a relative one, in that the number depends on how the term Indigenous is defined. If you take into account the Indigenous peoples who reside both within their native home lands as well as the many diaspora groups of Indigenous peoples who have migrated to other locations, surely this figure would be much higher.

studies should use indigenous names and titles because most indigenous peoples have identities that are local and tribal or sub-tribal, and from their point of view those names and titles are most accurate.

The Asian Development Bank (ADB) has many international development and technical assistance projects involving tremendous diversity of cultures, histories, and current circumstances. They define indigenous people based on two significant characteristics: (1) descent from population groups present in a given area, most often before modern states' establishment; and (2) maintenance of cultural and social identities, and social, economic, cultural, and political institutions that are different from mainstream or dominant societies and cultures. Moreover, ADB gives additional characteristics to indigenous peoples including (1) self-identification and identification by others as being part of a distinct indigenous cultural group, and the display of a desire to preserve that cultural identity; (2) a linguistic identity different from that of the dominant society; (3) social, cultural, economic, and political traditions and institutions distinct from the mainstream culture; (4) economic systems oriented more toward traditional systems of production than mainstream systems; and (5) unique ties and attachments to traditional habitats and ancestral territories, and natural resources in these habitats and territories.

The international community is showing an increasing concern for the protection of indigenous peoples. The *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (United Nations 1948) and *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (United Nations 1966) have particular significance for indigenous peoples. The former provides a common standard for the human rights of all peoples and all nations and proclaims the importance of traditional, political, and civil rights, as well as basic economic, social, and cultural rights. The latter spells out civil and political rights and guiding principles based on the *Universal Declaration*. In 1992, Agenda 21 adopted by the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development recognized the importance of indigenous people for the sustainable development of human life (United Nations 1992). In the following year, the United Nations declared the International Year of the World's Indigenous Peoples and the decade beginning and immediately following December 1994 as the Indigenous Peoples Decade. In 2007, the *UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* was adopted to protect the basic human rights of indigenous people, to emphasize the importance of protecting indigenous peoples' identities, cultures, and languages, and to promote self-determination of indigenous peoples (United Nations 2007).

The term *indigeneity* is broadly defined as the language, culture, identity, knowledge, science, and technologies developed or possessed by the first inhabitants of a land or nation. Jeremy Waldron (2003, p. 55) contends that indigeneity has two possible definitions: (1) "indigenous peoples are the descendants of the first human inhabitants of a land"; and (2) where applicable, "indigenous peoples are the descendants of those who inhabited the land at the time of European colonisation." Regardless of its definition, indigeneity is a frequently debated and highly political concept—with direct implications to land rights, human rights, and education, which is the focus of this chapter—for dominant and subordinate indigenous peoples alike.

The circumstances, histories, and needs of indigenous peoples differ from country to country. In most countries, they are excluded from many aspects of mainstream society and do not realize equal opportunities in education, health care, and employment. For most countries with multiple ethnic groups, the delivery of public education to indigenous peoples is complex and problematic. As Linda King and Sabine Schielmann (2004) argued, education for indigenous people has a dialectical challenge. Indigenous education must support and promote the maintenance, use and survival of indigenous people's cultures, languages, knowledge, traditions and identity, but also provide and develop the knowledge and skills that enable indigenous peoples to participate fully and equally in the national and international communities. Duane Champagne and Ismael Abu-Saad (2006) claimed that the schools run by nation states are alien to indigenous students, who are not well prepared culturally and socially for most dominant public school settings. They are not taught their own traditions, knowledge, history, or contemporary issues. Rather, they are taught to accept and adopt the values and social order of the mainstream institutions. In fact, the formal education system is contributing significantly to the loss of indigenous identity, control, and self-determination. As Stephen May and Sheila Aikman (2003) argued, schooling has been explicitly and implicitly a site of rejection of indigenous knowledge[2] and language; it has been used as a means of assimilating and integrating indigenous peoples into a "national" society and identity at the cost of their indigenous identity and social practices.

An education policy that intentionally causes the assimilation of indigenous peoples into the dominant national culture is what we term an *indigenous genocide*—the genocide of indigenous peoples' languages, cultures, and identities. Other factors also contribute to this indigenous genocide, including globalization, economic policies and practices, policies related to human rights issues, the media and media culture, and *urbanicity*.[3] An indigenous genocide can also occur from non-intentional factors that are influenced to one degree or another by established education policies. Examples of some non-intentional factors will be given later in this chapter. Unfortunately, these intentional and unintentional factors often create an irreversible vicious cycle toward indigenous genocide.

Achieving the acceptance and recognition of indigenous students in the formal education system is often a slow and difficult process. There are so many factors, including sometimes hidden factors, associated with this process. Policy making that

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[2]Indigenous knowledge is comprised of oral histories, myths, legends, traditions, cultures, art, music, spoken language/s, written language/s (if applicable), medical practices, trade strategies, scientific inventions and knowledge (e.g., innovations and knowledge related to transportation, navigation, weapons of war, tools, building materials and techniques, etc.), social networks, and survival skills.

[3]By *urbanicity*, we refer to the difference that exists between rural and urban circumstances, and especially the migration of indigenous peoples from traditional rural homelands to urban centers where there are generally greater educational and economic opportunities.

includes input and decision making from key stakeholders at all levels, especially including participation from indigenous peoples themselves, is essential if the education policy is to succeed in reversing this indigenous genocide. The indigenous peoples for whom the education policy was created ideally should have a say in how the policy is written and implemented. Participation is crucial for several reasons but especially for ownership and buy-in purposes.

In addition, with the spread of globalization, indigenous peoples often come to the forefront of education policy debates. From within, indigenous peoples are often forced to live with top-down administered education policies that limit the preservation of indigenous languages, cultures, and identities. External forces sometimes also add to this indigenous genocide dilemma where indigenous peoples must learn how to keep a balance between their indigenous traditions and predominantly Western-oriented cultures, languages, and technologies.

Indigenous Education in Five Countries

Indigenous education policies differ depending on the country. The remaining focus of this chapter will explore case country examples of indigenous education policies in five countries: China, Mexico, Taiwan, Uganda, and the United States (see Table 2.1). Just over half of China's 298 indigenous living languages are considered endangered. Of the 214 indigenous languages in the United States, all but 12 are endangered (see Fig. 2.1). The struggle for the improvement of indigenous education is played out differently based on the specific country context.

China

The People's Republic of China is a nation with many government-(un)recognized indigenous peoples. The very term *indigenous peoples* is somewhat controversial in China, and we feel that a discussion of Chinese indigeneity is in line with

Table 2.1 Indigenous languages in five countries

| Country | Living languages | | | |
	Count	Percent	Indigenous	Immigrant
China	301	4.24	298	3
Mexico	288	4.05	282	6
Taiwan	27	0.38	22	5
Uganda	43	0.61	41	2
United States	420	5.91	214	206

Source: According to M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fenning (2013), the percentages in column 3 are based on the total number of living languages spoken throughout the world

Fig. 2.1 Endangered indigenous languages in China, Mexico, Taiwan, Uganda, and the United States (*Source*: Artwork by the authors, data adapted from Lewis, Simons, and Fenning 2013)

the scope of this volume because it has significant political implications for the dominant Han Chinese as well as many of China's ethnic minority groups. Michael Hathaway (2010, p. 302) notes that "even if a Chinese term for indigenous people became acceptable to some, the very concept of indigenous would have to contend with ongoing legacies of ethnic and social hierarchies."[4] We are careful not to confuse indigenous peoples with the term *ethnic minority* or *nationality*; they are not necessarily the same in the China context. Several ethnic minority groups are not indigenous to China. Trade, migration, and war over several millennia have brought both a convergence and divergence of many different ethnic groups within this vast geographic region.

With more than 1.3 billion people, China is home to 56 officially-recognized ethnic groups. Ethnic minorities comprise 8.31 % of the total population (see Table 2.2).

Forty-five of the 55 recognized minority groups amount to less than 20 % of the ethnic minority population in the country. Five ethnic minority autonomous regions were established in the 1950s (Guangxi, Inner Mongolia, Ningxia, Xinjiang, and Xizang), along with multiple prefectures, counties, and towns. One of the most distinct features of minority cultures is the diversity of their languages. By 2008, 61

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[4]Hathaway (2010, p. 302) also argues that most Chinese do not rally "under the identity of indigenous, but mainly Chinese public intellectuals who use this transnational concept in a diverse effort to reshape notions of ethnicity, citizenship, and rights."

Table 2.2 Ten most populous ethnic minority groups in China, 2010

Ethnic minority group name	Population	% of total population
Zhuang	16,926,381	1.26
Hui	10,586,087	0.79
Manchu	10,387,958	0.78
Uygur	10,069,346	0.75
Miao	9,426,007	0.70
Yi	8,714,393	0.65
Tujia	8,353,912	0.62
Tibetan	6,282,187	0.47
Mongolian	5,981,840	0.45
Dong	2,879,974	0.21
Total ethnic minority population	**111,324,800**	**8.31**
Total population of China	**1,339,724,852**	**100.00**

Source: Statistics from the population census in 2010, which was the sixth national population census following those conducted in 1953, 1964, 1982, 1990, and 2000 (National Bureau of Statistics 2012)

distinct languages had been identified. Many Chinese ethnic minorities are religious, with approximately half espousing a faith which is distinct from Han culture (Yi 2008).[5]

China has adopted a series of laws and regulations to help protect the equal rights, unique cultures, and languages of ethnic minority peoples. The following are statements of policy in China concerning ethnic minority peoples, cultures, and languages.

All the nationalities of China are equal [and] every ethnic minority is free to use and develop their language. (National People's Congress 1982)

Mandarin Chinese ought to be used for literacy. In ethnic autonomous areas, the local ethnic languages could be used as the language of instruction . . . . (State Council of the People's Republic of China 1988)

Every citizen of China, regardless of sex, ethnic group, economic status or religious belief, has the right and obligation to education, and enjoys equal educational opportunities to meet his or her essential needs. (National People's Congress 1995)

The standardized spoken and written Chinese language (Mandarin) based on the northern dialect and the Beijing pronouncing system, and the standardized simplified characters approved by the State Council and in common use in the whole country, shall be popularized and used as the basic language medium of curriculum and instruction in schools and other educational institutions of the country. But in schools in which students of minority ethnic groups constitute the majority, the spoken and written language of the majority ethnic group or of common use by the local ethnic groups may be used as language media of curriculum and instruction. (National People's Congress 1995)

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[5]We recognize that several Chinese ethnic minority groups have much higher than 50 % of their population who believe in religion. For instance, Uyghurs in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region are predominantly Muslim and most Tibetans in the Tibet Autonomous Region observe Tibetan Buddhism.

Based on constitutional provisions protecting "the lawful rights and interests of the minority nationalities" and guaranteeing that "citizens of all nationalities have the right to use the spoken and written languages of their own nationalities," education for ethnic minorities has been to a large extent systematized. With the implementation of preferential government policies,[6] including financial, infrastructure, and human resource investment initiatives, there have been substantial national achievements in education for ethnic minorities since 1949 (Mackerras 2003; Yi 2008). Even with all of these pro-indigenous education policies on the books, we recognize the many challenges and problems that remain in practice among ethnic minorities in China.

Language is one of the most important indigenous education issues in China. Perhaps more than any other element, language is fundamental to the survival of the culture and value of ethnic groups. Although bilingual education for ethnic minorities received emphasis from the central government in its education language policy, the process of policy implementation has been criticized in many cases. Bilingual education in China is more of a transitional measure aimed at facilitating mastery of the dominant language, which is often viewed as more advanced and more useful. Where many ethnic minority students do not speak Chinese when they begin their formal schooling, they have the opportunity to attend the first years of their primary education with instruction in their native language. However, this transitional period to partial and eventually total Chinese instruction is relatively short; Chinese is taught afterwards until the completion of their primary education (and secondary education, if applicable). Bilingual education in this sense really means "transitional schooling in the native languages while students master the dominant language" (Dwyer 1998, p. 131). For example, in most ethnic minority regions, the instruction for primary school will be conducted in the native tongue only during the first 2 or 3 years. Mandarin typically becomes the mode of instruction beginning in Grade 3 except in the most rural regions of the country (e.g., schools in remote regions of Xinjiang and Xizang). There is also a lack of qualified primary and secondary education teachers in predominantly ethnic minority and rural regions of the country (Hannum 2002).

At the higher education level, instruction is in Mandarin except for courses in Mongolian or Tibetan language and/or literature. At Xinjiang University, courses were commonly taught in both Chinese and Uyghur until a government decree in 2002 declared that the majority of courses would be taught only in Chinese

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[6]The preferential policies (*youhui zhengce*) range from material support to cultivation of minority personnel and include: financial investment; establishment of minority schools, colleges, and universities; compilation of textbooks in the minority writing systems; cultivation of minority teachers for bilingual education; establishment of governmental departments at national, provincial and local levels overseeing minority education; requirement that more developed provinces give aid to minority concentrated regions through material or personnel support, or through running minority schools or classes in their own territories; the preferential policy for minority students to have priority in getting admitted if the results of their college entrance examinations are the same as or relatively lower than, mainstream Han students (Yi 2008).

(Dillon 2002). Although Mandarin is the language of social and economic discourse throughout China, this dichotomy in the language of instruction certainly does not enhance the preservation of that aspect of most ethnic minority cultures. The shift from teaching classes in Tibetan to Mandarin generally occurs at Grade 3 (or Grade 6 in the most rural areas) and virtually all university instruction in Mandarin also erodes a major component of those ethnic minorities' cultures (Kwong and Xiao 1989; Kormondy 2002). The centralized and standardized curriculum is in many cases irrelevant to ethnic minority students, and especially so in more rural regions of the country (Johnson 2000). Language of instruction and the curricular fit with ethnic minority societies are primary reasons that lead to low examination scores and ethnic minority students dropping out of school altogether.

This bilingual education policy also affects ethnic consciousness. Gerard A. Postiglione (1999) notes how even with bilingual education efforts in formal school, the diversity that exists among China's ethnic minority population does not appear to be fully reflected in the content of schooling. Balancing Chinese national unity, education policy, and the maintenance of ethnic identities has become an enormous challenge for the Chinese government.

The second issue is the curriculum and textbooks for ethnic minorities. Although many textbooks have been translated into both minority and Chinese languages, the simple translation from Chinese to minority languages and the standard national curricula sometimes make these textbooks irrelevant to local histories, cultures, and religions of China's ethnic minority peoples. Mackerras (1999, 2003) concluded that the design of the textbooks for ethnic minority students is in direct alignment with Chinese education policies and positions on ethnic minority relations; textbooks also follow the secular state education system. Religion is not promoted or emphasized in Chinese children's textbooks. As to the curriculum, even though the Constitution guarantees citizens' freedom of religious belief—which in education appears in some religion-related practices such as diet, dress, funding of religious schools, or even inviting a few clergy to act as language teachers—religions, ethnic minority cultures, and histories of ethnic minority peoples are granted minimal space in primary and secondary education curricula and instruction. In some cases they are entirely omitted from the curriculum (Gladney 1999; Postiglione 1999; Yi 2008). Histories of ethnic minority peoples are rarely included except when they support social evolution and national unity topics. The formal curriculum is often critical of ethnic minority cultures, which are depicted as fragmented and tokenized. Common stereotypes promulgated through the formal curriculum and the government-controlled media include themes such as ethnic minorities are peoples who dress in colorful clothing, perform beautiful dances and songs, and live with uninterrupted harmony in society. Furthermore, some scholars also argue that traditional education in ethnic minority groups has also been destroyed (Postiglione 1999; Johnson 2000). The traditional monastic education and medical education in Xizang are not included in the current curriculum.

At the higher education level in recent years, English has become an increasingly popular third language option for many ethnic minority students. In fact, in many higher education institutions, ethnic minority students are more interested

in learning Chinese and English than they are their native language. English is often viewed as an international language of business and important to finding employment or continuing with graduate studies.

Although tremendous improvements regarding ethnic minority education have been made in recent years, there is still room for improvement. In terms of higher education for ethnic minority students, the government needs to consider a series of social justice issues. Among these are a lack of Chinese language fluency when entering higher education, socioeconomic struggles of many ethnic minority students, geographical disparities and inequalities, and gender disparities (Postiglione 1999; Jacob 2006). Besides the issues mentioned above, ethnic minority peoples in China face growing problems of insufficient qualified teachers, geographic and socioeconomic disparities, and inequality in gender enrollments (Hannum 2002).

Mexico

Many scholars claim that Mexico has the largest indigenous population in Latin America (Bando et al. 2004; Hernandez-Zavala et al. 2006). However, recent censuses show that the indigenous population is declining. Moreover, the indigenous language speaking population decreased from 14 % of the total population in 1930 to 7 % in 2000 (Flores-Crespo 2007). At the same time, monolingualism in an indigenous language has undergone a similar significant decline. In contrast, two-thirds of all indigenous language speakers are bilingual (Francis and Reyhner 2002).

According to Article 4 of the Mexican Constitution, the law protects and promotes the development of indigenous people's languages, cultures, practices, customs, resources, and specific forms of social organization. Although bilingual education for indigenous peoples was introduced to Mexico in the 1930s, Susan J. Rippberger (1993) argues that this policy only aims to "Mexicanize" the indigenous people. This Mexicanization process also can be considered a direct result of the implementation of the government's policy to unify the country through the integration of the indigenous peoples into the nation's mainstream society. Leanne Reinke (2004) pointed out that in Mexico there has been a politically enforced project to ensure the predominance of the Spanish language above all other languages and a formalized uniform education program has been in operation. This project paves a path toward eventual inequality of education for indigenous peoples. Reinke argues that ultimately this project resulted in an education achievement gap between indigenous and nonindigenous peoples.

On average, Mexican adults in indigenous autonomous municipalities have completed 3 years of schooling while adults in nonindigenous municipalities have completed on average 8 years of schooling. Furthermore, indigenous students tend to score lower on reading (in Spanish) and mathematics examinations than nonindigenous students (Reinke 2004; Hall and Patrinos 2005; Hernandez-Zavala et al. 2006). This inequality is only exacerbated for indigenous people at the secondary and higher education levels. In many cases, indigenous peoples are excluded

altogether from higher education in Mexico (Flores-Crespo 2007). Qualified indigenous students often choose to attend colleges and other institutions as higher education options, while nonindigenous peoples commonly choose university options.

Nancy Modiano's (1972) research provides insights into the effectiveness of bilingual education in Mexico several decades ago. Her findings showed that education programs that included first language instruction were far more effective in developing second language literacy skills than all-Spanish monolingual instruction. However, more research studies highlight the disconnection between the original concept of bilingual education in Mexico and subsequent education policies and implementation of those policies (Rippberger 1993; Francis and Reyhner 2002; King and Schielmann 2004). Rippberger (1993) argued that Mexican bilingual education is organized around the culture and time frame of urban non-Indians. Mexican Indian religious holidays and planting and harvesting seasons are not always taken into consideration by Mexican policymakers and educators. Francis and Andrade (2000) note that there was a gap between bilingual education and biliteracy. Their research argued that the monopolization of written discourse by the Spanish language is the main obstacle for biliteracy and indigenous language development. Becoming biliterate is essential for indigenous students so they can stay in and graduate from schooling at all levels, and especially at the primary education level.

Flore-Crespo's (2007) research illustrated that the inequality and low quality of education for indigenous peoples are related to ethnic original identity. The complicated methods of counting indigenous peoples often affect indigenous people's ethnic identity. In Mexico, self-perception, spoken language, and family background are the main criteria for determining one's indigenous status and in the government labeling people as indigenous in formal counting procedures. Social structures and societal norms that often position indigenous peoples in Mexico as inferior or subordinate, in addition to long-entrenched education policies, lead to many indigenous peoples rejecting their indigenous identities and refusing to speak or study their indigenous languages. Without a solid ethnic footing, other indigenous characteristics soon fade, leading to the loss of one's culture and language.

Taiwan

Taiwan, formerly known as Formosa[7] and officially as the Republic of China (ROC),[8] has a separate political and education system from Mainland China. It

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[7]Most anthropologists, ethnologists, linguists, and archaeologists accept the name "Formosa," which means "beautiful," and originates from Portuguese sailors' initial description of the main island of Taiwan in 1544 (Blussé et al. 1999; Blussé and Everts 2009).

[8]Taiwan Aborigines are Chinese only in the sense that Chinese citizenship was imposed on them by Chang Kai-shek's (蔣介石) Republic of China (ROC) after World War II. The ROC was founded

is home to 16 officially recognized tribes—Amis, Atayal, Bunun, Kanakanavu, Kavalan, Paiwan, Puyuma, Rukai, Saaroa, Saisiat, Sakizaya, Seediq, Tao (or Yami), Thao, Truku, and Tsou—commonly known as Taiwan Aborigines or the indigenous peoples of Taiwan (*yuánzhùmínzu*, 原住民族)[9] (Ministry of Justice 2008; Council of Indigenous Peoples Executive Yuan [CIPEY] 2012). In July 2012, the Austronesians of Formosa had a population of 524,059, consisting of nearly 2.25 % of the total population of 23,268,372 (Department of Household Registration Affairs [DHRA], Ministry of the Interior 2012). In recent years, the Taiwan Aboriginal population grew 6.4 % faster than the national average (Department of Household Registration Affairs 2012). While most Aborigines still reside in predominantly mountainous and plains regions in the central, southern, and eastern parts of the country, there is an increasing trend toward urbanization. In order to secure better employment and education opportunities, a growing number of Taiwan Aborigines migrate to the urban centers mostly located in the western and northern areas of the country. Today, roughly 44 % of all Taiwan Aborigines reside in cities (DHRA 2012). Each Aboriginal tribe has its distinct language; all are classified as being within the Austronesian language family.[10] Linguistic and archaeological evidence suggest Austronesian inhabitation of Formosa for approximately 6,000 years or perhaps more (Bellwood et al. 1995; Bellwood 2009; Bellwood et al. 2011; Li 1997, 2009). Formosa is recognized by some scholars as the ancestral homeland of the Austronesian peoples, who today number some 270 million speakers of related languages, and include many of the indigenous peoples of the Malay Archipelago, many of the Pacific Islands including New Zealand, and Madagascar (Jacob and Chen 2012).

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in 1912 by Sun Yat-sen, his associates, and supportive civilians. At the end of World War II in 1945, Japan yielded Taiwan and associated islands to ROC troops. In the last 3 years of the Chinese civil war, the Communist forces defeated ROC troops on the mainland and established the People's Republic of China in 1949. The ROC thus was forced to relocate its government to Taiwan.

[9]The Campaign for Rectifying the Name of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples started with the establishment of the Alliance of Taiwanese Aborigines (ATA) in 1984 (Parod 2008). The contemporary Austronesians of Formosa successfully rectified their collective name from the derogatory mountain comrades (*shanbao*, 山胞) to the positive Aborigines or indigenous peoples, and the civic, political, economic, and social rights of indigenous people (*yuánzhùmín*, 原住民) were incorporated into the additional articles of the ROC Constitution in 1994. In 1997, the central government amended the Constitution again to formally recognize indigenous peoples, with the final "-s" in English, effectively safeguarding their collective rights. Compared with some scholars' perspectives, we recognize that most literature on Austronesian studies about Taiwan indicates that anthropologists, linguists, archaeologists, and ethnologists prefer to refer to the indigenous peoples of Taiwan as *Austronesians of Formosa* compared to Taiwan Aborigines or the indigenous peoples of Taiwan (Blundell 2009). Despite this formal name, we choose to use the more widely-used term Taiwan Aborigines in reference to the indigenous peoples of Taiwan.

[10]The Austronesian language family, also known as the Malayo-Polynesian languages, has over 700 distinct languages and is spoken from Madagascar to Easter Island, and Hawaii to New Zealand. Today some 270 million people speak at least one Austronesian language (Bellwood 2009, pp. 336–364).

Since the Kuomintang (KMT, 國民黨)[11] arrived in Taiwan in 1946, the Ministry of Education has taken substantial interest in Aboriginal education. The vitality of Aboriginal languages, the status of cultural preservation, and the dynamics of identity politics profoundly affect the formation and reformation of Aboriginal education policies. Aboriginal education policies have changed over the past 60 years, from more aggressive assimilation policies similar to others already discussed in this paper, to what the government calls the "Identity Building Stage" (Ministry of Education, ROC [TMOE] 2010a). In 1996, the Council of Aboriginal Affairs[12] was established in Taiwan and in 1998 the *Education Act for Indigenous Peoples* was passed as the fundamental law to promote nationwide Aboriginal education (TMOE 2010b).

The Ministry of Education is actively pursuing ways by which the government can support Aboriginal education. Some of these include preferential treatment and efforts to help preserve indigenous cultures and heritage. Initial preferential score policies[13] for Aboriginal students entering secondary schools and higher education institutions received somewhat of a backlash from dominant ethnic Han students and their parents, who viewed the policy as unfair and unequal treatment (Wang 2007). Prior to 2002, indigenous students qualified based on their blood lineage. After 2002, the government introduced a new policy requiring Aboriginal students to pass a Culture and Language Proficiency Test in order to qualify for the preferential score. Chung-Cheng Pu (2002, p. 65) mentioned that the Culture and Language Proficiency Test is the "cultural evidence" necessary for Aboriginal students to qualify for the preferential score, and only such evidence can simultaneously encourage Aboriginals to learn their own languages and cultures. The former Chairman of the Council of Aboriginal Affairs, Juhani Isca Kraft, also argued that Aboriginal students who have passed the Culture and Language Proficiency Test can enjoy the preferential entrance treatment, the purpose of which is to encourage the younger generation of Aboriginal students and their parents to place a greater value on learning their indigenous languages (Shih 2005).

Students who attend Aboriginal schools have more opportunities to learn in their native language from Grades 1–12 than those who do not study in Aboriginal schools. The only exception is if the principal of a non-Aboriginal school is willing to financially support Aboriginal students with a budget for hiring native speaking teachers, buying tribal language materials, and providing evaluations in

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[11]The Kuomintang of China (KMT) from 1912 onwards, translated as the Chinese Nationalist Party, was one of the dominant parties of the early Republic of China, and remains one of the main political parties in modern Taiwan. Its guiding ideology advocated by Sun Yat-sen is the Three Principles of the People. It is currently the ruling party in Taiwan, and holds most seats in the Legislative Yuan (Cabinet).

[12]The Council of Aboriginal Affairs was renamed Council of Indigenous Peoples on 4 January 2002.

[13]Preferential policies are comparable in some ways to affirmative action admissions policies in some US higher education institutions.

the native language. In some primary schools, the principal provides funding for these indigenous education services. Higher education entrance examinations are offered to Aboriginal students in their native language with preferential score allotments for Aboriginal ethnic status.

Education provides both opportunities and threats to the survival of Taiwan Aboriginal languages, cultures, and identities. Significant societal pressures cause many Aborigines to leave their ancestral homelands for more opportunities in urban centers. Those who succeed in the formal education system often attend higher education institutions and pursue lives within the advanced Taiwan economy. Most jobs are not in traditional Aboriginal tribal homelands, however. To succeed in secondary and higher education, Aborigines must first gain mastery of the Chinese language. In many cases, this Chinese language emphasis causes Aborigines to not necessarily recognize the value of gaining or maintaining fluency in their own tribal languages.

Education policies both support and discourage Aboriginal participation in higher education. For instance, Aborigines can be given an extra score on their college entrance examination results if they choose to declare their indigenous status. However, many with mixed Han or majority Han blood choose not to be considered an "Aborigine" and instead identify themselves as part of the Han majority. This identity shift is rarely reversed and leads to a slow assimilation of toward the dominant group.

Many Aboriginal parents do not speak their tribal language in their homes. There are several reasons for this, including the possibility that they are not fluent themselves or in many cases they want to emphasize the importance of speaking Chinese so that their children can do well in school and eventually in society (Cheng and Jacob 2008). Indigenous genocide is a current phenomenon of Taiwan as it is in each of the other case country examples in this paper.

Most higher education opportunities for Aboriginal students are in vocational and technical areas of employment, including nursing, teaching, and the arts. There are a few graduate programs in indigenous studies at Taiwan higher education institutions but those who graduate from these programs rarely continue in a job related to their degree. Rather, they pursue jobs in mainstream society or return and seek employment in their tribal village. Most Aboriginal students who pursue a higher education degree in the major universities struggle because of the language barrier and because they are residing in a place far from home and their social support network of friends and family. These factors often lead to discouragement and in some cases Aboriginal higher education students simply drop out prior to graduation.

Uganda

Land-locked and located along the equator in East Africa, Uganda is bordered by Kenya, Southern Sudan, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, and Tanzania. With a population of approximately 31 million, Uganda is comprised of 61 different

ethnic groups. The total population of the ethnic minority groups is 160,799 or 0.7 % of the total population, with Asians making up the largest nonindigenous group (Republic of Uganda 2008). With over 50 languages recognized in the national constitution, Uganda is rich in diversity, where many different communities have respected norms, cultures, beliefs, and practices. There are two major language divisions: the Northern and Eastern Regions are dominated by speakers of Sudanic and Nilotic languages, and the Western and Central Regions are predominantly speakers of Bantu languages (UNESCO 2008).

Indigenous education in Uganda differs from each of the other four countries in this paper. The indigenous peoples constitute the overwhelming majority, though no single ethnic group can claim even 20 % of the total population. The Baganda (18 % of the total population), Banyankole (10 %), and Bahima (10 %) are the three largest indigenous ethnic groups in Uganda. In this East African context, indigenous education is geared toward the majority of the population. But problems exist in Ugandan education despite their overwhelming indigenous majority. With so many disparate groups, the government deals with a vast network of public and private schools at all levels. Many schools are owned and operated by religious sponsoring organizations. There are also for-profit, non-profit, and government-sponsored schools (Jacob et al. 2008). All follow a centralized curriculum, but accountability to the government and quality of instruction varies at all levels. Poverty is a key barrier that hinders the progress of indigenous education in Uganda today. The worldwide AIDS epidemic, which for many years had its initial epicenter in East and Central Africa, has devastated families and communities throughout the country. The AIDS epidemic threatened many social sectors including the government's single largest body of employees—teachers, administrators, and other education staff members in the education sector. Fortunately, the HIV adult prevalence rate has declined since the early 1990s, with an adult prevalence rate of 5 % in 2000, and an increase to 6.7 % in 2011, and 7.4 % in 2012 (Morisky et al. 2006; Uganda AIDS Commission 2012; UNAIDS 2014). HIV education has played an instrumental role in helping to initially curb the epidemic nationwide, but the resurgence in the prevalence rate highlights the fact that the epidemic has generalized and needs recurrent emphasis from stakeholders and development partners at all levels (Jacob et al. 2006).

Although Uganda is a multilingual society, none of its indigenous languages are recognized as a national language. In contrast, English remains the only official language, a clear reminder of its colonial past. This official language policy has direct implications for indigenous education in Uganda. One of the most important language policies that recognizes and provides multilingual literacy is contained in the Government of Uganda's (1992) *White Paper on Education*. UNESCO's (2008) report identified the child's mother tongue was the primary language of instruction in most schools for initial literacy and instruction during the first 3 years of primary education. The fourth year is generally characterized by a transition to English. This language-in-education policy allows both dominant and minority languages to be used for instruction in the early schooling years.

However, Juliet Tembe and Bonny Norton (2008) argued that the *White Paper* had noticeably different policies in rural and urban areas. As the majority of

Ugandans (over 80 %) live in rural settings, there is a context in which people who speak the same language live in close proximity. However, increasing rural-to-urban migration results in a multilingual society. Against this background, the *White Paper* stipulates that in rural areas the "relevant local languages" would be the medium of instruction in Primary 1–4 (Grades 1–4) and that English would be taught as a subject until Primary 5, when it becomes the medium of instruction. In urban areas, English would be the medium of instruction from Primary 1 onward, with the "local language" taught as a subject. Kiswahili, "as the language possessing greater capacity for uniting Ugandans and for assisting rapid social development" (United Nations 1992, p. 19), would be taught as a compulsory subject in both rural and urban schools from Primary 4 to Primary 7.

Over time this policy created a common dilemma faced by schools in both rural and urban areas. As mentioned above, people in both rural and urban locations generally expressed a positive attitude toward a policy promoting local language use in education to help maintain indigenous culture and identity. However, since there are various languages spoken in differing regions, it is difficult for many schools to select a relevant local language for their students (Majola 2006; Tembe and Norton 2008). The costs of producing textbooks in each indigenous language are impractical for an already over-stretched Ministry of Education and Sports. Whereas some scholars provide valid criticisms because African governments fail to provide a greater number of native language instruction to students attending primary school (Brock-Utne 2000), it is difficult for many governments like the Uganda case to provide textbooks in even the official national language. Indigenous language instruction is discontinued at the secondary education level. Many Ugandans attend boarding schools at this level, making it especially challenging to continue mother-tongue instruction when so many students come together to attend one school from all regions of the country.

Besides the lack of funding for developing relevant local language teaching/learning materials and training qualified teachers, there is another interesting point related to the general desire of parents and the local community for their children to learn the nonindigenous English language. English is considered a tool that enables children to interact at an international level and obtain a high-salary job. Tembe and Norton (2008) recognized this linguistic dilemma in Ugandan education. Whereas a primary goal for the government and many Ugandans is to maintain the culture, language, and identity of people from Uganda's many different ethnic groups, society is sometimes pushing against this goal. More could be done to convince parents that indigenous language instruction in schools will not compromise their desire for their children's access to the global village.

United States

Similar to the Taiwan case, American Indians and Alaska Natives comprise less than 2 % of the total US population and share other characteristics similar to

Taiwan Aborigines (Cheng and Jacob 2007). In 2000, there were approximately 4.1 million American Indians and Alaska Natives living in the United States (Ogunwole 2002). This number was 2.0 million in the 1990 U.S. Census. As C. Matthew Snipp (1992) pointed out in his research, the Native American population has rebounded throughout the twentieth century, and particularly since 1950, there has been extraordinary growth.

Assimilation of American Indians[14] into mainstream society in the past two centuries—or the intentional "Americanization" of Native Americans—often led to negative experiences as the Native American Policy Review Commission concluded. This organization observed that both Native American men and women suffered from inadequate and sometimes inappropriate education. This remained unchanged until the 1960s. It was during this civil rights era that two reports were produced by the Commission: *National Study of American Indian Education: The Education of Indian Children and Youth* and *Indian Education: A National Tragedy—A National Challenge*. The former pointed out that the primary importance of Native American education was to re-evaluate goals in terms defined by indigenous peoples themselves. The latter found that both public schools and the federal American Indian education system had continued the impossible policy of turning Native American children into Whites (Woodcock and Alwiye 2001). These landmark publications awakened the government to reconsider its education policy for Native Americans. In 1975, the *Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act* greatly facilitated participation, self-governance, and the operation of education programs by Native Americans. And the *Educational Amendments Act* of 1978 resulted in decision-making powers being granted to indigenous school boards, enabling the local hiring of teachers and staff, and direct funding to Bureau of Indian Affairs and Indian-controlled contract schools.

Nevertheless, Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder (2004) pointed out that the *Self-Determination Act* did not change the situation of education for indigenous students. The average Native American student's achievement was far below that of most non-indigenous students. And generally they did not receive a high-quality education. More seriously, the Indian language teaching in schools was limited to less than an hour a day, and usually did not go beyond the level of teaching basic vocabulary, counting, greetings, and so forth (Francis and Reyhner 2002). Even though in 1990 the *Native American Language Act* demonstrated the federal government's

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[14]The terms *Native American* and *American Indian* are often used interchangeably and both are considered politically correct. While neither term has been universally adopted, the former emerged more recently in the 1960s and 1970s. The *Chicago Manual of Style* provides this guidance note to authors: "Many American Indians prefer *American Indians* to the more current term *Native Americans*, and in certain historical works *Indians* may be more appropriate" (University of Chicago Press 2003, p. 325). This statement is in concordance with findings from a 1995 Current Population Survey conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau, where roughly half of American Indian, Alaska Native, and Aleut respondents preferred the term *American Indian*; another 37.35 % preferred the term *Native American* (Tucker and Kojetin 1996, p. 5). Whenever possible, we strive to refer to American Indians by their tribal names (e.g., Seneca, Shoshone, Ute, etc.).

willingness to help preserve, protect, and promote the rights and freedoms of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop indigenous languages, it did not provide funding to teach indigenous languages. The Indian Nations at Risk Task Force found that one of the reasons for Indian Nations' risk was that schools had discouraged the use of indigenous languages. The inevitable, even if unintentional consequence of this lack of linguistic support is the eventual demise of hundreds of indigenous languages in the United States. As a result of early assimilation education policies, the language, culture, and identity base of many Native Americans are rapidly eroding.

A bilingual education program that started in 1968 no longer exists in the United States. In 1984, the amendment of the *Native American Language Act* developed into three methods, including maintenance, transitional, and immersion bilingual education programs. As Reyhner and Eder (2004) introduced, maintenance bilingual programs developed children's native as well as English-language speaking abilities. Transitional bilingual programs are designed to teach English to minority language students and to improve their English speaking. The first two programs referred to the long-term role of the first language in education, while immersion referred to the way in which the second language was taught. Then instruction in English is quickly phased in to so as to transition to a stage where all instruction is in English by Grade 4.

Title VII of the *No Child Left Behind Act* of 2001 outlines the government's current education policy on Indian, Native Hawaiian, and Alaska Native Education. It also affirms the government's commitment to provide quality education to students, professional development for existing teachers and administrators, and "also the unique educational and culturally related academic needs of these children." The *NCLB Act* emphasizes the need to focus on reading while at the same time preserving local cultures: "they are not mutually exclusive," President George W. Bush (2004, p. 712) said, "they go hand in hand."

Despite the optimistic indigenous education policy in the United States as outlined in the *NCLB Act*, the policy has also received considerable criticisms for requiring educational accountability and improvement for Native Americans, Alaska Natives, and other students (Dillon 2008; Zehr 2008). Much of the NCLB research has rightly focused on Title I and the testing requirements, which have encouraged educators to focus predominantly on English, reading, mathematics, and science subjects.

Many original aspects of Native American cultures, languages, and traditions "have been lost as a result of the oppression accompanied with colonization, modernization, and globalization" (Jacob and Bradshaw 2009, p. 105). Many Native American languages are no longer spoken and traditional knowledge is also meeting a similar fate. Among the majority of the 564 federally-recognized tribes there are only a few living elders who can still speak their native languages fluently. They belong to smaller tribes; their children either did not have a sufficient chance to interact with other tribal elders or they no longer wanted to continue the tradition of their parents (including learning their parents' native tongue). And these last remaining native speakers are usually seniors; when they die, their native language—and

all aspects of living culture, traditions, and in many cases indigenous knowledge—will die with them. In several tribes, the linguistic genocide is already complete with no remaining native speakers of their respective native languages living.

Conclusion

According to UNESCO's Dakar Framework regarding Education for All, there are still millions of people who are denied their right to education. Indigenous peoples are among the most affected and disadvantaged of all peoples on the earth. They have often been characterized by a lack of access to an education that respects their diverse cultures and languages (King and Schielmann 2004; UNESCO 2000). As we discussed above, there is a positive trend in what legislative developments around the world have achieved in recent decades. And there is an increasing recognition of indigenous people's educational and linguistic rights. However, governments are also facing difficulties regarding the translation of those regulations or policies into actions.

There is a worldwide trend of the promotion of bilingual or multilingual education for indigenous people. However, as discussed above, there is also a trend that the promotion of the majority languages is viewed by most government policy makers as a priority over multilingual or bilingual education. Unfortunately, this narrow political vision often leads to an intended, and in some cases unintended, indigenous genocide of local languages, cultures, and identities. Native language acquisition contributes to the preservation of specific cultures, histories, and identities. Hence, it is essential for government leaders to promote indigenous languages as a priority in the education of indigenous peoples. Furthermore, with the increasing global pressure to learn the English language, indigenous peoples will need to determine how best to preserve their own indigenous languages. The increasing demand for English learning from indigenous peoples requires a greater cooperation between government policy makers and educators and indigenous leaders, community members, students, and parents of students.

The indigenous education curriculum serves as the basic guideline for preservation of indigenous languages, cultures, and identities through the formal education system. In most cases, indigenous peoples are not fully involved or they are even excluded from the curriculum development decision-making process. In many countries, national curricula have little relevance to indigenous peoples. Therefore, it is essential to know how to design a relevant indigenous education curriculum and ensure that indigenous peoples participate in the curriculum development phase for ownership, buy-in, and self-determination. Simultaneously, it is necessary to utilize local human resources to participate in the process of teaching and learning.

Indigenous education is at the heart of many policy debate issues in so very many countries. Chief among these debates are existing and past indigenous education policies related to the preservation of indigenous languages, cultures, and identities. Indigenous education also faces other difficult issues, such as a lack of sufficient

funding, lack of qualified teachers and learning materials, lack of human resources, lack of a relevant environment for using indigenous knowledge, limited access to higher education for indigenous peoples, conflicts between indigenous religions and politics, and the dilemma between modernization and globalization pressures and traditional preservation. At the beginning of the twenty-first century and with a topic as important as indigenous education, it is crucial for both government and indigenous communities to collaborate together in order to provide innovative and relevant approaches which can help protect and promote indigenous languages, cultures, and identities. Since education is a universal human right, indigenous education should also be a human right and be designed with, by, and for indigenous peoples.

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Chapter 3
ICT and Indigenous Education: Emerging Challenges and Potential Solutions

Rebecca A. Clothey

Abstract This chapter takes a broad look at the ways in which Information and Communication Technology (ICT) has been utilized to expand access to education for previously underserved populations. At the same time, the chapter raises new challenges to meet educational needs, particularly those of indigenous populations, by discussing ICT use for professional development and cultural preservation. The chapter describes the need for maintaining respect for diverse classroom communities, producing culturally appropriate web-based educational materials in multiple languages, and building upon a community's unique cultural customs and strengths. The chapter concludes that further research, evaluation, and policies are needed in order to make technology a viable solution for promoting indigenous knowledge.

Keywords Information and communication technology • ICT • Indigenous languages • Cultural preservation • Media use

Approximately 5 % of the world's population is among the indigenous population, representing an estimated 370 million people. These indigenous groups speak more than 5,000 languages in over 70 countries on six continents, which includes almost 75 % of all languages believed to exist (UNESCO 2011b). However, many indigenous people have limited access to basic social services such as education, and these often do not take into account the cultural values and traditions of indigenous people. Indigenous people are also disproportionately poverty-stricken (United Nations 1997). Furthermore, estimates suggest that approximately 600 languages have disappeared in the last century and continue to disappear at the rate of one language every 2 weeks. Approximately 3,000 of the world's languages are endangered across the globe. If this trend continues, it is expected that as much as 90 % of the world's languages will disappear before the end of this century (UNESCO 2011a).

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To address these challenges, the United Nations promotes developing educational and training programs for indigenous peoples as a top priority. Indeed, education has been identified in nations worldwide as a means by which to develop the local human resources and skilled expertise needed to facilitate economic development. Despite this, however, educational disparities continue, and literacy rates remain lowest worldwide among indigenous, linguistic, ethnic, religious, and other minority groups (Bühmann and Trudell 2008).

As the global commitment to educational access has been established, so too have new technologies been developed that hold tremendous promise for expanding education's reach. The potential of technology to expand education access beyond national borders has resulted in innovative ways to deliver educational programming that can reach remote and underrepresented groups such as indigenous populations. Perhaps for this reason, the potential connection between information and communications technology (ICT), education, and national economic development goals has been enthusiastically promoted by both international agencies and national governments.

There is no question that the Internet and mobile communications have revolutionized the way people access and distribute information on a global scale. Distance learning, open source courseware, e-books, wikis, and many other innovative technologies have forever affected the field of education by providing the capacity to connect any topic in any discipline to any learner in any place, thus greatly expanding opportunities for educational access. This new reality also provides vastly expanded possibilities for international collaboration, knowledge building, sharing of best practices, and new ways to teach. However, even as new modes of providing education proliferate, the digital divide continues to grow, raising new issues regarding effective ways in which to apply technology solutions to expand educational access.

This chapter takes a broad look at ways in which ICT has been utilized to expand access to education for previously underserved populations. At the same time, the chapter raises new challenges to meet educational needs, particularly those of indigenous populations, by discussing ICT use for professional development and cultural preservation. The chapter concludes that further research, evaluation, and policies are needed in order to make technology a viable solution for promoting indigenous knowledge.

Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and Educational Resources: New Opportunities But Old Challenges

Legislation concerning technology-based education is now one of the predominant global policy issues across industrialized nations (Selwyn et al. 2001). Similarly, international agencies such as the United Nations Development Programme

(UNDP) promotes ICT as an enabler to address socio-economic concerns, and UNESCO advocates ICT for facilitating access to education for remote populations and for developing literacy and promoting cultural preservation among indigenous populations.

Internet technology in particular has been advocated for its potential to broaden the reach of education beyond the brick and mortar confines of schools. In fact, the governments of many countries have supported distance education as a means for promoting greater educational access and distance learning is becoming more commonplace across many educational sectors. The growth in online distance learning as a viable means of educational delivery has coincided with the expansion of technology use across the world. Internet World Stats (2011) reports that there was a 440.4 % growth in Internet usage throughout the world during the decade of 2000–2011, with a 78 % Internet penetration rate across North America in 2010. Currently Asia accounts for 44 % of the total world Internet usage (Internet World Stats 2011), and Asia also has the largest number of adult online learners in the world (Latchem and Jung 2010).

The development of open courseware has further expanded education's reach. Open CourseWare (OCW), through which free content is placed on the Internet for access by the general public has made a multitude of educational resources available that educators can utilize in their own classrooms as supplemental materials and resources. These are also available to individuals who wish to expand their own educational horizons. The OCW initiative has been led by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), which since its inception in 2001 has placed more than 2,000 of its classes online, sharing them with over 100 million individuals. MIT specifically states their goal over the next decade as being "to make open educational resources like MIT Open CourseWare the tools to bridge the global gap between human potential and opportunity, so that motivated people everywhere can improve their lives and change the world" (MIT OpenCourseWare n.d., p. 1). To facilitate this, MIT's OCW materials have been translated into at least 10 languages in which courses are also available for free. These include Spanish, Portuguese, Chinese (simplified and traditional), French, German, Thai, Turkish, Persian, Vietnamese, and Ukrainian.

Free open course management systems similarly provide possibilities for student collaborations across borders. Open source course management systems such as Moodle and Sakai provide a free platform through which institutions and individuals can place course materials online. Because these two platforms enable interactivity between users, many tertiary institutions have adopted one or the other as an inexpensive means of providing online courses, as opposed to using a well-known but fee-based Learning Management System such as Blackboard. As of spring 2011 Moodle claimed 43,019,887 registered users in 212 countries, with 4,528,187 courses and 72,733,537 quiz questions (Moodle n.d.). A glance at Sakai's website reveals that prestigious US universities, including Columbia, Johns Hopkins, and Stanford, are among those institutions.

As of 2008 more than 100 universities worldwide were placing free content online, and 5,000 free online classes are now available through institutions in the

United States, Japan, Vietnam, and India, among others (Bonk 2009). These trends, as well as pedagogical and technological innovations, have increased the potential for interaction and collaborative work in distance learning.

Nevertheless, even free technology is useless if infrastructure to use it remain inadequate. A look at the inconsistency of both ICT and Internet availability from one region to another makes this point evident. For example, the 2010–2011 Global Information Technology Report, which assesses the "the conduciveness of national environments for ICT development and diffusion," did not rank a single Latin American country in the top 20, and most countries of sub-Saharan Africa ranked at the bottom of the scale (Dutta and Mia 2011).

Moreover, while a UNESCO (2010) report shows that the penetration of computers in high-income countries is quite high (an average of 67 computers per 100 people); the penetration is still low in many parts of the world. In Eastern European, Central Asian and Latin American countries there are 11 computers per 100 people; in East Asian, Pacific, Middle Eastern and North African countries there are 6 per 100. In South Asian and Sub-Saharan African countries, penetration is particularly low, with only 3 per 100 and 2 per 100, respectively (UNESCO Institute of Statistics 2010).

Differences are even greater for Internet access. Almost 80 % of the world's Internet users are located in Europe, Asia, or North America (Internet World Stats 2011). In many places, this divide is also prevalent within countries, where rural areas commonly have poorer ICT infrastructure than urban areas. China, for example, has a 30 % Internet penetration, with over 500 million users (Kan 2012). However, rural users account for a mere 1.2 % of that total (McQuaide 2009). As a large proportion of China's ethnic minority population lives in rural areas, the problem of promoting educational access through ICT for communities that have already been marginalized within the school system becomes apparent.

Similarly, although information technology has been recognized as a means for sustaining development in India, the International Energy Agency reported in 2010 that more people in India lack access to *electricity* than any other nation, where 404 million people nationwide remained without electricity in 2010 (Remme et al. 2011). In addition, while India claims only 0.37 of the overall population as Internet users, more than two thirds of these users reside in the nation's capital city of New Delhi, or in one of India's state capitals. One third of these users are from one of only two cities, either New Delhi or Mumbai (Chandrasekhar et al. 2004).

The U.S. Census also shows a technology divide among users in the United States in terms of income, race, ethnicity, and location. Though the number of Internet users in the United States increased between the years of 2000–2010 from 44 % to 77 % of the population (Internet World Stats 2011), only about 3-in-10 people with a household income below US$25,000 have a computer and 2-in-10 have Internet access. In contrast, 9-in-10 families earning annual incomes of US$75,000 or more have at least one computer, and about 8-in-10 have at least one household member who uses the Internet at home (Clothey 2008).

A similar gap is evident in Internet use between race and ethnicity in the United States. The U.S. Census Bureau Current Population Survey estimated in 2009 that

about 47 % of Hispanic and 45 % of African American households still have no Internet access at home, as compared with only 29 % of White and 19 % of Asian households without Internet access (Census Bureau for the Bureau of Labor Statistics 2009). This demonstrates that poor minority populations are among the least likely to have access to ICT, even in a comparatively wealthy nation such as the United States.

Across the world ICT infrastructure is also impacted by other factors such as government regulations and war. Internet development in Afghanistan, Iraq, and East Timor has been severely hindered by armed conflict, and in Myanmar, public Internet access is officially restricted to all but a few individuals (Latchem and Jung 2010). In China, the Internet was officially blocked in the ethnic minority region of Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region for almost a year after ethnic strife and protests occurred in the area in 2009.

Nevertheless, in many education settings where ICT resources are adequate, a common issue is that proper training on how to utilize the technology is not available. UNESCO (2011a) notes lack of technology training and support, and a shortage of teachers with IT skills as being among the most important causes for digital exclusion among indigenous populations. Jayson Richardson and Scott McLeod's 2011 study on Native American schools in the United States found in addition to these challenges that lack of leadership on technology initiatives within schools is also a key issue (Richardson and McLeod 2011).

ICT, Language and Cultural Barriers

However, Richardson (2009) also reminds us that the digital divide is not solely about whether individuals have access to the Internet. It also involves the ability of the end users to access and apply information to create new knowledge (Richardson 2009). There are therefore many issues of access that even better technology infrastructure and training resources cannot address.

Some of the most challenging are those related to language and culture. For example, the top two most used languages on the Internet are English and Chinese, together comprising more than half of the total number of websites, and 82 % of all websites are in one of only ten of the world's languages (IWS 2011). However, there are 6,000 languages across the world, and most of these do not appear on the Internet at all.

A 2005 UNESCO study found that 80 % of all web pages hosted on African domains were written in English. African languages accounted for only about 1.3 % of the more than one million web pages examined in the study. The study also found that some of Africa's major languages were absent from the Internet altogether (Fantognon et al. 2005). In Southeast Asia the diverse population utilizes some 15–20 different written scripts; in China there are an estimated 80–100 languages, spoken by some 55 different officially recognized ethnic minority populations. These languages use many different written scripts, and some do not have written

scripts at all (Clothey 2005). In any case, many of the major software packages are currently incapable of producing letters or characters for some local languages, meaning that providing a culturally relevant curriculum online for a linguistic minority student population may present an impossible challenge to overcome.

Translation software has made it possible to convert websites from one of various languages into another using free Internet based tools. Babylon's free software, for example, claims a database of over 1,400 dictionaries and glossaries, in more than 80 languages (Babylon 2011). Indigenous and/or linguistic minority languages included among those that Babylon supports are Basque, Quechua, and Maori. Another well-known free Internet-based translation software is Google Translate. Google Translates' stated goal "is to break down the language barrier, all the time, everywhere." Indeed, currently Google Translate offers language support in 58 languages with an additional 7 "alpha" languages, which are currently being worked on for translation purposes and which consequently may have less reliable translations (Google Translate n.d.). However, even with the wide variety of translation software available, it is still impossible to find translation software for the majority of the world's languages, especially those spoken by linguistic minorities and indigenous populations, some of which include fewer than 20 speakers and are in danger of becoming extinct in a globalizing world.

Cultural practices may also impact the way individuals interact in online settings. Sedef Uzuner (2009, p. 5) describes numerous studies that show students' cultural differences may impact the way they interact, even in online settings, and cause them to experience "feelings of isolation, alienation, and dissonance out of conflict with the dominant educational culture." While these findings also support the research on cultural differences in face-to-face classrooms (see, for example, Spradlin and Parsons 2008), they also contradict common assumptions about online learning. More specifically, they contradict the assumption that online learning is beneficial among socially diverse groups because of the inability within an online course to differentiate students' gender, ethnic or racial differences unless they are explicitly stated (see Clothey 2008).

For this reason, Lucas Walsh (2007) discusses the necessity of creating culturally relevant programming in online settings. According to Walsh, educational providers of technology-based educational programs attempt to "remove" the cultural specificity of content in order to make a course universally applicable. However, as he also notes, most e-Learning frameworks and software packages tend to be developed in the English language, and originate in North America. Walsh (2007, p. 202) suggests that similarly to how European education models were used across cultures during the colonial era, so too are Western e-learning models applied to different societies with "little thought of the cultural compatibility of their pedagogical frameworks." Ignoring the local cultures, he argues, does damage to the target population and may also lead to challenges in future efforts to implement educational innovations.

To add to this complexity, although developing countries have 80 % of the world's population, they have just 5 % of the world's Internet hosts. In contrast, North America has only 5 % of the population, and 65 % of the world's Internet

hosts (Bjarnason 2007). This means that not only are most software packages created in English, as noted, but most of the world's Internet content is also created in North America. Judy Iseke-Barnes and Deborah Danard (2007) argue that this results in the reproduction of indigenous stereotypes, which are perpetuated through the Internet by the dominant culture that creates them. As they put it, the dominant culture "retains the right and holds the power to define, classify and reduce cultural groups to stereotypes" (Iseke-Barnes and Danard 2007, p. 34). Despite these studies, culture remains an underexplored facet of instructional design and technology use (Young 2008).

Cultural Preservation

Although language and culture do present challenges to creating equal access to ICT and ICT based educational programming, the same technology also has potential to promote cultural preservation. Technology is also being promoted in some circles for this purpose.

An example is among the Tibetan community, which is indigenous to a western region of present-day China. Due to political, economic, and societal changes, aspects of Tibetan society have changed to the point that some cultural traditions are all but unknown to the younger generation. To confront this, Tsering Wangmo, a second-generation Tibetan exile born in a refugee camp in India, founded the Tibetan Cultural Preservation Project in 1999 through the Cultural Conservancy. Between 1998 and 2003 the Tibetan Cultural Preservation Project preserved and restored some Tibetan cultural traditions by recording and documenting the traditional stories, songs, and dance styles of Tibetan elders. The organization's culminating project was production of a "Kongpo Songbook and CD" compilation, which documented in written and audio format nearly 100 traditional songs from the Kongpo, a Tibetan region known for its artistic talent. These songs had never been previously recorded and were in danger of being lost with the passing of the elder population from that region. The CD was freely distributed to approximately 100 Tibetan organizations throughout the world to serve as an archive and resource for the cultural traditions of Kongo (Tibetan Cultural Preservation Project 2010).

Asian Highlands Perspectives similarly promotes cultural preservation and education about culture. It is an online journal encouraging submissions that allow readers to "better hear and understand voices from the highlands of Asia relating their experiences" (Stuart et al. 2009, p. 3). The journal, which is jointly edited by two westerners and a Tibetan and an American, aims to enrich readers' knowledge of the area. Each issue features an array of material on various cultural traditions, including studies of songs, jokes, rituals, medicine, rites of passage, agricultural practices, language, religion, and art, among others. Scholars from the relevant local communities, "who lack access to educational systems emphasizing theory and analysis" are particularly encouraged to contribute articles (p. 3).

The two examples described above demonstrate two ways that indigenous people have reclaimed technology to promote preservation of and education about their own cultures. In the first case, audio recordings of Tibetan songs that might otherwise have been lost were made in order to educate people about their own cultural traditions. In the second case, the journal gives a voice to people of indigenous populations, encourages sharing of ideas, and informs the wider population about the cultural traditions of the authors who contribute.

Use of ICT to Target Underserved and Indigenous Populations

The fact that technology is constantly changing means that there continue to be new possibilities for providing educational access. A shift in focus to how best to utilize the technology available in the local context may reframe some of the challenges to surmounting the digital divide. In many parts of the world, tried and true technologies such as television and radio are much more prevalent than a computer might be.

Meyers, for example, points out that radio is "still the dominant mass-medium in Africa with the widest geographical reach and the highest audiences compared with television (TV), newspapers and other information and communication technologies (ICTs)" (Myers 2008, p. 1). Radio is also recommended by international agencies as a more appropriate means than the Internet for disseminating information to indigenous populations because the language issues specific to software are not pertinent with radio, which relies on audio transmission and not text.

Furthermore, even in some of the world's poorest and most remote communities, mobile phones are widely used. For example, although Asia has relatively low Internet penetration overall, it has one billion of the world's 2.7 billion mobile users, and the world's fastest growth in number of subscribers. Cambodia, which is one of the world's least developed nations, has the lowest Internet penetration rate in Southeast Asia and few landlines, but it also has the highest call rates. Cambodia also has the world's highest ratio of telephone users using wireless (Latchem and Jung 2010). Similarly, about one third of the population of the African continent had a mobile phone subscription by 2009, as opposed to only 8.7 % using the Internet through desktop computers (Ng'andwe 2010). In fact, a chief executive officer for a telecommunications company based in Kenya claims that Africa is the fastest growing cellular market in the world (Mutume 2003). This means that these tools have promise for targeting underserved populations, with a tool they are already familiar with and use frequently. This is illustrated in Table 3.1, which shows a comparison of media use in randomly selected countries. Note that in almost every country, the number of radios exceeds the number of computers and televisions, and in most countries, the number of cell phone subscriptions far exceeds that of personal computers.

In fact, there are numerous projects sponsored by governments and non-governmental agencies that have focused on using technology to specifically target

Table 3.1 Comparison of media use in different countries

	Personal computers	Televisions	Mobile phone subscribers	Radios
Argentina	3,200,000	7,950,000	22,100,000	24,300,000
China	52,990,000	219,000,000	393,428,000	417,000,000
India	17,000,000	63,000,000	90,000,000	116,000,000
Nigeria	867,000	6,900,000	18,587,000	23,500,000
Peru	2,800,000	3,060,000	5,583,356	6,650,000
United Kingdom	35,890,000	30,500,000	65,500,000	84,500,000
United States	223,810,000	400,000,000	201,650,000	575,000,000
Zimbabwe	1,200,000	370,000	699,000	1,1400,000

Source: Data compiled from Media Statistics (2012)

underserved and indigenous groups. What is said to be the largest ICT project in the world up to now is the result of a UNDP partnership with the government of China. The Distance Education Project for Rural Schools (DEPRS) was a US$9,400,000, 5-year teacher professional development program implemented in 2003 in rural parts of southwestern China, where large populations of ethnic minorities live.

Although like many nations China has prioritized raising the qualifications of teachers as part of its educational development strategy, poor and rural parts of western China, in particular, offer fewer opportunities for professional development due to funding constraints. At the same time, people in the rural western regions, where more than half of the counties in China are under the poverty line, have less access to even basic education and have illiteracy rates higher than the national average (McQuaide 2009).

To address this challenge, the Chinese government proposed in 2003 to implement a distance education program in rural schools in order to promote "educational resource exchanges between urban centers and rural areas and to enhance the quality and effectiveness of education in the countryside" (McQuaide 2009, p. 5). The DEPRS employed three models of distance teacher training and targeted teachers in rural areas, particularly ethnic/language minority teachers. The goal was to increase teacher qualifications in poorer rural areas in three western provinces of China while concurrently strengthening capacity in distance education and ICT as a vehicle for professional development of such teachers (McQuaide 2009).

The project was significant not only in size and scope, but also in that it utilized technology more common in rural areas of China, a combination of television, radio, and DVDs. Each distance delivery model included DVD lessons recorded by nationally recognized teachers who specialize in language, mathematics, and other subjects. In addition, two of the models were supported by 11-h long daily education broadcasts by the education channel of Chinese Central Television, titled *Air Classroom*. The Central Bureau of Audio-Visual Education also provided teaching resources through radio broadcasts. Only one of the models utilized Web-based educational programs; in this case, training on how to use multi-media was also provided to the participating teachers. However, even after the training, 38 %

of the teachers who were now able to use Word and PowerPoint still claimed to lack the ability to operate more sophisticated software (McQuaide 2009). In addition, the project was criticized by the teachers because the pre-recorded materials had not been adapted to the local environment, and therefore was not appropriate for the ethnic minority population for which it was developed.

The use of mobile devices to provide educational content, or so-called "mobile learning," or "M–learning," is another alternative that has emerged with the prevalence of mobile phones. M–learning makes course-related materials accessible through smart phones, cell phones, or other portable technologies such as iPods or mp3 players. This means of educational transmission has a great deal of potential through a device that is already commonly in use, even in remote and developing areas. M-learning also might require less training than web-based courses because of the familiarity users already have with cell phones, the medium of delivery.

SMS is already being used to support in-service teacher training in parts of Africa. For example, when Kenya's Ministry of Education introduced Free Primary Education (FPE) across the country, primary school enrollments increased by between 10 % and 25 %, creating an immediate demand for more teachers. One component of the teacher-training program that was developed includes delivering study guide material and class outlines via SMS. The reason for choosing this venue of delivery was that teachers already owned the hardware, and the costs of utilizing it are minimal, thereby creating a sustainable model (Traxler and Leach 2006).

In South India, one non-governmental organization utilized mobile phones to promote lifelong learning among rural women involved in sheep and goat rearing. Each week approximately 500 audio messages of about 60 s each on topics such as buying goats, feed management, disease and health management, and marketing management were developed. Three to five messages were sent to program participants through their mobile phones each day. The materials were integrated with indigenous knowledge and contextualized to suit the local culture and local dialects. Most of the women who participated reported that the training via mobile phones was better than face-to-face classes, which would require economic and social opportunity costs for them. With the mobile phone lessons, the women were able to receive lessons even while on the field managing their animals (Balasubramanian et al. 2010). These examples demonstrate the potential for technologies already integrated within the local culture for promoting education among indigenous populations.

Conclusion

As described above, ICT is not a magic bullet that easily transcends existing inequalities related to poverty, class, ethnicity, nationality, locale or other issues. Furthermore, a key challenge still faced by both established and new technology enhanced educational programming is that of assessment and evaluation. UNESCO (2011c, p. 15) reports that there is an "inconsistent relationship between the

availability or use of ICT and student learning," while Roger Harris (2004, p. 4) states that "[m]uch of the evidence in support of the use of ICTs for alleviating poverty remains anecdotal, and initiatives are proceeding with little reference to each other." However, he adds that "as experience accumulates, we can begin to make general sense of it by detecting recurring themes and patterns of relationships that can be usefully carried forward" (p. 4). This suggests that continuing assessment of the various educational programs that employ ICT for promoting educational access among indigenous communities is necessary. Until now, research on the use of ICTs among indigenous populations and corresponding evaluative measures have been far too few. Moreover, results must be widely shared among scholars and practitioners.

In addition, to address the specific needs of indigenous culture and education using ICT, policy initiatives need to be developed which will provide equitable access for indigenous populations to ICT infrastructure, digital devices, and Internet connectivity as well as culturally appropriate digital resources. Policies that facilitate training for indigenous people to utilize ICT and have control over creation of educational resources appropriate for their own communities must also be implemented. Finally, there is a need to train non-indigenous educators to understand and support the culture of indigenous populations and the ways ICT might also promote access to indigenous expertise and cultural resources (UNESCO 2011a).

Despite these challenges, information and communications technology does provide some possibilities for promoting education among indigenous communities and for preserving cultural traditions. Capitalizing on the technologies that are already commonly in use in local communities is imperative. Most nations do not have the financial means to construct new technology infrastructure. Even if they did, it would still be necessary to train individuals to use it before educational programming via the new technology could be introduced; and there would be no guarantee the new technology would be accepted within the target community or would meet target goals. Starting with technology that is already familiar in the target community, such as radios or cell phones as shown by examples noted in this chapter is therefore a more appropriate starting point.

In addition, ICT must be utilized creatively to maintain respect for diverse classroom communities and to build on unique cultural customs and strengths. Collaborative efforts between diverse communities in designing and implementing educational programming will allow diverse populations to learn from each other and maximize their respective strengths. Currently more efforts are being made to produce web-based culturally appropriate educational materials in multiple languages and more languages are also becoming available through Internet-based translation software. If these trends continue, ICT can promote some greater opportunities for educational access among diverse and underrepresented populations. However, continuing to find ways to maximize the potential of ICT to benefit all users will remain a challenge in the twenty-first century.

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Chapter 4
Formal and Informal Indigenous Education

Terry Wotherspoon

Abstract The analysis of education for indigenous people is frequently characterized in much of the academic and policy literature by a deficit orientation as comparisons are made with non-indigenous populations on such indicators as levels of educational participation, attainment, and achievement within formal educational institutions. The capacity to succeed in contemporary societies depends increasingly on formal educational success, but it also involves informal learning of skills, knowledge, and competencies produced in a variety of settings as signified in concepts such as lifelong learning, the learning society, and knowledge-based economies. This chapter explores informal learning and its significance for indigenous people and their communities in conjunction with broader changes occurring in education and knowledge relations. These shifting knowledge relationships have made it possible to nurture and gain recognition for indigenous knowledge and related forms of learning that have been subordinated and devalued through practices associated with colonization. While these developments suggest prospects through which indigenous people may be able to enhance their ability to participate in contemporary societies with a strong grounding in their identity and heritage as indigenous people, relations of power and knowledge remain fundamentally unequal. The chapter highlights these varied conceptions of, and opportunities to achieve, educational success for indigenous people with reference to important dimensions of both formal and informal learning.

Introduction

Dramatic changes in the nature and organization of contemporary social life and rapid innovations in the development of new information technologies are transforming how we think about and relate to diverse forms of learning and

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knowledge systems. Widespread adoption of concepts such as the knowledge economy and information-based society reflect the central roles that processes related to knowledge acquisition, application and transfer are playing in key venues of public and private life. These trends are fostering expectations that all members of the population must pursue learning more aggressively throughout the life course as education and learning move well beyond the confined domains of classrooms and other conventional organizational settings. The expansion of contemporary education makes way for an overwhelming array of institutional forms and alternative arrangements while formal credential-based learning comes to be complemented by extensive participation in informal learning activities as people prepare for and engage in jobs, community activities, family life, and other less structured activities.

These shifts to broaden our conceptions of what is taken to constitute knowledge and learning are likely to have profound consequences for indigenous people and minority groups whose educational aspirations have often been undermined through their experiences with formal education systems. Little attention has been paid to date to the analysis of informal learning among indigenous people, in part because of the relatively small size of Aboriginal populations in nations and regions in which major surveys of informal learning have been conducted,[1] and the limited representation of indigenous participants in the kinds of workplaces and other sites in which most research on informal learning has concentrated. However, the absence of a full engagement with indigenous people's informal learning experiences also reflects deeper social realities that have obscured important aspects of education in indigenous contexts.

Until recently, the chief preoccupation in literature on indigenous education has been focused on deficits, or what many indigenous people lack in terms of educational participation, aptitude, performance and credentials. Summarized by major stakeholders in indigenous education during a forum organized by Canada's Council of Ministers of Education (CMEC 2011), the major issues remain high student dropout rates and a low transition rate from secondary school to postsecondary education among Aboriginal youth, low educational performance, high transiency disruptive to school continuity, inadequate numbers of well-trained Aboriginal teachers, and an absence of indigenous perspectives and values in curricula and teaching methods. The major contributing factors are enumerated in an extensive range of academic literature, government reports, and indigenous voices that highlight the destruction of community and economic sustainability and subsequent economic marginalization through processes of colonization and industrial capitalism, lack of effective political representation, and educational

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[1] In the most comprehensive national survey conducted in Canada on work and lifelong and informal learning, for instance, the number of Aboriginal respondents (153 out of over 9,000 total respondents), though representative of their proportional share in the national population, was too small to permit separate analysis (Livingstone and Scholtz 2006, p. 17).

institutions and practices unresponsive to the realities and desires of indigenous communities (Champagne 2009, pp. 138–143).

Indigenous writers, working with indigenous communities and other critical scholars, have sought to turn these concerns around, focusing not on deficits but on capacities and competencies, including those encompassed by skills and knowledge nurtured in venues beyond the realm of formal education or constituted through indigenous knowledge systems (Bates et al. 2009; Canadian Council on Learning 2009). This shift in emphasis coincides with broader initiatives to enhance understanding of diverse knowledge forms and learning relations as education systems themselves adopt more inclusive measures to embrace the diverse learning needs accompanying important social and technological transformations.

This chapter explores changing knowledge relations, focusing especially on informal learning and its significance for indigenous people and their communities. The discussion highlights informal learning in relation to other types of learning and knowledge-related activities that constitute indigenous people's educational experiences. These diverse learning forms are understood, in turn, with regard to the place of education in wider social relations. Beginning with an overview of changing knowledge relations, the chapter addresses conceptual dimensions of different learning forms, the significance of learning in indigenous social relations, and indigenous people's educational circumstances. The discussion is informed by perspectives that seek to explain the fragmentation of holistic relations between knowledge and education systems, drawing especially on insights derived from the analytical framework of French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu whose emphasis on power relations highlights the contradictory dynamics of educational practices. For indigenous communities in which participants' lives and heritage have been marked by failure, disillusionment, and worse in their encounters with dominant systems, education is more than ever a critical tool for meaningful social advancement. There is an ironic and paradoxical element to the possibilities that routes to educational success channeled through western systems of knowledge and learning may be giving way to alternative pathways that include indigenous community practices and knowledge systems initially devalued through processes of colonization. However, as long as relations of knowledge and power are fundamentally unequal any segment of the population struggling for recognition and democratization will need to draw upon innovative resources in order to confront both longstanding and unanticipated barriers.

Informal Learning, the Learning Continuum and Indigenous Communities

Concepts associated with informal learning draw attention to the tremendous scope of learning-related activities in which humans are engaged within and well beyond formal education environments. Informal learning is generally understood with reference to mostly unintentional and unstructured learning that occurs in the course

of regular activities or routines at work, home and other settings. It is usually differentiated from nonformal learning, which typically refers to more organized or planned learning that occurs outside of formal education systems and does not result in recognized credentials (see, for example, Werquin 2010, pp. 21–23). Informal learning is also sometimes distinguished from less clearly delineated types of learning that occur through socialization or haphazard situations in order to draw attention to focused learning situations guided by mentorship or deliberate personal efforts. In either case, informal learning occurs throughout the life course.

The distinctions among the various domains of learning and learning-related sites are not always clear-cut. Informal learning is referred to mostly in relation to adult learning and lifelong educational activities that extend past credential acquisition because of the prominent place that formal learning or schooling has come to occupy in the experiences of childhood and youth in most contemporary societies. However, organized schooling itself involves a blend of formal and informal learning activities. Students learn factual information and social skills well beyond the curriculum in the course of regular classroom interactions, while they rely on knowledge and skills gained outside school, such as those acquired through home computer use or community activities, to meet many curricular demands. Formal education remains the standard against which other forms of learning are assessed, but the relationships among these learning forms are changing in significant ways.

Conceptions of learning based on a rigid duality of formal and informal/nonformal activities are giving way to an awareness that various forms of learning may be more accurately situated along a continuum ranging from the most highly structured types of formal learning at one end, through varying degrees of organization and intentionality, to nonstructured learning at the opposite pole, acknowledging frequent movement back and forth across learning situations (Jarvis 2007; Livingstone and Pankhurst 2009, p. 27; Werquin 2010, p. 24). A growing number of post-secondary institutions and other educational bodies are implementing protocols such as Prior Learning Assessment Recognition to make it possible for learners to gain formal recognition or credit for particular life experiences and skills they have developed outside of formal educational settings. Educational institutions are also modifying their internal procedures and practices to provide more flexible and inclusive teaching and learning environments to accommodate students from diverse backgrounds. Attention to the shifting and complex character of knowledge relations has been underscored by research on diverse learning styles and sites along with alternative and sometimes competing knowledge claims based on appeals to scientific, religious or traditional authority.

The focus on alternative learning models and knowledge-related practices is contributing to enhanced options for educational engagement and success among indigenous people and their communities. It is also fostering conditions to accord greater respect and recognition for the efforts of those working to reinvigorate previously ignored or excluded forms of knowledge and cultural practice including indigenous knowledge (Battiste and Henderson 2009; Grim 2006). Werquin (2010, p. 78), in a report for the OECD, observes that, "Arrangements for recognising

non-formal and informal learning outcomes may make particular sense for some groups in the population. For example, it would appear that Aboriginal people in Canada are much more open to the principle of recognised learning outcomes, given the role that experiential lifelong learning plays in their social hierarchy." The Canadian Council on Learning (2009, p. 55) points to specific ways in which this recognition can strengthen indigenous communities, highlighting how numerous informal learning activities undertaken by Aboriginal adults and elders at home and in the community, "such as volunteering, self-directed learning and informal workplace learning can help adults gain new skills, expand their social networks and contribute to greater social cohesion."

The kinds of informal learning activities attracting most attention within indigenous communities have tended to be related to cultural learning and capacity development. This is not surprising given the need for community revitalization and resilience, particularly in locales requiring substantial improvements in physical, social or economic conditions or in which members of the population do not have social resources that would enable them to take advantage of opportunities that do exist. Indigenous communities in many regions and nations are undertaking a wide range of initiatives to engage participants in rebuilding and sustaining their communities, integrating locally-based knowledge and capabilities with aptitudes, skills and information vital to improving practices and outcomes in core areas like health status, social welfare, leadership, and entrepreneurship (Bates et al. 2009). Informal learning has also been important for developing and maintaining connections across generations with key aspects of indigenous heritage, including language, cultural practices, spirituality, and knowledge related to the land and resources. In addition to the knowledge conveyed in the course of these activities, informal learning practices foster mentorship and related social and communication skills and contribute to sense of self-worth, confidence, and other essential bases of individual and cultural identities.

Informal learning activities in indigenous contexts are often informed and enriched through the acknowledgment and practice of indigenous ways of knowing, nurturing holistic understanding of humans in relation to the physical, spiritual, social, and natural worlds. Indigenous knowledge systems, in contrast to the modular and hierarchical ways in which formal school systems are organized, do not depend on the transmission and measurement of knowledge so much as on language and relationships that enable people to understand and express meaningful roles in creation (Battiste and Henderson 2009). Elders, as carriers of knowledge and shapers of learning encounters, share their knowledge through guidance, sharing stories and actions in a manner that may not be readily apparent but which serve as vital signposts that may enable the individual to navigate the course of his or her lifelong learning path (Pitawanakwat 2001; Anuik et al. 2010; Ned 2011). Informal learning, characterized by conversations, dynamic interactions, and serendipitous understandings (Smith 2006; Hays 2009; Ollis 2011), is highly compatible with indigenous pedagogies. Building on these principles, many of the most viable educational practices in indigenous communities seek to connect indigenous knowledge and informal learning practices with activities that occur in

formal educational sites and other venues (Fiagoy 2000; Paquette and Fallon 2010). The respected Alaska Native Knowledge Network, for instance, seeks to provide a solid foundation for learning by focusing "on fostering a strong connection between what students experience in school and their lives out of school by promoting opportunities for students to engage in in-depth experiential learning in real world contexts . . . .[E]ducators and community members are directed toward preparing culturally knowledgeable students who are well grounded in the cultural heritage and traditions of their community and are able to understand and demonstrate how their local knowledge and practices relate to other knowledge systems and cultural beliefs" (Barnhardt 2011, pp. xvi–xvii).

The development of both locally-based and more systemic learning innovations building on indigenous knowledge or integrating formal and informal learning practices carries significant promise for indigenous people. Increasing receptivity to innovative learning practices within formal education systems from pre-kindergarten to post-secondary levels has sometimes complemented the success of many of these initiatives (Boulton-Lewis et al. 2001). Nonetheless, there remains considerable distance to cover both in absolute and relative terms in order to achieve the kinds of educational transformation necessary to place indigenous communities on equitable footing in most national and regional contexts. Many advances have been limited in scope or inhibited because of factors like inadequate financial and human resources, complex administrative and policy protocols, logistical problems and economies of scale sometimes exacerbated by distance and community size, internal community dynamics, lack of support by educators, administrators and other key participants, and racism (Paquette and Fallon 2010). These developments also need to be understood within the broader context of shifting global political economies and knowledge relations. The next section examines how education and knowledge systems come to be organized historically, drawing attention to the significance of unequal power relations in the ways in which various forms of knowledge and learning are recognized, categorized and validated relative to one another.

Relations of Power and Educational Distinctions

The analytical framework developed by Pierre Bourdieu (1990, 1998) provides a useful reference point to begin an understanding of these complex issues. Bourdieu's theory and its core conceptual dimensions were introduced with explicit reference to the nuances of French society, especially with respect to questions about how status and privilege have been negotiated and maintained among advantaged groups. However, drawing from the depth and richness of Bourdieu's core conceptual tools, scholarship around the world has emerged to examine relations of power and social positioning around key social, cultural and economic resources in a diverse array of social settings (Robbins 2004; Santoro 2011). The focus in Bourdieu's analysis not only on unequal distributions of valued societal

resources but also on processes by which particular social agents and groups come to determine the kinds of assets and capacities that are deemed to be legitimate offers insights that may be useful in informing the efforts of indigenous people and other minorities to gain increased recognition and education in neocolonial societies (see Luke 2003; Waterson 2005; Pidgeon 2008; Ollis 2011). Building from the recognition that colonization is maintained not just by physical coercion and threat but also by ideologies, institutional practices and relationships that enforce social distinctions and subordinate the colonized and their practices relative to those of the colonizing power, it is important to understand how struggles to transcend the constraints of colonial relations require more than simple integration of minorities into dominant institutions and positions.

Bourdieu employs the concept of *habitus* to represent our deeply embedded predispositions or preferences, arising through early socialization as well as subsequent life experiences as we come to negotiate relationships in various institutional settings like the economy, education system, politics, or art worlds (conceptualized by Bourdieu 1998, p. 25*ff. as* fields which, akin to a sporting event, have prescribed roles and rules, and operate within defined boundaries). The habitus becomes a form of "second nature" represented in characteristics such as language, interests, tastes, and representations of ourselves, guiding our overall orientations to action as well as choices we make in specific social relationships and contexts. For Bourdieu (1984, p. 170; 1998, pp. 7–8), our habitus interacts as both a consequence and partial determinant of our social position in relation to the extent and kinds of resources that we possess. Such resources, or forms of capital, include social, cultural and symbolic as well as economic capital (Bourdieu 1984, pp. 114–116). While the significance of these capitals can be relatively straightforward (economic resources greatly influence lifestyle options or capacity to attend elite universities, for instance), each form of capital also has greater or lesser degrees of significance in relation to specific fields or social settings (cultural capital such as knowledge about unique artistic expressions may not count much in the world of politics but may offer high status in the art world) offering varying possibilities for the conversion of one particular form of capital to another (family networks may help in securing employment opportunities, or a work of art considered by much of the public to have no aesthetic merit may sell for a high price to a status-conscious art connoisseur).

Within each particular field contestation occurs as people position themselves relative to one another seeking to increase resources or benefits that are important within that field, or those that may aid them in another field. Each field or institutional area has particular rules and expectations. Some of these are explicit and clearly understood by participants, but performance in each field also entails dimensions that are tacit, shaped through the experiences and relationships that unfold through daily activities and can only be glimpsed through deeper familiarity with the field and its inner operations (Bourdieu 1990, pp. 80–81). Moreover, both the formal boundaries and expectations of the field, which may appear as neutral or taken-for-granted by most observers, as well as the implicit ones which may or may not be so perceived, are constructed through processes in which influential participants are able to assert their interests or establish standards in accordance

with the forms of knowledge and capacities most advantageous to them. Thus, institutional life is characterized by power struggles and strategies that agents adopt both overtly and in more covert ways to better position themselves and to frame the way in which the boundaries and rules for the field are defined and interpreted (Bourdieu 1984, p. 246).

In contemporary societies the field of education has special significance not so much for the knowledge conveyed by the curriculum (although certain forms of cultural capital are important to curricular success, and curricula can be differentiated so that access to some types of knowledge is restricted to select learners), but because credentials have become a primary criterion for entry into many jobs and other valued opportunities in contemporary societies. Degrees and certificates represent a form of cultural capital that make upward social mobility possible even for persons with limited economic capital. The focus on credentialism, at the same time, has fostered a search for ever-higher certification across much of the population, along with demands for more specialized and high status credentials among those who wish and can afford to distinguish themselves from the masses seeking social or economic advancement through education (Bourdieu and Passeron 1979; Bourdieu 1984, pp. 82–83). These dynamics have serious consequences for segments of the population who possess limited resources, especially if they have few options to gain even the most basic credentials like high school completion.

The curriculum itself is also subject to processes of selectivity that are likely to favour the interests of dominant social classes. Education, like other fields, incorporates practices and standards that are at least partially determined by the capacity of the best positioned social groups to influence what is taught and how it is taught, thereby increasing prospects for success among those who have the forms of habitus and capital that are highly valued and rewarded within the system. Students who enter the education system without the social, cultural and fiscal resources that would allow them to unlock the code and meet the overt demands set by the field are likely to encounter cumulative barriers to their advancement through the system. However, the power relations that shape and regulate the operation of educational practices are concealed by adherence to principles of democracy and notions of scientific standards of truth and objectivity, so that success and failure come to be attributed more to individual initiative than to structured inequalities. Students who do not possess the characteristics rewarded by the education system internalize their failure and blame themselves for substandard performance, through a process referred to Bourdieu as symbolic violence (Bourdieu and Passeron 1979), thereby further degrading social and cultural characteristics that constitute the habitus of minority populations.

This analytical template has considerable relevance for an understanding of how it is possible for systemic barriers to educational achievement and representation by indigenous students and their communities to be maintained even within education systems that adopt formal principles of democratic inclusion. Robbins (2004, p. 426) observes that the analysis enables us to see how "the adoption of norms of universal social science knowledge might be a strategy adopted by educational institutions to maintain a 'meritocratic' hierarchy that euphemizes social distinction, devaluing

the social perceptions of socially excluded minorities." It also has relevance to an understanding of social processes implicated in relations among varied bodies of knowledge and learning forms including the delineation of boundaries that have served to differentiate and valorize formal learning relative to informal learning and other ways of knowing.

Knowledge Boundaries and Their Implications for Indigenous Communities

The differential understanding and validation of different forms of learning reveals the complex nature of education and learning as core human activities. The understanding of education as a particular field of action draws attention to the boundaries that emerge around different forms of knowledge and the roles played by the various participants or agents who are engaged individually and collectively in knowledge relations. Awareness of these processes also uncovers the power relations that are embedded within the framing and organization of knowledge and learning-related activities. The definition and privileging of particular forms of knowledge from a Western perspective have been especially problematic for indigenous people and their relations not only to knowledge but also to their social and economic circumstances. This has meant, historically, an inversion or devaluation of ways of knowing and forms of learning essential for the social and cultural viability of indigenous communities in the process of colonization. The boundaries that have been established to differentiate particular forms of knowledge and learning in the field of education are shifting in contemporary societies, but these transitions encompass contradictory forces that are likely to undermine as well as accommodate aspirations for social advancement among indigenous communities.

All education systems draw upon and reinforce boundaries of greater or lesser strength that are necessary to designate and preserve the kinds of knowledge, practices, skills, narratives, characteristics, and identities considered essential for the ongoing survival and development of a particular social group. These boundaries are critical for maintaining the legitimacy of particular forms of knowledge and of the pedagogical practices and social agents, whether these are Elders, religious leaders, teachers, professors, or other authorities designated to share or transmit this knowledge in accordance with cultural and historical practices that characterize any given society.

The development of modernity, especially since the late fifteenth century, was accompanied by increasing rationalization of knowledge and internal differentiation of core social activities into more explicitly organized and specialized institutions. Those groups with the capacity to assert bases for their own privilege or regulate and control others intensified the establishment and enforcement of boundaries to distinguish social categories and populations from one another. Discourses grounded in claims of empirical evidence, as opposed to religious or speculative arguments, offered new capacities for domination over nature and people that

could be employed not simply by the powerful, but dispersed more broadly across populations through the introduction of schooling and other institutional processes (Foucault 1977). These processes enabled power relations to remain hidden in the course of embedding assumptions that western knowledge systems were superior to other ways of knowing and other deep biases within institutional practices accelerated by colonization, the expansion of capitalist markets across the globe, and growth in science-based discovery and applications.

The modern state was able to assume the role of guarantor if not chief provider of education in most nations by the late nineteenth century through government legislation and various administrative tools that drew on these claims to universal authority grounded in rational, objective knowledge criteria. The systematization of formal education throughout the twentieth century was accompanied by official preoccupation with the kinds of content most amenable to visible and direct codification, transfer, and measurement, as expressed in various periods through emphasis in curriculum planning on rote memorization of facts, specification of behavioral objectives that framed learning through explicit, staged, measurable outcomes, and most recently on standardized testing. These practices seek to minimize or depoliticize questions about what counts as knowledge, what forms of knowledge any particular phenomenon is represented as, and how any given type of knowledge is valued while obscuring the ways in which deliberate choices intermingle with less visible political, economic and ideological factors in the determination of curriculum and pedagogical practice (Apple 2004).

The role of schooling as a central tool in the colonization of indigenous people in the Americas, Australia and New Zealand and elsewhere by Europeans illustrates educational power relations and contradictions in their most powerful and damaging forms. Early promoters of the establishment of state-based schooling advocated the superiority of secular education over education systems based upon religious-based teaching, indigenous or localized knowledge, and parochial value systems or, consistent with Bourdieu's terminology, to foster the types of habitus that were aligned with dominant cultural and institutional practices. Little effort was made to hide these objectives in many of the practices associated with the delivery of schooling to indigenous populations, where the privileging of European knowledge and values in curricular content, moral codes and languages of instruction coexisted with initiatives devoted to undermine or destroy indigenous ones including severe punishments for speaking indigenous languages and practicing sacred rites and establishment of residential and boarding schools to physically remove children from family and community settings. Revealing the cultural and moral mission of these schools, states often delegated indigenous education to missionary and Christian religious organizations even as secularization was increasing in broader education systems. The closed and separate nature of many of the schools for indigenous students combined with the attacks on indigenous cultural and community foundations created conditions in which physical, sexual and psychological abuse, along with disease, malnutrition and other serious problems were common. Even decades after these practices were formally abolished and their damaging legacies publicly acknowledged through formal inquiries, truth and reconciliation

commissions, and establishment of alternative educational practices, indigenous populations in many regions continue to struggle with the consequences though education systems are not always equipped or eager to embrace pervasive gaps that continue to exist between school practice and community realities (Castellano et al. 2000; Chrisjohn and Wasacase 2009; Champagne 2009; Hays 2009; Maurial 1999).

Recognition of the rights and autonomy of indigenous people, and of the educational and social conditions which frequently undermined these rights, began to gain momentum in the latter half of the twentieth century as the actions of indigenous leaders coincided with a series of growing challenges against scientific authority, centralized government power, bureaucratic organization, and other core principles and institutions associated with modernity. The emergence of serious social, environmental and political problems and the breakdown of many political and social boundaries that once seemed invincible began to reveal the limited capacity prevailing institutional structures appeared to have to address new risks and complexities unfolding within a rapidly changing world order (Giddens 1990; Bauman 2002).

In the field of education, these critiques have intensified as employers, politicians, special interest groups, and others proclaim that education systems are being left behind by changes in work and life in highly developed capitalist economies fuelled by rapid technological and organizational innovation. Because of the prominent role that formal credentials play in social mobility and access to other opportunities and the complex nature of educational practice, public schooling and other state-sanctioned education systems have been somewhat resilient in the face of these challenges. Nonetheless, an explosion of new educational options, combined with awareness that schools are at risk of failing both in their democratic mission to ensure equitable prospects of success for all segments of the population and in their economic mandate to provide learners with the tools essential for survival in an information-based society, have undermined centralized educational authority. These challenges compel formal education systems to make internal modifications in order to accommodate communities of learners who are becoming increasingly more diverse and to preserve their legitimacy as attention is paid to the value of alternative knowledge and education forms.

Dynamics of Knowledge Systems and Knowledge Relations

Within the broader knowledge context, the ways in which informal learning initially came to be framed as distinctive from formal learning have contributed to a series of important dilemmas and contradictions for indigenous people in their social relationships and systems of knowledge. Because indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing have been largely excluded from schools, postsecondary institutions and other sites dedicated to formal learning in the industrialized world, forms of knowledge and ways of knowing associated with indigenous societies and traditions,

if acknowledged at all, typically are relegated to the realm of informal learning activities. The previous section has emphasized how this categorization process, though somewhat consistent with understandings of the lifelong dynamic character of indigenous pedagogies, also has a more insidious significance when framed within the wider development of knowledge and education systems through modernity as the preeminence of specific western standards of knowledge have contributed to the devaluation, denial or misunderstanding of indigenous knowledge.

In most formal educational environments, knowledge derived through indigenous foundations continues to be accorded low status in relation to dominant forms of knowledge and curricular imperatives. Traditional crafts, cultural activities, and even language training tend to be undertaken as community activities or treated as novel add-ons to school curricula, and until the end of the twentieth century indigenous knowledge was virtually unknown to or not spoken of by most educators and educational researchers.[2] The limited discussion and validation of indigenous knowledge systems have also meant that few educators and students are aware of the dynamic, multifaceted nature of indigenous knowledge, including distinctions between more formal and informal learning processes and surface and deep knowledge, and knowledge-related protocols (Viergever 1999; Brayboy and Castagno 2008; Haig-Brown 2010; Barnhardt 2011). Most significantly, the ways in which learning, knowledge and power relations intersect with one another carry several important implications for indigenous populations and how they come to be positioned within core fields within contemporary societies.

The field of education is sufficiently broad to encompass within its contours a vast range of curricular alternatives that, while not necessarily internally cohesive, nonetheless are conditioned by the dominant institutional logic. As curricular space opens for learning and forms of knowledge previously held outside the boundaries of formal education, the "outside" knowledge is removed from the context in which it is produced at the same time that it must compete for recognition, resources and student demand relative to other curricular areas which are more established or are viewed as high status or highly valued forms of knowledge. The prospects for success as various aspects of indigenous knowledge and learnings associated with indigenous heritage come to be recognized and integrated into formal learning institutions depend to a large extent on how key proponents will be able to position this knowledge relative to prevailing curricular foundations.

Indigenous-related learning initiatives and programs with a focus on indigenous studies have proliferated in recent years across Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and regions in the United States and other nations with substantial indigenous

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[2]Trends in citations to scholarly work, reports and related literature that include the concept of indigenous knowledge are revealed in a search of in two leading educational research databases—in the Education Resources Information Center (ERIC), the concept appears in only four citations for the entire period between 1973 and the end of 1989, while nearly 50 records are reported for the month of January, 2010, alone; beginning with a more recent time frame, the ProQuest Educational Journal database reports a total of 16 citations for the total period in the years 1992–1996 inclusive, compared with at least 50 each year after 2004.

populations, ranging from informal cultural activities and visits to indigenous heritage sites or units or activities embedded into broader curricula, to more substantial credentialed programs dedicated to indigenous studies or indigenous students. These undertakings have had some success in demonstrating the significance of relations between indigenous and non-indigenous populations in colonial and post-colonial societies, connecting students with indigenous heritage and knowledge, and exposing students to and validating learning that originates outside of western knowledge systems.

As promising as these practices are, they do not always meet the expectations of their proponents and frequently fall short of standards mandated by legislative and curricular guidelines. Implementation of curricula and forms of learning that emphasize indigenous people and knowledge of indigenous issues has proceeded slowly, typically in a fragmentary manner and often without full cooperation of educators and community members. In Australia, for example, the Aboriginal and Torres Straight Island Social Justice Commissioner observed more than a year after the nation had adopted the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, that while

> Indigenous language studies had recently been introduced into most state curricula, as yet the vast majority of schools did not offer an Indigenous language program.
>
> There's a prevailing view of government that formal education should teach people to operate at mainstream. This means that Indigenous education becomes an add-on to the formal education process, rather than a key feature. (Carr 2010, p. 21)

Similar statements are echoed across national contexts, pointing to tendencies for programs and curricula devoted to indigenous-related learning, and especially training and instruction in indigenous languages, where they exist at all, to be offered on a partial or unsystematic basis (Wotherspoon 2006; Hornberger 2008; Paquette and Fallon 2010).

There are further dangers that curricular practices incorporating aspects of indigenous cultures and knowledge can be distorted or misunderstood, especially when approached from a dominant perspective or divorced from contexts in which their meaning is grounded (Des Jarlais 2008, p. 81). Indigenous students are sometimes unsettled or confused when they encounter at school understandings derived from Aboriginal heritage and culture that do not correspond with what they have learned from Elders (Schissel and Wotherspoon 2003, pp. 81–83). Indigenous scholars seeking to reconcile indigenous and Western knowledge paradigms in their own research are also confronted with challenges to reposition their orientations and roles across contexts. As Simpson (2001, p. 142) observes:

> Learning within the context of Aboriginal knowledge is a life long experience, and some of the processes take 50 or 60 years to learn and master. To the Elders, Aboriginal academics are students. And for many Aboriginal academics, the Elders are the experts. They are the keepers of the knowledge, and we are the students.

More seriously, prospects for the survival of fragile indigenous languages, knowledge systems and communities may be undermined when detached from the physical and social conditions required to nurture them. Educators need to

be cognizant of lessons carried through experiences beyond education systems. In some cases, buttressed by favorable legal judgments and advances in human rights frameworks, indigenous communities have been able to generate revenue as well as respect for their knowledge systems by virtue of arrangements with governments or private firms to protect access to valued knowledge, resources or land (Durie 2005; Whitt 2009). In other cases, though, appropriation of important knowledge and resources or transfer of authority to powerful external interests with little regard to social and environmental consequences have escalated the rates at which scarce resources are depleted or people are displaced from their lands and livelihoods (Agrawal 1995).

Within educational institutions, greater receptivity to indigenous knowledge, informal learning, and other knowledge-related practices sometimes also contributes to new hierarchies. The competition for access to the kinds of credentials and knowledge that enable individuals to optimize their prospects for social and economic success in knowledge-based societies skews the value and status accorded certain forms of knowledge and programming relative to others while learners are stratified according to salient social and economic characteristics.

These patterns are especially evident at the postsecondary level where indigenous students are participating at higher overall rates but nonetheless, as Cole (2011, p. 144) observes, they "continue to be segregated horizontally by field of study and vertically by post-secondary sector: They are overrepresented in lower-status disciplines and are concentrated in preuniversity or vocationally oriented institutions." As indigenous students and scholars have increased their presence in fields such as indigenous studies, humanities and social science disciplines, and professional colleges like education and social work, these areas have been more likely to dedicate space for serious critical attention to indigenous-related issues. Very different kinds of knowledge relations often prevail in many scientific and information technology-related fields to which the highest status are accorded in knowledge-based societies.

These hierarchies of knowledge and social relationships emerging in postsecondary education systems draw attention to broader trends related to the role and organization of knowledge in contemporary societies. Advances in information technologies and other innovations have spurred growing interest in diverse forms of knowledge and ways of knowing across nearly all spheres of life. However, the predominance of market relations in most contemporary societies is shifting the highest priorities towards forms of knowledge that can be most readily converted into economic benefit or capital. As students and parents look increasingly to credentials as assets that foster opportunities in spheres beyond education, education institutions and programs come under pressure to differentiate themselves by demonstrating their uniqueness, in part by adding new value to their own activities. Even the introduction of indigenous-focused programs in many institutional contexts is driven at least in part by a search for new tuition revenues. These developments are accompanied by growing interest in the lucrative potential related to educational markets, such as private schools, tutoring services, and sale of books, computer programs and other learning resources, as well as in ownership and control of specialized knowledge and information.

The commodification of various forms of learning and knowledge-related activities also contributes to new practices of boundary-setting and exclusion and reinforces many existing inequalities. Information-related social developments create the potential for knowledge and information to be distributed widely across societies, but strong incentives prevail for those best able to codify and protect knowledge, maintaining the capacity and legal rights to apply or transfer knowledge in order to optimize its returns. These arrangements can have unexpected benefits for some individuals or small communities, but knowledge-intensive activities tend to be pursued most aggressively by firms and participants with substantial resources, often involving expensive equipment, scientific laboratories, or communications and technological infrastructures that smaller organizations are unlikely to sustain. In the field of higher education, the highest status research-intensive universities have focused on increasing the production of knowledge and innovations that result in patents, often in partnership with industry and government agencies, while other institutions have concentrated on expanding programs to attract particular student markets, including the introduction as niche programs in which entry is regulated by highly selective prerequisites and very high tuition fees (Wotherspoon 2011).

In the course of these developments, the relationships indigenous people have with both formal education and their own knowledge systems are complicated. The commodification of knowledge-related processes means that education-related decisions and options become increasingly a function of prior resources. Moreover, orientations to knowledge posed in instrumental terms, as the property of individual agents or corporate entities seeking to exploit it for profit, stand in sharp contrast with the core principles of indigenous knowledge systems in which stewardship, mutual exchange, and holistic relationships are emphasized (Pitawanakwat 2001; Battiste and Henderson 2009). Because processes related to commodification coexist with initiatives within education systems to recognize and engage indigenous people and their knowledge systems more fully, possible tensions contribute to prospects that priorities related to the former may undermine or subsume the latter. However, the establishment of a strong foundation to support activities grounded in indigenous pedagogies and knowledge systems can also create alternative educational pathways and insights for learners across groups (Brayboy and Castagno 2008; Battiste and Henderson 2009; Whitt 2009). Thus, education systems become potentially more democratic and more exclusive at the same time as they invite and enable participation by ever-larger segments of the population, creating new opportunities for some while producing or reinforcing deep social inequalities through practices that are selective and closed to all but those who are most socially and economically well-positioned.

Many of the inequalities and contradictions apparent in formal educational processes are paralleled and reinforced in patterns of participation in informal learning and recognition of the skills and capacities developed outside of formal educational settings. Informal learning activities are often sufficiently open and flexible to be accessible to all members of the population, but as with formal education, those who are the best situated are most likely to benefit from these learning options. The findings from one of the most comprehensive comparative studies on lifelong

learning, the Adult Literacy and Life Skills Survey, show that the highest overall rates of participation in adult education activities occur among persons who already possess high levels of formal education credentials, while persons with low levels of educational attainment and low levels of literacy skills are least likely to participate in either formal or informal adult learning activities (Rubenson et al. 2007, p. 57). Separate data are not presented for indigenous populations, but survey results reveal that low rates of participation in adult learning are widespread among persons whose parents have low levels of education, those who are unemployed or not in the labor force, and those employed in low skill jobs—factors which are prevalent among large segments of indigenous populations in nations encompassed by the study (Ibid., p. 57).

Community and workplace settings influence informal learning options, especially those that contribute to further opportunities. Learning options for any given community or group depend in part on the kinds of financial and human resources and support networks to which they have access. Having employment, for instance, makes a difference because new skills are often developed on the job or in activities available through connections with workplaces. Specific types of employment and workplace conditions also matter, as factors such as employee unionization and employer incentives to upgrade worker competencies increase the likelihood that workers will be presented with additional informal learning options not available to workers in less secure or stable positions. While information technologies can sometimes broaden access to informal learning activities, digital divides limit the distribution of opportunities for some communities and groups. Many indigenous people live in conditions, such as in remote regions that do not yet have high speed internet connections or inner-city areas where up-to-date technologies are not high priorities or not affordable, that are not conducive to participation in computer-based learning activities that require substantial downloading of data (Dean and Sullivan 2011).

For those who do participate in learning activities outside formal learning, prospects to gain recognition for their informal learning or to convert their knowledge into new opportunities and resources are not equitably distributed. Processes related to the acceptance and transfer of knowledge and capacities from one context to another tend to favour those who are best able to align themselves with institutional practices while being able to articulate and advocate for the legitimacy of the kinds of learning for which they are seeking recognition. Procedures in which credit may be authorized for prior learning are often highly complex or not clearly known to all participants. The Adult Literacy and Life Skills Survey findings show with regard to systemic inequalities in adult learning that it is "especially the forms that are meaningful for enabling resources" in which participation levels are highest among those with favorable educational and social characteristics (Rubenson et al. 2007, p. 57).

Internal hierarchies and patterns of differentiation within specific communities also contribute to unequal prospects to engage in and benefit from informal learning. Not all segments of the population share common learning needs. Gender-based inequalities, differences in social and economic status, and other key factors

influence the kinds of learning activities available and taken on by various participants within community settings. In many indigenous communities, for instance, resources and decision-making related to informal learning activities contribute to segmentation and exclusion by failing to take into account the needs and voices of potential participants with restricted capacity to attend learning sessions, especially women with extensive domestic responsibilities and home caregiving roles (Rao and Robinson-Pant 2006). Gender and cultural factors also affect the kinds of knowledge and skills that are recognized as learning in education and employment contexts (Fenwick 2006). The distribution of learning-related needs and activities within indigenous communities also varies widely across regions and nations even though urgent action is required to address below-average overall levels of educational attainment among indigenous populations regardless of national context. Several common historical and social factors contribute to these trends, but there are also different gender-related learning priorities and opportunities in nations like Paraguay, Honduras and Guatemala, where levels of educational attainment for indigenous females are well below the low primary school completion rates of their male counterparts, compared to cases like Canada, Australia or New Zealand where indigenous women are more likely than indigenous men to have postsecondary credentials (Champagne 2009).

Inter-related processes of globalization and knowledge-based economic activity are increasing imperatives that all social participants engage in a full range of formal and informal learning activities during the course of their lives. It is crucial for members of all communities across populations to heed these developments while not falling prey to the wildest claims made in much of the knowledge economic discourse and not ignoring the deep social and economic consequences of these transformative processes. Much of the language associated with changing forms of knowledge, skills and jobs is oriented to individuals, drawing attention away from social and institutional contexts and wider struggles for power and control that differentially position participants and the kinds of activities in which they engage (Sawchuk 2008). Walters and Cooper (2011, p. 31) observe the need for critical insights directed to knowledge-economy discourse which,

> in its claims that new forms of knowledge are gaining recognition and new spaces for informal learning are being created—has been overoptimistic about the impact of globalisation. Increased polarisation between the 'new economy' and the 'low-skills' labour market and work in informal and survival economies means that large areas of work (including unpaid work) are devalued and rendered 'invisible'—along with the knowledge and skills embedded in them.

Associated with these trends are expanding options for educational activities across the population but also prospects of an ever-widening gap between the most advantaged and most vulnerable segments of the population. For members of indigenous communities, however they are situated relative to one another and to the population as a whole, there are significant challenges to ensure that their aspirations for social advancement and self-determination are not undermined by, and do not reinforce, these fragmenting and polarizing tendencies.

Formal and Informal Learning—Seeking a Balance

This chapter has emphasized knowledge and the social relations associated with knowledge systems as dynamic in nature, characterized by periodic tensions and hierarchical power relations. These changing and contradictory relationships are illustrated not only in the ways in which various forms of learning and knowledge, including formal and informal learning, and western and indigenous knowledge systems, have come to be differentiated from one another, but especially in the differing values and degrees of legitimacy they have been accorded over time. Power relations are important in defining the kinds of knowledge that are considered meaningful and useful in different contexts, as well as the characteristics associated with what it means to be educated (or the kinds of habitus associated with education). The high premium on information and innovation associated with knowledge-based societies and new forms of economic development are conducive to acceptance of and recognition for forms of learning and knowledge systems previously defined as alternatives to or outside of dominant rational western systems of knowledge and pedagogy.

For indigenous people, especially those who have encountered barriers to formal educational achievement and experienced serious socioeconomic dislocation, informal learning activities that foster cultural revival or enhance personal and community capacity, along with initiatives that provide for greater recognition for knowledge, skills and competencies gained outside of formal schooling are opening possibilities for success across various spheres of life. Many of these activities are self-directed, but it is crucial that community members who have the foundational social, cultural and economic resources position themselves to recognize and build on these activities, ensuring they are available widely to those who most need them. It is important as well that educators and educational policy-makers who are truly committed to democratic practices understand the consequences of their own decisions and actions, especially those that foster commodification, hierarchy and unequal chances to participate in and benefit from some important educational activities. Many of these processes are deeply embedded within structures and practices that education systems have little capacity to influence, but there are ways in which education systems and their participants can make a difference, including greater transparency and clarity in prior learning recognition procedures, implementation of mandated indigenous curricular and programming initiatives, interrogation of the cultural and social assumptions that underlie educational decisions and practices, and establishment of meaningful connections with indigenous community members. Knowledge-based social and economic developments convey the promise of enlightened and prosperous societies, but those in which participants do not take seriously mutual collective responsibilities in education and other realms are more likely to engender exclusion, polarization, and willful ignorance of their dangers.

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Chapter 5
Indigenous Higher Education

Duane W. Champagne

Abstract Currently Indigenous higher education is embedded within colleges and universities that serve the ideals of Western culture and nation-state interests. Higher education is assimilative for Indigenous students and faculty. At best there is great pressure for Indigenous students and faculty to serve nation-state goals, an assimilation model, or serve both nation-state and Indigenous goals through acquiring and utilizing multicultural skills and knowledges. Indigenous peoples are diverse culturally, politically and have focuses on self-government and territoriality that other ethnic, racial, and minority groups do not. Indigenous nations do not share common cultural and political ground with mainstream institutions, including universities. Higher education should address, support, and welcome the holistic diversity of Indigenous perspectives. The most intellectually open ended way to address the issues and diversity of Indigenous peoples is to recognize that there is a unique Indigenous paradigm that cannot be addressed within the frames of ethnic or minority diversity, civil rights, or human rights. Greater educational inquiry, greater research and intellectual contributions, and greater inclusion of indigenous students and faculty in higher education will result from recognizing and supporting Indigenous perspectives, rights, and associated education needs that address self-government, territory, and cultural autonomy.

Keywords Indigenous • Education • Diversity • Rights • Paradigm

Contemporary higher education is a product of nation states and among its primary purposes are to serve and enhance present-day national and global markets, cultures, and governments. The main models for colleges and universities come from Europe. During the 1800s, the American university system was modeled after the German university system. The German model focused on academic freedom, scientific research, laboratories, seminars, and teaching. European universities were not generally open to the general public before 1914, and still retain a strong upper class bias. Since the social and student upheavals in Europe during 1968, many

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European universities became increasingly accessible to the general public. The British established universities in many places within its empire, and made higher education available to many non-European populations (Rüegg 1996). Since World War II, American universities have invited scholars and students around the world to attend and study, and have become an international model, especially for those countries most directly within the American sphere of economic and political influence.

European nations often supported establishment of universities in their colonies to educate colonists and natives. European universities in the colonies often taught Christian religion, and promoted colonial world views, interests, culture and political and economic goals (Rudy 1984). In the colony of Massachusetts, for example, Harvard and Dartmouth colleges were established to educate indigenous youth as a means of cultural exchange. The experiments in indigenous education, however, were short lived, not successful, and the colleges soon turned to educating non-tribal colonists. A few indigenous individuals became well educated in the early colonial university system, some studying in Europe. The University of San Marcos, the first university established in the Americas in 1551 at Lima in present-day Peru, was attended by indigenous students with many classes offered in indigenous language (Choa 1992). The tradition of teaching indigenous students, however, did not carry continuously through to the present.

Some scholars have made arguments that indigenous peoples, like the Aztec, Mayas, and Incas had sophisticated knowledge of plants, astronomy, mathematics, calendars, and understanding of local ecology. Most indigenous peoples had knowledge of their local environments, histories, plant medicines, and understood the natural patterns and relationships that promoted their livelihood and well being as individuals and communities (Deloria and Wildcat 2001; Fox 2009). Traditional knowledge and indigenous sciences only in recent decades has become a topic of discussion within universities and between scholars and indigenous peoples.

Indigenous communities take issue that national universities are the primary or sole repository of significant knowledge and wisdom. Traditional world views and knowledge continue to inform the actions and community relations of indigenous peoples. Many indigenous individuals and communities seek to recover and preserve indigenous information and knowledge, and look to a future that is informed by the culture and understandings of their ancestors. Indigenous nations prefer to meet the future with solutions and knowledge that will preserve them, and provide a future that is related to, if not grounded in, their living knowledge systems and understandings. That is not to say that indigenous communities will not benefit from exposure to and acquisition of knowledge and skills produced by higher education (James 2001). However, many indigenous nations and individuals will accept university knowledge and techniques through the lens of their own world views and values, and do not wish to take university knowledge as a straight away substitute for indigenous traditional and contemporary knowledge and world views.

Universities are repositories of knowledge and solutions for nation state markets, government, and technologies. Most indigenous nations are not directly engaged in markets, government, and technologies in the same way or for the same

purposes as national citizens and institutions. The knowledge and understandings provided by universities may not be relevant to indigenous nations in the sense that university based perspectives and solutions are not directly applicable to the social, political, cultural institutional arrangements and goals and values of indigenous communities. The differences in values and world views has permeated the interactions and misunderstandings between European colonial derived nation states and world views right from the beginning of contact. These relations of incongruent world views, values, and knowledge systems continue to plague nation-state and indigenous nation interactions, cooperation, and consensus over future policies and solutions to relations of government, justice, land, environment, cultural lifestyle and future goals. The differences between indigenous nations and nation-state institutions can be seen as two different cultural orders, which usually do not share common ground about knowledge, culture, institutional relations in political, economic and educational spheres.

The Assimilationist Anti-indigenous Education Model

Most present-day universities and higher education institutions accept and implement the central values of the nation state and associated national culture and values. Western based universities present a scientific world view and solutions to problems. The purpose of such university institutions to teach students the knowledge and understandings to uphold national culture, infrastructure, and promote greater cultural participation, creativity, and knowledge for national or universal use. Underlying this university goal of research, teaching, and support for national life and productivity is the assumption that students and groups within the nation share the same goals, values, and methods supporting national and cultural goals and values. University administrations assume that students will be competitive, self reliant, and ready to learn how to the master and extend knowledge that will prepare them for successful and productive careers within national economic, political, scientific, and cultural institutions. This assumption of sharing culture and values does not hold with many indigenous individuals and communities and is one reason that indigenous students do not thrive in public schools and public colleges and universities (Abu-Saad 2006; Manu'atu and Kepa 2006; Huffman 2008, 2010).

Universities challenge indigenous students with cultural goals and values that invite them to work outside of their own communities. Universities and education, for many nations based on large settler populations, are tools for economic and political assimilation, if not for cultural assimilation, of numerous immigrants from diverse lands, cultures, and backgrounds. In the United States, Canada, perhaps also New Zealand and Australia, immigrant education has been highly successful for assimilating, nationalizing, and developing the skills and knowledge of millions of immigrants. Similar assimilation and acculturation patterns are also present in Latin and South America, where in some countries mestizo and indigenous populations predominate. The mestizo nationalities of Latin and Central American

are premised on recognizing a link to indigenous history, but are based on a cultural and institutional rejection of indigenous life and culture. A strong education, a university education, is considered a pathway to a successful and productive life in most contemporary societies. Places at higher education institutions are highly sought after by most national citizens.

National policies about education for indigenous individuals and nations has long followed a similar assimilative pattern as education for citizens and immigrants (Szasz 1977). Education achievement is seen as a primary method for moving indigenous peoples into economically productive lives within the national market economy. Not surprisingly, the most assimilated students of indigenous descent generally do better in education than less assimilated indigenous students (Huffman 2010).

Many indigenous communities dislike the national schools systems because in many ways they are culturally inviting the children to leave their communities for the national culture and economy (Hays and Amanda Siegruhn 2005; Kaunga 2005). Most indigenous communities have strong cultural and institutional commitments to maintain their social and cultural nations, and therefore prefer that their children learn to live and prosper within their own communities and local economies (Kaunga 2005; Champagne 2009). Often indigenous communities prefer that education curricula be taught in their own languages and within their own cultural contexts (Cleary and Peacock 1998). Rather than discourage indigenous languages, indigenous children should be taught the national language as a second language. Students learn second languages all over the world. Preserving indigenous languages will allow indigenous students to remain intellectually and socially attached to their communities, while learning the national spoken language will enable them to participate and have greater opportunities within the national economy and society. Accepting and supporting multi-lingual indigenous students may go a long way toward making educational achievement less threatening culturally and socially for indigenous students whose communities may already have strong suspicions about the purpose and goals of national policies toward indigenous communities and their futures.

A primary difficulty for higher education of indigenous students is the large proportion of indigenous students are not prepared for college, and probably are not highly motivated to attend institutions of higher learning (Wells 1989; Fann 2004). Many indigenous parents and communities are very interested in the future education of their children. Nevertheless, indigenous children do not graduate from secondary schools with adequate preparation for acceptance into public universities or to persevere and graduate from institutions of higher education. Indigenous communities do not necessary want to see their children leave their communities for another life in the national community (Okakok 2008). While indigenous communities want their children educated in the knowledge and skills of the national economy and institutions, they also want their children to be deeply trained in their own traditions, language, and world views. Many indigenous communities reject the underlying assimilationist and acculturationist assumptions of most national education programs. They are not opposed to education, but

want to see education as a tool that supports and enhances their own culture, and economic and political futures (Szasz 1977). In the past, indigenous and national orientations were seen as antagonistic. National education programs need to develop multi-cultural approaches to education that respect indigenous cultural, social, and economic goals, while enabling an educated indigenous person to participate as a citizen within the national community.

The assimilationist assumptions of most present-day national education policies tends to discourage some indigenous students who are closely associated with their communities, while inviting others to culturally and socially join into national institutions and life (Jennings 2004; Huffman 2010). Every indigenous student can make a choice about continuing their education past secondary school. For some individuals, they may wish to enter into the national community. These are in the end individual choices, and generally a determined student cannot be stopped by an even disapproving community. National education programs are generally based on individual choices, and collective community influences, cultures, or choices do not enter into the decision making, at least according to national education planners. For most national education programs count as success greater numbers of indigenous students attending and completing college degrees. These are certainly achievements. These are achievements, however, that may not satisfy, and may even discourage many other indigenous leaders, community members, and potential students. Many indigenous communities highly value educational achievement, and college and post-graduate degrees are highly honored by the oldest and most traditional people within an indigenous community (Abu-Saad et al. 2011). Nevertheless, while honoring a significant individual education achievement is proper and heart-felt, many community and tribal leaders want college graduates to contribute to the future and well-being of their communities. Not all indigenous students will be well suited or interested in returning to their communities to live and work, however, many will want to have the skills and opportunity to support indigenous nations issues and future directions at the local, national, and international levels.

The assimilation tendencies of present-day national education programs are better suited to invite participation in the national culture and economy, and to abandon indigenous cultures and communities. Some, perhaps even the majority in some nations, will adopt the path and participation in the national economy. Those individual choices and opportunities should be available persons who want to make them. Such education programs may not have to be so different from mainstream education paths. Appropriate retention methods of counseling, mentoring, and career coaching may be helpful (Huffman 2010).

While not every indigenous will or should be required to take on an indigenous studies degree, many indigenous students who are inclined to engage in the indigenous policy and community building world, should have access to relevant courses, strategies, and literature at the university and college level. Having the college curriculum that address issues most pressing issues before indigenous communities will help attract and motivate students to pursue related professional and college degrees. While mentoring and counseling are significant ways to

encourage recruitment and retention of indigenous students in college programs, continuous interactions with and intellectual focus on indigenous nations and development of community among students, graduate students, and faculty are also critical (Benham and Stein 2003; Horse Capture et al. 2007). Active and student managed organizations according to disciplines and orientations such as engineering, law, indigenous studies, graduate students, gender, and sexuality can provide intellectual and community support for indigenous students while at the university or other institutions of higher learning.

Indigenous Higher Education

There are many individuals who want to remain attached and participate in indigenous communities, nations, and organizations and pursue indigenous community and national goals and futures. For the people and communities who are committed to preserving and building indigenous cultures and communities, the pathway of assimilation is not a viable option. The United Nations estimates that there are about 375 million indigenous persons living in the world, and about 5,000 indigenous communities. A significant portion of the world population seeks to participate indigenous communities for the indefinite future. Rather than treating indigenous nations as communities bound for extinction, indigenous communities should be treated as part of the future world order. Indigenous communities throughout the world seek common recognition and goals such as acknowledgement of political, economic, and territorial autonomy. Indigenous peoples do not represent one race, culture, economy, or political system, but are formed into thousands of distinct social and cultural entities. One of the major policy issues nation states and colonial regimes have had with indigenous peoples has been the complexities of working with so many autonomous, decentralized, and unique indigenous communities. No one national education plan can deal with the differences in culture, language, and political history that are found among the indigenous peoples within a nation. The recognition of numerous distinct indigenous cultural traditions presents great challenges to nation state education systems that have focused on homogenization of culture. New multicultural approaches only go so far, as indigenous education needs to address identities that have unique cultural, self-government, and territorial traditions that indigenous peoples seek to preserve.

Most indigenous peoples see themselves as a nation that existed before the formation of the nation state. They believe they have culture, political organization, and territory that they wish to live upon and upon which they want to make their futures. Most nation states do not recognize the claims to political autonomy and territory expressed by indigenous communities. Indigenous peoples, in most countries, are considered citizens of the nation state, but indigenous rights are not recognized. If indigenous peoples are treated a citizens, then the educational

programs of assimilation appear appropriate since all citizens are enabled to take advantage of the same education opportunities. If however, citizenship within the nation state does not fully define the political, cultural and territorial understandings of an indigenous community, then the education processes of assimilation are seen as a threat to the future of an indigenous nation. Consequently, indigenous communities, leaders, parents, may not be encouraging for their children to take on education opportunities that do not enhance or acknowledge the future existence or prospects of their nations as indigenous communities (Huffman 2008). Indigenous communities often express their disapproval of a proposal or plan by passive resistance and non-participation.

Most nation states ignore the claims of political, cultural and territorial autonomy of indigenous peoples and have treated indigenous peoples like individual citizens or ethnic minority groups. In both cases, education forms the basis of a plan for cultural assimilation and social and political inclusion (Ruiz 2008). Nonconformance with national and cultural expectations of citizens, tends to create hostility, marginalization, and discrimination against indigenous communities and thereby further limits indigenous peoples' compliance and voluntary participation in national public education at all levels (Pérez-Aguilera and Figueroa-Helland 2011).

The national purposes and goals of higher education need to match those of indigenous communities and individuals. Higher education as a plan for social mobility and economic opportunity will satisfy a portion of the indigenous community. Those individuals who choose to support and remain within indigenous cultures will need more culturally, politically, and intellectually tools relevant to supporting indigenous values and communities. Most indigenous peoples want to fully participate in their nation state as full citizens, but they do not want to sacrifice indigenous rights in exchange for national citizenship rights. Indigenous peoples may require plural citizenship, as national citizens and as members or citizens of indigenous nations. Indigenous persons in the United States and Canada enjoy a form of plural citizenship, although nowhere else (Champagne 2010).

Higher education policies can accommodate the needs of indigenous communities by acknowledging the goals, world views, and policy positions of indigenous peoples. Universities and colleges do not need to recognize indigenous peoples and their demands before nation states, but higher education institutions should have the academic freedom to explore, research, and debate alternative policies, intellectual interpretations, and world views relevant to indigenous communities and their issues. A significant contribution to the intellectual and policy goals of the university will come from greater debate, research, and teaching of indigenous issues and interests. Indigenous cultures, traditional knowledge, healing methods, and ecological understandings are already discussed in the academic literature. Indigenous forms of self-government within nation state structures, contemporary indigenous cultures, laws relevant to indigenous peoples, are all part of the contemporary world and should be available for intellectual and policy investigation.

An Indigenous Paradigm

In order to make higher education relevant to indigenous communities, indigenous studies departments can be established and should focus on the cultural, economic, political, and policy issues confronting contemporary and historical indigenous nations (Deloria 1969; Nee-Benham 2000). The research, teaching, and policies about indigenous communities should address their future needs and interests, as well as contribute to the academic and policy literatures. With the development of such relevant literature and research, indigenous communities and individuals will have greater incentives to seek higher education degrees, and pursue careers that are more relevant to addressing indigenous social, economic, and policy issues.

Indigenous studies is a paradigm that is distinct from current intellective disciplines and ethnic studies. Reducing Indigenous studies to social sciences, humanities, ethnic, or minorities studies ignores some of the fundamental premises of indigenous struggles for self-government, cultural autonomy, and territory stewardship. A conceptually unified indigenous studies capable of addressing the diversity and histories of indigenous communities around the world should focus on indigenous history, cultural and political history as well as the history and interactions relations with colonial and nation states. Just as nation-state universities address the political, cultural, economic, and policy issues that confront the nation-states, indigenous studies should address the same issues and interests for indigenous communities.

Interdisciplinary indigenous studies programs do not have sufficient intellectual focus to address indigenous needs and concerns in the contemporary world. Interdisciplinary and multi-cultural approaches have inherently assimilationist or mainstream goals, methods, and interests, and therefore are not unbiased interpreters of the indigenous experience. Present day theoretical approaches such as multi-cultural, postcolonial, postmodern, racial critical theory, gender, transcultural, and sexuality approaches do not center indigenous communities and issues, and therefore can only present portions of an indigenous perspective or discipline. Most of the latter theoretical perspectives are premised on assimilation and achieving equality within contemporary nation states. While achieving civil rights is one goal of indigenous peoples, they also pursue goals of self-government and territory that are outside of present-day nation-state political theory and institutional capabilities. Indigenous rights are not the same as human rights, ethnic rights, or civil rights.

In order for indigenous higher education to succeed indigenous, higher education institutions needs to serve the long term and contemporary interests and needs of indigenous communities who are struggling to preserve self-government, culture, and territory (Bruhn 2005; Paci 2005; Champagne 2014). Contemporary academic theories and disciplines do not provide the perspectives, research, theory, and information that indigenous people need for ensuring their future continuity. Greater higher education emphasis on developing indigenous studies departments will contribute to more accurate representation of the political and cultural complexities of the contemporary and historical world orders. Indigenous studies departments

centered on indigenous perspectives and paradigms will encourage more research, teaching, supportive, and mutually useful relations between institutions of higher education and indigenous students and nations.

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Chapter 6
East or West? Tradition and the Development of Hybrid Higher Education in Asia: Focus on China

John N. Hawkins

Abstract This chapter examines how external models of higher education have influenced an indigenous Chinese higher education system that dates back several millennia. The Western influence on Chinese higher education institutions began in the nineteenth century, and has syncretically merged indigenous and external forms to create hybrid "types" of higher education. While focusing on China, the chapter has relevance to all Sinified nations, including Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and Singapore. The arguments presented in this chapter follow the basic notion that the so-called "modern university" is actually a hybrid of indigenous elements, overlaid with Western forms and elements, resulting in a re-indigenized hybrid higher education system.

Keywords Indigenous higher education • Hybrid higher education • China • Chinese higher education • Chinese model of higher education

In this chapter I am interested in looking at the interplay between what has arguably become a Western dominant higher education paradigm complete with a recognizable architecture (Hawkins 2008) and elements of traditional higher education forms, behaviors and values that are arguably part and parcel of how some Asian settings, most notably the Confucian, Sinified nations (China, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Singapore) have syncretically merged indigenous and external forms to create hybrid "types" of higher education. The focus will be largely on China but the implications of this process are relevant for other settings within the China zone of influence, or what has been called, "Greater China." This argument is largely presented as a hypothesis meant to provoke discussion and prompt more balanced research into such broad topics as "Chinese education."

To reiterate, the focus is on an assertion made by both Western and Asian scholars (see, for instance, Altbach 1997; Cummings 2003) and perhaps stated

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most succinctly by Altbach and Umakoshi (2004, p. 15), that "one can not find an Asian university that is Asian in origin. And one can not find an Asian country that has managed to keep its pre-modern academic institutional *traditions* although many Asian countries possessed such traditions." The argument is further made by suggesting that it is not likely that a new form of higher education (that is, outside the Western model) could withstand the dominant model or be competitive with it. This chapter is not meant to disagree with this general argument, and indeed the author has made a similar argument elsewhere but rather to argue that there have been at least two major civilizations in Asia—India and China—that had sophisticated and well developed "higher education" long before the Western impact and that it is reasonable to suggest that imbedded values, forms, and practices have found their way into the Western template that has come to occupy formal higher education as we know it today in those societies. This chapter will concentrate on China as an illustration of that and does not elaborate on India for reasons of length and the author's greater familiarity with the China case.

The basic hypothesis here then is: the so-called "modern university" is actually, in some settings (e.g., China and India), and perhaps in many settings, a hybrid of indigenous elements, overlaid with Western forms and elements, resulting in a re-indigenized hybrid. This idea is deserving of closer scrutiny whenever an analysis of, for example, Chinese education is made, but made only in the context of unexamined assumptions about the traditions, values, and structures of what constitutes higher education in an historical context. In the section that follows a brief discussion will be focused on relevant Asian traditions and more specifically, the intellectual framework that came to characterize Chinese educational theory and practice.

The Traditional Context and Western Contact

In 1960 John King Fairbank wrote about China as possessing "Great Traditions" that pre-dated Western contact and in many ways had a powerful effect on social institutions, including education, since their development centuries before. Stanley Wolpert (1991) and Sar Desai (1997) wrote similarly about India's centuries old educational traditions. These traditions have rippled throughout Asia and were grounded in well-known systems of thought such as Confucianism and Buddhism as well as more localized belief systems such as Daoism and Legalism in China. What some cultural geographers have referred to as Sinified Asia (Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Mongolia, Vietnam-Fairbanks 1960) and Indianized Asia (Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Nepal, Tibet among others—Coedes 1968) were also influenced to varying degrees by these Great Tradition forces. It is not the purpose here to go into these traditions in great detail, that has been done well by many and it is sufficient here to simply cite Fairbanks, Wolpert, Sar Desai and Coedes but rather to make note of this historical context and then delve deeper into how these traditions expressed themselves in "higher" learning focusing on China. A longer paper would include India as well, and illuminate a distinguished

higher learning tradition that expressed itself most stunningly in what was the largest university in Asia, possibly the world, Nalanda University established in the early-sixth century CE. (Scharfe 2002). Scholars from throughout Asia attended and visited Nalanda, including Chinese scholars from whom we know the most about this institution. These "Great Traditions" were firmly entrenched prior to Western contact and of course continue to dominate many aspects of social, cultural and educational life in the region.

It has been noted above that by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a long and permanent period of economic, cultural and educational intercourse began between East and West which eventually led in some cases to colonial dominance and in others to what Carnoy and others have called "cultural imperialism" (Carnoy 1974). The educational systems that emerged out of this intercourse, particularly in the case of higher education, have been viewed by some scholars as having left no trace of influence of the previous traditional, indigenous forms. As noted, Altbach and Umakoshi (2004) take a more balanced view. Nevertheless, their argument is strong in stating that academic institutions in Asia are based on both European models and *traditions*. It is this latter point where it is likely that the case for a dominant European higher education template has been overstated. While acknowledging that there existed indigenous academic institutions prior to Western contact, especially in China and India (but also in Vietnam, Cambodia and Thailand) the argument is made that these were either abandoned totally or destroyed in the process of modernization. Much of this may be true but it is not likely that traditions that spanned over one thousand years were so easily abandoned or obliterated. To be sure, once the West arrived their academic models came with them, and even if they reluctantly shared access to these models with the nations that were colonized (and those that were not colonized), the models came to dominate the higher educational landscape and architecture. The British academic model came to dominate systems in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Hong Kong, and Nepal among others. The French and Dutch influence was most heavily experienced in Indochina (French) and the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia). The US had an early influence in the Philippines. And Japan influenced Taiwan and Korea as well as China at various times. But the argument that all of Asian higher education is an implant of Western models and values again ignores deeply imbedded traditions that likely played a role in the adaptation to the West and are continuing to influence higher education transformation today. In short, the idea that indigenous traditions, values and even forms totally gave way to European forms is overstated and in the future, tracking change and transformation of higher education in Asia should take into account these long standing traditions.

The Intellectual Tradition in China

It is useful to go into some detail to illuminate the intellectual history of China in order provide some framing for the discussion of educational forms that, it is argued, have had a profound and lasting influence on China's twentieth and twenty-first

century higher education transformation. The intellectual foundations of China have characteristically been associated with a brief historical period during the latter part of the Zhou dynasty (500–200 BCE). This period has popularly been termed the "golden age" of philosophy in China, for it was at this time that the major philosophers and thinkers who came to dominate traditional Chinese intellectual, and eventually educational thought, lived and worked (Mote 1971). Thinkers as diverse as Confucius and Laoze are purported to have vied with each other intellectually during this period. In any case, it was at this time that the basic foundations of Confucianism, Daoism, and the later development of Legalism were formed thus providing the primary groundwork for future Chinese cultural and educational development. Although Confucianism was eventually to triumph as the predominant intellectual strain in Chinese thought the traditions of Daoism and Legalism made important contributions in this early period. When Confucianism was declared the state philosophy during the Han dynasty (202 BCE-220 CE) there was already a mixture of Daoism (particularly the laissez faire attitude toward economics) and Legalism (bureaucratic organization and administrative control) present, resulting in the fact that Confucianism became a useful tool for the state but never its master (Ho 1962; Ho 1968). The moral code permeating Chinese education from the time of Confucius to the Qing dynasty consisted of a set of codes regarding social relationships such as those between parents and children, brothers and sisters, teachers and students, subject and ruler. These hierarchical social relationships especially between teachers and students, have carried over into them modern era in other ways as well such as between senior and junior scholars, and researchers. The proper harmony among these relationships resulted in the individual expression of *ren* (benevolence) toward society. This concept of benevolence and harmony became a universal ideal for the Chinese and was expressed in education at all levels. It extended even to the realm of science and other practical subjects (i.e., astronomy, agriculture, artistry, and manufacturing), which emphasized the *dao* or way of nature, which was harmonious, and in balance. Because the codes involved social behavior they could be taught, and Confucianism particularly emphasized the power of education to improve society and citizenship in both an intellectual and oral sense (Ho 1968). By providing a model, which people could emulate, education could transform society. The model had two main functions before the innate goodness (*ren*) of individuals could be brought forth. It must first "provide peace and prosperity" and second "provide moral training and education" (Bary et al. 1960, p. 174). Thus the rational was provided for considering education as a primary goal of the just society. Confucius went so far as to suggest that "in education there should be no class distinctions" (*you jiao wu lei* 有教無類) thus laying the groundwork for a more meritocratic higher educational system (Ho 1968, p. 27). Later thinkers, including Xun Zi and Confucius's disciple Mencius (Meng Zi), also attributed great importance to education and its ability to transform people and society. In the former, humans were not viewed as being innately righteous or benevolent but inherently depraved. Nevertheless, to bring about an orderly society Xun Zi believed that only education could provide humans with the customs and habits necessary to counteract the essentially negative character they possessed. Mencius on the other hand expanded on the idea

of innate goodness held by Confucius and suggested that all humans intrinsically contained as part of their essence four qualities: (1) *ren*—benevolence (仁); (2) *yi*—righteousness (義); (3) *li*—propriety, customs, ritual (礼); (4) *zhi*—wisdom (智).

If a person has not come into harmony with his inner wisdom and *ren*, then it is possible that this can be brought forth though formal education (Kuwamoto 1957). The basically essentialist philosophical position of Xun Zi contrasted with the philosophical idealism of the Confucian thinkers, but both agreed on the great potential and force of education.

Early Chinese epistemology suggests an interesting mixture of idealism and pragmatism. This mix was expressed during the Zhou dynasty by the phrase *de xing* 德性. The *de* referred to the practice of that which was innate. Innate knowledge, and the practical application of it once brought forth, characterized early Confucian epistemology (Kuwamoto 1957). Another way of explaining this developments suggests that Chinese thought during this period considered two realms of reality: the inner (*nei*-內) and the outer (*wai*-外) The inner realm was set by nature and the outer realm could bring forth and determine the practical aspects of the inner (the nature-nurture debate). Harmony and gentleness characterized the former while discipline was associated with the latter. During the height of the Legalist influence (Qin Dynasty—221-207 BCE) the concept of the inner realm was totally abandoned, the rulers preferring to rely on outward discipline and in some case brute force to affect people's minds and behaviors. Although the Legalists did not persevere, the imprint that they left upon Chinese concepts of knowledge and action is significant (Schwartz 1964).

The relationship between knowledge and action in the Zhou period was not abstract but concrete and factual. The good society according to Confucius was not an abstract construction arrived at by deductive reasoning in the manner of Plato's *Republic*. To know this society one had to know the facts about it thus providing a very practical orientation to future educational and philosophical discussions. In the more abstruse language of Confucius ". . . shall I teach you what knowledge is? When you know a thing, say that you know it; when you do not know a thing admit that you do not know it. That is knowledge" (De Bary et al. 1960, p. 24). What were the implications of this brand of philosophy for instructors during the Zhou period? What instructional methods were to be employed and perhaps came to influence the modern era? According to the *Book of Rites* (礼记 *Jili*) education was not a procedure involving memorization (as it later became) but stressed the concept of unfolding knowledge from within: "We are told that learning should proceed from the easy to the difficult, from the coarse to the fine; that transition from one step to another should be gradual rather that sudden; and that great things should be accomplished through the accumulation of many small things" (Kuo 1915, p. 21). Students were to be encouraged to solve problems and not simply memorize the content of texts: ". . .if of the four corners of a thing I [Confucius] have shown and explained one corner and the scholars do not find for themselves the other three, I do not explain further" (Kuo 1915, p. 22). In line with these principles teachers were to be models and guides, and students were expected to think analytically at least to the extent necessary to solve philosophical and logical problems.

Intellectuals and scholars during the Han dynasty assumed a new role as government advisers and officials. It was during this period that the scholar-officials grew to become the dominant social force in government. When Confucianism was degreed to be the official ideology, state universities or academies consequently were established along with a competitive civil service examination, which in turn served as a catalyst for whatever education existed at that time. The establishment of the examination system insured the continual reproduction of the scholar elite as a segment of the ruling group (Loewe 1965). Thus, the Zhou and Han periods set an intellectual pattern which was to dominate and define educational theory and practice until the next major period of intellectual change during the Song dynasty (960–1279 CE).

The Song period represented in some respects a Confucian revival as ideas formulated over a thousand years previous were reaffirmed and discussed anew. Movable type was invented during the Song (300 plus years before it appeared in Europe), and this facilitated the widespread use of books and thus provided an impetus to educational development. Academies were established and urbanization created a desire for new ideas. Song thinkers discussed with more rigor earlier Confucian ambiguities such as the relationship between abstract principles and material force (*li* and *qi*). The epistemological problem as which is primary was not clear form the early Confucian texts and later discussion, but when pressed the Song philosopher and neo-Confucian, Zhu Xi (朱熹—1130–1200 CE), finally assumed a basically idealist position: "Fundamentally, principle and material force cannot be spoken of as prior or posterior. But if we must trace their origin, we are obliged to say that principle is prior" (De Bary et al. 1960, p. 481). We see here perhaps a departure in the Confucian theory of knowledge. There was an undeveloped form of materialism in the writings of Confucius (e.g., *Da Xue* or Great Learning) particularly his reference, which states: "Wishing to rectify their mind . . . they first extended to the utmost their knowledge. Such extension of knowledge lay in the investigation of things. Things being investigated, knowledge became complete" (Dow 1971, p. 6). The emphasis on the investigation of "things" or elements of the material world also existed in the writings of the neo-Confucians, but a corresponding importance was attached to innate principles, which existed in the mind.

Wang Yangming of the Ming period (1368–1644 CE) furthered this idea by suggesting that not only did basic principles exist in the mind but in the universe as well. Yet, the clear idealism expressed here did not particularly affect the practical orientation of the educative process. Both Zhu Xi and Wang Yangming continued to stress the unity of knowledge and action and maintained that only by correctly combining the one with the other could knowledge be attained: "knowledge is the beginning of action; action is the completion of knowledge" (De Bary et al. 1960, p. 481).

With the new Song emphasis on learning and knowledge an educational system was designed to prepare students for the more specialized civil service degrees. The idea of education as a social change agent and the belief that correct knowledge could transform human society represented another strong trend during the Song (Dow 1971). A Song general and statesman (Fan Zhongyen) became the first to

propose a set of educational reforms for the Imperial government. Fan proposed the establishment of a national school system from the district level to the capital. The purpose of this proposal was to facilitate training of civil servants with respect to the examination system. It cannot thus be viewed as an attempt to broaden the base of public education for the sake of education per se but the reforms were in any case a significant pedagogical development (De Bary et al. 1960).

Some Observations on Indigenous Chinese Higher Education

The sophisticated and deep intellectual tradition of China briefly referenced above, provided a rich philosophical foundation for the development of an equally sophisticated "educational system." While this was not a system in the sense that we think of these constructs today it contained many of the features that allow us to discuss it and make some comparisons with contemporary educational developments. Here the focus will be on higher education although it is important to note that a wide-ranging pre-collegiate structure gradually came into place during the traditional period which served a preparatory function for the higher levels (Galt 1951; Hayhoe 1989a). As Hayhoe (1989a) has noted, higher educational institutions can be found as far back as the Eastern Zhou dynasty (771–221 BCE). But it was during the Tang (618–907) and later Song (960–1279) dynasties that these institutions reached a maturity that allows us to speak of them as colleges and universities. The range was wide, from *Guo Xe Xue* (colleges for sons of the Emperor), to the *Tai Xue* (often translated as university), a variety of professional schools for law, medicine, mathematics, literature, calligraphy, and Daoism among other topics, to smaller, private but often very innovative *shuyuan* (书院) often translated as Academy. These latter institutions constituted a private system in contradistinction to the state run colleges and universities for officials. However, in both cases (the state-sponsored and the private higher education institutions [HEIs]) their purpose was first and foremost to serve the state, to "harmonize" society, and provide the empire with talent and knowledge.

Structure

Only the briefest outline of China's traditional higher education structure can be provided here, especially given the centuries long period of growth and development. Basically two forms came to dominate this system: senior institutions (i.e., colleges and universities) for the imperial civil service examination (including the *Guo Xe Xue* referenced above) and the smaller, private academies (*shuyuan*) both for personal enrichment and professional development, and more closely aligned with the world of work (Galt 1951; Cleverley 1985). At the apex, the Imperial College was established in 124 BCE as an institution for scholar/officials to study Confucianism. By the Sui-Tang period (581–907 CE) a codified system had been

established at this level for examination procedures, assessment, and evaluation in such areas as law, calligraphy, mathematics and science. A hierarchy of degrees emerged from this system, each with various rights and privileges (the *jinshi*—進士 was the most advanced degree but even lower, so-called qualifying degrees had rights and status). Attached to this early structure was a system of job placement whereby graduates were placed directly in positions by their superiors (not unlike the early post-1949 system in the People's Republic). The Board of Rites in 736 CE assumed the authority of a central monitoring agency for higher learning, a structure that prevailed right down to the establishment of China's first Ministry of Education in the early twentieth century. The transition to a Ministry a 1,000 years later was a relatively easy transition due to this well-established legacy and likely has implications for resistance in the modern era to proposals for decentralization (Cleverley 1985).

By the late Imperial period (Ming and Qing, 1368–1644; 1644–1911 CE respectively) there existed a complex yet coherent system of pre-collegiate and collegiate schools. While the structural form of this system shifted over this long historical period the principle institutions consisted of dynastic schools (*guanxue*), academies (*shuyuan*), clan and family schools (*zushu jiashu*), charitable schools (*yishu*), community schools (*shexue*), and two imperial universities (*guozijian*). This was essentially a two track system, one governmental and primarily focused on examination preparation, and the other private, also concerned with examination preparation but in addition, more practical, applied topics as well as self-cultivation (these were predominantly the *shuyuan*). These latter HEIs, dating back to the Tang dynasty (618–907 CE) had expanded to the rural areas and thus formed a network that was later used as a platform for "modern" higher education expansion at the provincial, prefectural and country levels (Cong 2007).

It is the *shuyuan* that is of particular interest here as they constituted a widespread and protean higher educational form that predated western models by 1,300 years but influenced how China interpreted and adapted western higher education. The term came about, as indicated, in the Tang dynasty and originally referred to a scholarly library, which came to signify a place where young men could gather to read books and be instructed by one or more scholars. Heavily influenced by both Buddhism and Daoism these institutions, unlike the imperial universities, were initially not strongly linked to the Confucian tradition (Meskill 1982). Over time, these institutions also offered a model of decentralization of organization and management, over and against the more centralized Imperial College model, thus framing a debate on the competing values of centralization versus decentralization in higher education; a debate and enduring theme that continues into the present day. It also framed China's response to western models of higher education, whether presented by the Germans, Japanese, French, the Russians/Soviets or the U.S. By the Ming period, the *shuyuan* displayed many of the features of modern higher education, including an "academy" style of architecture, a discernible campus style that was easily recognizable with lecture halls, various shrines, dormitory facilities, eating facilities, a library, study bays, and so on, usually situated on roughly one acre of land (Meskill 1982).

By the late Qing dynasty China had two indigenous historically entrenched, higher education structural models in place when confronted with western higher education. One highly centralized, Confucian and state-centered (the Imperial Colleges and universities), and the other decentralized where one observed a freer discussion, more innovative curriculum with multiple philosophical influences (Buddhism and Daoism) (Rawski 1979). Later, in the Republican period (1911–1949 CE) when China sought to move forward on a "modernization" track, they were presented two external traditions that were therefore not unfamiliar to them. These were the European model, with its emphasis on a more centralized approach within more authoritarian structures (not unlike Confucian learning) typified by Beijing University and the German-supported Tongji University, and the American model somewhat reminiscent of the *shuyuan* typified by Qinghua University and a host of missionary colleges and other institutions founded by Chinese scholars recently returned from the U.S. (Hayhoe 1989b; Clark 2006; Franke 1979).

Another contrasting feature of indigenous Chinese higher education with the Western models was the institutional identity that corporatization gave European higher education and which by contrast, in the case of Chinese higher education, came either from the State (i.e., the Imperial Colleges) or individuals (i.e., the *shuyuan*). Thus in the China case, "correct knowledge" was legitimated either by an individual scholar or by the State. Nevertheless, the multiple European influences present in China in the modern period gave them much to choose from without wholly giving up the main elements of either the imperial educational tradition or the *shuyuan*. The structural result, it could be argued, has been a fluid development of a hybrid higher education model, one that is still evolving within a template of the Western model but not entirely of it (Hayhoe 1989b, Clark 2006).

Curriculum

In addition to a well-defined higher education structure, organization and management, early Chinese higher education also displayed an evolving curriculum that like its structure basically reflected two tracks: more formalized Confucian learning designed for the elites and focused on examination preparation, and more flexible studies program that offered a curriculum closer to professional and personal development. Hayhoe (1989b) notes that in some ways there were parallels to European traditions which developed later; that is there were clear boundaries between pure, classical knowledge as reflected in what needed to be mastered to pass the imperial examinations, and everything else: medicine, mathematics, engineering, chemistry, etc. The successful completion of the former track credentialed one to be chosen for elite positions in the central bureaucracy and the latter for more practical "techniques." This kind of division is reminiscent of tensions and contradictions that are observable in recent Chinese higher education development, namely between theory and practice, "red and expert," as well as other expressions of the differences between mental and manual labor. This particular

hierarchy of knowledge which set clear boundaries between classical principles and more applied and practical arts also helps explain China's early attraction and adaptation of European and later Soviet forms of higher education where strong classification and framing predominated.

Prior to the Song dynasty, as records of the Hanlin Yuan indicate (960–1279 CE), syllabuses show a more diversified curriculum for the Imperial track of higher education. Subjects included, in addition to Confucian studies, composition, singing, archery, horsemanship, mathematics and science. China's stunning advances in science and technology well before similar developments in the West owed much to China's HEIs and traditions of inquiry (Winchester 2008). It was here that the curricular basis of the Imperial examination system was established. After the Song much greater emphasis was put on literary Confucian orthodoxy with less and less interest in diversification of subject matter. All of this was heavily examination driven and although this system was terminated in 1911, the central role of high stakes examinations continues to this day in the form of the *gaokao* (Cleverley 1985).

As indicated earlier, in the second track, the *shuyuan*, the structure of knowledge was highly dependent on time period (pre-Ming more flexible, Ming and post-Ming more formalized) and type of academy as well as the proclivities of the owner. We know from Meskill (1982) that a typical Ming *shuyuan* curriculum might include the following subject matter:

- Rites (礼)—proper ritual deportment according to classical texts focused on the family, ceremonies, and other ancient classics such as the Rites of Zhou (1050–256 BCE).
- Literary style—cultivated prose writing of different styles, poetry, and essays—monthly essays were required, graded and corrected.
- Examination style—this focused mostly on the "eight legged essay," a form of writing that was organized in a fixed sequence of sections and in parallel sentences.
- Political philosophy—students surveyed the Five Classics, other works on political principles and ethics, essentials of administration, learning, and the more practical "things."
- Administration—this course was wide-ranging with sections on military affairs, law, famine relief, waterways and water control.
- Calligraphy—practice writing 100 characters per day.
- The Arts—lute playing, use of bow and arrow, and development of the "inner spirit."
- Examinations—assessment of the structure and meaning of different essays and passages, usually offered twice monthly.

In general, the curriculum of the *shuyuan* was more fluid depending on the variables mentioned above and covered a more diverse set of learning experiences. While still focused on the passing of the imperial examinations, especially from the Ming onward, its long history gave it a reputation and legacy of being structured yet flexible to social needs; characteristics that were important as China began to encounter and adopt/adapt the Western model of the college and university.

Traditional development of curricular patterns powerfully informed China's higher education development both traditional and modern (post-1911). There always existed a significant tension between the more absolutist and authoritarian state model, always more theoretical in its approach to knowledge, later to utilize the term *daxue* (university—大學), and the specialist institutions more closely linked with practical concerns and typically called colleges or academies (*shuyuan*). These boundaries and frames of knowledge were contested throughout modern Chinese history, were influential in determining how China approached Western learning and institutions, and since 1949 have been visible in such dramatic movements as the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution (Hayhoe 1989b).

Teachers, Students, Learning, and Assessment

China's higher education traditions included a codified pedagogy and accepted methods of learning and teaching that were to carry over into the post Western contact period. There was no professional training per se for faculty in the colleges and academies but the development of "educational officials" due to the close linkage with the examination system provided a pool of officials who would later be recruited for ministry positions during the Republican period (1911–1949). Those who did not ascend to the official level but had passed the examinations at some level, were considered credentialed and formed the basis of a teaching and research faculty in the Imperial universities and the more localized *shuyuan* (Cong 2007).

Faculty in these institutions were generally held in high regard even if pay was often minimal. In a famous essay by Han Yu (768–824 CE) entitled "The Teacher" the author extolled the virtues of this occupation, discussed the reward structure (according to status and a rank system), and their pedagogical beliefs and teaching methods (Cleverley 1985). A proto-type of an excellent teacher was one who displayed a belief in developmental stages of child growth, the idea that learning should be in a context of "half work, half study" or learning by doing (based on an essay by Chen Xianzhang 1428–1500), possessed a capacity to "spot talent," and teach effectively to the gifted (Cleverley 1985). Students for their part in general were expected to be diligent, docile, show deference toward teachers, have reverence for the printed word and develop a strong capacity for memorization and text analysis (Cleverley 1985).

These characteristics of teachers, students and learning were generally accepted at all levels of the traditional Chinese higher education system and were strongly influenced by neo—Confucians such as Zhu Xi so that by the Ming dynasty the five points in his essay, "Articles of Instruction" were generally accepted principles of what constituted good teaching and student learning behaviors:

1. Adhere to the five teaching relationships: between father and son, prince and subject, husband and wife, old and young, and between friends

2. The order of learning: study extensively, inquire accurately, think carefully, sift clearly, practice earnestly
3. Essentials of self-cultivation: in speaking be loyal and true, in acting be serious and careful, control anger and check desires, correct errors and move to the good
4. Essentials of managing affairs: stand square on what is right, do not scheme for what is profitable, clarify the "Way" (dao-道), do not calculate honors
5. The essentials of getting along with others: do not do to others what you would not like them to do to you (Meskill 1982, pp. 50–51).

Specific colleges and academies had variations on these five general propositions and the consequences for students who violated them could be severe. As noted in one esteemed academy: "If any student does wrong, the teacher above should guide him and his friends below, exhort him, striving to make him change. If he is stupid and does not reform, expel him. Do not let him break the school regulations" (Meskill 1982, p. 57, from 1465 CE).

The influence of the *shuyuan* in shaping China's traditional view of teaching, students and learning was significant so that even Mao Zedong, in 1923 referred positively to the impact of this traditional HEI on the development of modern schools and juxtaposed it to the teaching and learning style that was then associated with Western education:

> In looking back at the *shuyuan*, although there were faults in their form of organization, they were not the faults of contemporary schools—lack of warmth between teacher and students, an authoritarian style of teaching that does harm to human personality, too many hours of class, and too complex a curriculum so that students can't use their own idea to initiate research. Secondly, there was no "academic government by professors," but a free spirit and free research. Thirdly, the curriculum was simple and discussions ranged broadly, it was possible to work in a leisurely and carefree way and to play a little. (Hawkins 1974, p. 82; Hayhoe 1989a, p. 23; Mao 1923)

Other practices in the *shuyuan* were carried forward into the modern era, such as "quiet sitting" and self-study (*zixue*—) practices that inspired ideas such as Mao's "Self-study university in Hunan," ideas which have remained an active stream of pedagogical thought down to the present with the current *minban* (民办) schools (Hawkins 1974; Wang 2010). The founders of the more famous academies were generally motivated by what they considered to be the unreflective memorization and stylized writing methods that were common in the ordinary government schools. The teaching and learning method that then emerged from the Ming period *shuyuan*, in some respects in contradistinction to the more formalized Confucian governmental HEIs, was characterized as congenial, moral, inductive, practicing continuous assessment, social, communal and that which unified knowledge and action (Meskill 1982).

Finally, as is well known and studied, traditional Chinese higher education had a sophisticated and pioneering system of evaluation and assessment. The imperial civil service examinations, whose modern incarnation is the *gaokao* (高考), gave early meaning to the phrase used in Japan, Korea and China today (and perhaps elsewhere) of "examination hell." The system had features that came to

be recognized in contemporary higher education, namely agreed upon standards, assessment, prescribed teaching methods, uniform syllabuses, controlling bodies of literacy superintendents and chancellors. This examination came to possess a powerful aura around it, and in modern times continues to drive much of education at both the collegiate and precollegiate level. Indeed, as Cleverley (1985, p.18) notes: "It was widely held [in traditional China] that sitting there [in the examination cell] alone a candidate was prey to spirits seeking vengeance for his past misdeeds, a belief related to the opinion that examination success had magical components." This system of evaluation also spawned in the private academies examination preparatory bodies, the precursors of contemporary "cram" schools throughout East Asia (*buxiban* in China; *juku* in Japan; and *hakwon* in Korea). Overall this system served the cause of social mobility and thus helped to integrate and stabilize Chinese society. On the other hand, it has always been associated with a certain level of corruptibility, privileged those with wealth, and raised questions about the content of the curriculum.

Discussion

China's immense and elaborate system of education, including its higher education segment, was in existence long before Western educational models arrived in the nineteenth century. It provided an intellectual and structural framework that mediated the interaction, infiltration, and experimentation encountered with the multiple influences on China's indigenous higher education from the British, Japanese, Americans, French and Russian/Soviets from the 1890s to the 1950s. The result has been a hybrid higher education model that is still in the process of transformation. One cannot call it European inspired or Western dominated. There is simply too much that is Chinese about it.

This raises another important point about the use of the term "modern." Essentially when Chinese higher education is viewed in its historical and evolutionary context, the term "modern" begins to lack analytical rigor. It is usually used to describe the period when Western educational models displaced a state Chinese system. For example, Biggerstaff (1961) notes that "modern education" began in China in the 1860s during the Self-Strengthening movement and Cleverley (1985) suggests that it was with the introduction of the missionary schools that China's modern era of higher education began. In these studies as in others a rather strict dividing line is drawn between the notions of modern and traditional. Other scholars such as Hawkins (1974), Borthwick (1983), Yeh (1990), and Cong (2007) remind us that Chinese indigenous HEIs co-existed with Western models often providing an educational network that Western models could tap into to assist in the harmonization of traditional and nontraditional higher education forms. There thus appears to be a false dichotomy between these notions of modern and traditional, and it is more useful to view these experiences as overlapping and adaptive. Hayhoe (1996, p. 10) may have stated it best: ". . . China's universities present a process of

conflict, interaction, and adaptation in which the Western concept of the university never made more than a partial appearance." And it is quite possible that as the hybrid Chinese higher education system continues to evolve and adapt, now in a globalized context, it will offer to the world of higher education new and novel forms of structure, curriculum, learning, instruction, and evaluation.

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Part II
Language

Chapter 7
Strategies for Overcoming Linguistic Genocide: How to Avoid Macroaggressions and Microaggressions that Lead Toward Indigenous Language Annihilation

W. James Jacob

Abstract Family settings that value indigenous languages, cultures, and identities are ideal for language preservation for future generations. Government policies and education reform efforts are also helpful in indigenous language preservation efforts. Some government initiatives make every effort to preserve indigenous languages. In other contexts, there are intentional local and national efforts to annihilate indigenous languages. Regardless of the circumstance—intentional or unintentional— many indigenous languages worldwide are threatened with extinction or a *linguistic and cultural genocide*. This chapter outlines the vicious cycle role that *microaggressions* and *macroaggressions* play in perpetuating indigenous language stigma that in many ways leads to diminishing, devaluing, and eliminating indigenous languages. This vicious cycle is unfortunately irreversible in many instances; in others, there is still hope. Four strategies are introduced to avoid linguistic genocide: (1) parental involvement, (2) indigenous peoples involvement, (3) governments should play a leading role, and (4) leverage advances in technology to best meet the needs of language learners. Parents and indigenous peoples are essential in sustained indigenous language acquisition and preservation. Governments also play an important role in establishing and implementing policies that help support language acquisition and eliminate scenarios for micro- and/or macroaggressions. Finally, with current and undoubtedly future advances in technology, languages can be made accessible to learners of all ages, whether in the formal education system or in nonformal, business, and other settings.

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Table 7.1 World languages by global region of origin

Geographic region	Living languages				Number of speakers	
	Count	Percent	In trouble	Dying	Total	Percent
Africa	2,146	30.2	209	137	789,138,977	12.7
Americas	1,060	14.9	307	336	51,5109,910	0.8
Asia	2,304	32.4	685	178	3,742,996,641	60.0
Europe	284	4.0	49	48	1,646,624,761	26.4
Pacific	1,311	18.5	231	207	6,551,278	0.1
Totals	7,105	100.0	1,481	906	6,236,421,567	100.0

Source: Lewis et al. (2013)

Many original aspects of indigenous culture and traditions have been lost as a result of the oppression accompanied by colonization, modernization, and globalization. For indigenous peoples, modernization often meant moving off of native lands, learning the national dominant group's tongue, and assimilating into mainstream society. In so doing, hundreds of indigenous languages have disappeared, along with their traditions. Many others are in trouble or dying. Table 7.1 portrays the disparity that exists between the region of origin of living languages and the number of speakers.

Although only 4.0 % of the world's languages are spoken in Europe, 26.4 % of the world's total population speaks a European native tongue. This highlights the vast influence European languages have on the world today and relative weakness of the indigenous languages of the Pacific Region (with only 0.1 % of these less-commonly taught languages spoken worldwide). Roughly 80 % of the world's 906 dying languages are in three regions: 37.1 % are in the Americas, 22.8 % in the Pacific, and 19.6 % are in Asia (see Fig. 7.1). The contemporary global community is comprised of a spectrum of indigenous living languages still in use today, which are spoken by the majority (as in China, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Kiribati, Japan, and Tonga), roughly half (such as in Fiji), and in many cases the minority (Australia, Taiwan, and the United States) of the total population (see Table 7.2). Melanesia is home to approximately 19 % (1,319) of all living languages; yet 190 of these are threatened today, according to M. Lynn Landweer (2012, p. 154).

Still, the term *indigenous* is very much a relative one that is often politicized to the benefit of the dominant group(s) in power. "Conquerors and elites often, overtly and covertly, impose their language on those inferior in power and prestige" (Karttunen and Crosby 1995, p. 160). Regardless of the context, power seems to be a central variable in determining indigenous sovereignty in the preservation of languages, cultures, and identities (Alleyne and Hall-Alleyne 1982). This chapter will focus on the imbalance that prevails among global and national dominant languages and the thousands of indigenous languages that are threatened with extinction. This destruction of indigenous knowledge and traditions is termed *linguistic and cultural genocide*. Other synonymous terms exist in the literature, including *language death*, *language extinction*, and *linguicide*.
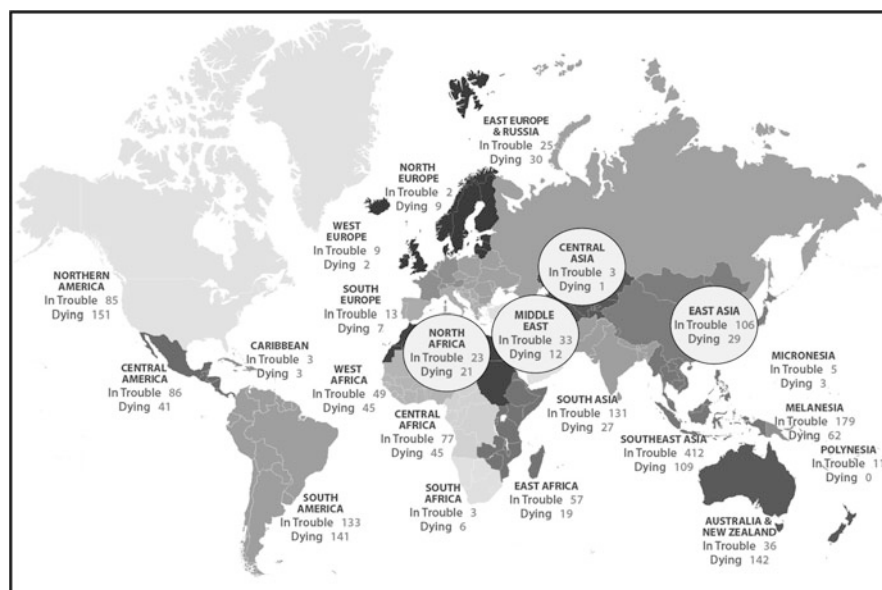
Fig. 7.1 Breakdown of endangered languages by global region (*Source*: Artwork by the Author, data adapted from Lewis et al. 2013)

Table 7.2 Indigenous languages in select countries

Country	Living languages			
	Count	Percent	Indigenous	Immigrant
Australia	245	3.45	214	31
Brazil	228	3.21	215	13
China	301	4.24	298	3
Democratic Rep. of the Congo	215	3.03	212	3
Fiji	21	0.30	10	11
Indonesia	707	9.95	706	1
Japan	16	0.23	15	1
Kiribati	3	0.04	2	1
Mexico	288	4.05	282	6
Mongolia	14	0.20	12	2
Taiwan	27	0.38	22	5
Tonga	5	0.07	3	2
Uganda	43	0.61	41	2
United States	420	5.91	214	206
Vietnam	111	1.56	109	2

Source: Lewis et al. (2013)

The term genocide is used with the intent to highlight how central language is in ecology, whereby if one's indigenous language is restricted, forgotten, stigmatized, or unlearned, it is in essence lost. And like the dinosaurs that once ruled the earth, indigenous languages will one day be a thing of the past. Only those with skeletal (written) remains will be recordable in historical archives. How many indigenous languages have been or will shortly be lost with no written record of their existence?

The written word is the foundation for all sustainable languages. This is especially the case in contemporary times where relationships, networks, and linkages are as easily made on opposite sides of the earth as was once only possible within a few kilometers of walking distance. The languages with the strongest roots on the Indigenous Education Tree are those with rich vocabulary that have been recorded and which are accessible to the masses. Innovations in disseminating written and spoken languages—not just through the invention of the printing press, movable type, phonograph, and television in previous eras, but also via modern technologies and the Internet—are essential elements that are helping to strengthen existing languages and provide opportunities for less-commonly spoken ones to flourish.

Many contemporary indigenous peoples are trying to revive their native languages and traditions. Larger tribes have been able to keep many of their original traditions and preserve their languages. Unfortunately for the smaller tribes, this is not always possible and hundreds of distinct indigenous languages have either disappeared because no one living can speak the language or so few people currently speak the languages that they will be the last generations to speak the dying tongues. Cultural and traditional losses accompany this linguistic genocide phenomenon that is plaguing thousands of indigenous peoples.

Indigenous language destruction can be portrayed and experienced in many ways that mirror a spectrum, ranging from *nonaggressions* to *macroaggressions*. There are also many other less obvious or even subconscious types of indigenous language eliminators that are based on *microaggressions*—a concept grounded in the critical race theory literature (see for instance, Gordon and Johnson 2003; Nsubuga and Jacob 2006; Solorzano and Yosso 2003; Villalpando 2003; Huynh 2012). These can be more subtle, and they include verbal innuendos or negative body language expressed toward indigenous peoples. Neil Harrison (2005) considers the many different types of interactions that occur between indigenous peoples and non-indigenous peoples as a "metalanguage" that are often unnoticed and unseen but are real. "The [interaction and] relation is negotiated through a metalanguage that is outside the conscious intentions of both participants. They are doing something of which they are both unaware insofar as they are unconsciously reflecting on how they position themselves through discourse for the other person" (p. 878). Comments like "they" or "them" versus "us" place minority indigenous students in a stigmatized state by forcing them into an "other" category (see Fig. 7.2).

Expelling a child out of school, or forcing them to attend boarding schools to ensure they are prevented from speaking their indigenous language are examples of linguistic genocide macroaggression policies and practices. Historically, linguistic genocide often followed forced migrations of people due to emergency, conflict, and post-conflict contexts. Some of these contexts included enslavement, war, extreme
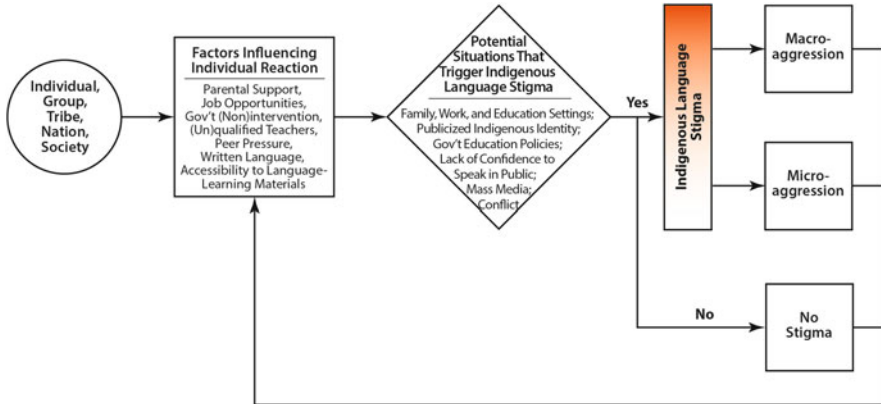
Fig. 7.2 Indigenous Language Stigma Model

or prolonged periods of poverty, epidemics, natural disasters, and exposure to new religions, races, and commuter inventions that would enable indigenous peoples to expand their mobility and outreach (Hill 1983; Wurm 1991; Landweer 2012). Each of these contexts generally included some form of overt or covert macro- or micro-aggressive repression of indigenous peoples speaking their mother tongues. Contemporary linguistic stigma situations in many ways mirror the historical ones listed above. They also include urbanization trends;[1] perpetuating negative indigenous stereotypes through mass media outlets (via the Internet, movies, TV shows, newspapers, etc.); and fueling a viscous cycle fad that learning one's indigenous language is out-of-date or unnecessary for individual progress in mainstream society.

Continuously belittling or treating indigenous languages as inferior to dominant languages are forms of indigenous language microaggression stigma. Macroaggressions include government policies of linguistic assimilation or preventing indigenous students from speaking their native languages in school and public settings. These macroaggression policies and practices can have long-lasting implications on a person's self-esteem, reputation, and interactions with others. Increased exposure and understanding of indigenous knowledges, cultures, and languages are important predictors to supporting indigenous language recognition and preservation.

Indigenous language preservation is best achieved through support from families and where possible, the formal education system. Children are best able to learn to read and write when they begin to learn reading in their mother tongue. Yet macroaggressions and microaggressions can exist within families as well (Nadal

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[1]Urbanization especially impacts Indigenous migrant workers who are forced to seek out greater economic opportunities away from their homelands, tribespeople, and family members who they may converse with in their native language. In some cases Indigenous migrant workers leave their families home; in others they bring them with them to the city where their children are prevented from being able to speak their Indigenous language in school and among friends.

et al. 2013). Some parents may entirely restrict the use of native indigenous languages in their homes. In such macroaggression cases, these parents may feel that in order for their children to succeed in their future career paths and life in general, they will need to master the predominant national languages of business and society. Indigenous children often join this anti-indigenous language acquisition movement by choosing not to take courses in their native language when it is given as an option in schools. This was a common response from administrators, teachers, and students in a study we conducted among Native American students in the Seneca Nation of Indians in New York (Jacob et al. 2009). Microaggression examples in this case include students thinking, "How will learning my indigenous language help me to pass a state, provincial, or national exam that is written in the dominant language?" or parents discourage their children from speaking in their native languages because they know that most high-paying jobs in the local and national economy will require fluency in the dominant language. Even if positive government policies exist that provide indigenous language instruction to children and youths in formal school settings, self-perceived negative stereotypes that undervalue indigenous language acquisition are strong factors that too often prevent parents and children from choosing to teach and learn their indigenous language when permitted the agency to choose.

Parents are the world's largest language teacher force. While not all indigenous parents speak their indigenous languages, they do nonetheless constitute the largest group of indigenous language teachers on the earth. Parents must be involved if indigenous languages are to flourish and be preserved. The first few years of instruction in the mother tongue are critical to reading and writing proficiency. Countless studies also note how children can learn non-native dominant national languages (e.g., Chinese, English, French, etc.) *after* they first learn to read and write in their own language (see for example Oxford and Leaver 1996; Cohen 2003; Bethel 2006; Taylor et al. 2008; Zhang et al. 2008; Nikolov and Csapó 2010; Ball 2011; van Staden and Howie 2012). Many scholars take this a step further to advocate that the optimal learning scenario is for indigenous students to first learn reading in their mother tongue as a foundation and springboard for greater success in a second language (Brock-Utne 2000; Myburgh et al. 2004; Kosonen 2005; Backman 2009; Cincotta-Segi 2011).

Governments are often strained by limited budgets to offer curricula in more than one national language. In many cases, governments don't have sufficient funds to offer quality teacher training and instruction materials in one language, let alone two or more. Thus a highest return-on-investment perspective in language instruction is one that has dominated language instruction debate since the founding of the Bretton Woods institutions. For countries like Zambia, where 53 languages are spoken (Lewis et al. 2013),[2] the government supports where possible instruction

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[2]Of the 53 languages Lewis and his colleagues (2013) identify, 46 are Indigenous. Some scholars claim that as many as 70 distinct languages and/or dialects are spoken in Zambia (see Kashoki and Ohannessian 1978; Bickmore 2007).

at the early-grade levels in seven languages in addition to English.[3] The Zambian Ministry of Education, Science, Vocational Training, and Early Education policies are favorable toward children learning to read, write, and acquire basic math and science knowledge in indigenous languages, but finding and training qualified teachers in these many indigenous languages is often difficult. This creates a gap between policy (what is mandated by the government to be taught in schools) and practice (what is actually happening on the ground). HIV and AIDS is another factor that significantly strains already limited human resource limitations of qualified teachers in Zambia and many other Sub-Saharan African nations (Jacob 2009).

Four Strategies to Avoid Linguistic Genocide

Below are four strategies to help avoid the genocide of indigenous languages. These strategies can be implemented by all who care about the preservation of indigenous people's languages, cultures, and identities.

Parents Are Central to Indigenous Language Preservation

No success in language preservation can compensate for a failure to preserve native languages being spoken in indigenous people's homes. Parents and grandparents are keystones to encouraging intergenerational language use among their posterity. Families using indigenous languages in everyday normal conversations within the home is the gold standard for language preservation according to Joshua A. Fishman (1991). "The issue of language in education is a very real problem for many" indigenous peoples (Bethel 2006, p. 37). Indigenous children often "speak a home language that differs from the language of instruction in education programmes" and yet many studies conclude that children learn best if their education instruction begins in the early-grade levels with instruction in their mother tongue (Ball 2011, p. 6). When indigenous children have opportunities to learn in their mother tongue, their parents are also more likely to get involved in their education and engage with their child's teachers (Benson 2002; Kemppainen et al. 2004). Learning to speak, read, and write an indigenous language is best accomplished within a safe and loving environment. Who could better share their rich heritage of culture, identity, and language than the parents of indigenous children? Parents are the central piece to the indigenous language preservation puzzle.

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[3]In addition to English, early-grade instruction is offered on a limited scale in the following Indigenous languages: Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi, Lunda, Luvale, Nyanja, and Tonga.

Indigenous Peoples Must Be Involved

If indigenous peoples are to avoid the death of their native language, culture, and identity, they must take a proactive stance. Fence sitting will only offer participants seats on a linguistic genocide stage. Action and engagement are required to preserve what could otherwise be lost. All stakeholders should be involved in the preservation process. Begoña Echeverria (2010) notes how too often, women and children are neglected from involvement in curriculum design of indigenous languages. This significantly hinders some of the key people who otherwise would be instrumental in helping to promote language preservation. Involving inputs from all stakeholder groups—women, men, and children; the young and the old; those who live on indigenous lands and those who have migrated elsewhere; policy makers and government planners; teachers, school administrators, students, and parents of students; native speakers and non-native speakers—empowers the linguistic preservation movement and instills a sense of ownership and unity among all groups.

Governments Should Play a Leading Role

Governments are in a pivotal position to either prevent or facilitate linguistic genocide. There has been tremendous progress by several governments to reach out to and preserve indigenous languages, cultures, and traditions. Recent positive examples include the active role government has played in Canada, New Zealand, Taiwan, and in the Sami region of Scandinavia. But several factors within and outside of the control of governments often take precedence over what theoretical stance governments play in policy making and implementation of those policies. Modernization, globalization, Californization,[4] McDonaldization,[5] and more recently, Googlization[6] are paradigmatic influences that work in conjunction with

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[4]This geographic state reference is used to denote the location of Hollywood in Southern California and the dominant influence cinemas and the mass media play in perpetuating (negative/positive) stereotypes, histories, and news stories about Indigenous peoples and languages.

[5]McDonaldization is a metaphoric term that has been used in multiple fields, and is used in this case to refer to the homogenization of cultures, cuisine, ideas, education systems, and business across the earth (see for instance Ritzer 1993; Slater 1999).

[6]Google has risen to dominate the Internet search engine world, and has expanded to where it now serves as the primary source of information for billions of Internet users across the earth. The term Googlization represents Google and all Internet search engines, which play a key role in helping to preserve or hinder Indigenous languages depending on the quality, accuracy, and intent of the information organized and filtered through the Internet. Governments often monitor and filter communication, media, terms, and historical data on the Internet and must have the cooperation of search engine companies in order to accomplish this regulation.

and often overshadow local and national governmental influence in support of or against indigenous sovereignty. While there is no stopping each of these dominant tidal paradigms from continuing to shape our world, there is a need for greater understanding and efforts from lawmakers and government planners at all levels to reach out and work with indigenous leaders in a mutually-beneficial and synergistic way to preserve the rich diversity of each nation. This synergistic approach is more effective in building unity within a nation than one that posits the government against its indigenous citizenry by subjugating them with linguistic limits.

Perhaps the most important role governments can play in support of indigenous language preservation is in creating an enabling environment that facilitates and actively protects the sovereign rights to speak one's own language. An enabling environment provides a foundation for enhanced and sustained language preservation. The key features of a supportive and enabling environment include leadership and advocacy, being able to address stigma and discrimination, planning for the future, creating a supportive educational structure, establishing guiding policies and legal frameworks, and committing appropriate resources to the indigenous language-preservation cause.

Leverage Advances in Technology

Advances in technology can help in many ways to document and disseminate indigenous languages on a scale previously unimaginable. Where fiscal limitations in publishing and distribution have been hitherto significant deterrents in the argument for language instruction, technology helps to level the fiscal playing field so that indigenous languages can be made more accessible at reasonable costs. Indigenous language lexicons, grammars, e-books, and online games are excellent materials at any teacher's fingertips so long as they have access to the digital materials. While the optimal scenario for involving technology in indigenous language instruction is to have access to the Internet, other modes of accessing IT language materials area also available through CD-ROMs, DVDs, flash drive storage devices, and increasingly through apps accessible through hand-held smart phones and tablets. Research indicates a positive relation between access and use of the latest technologies and language learning among children in schools (Román Carrasco and Torrecilla 2012). User access to the Internet has increased at a tremendous rate since the beginning of the twenty-first century. In Africa alone, the number of Internet users increased from just over 4.5 million in December 2000 to more than 167.3 million in June 2012 (an increase of 3,600 %). All other global regions increased at lower rates during the same period: Asia from 114.3 to 1,076.7 million users, Australia and Oceania from 7.6 to 24.3 million, Europe from 105.1 to 518.5 million, Latin America and the Caribbean from 18.1 to 254.9 million, the Middle East from 3.3 to 90.0 million, and the United States and Canada from 108.1 to 273.8 million (Internet World Stats 2012). Access to the Internet will continue to increase dramatically among indigenous peoples worldwide.

The dominance of a handful of languages, and one in particular (English), are the immovable foundation of the Internet, which serves as the greatest linguistic technological invention that can help prevent or facilitate language genocide. While the Internet and other modern technological advances are not an anti-linguistic genocide panacea for all indigenous languages and contexts. And there is no replacing the fact that language acquisition relies heavily upon social interaction and engagement. Yet, Indigenous leaders would do well to advocate training their youth to embrace the window of opportunity the Internet affords in language preservation. In this way, advances in Internet technology can be viewed as an indigenous language preservation tool, even an Archimedean lever, which can help overcome many of the linguistic genocide macro- and microaggressions we see in play throughout the world today.

Conclusion

Hundreds of evidences indicate how fast languages can vanish from the earth. While causes of linguistic genocide vary depending on the time, circumstances, and choices that indigenous peoples face, there are likewise many examples of how to prevent language death from occurring. Some living languages only have a handful of elderly speakers remaining. Others have hundreds or a few thousand native speakers. Some governments have policies that promote indigenous language use in schools and society; other governments seek to curtail or regulate how non-mainstream languages are used. In this chapter, I have addressed how trends toward linguistic genocide continue to advance despite many efforts to defray the movement.

Indigenous language preservation faces many challenges in contemporary society. Each of these challenges comes in the form of various macro- and microaggressions. Understanding how to identify and overcome these linguistic genocide challenges are essential if we are to succeed. Four strategies of note can help empower indigenous peoples in a sustained effort toward the preservation of their native tongues. First, ensure that parents are involved in leading the education process of indigenous languages. This begins in homes and spreads outwards into schools, communities, and the global society. Second, language preservation cannot be accomplished in a vacuum and must involve all stakeholders to ensure that it is sustained. Indigenous peoples must lead this engagement initiative, but every effort should be made to include all relevant stakeholders and government partners. Third, governments should likewise take leadership roles in establishing enabling and supportive environment by which indigenous languages can flourish. Finally, recent advances in technology should be embraced to help facilitate the documenting, teaching, and preservation of indigenous languages.

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Chapter 8
Sustaining Indigenous Identity Through Language Development: Comparing Indigenous Language Instruction in Two Contexts

Carol J. Ward and David B. Braudt

Abstract Indigenous language instruction in elementary and secondary schools has a significant impact on indigenous culture and identity. The history of indigenous language instruction policy is always unique and its impact on the community depends on a range of internal and external factors. Using a theoretical framework of ethnic identity formation and cultural revitalization, we compare indigenous language policy and use in the Northern Cheyenne Nation and Timor-Leste. We identify commonalities and differences in indigenous language instruction when the indigenous language is in a stage of revitalization (Northern Cheyenne Nation) vs. preservation or prevention of language loss (Timor-Leste). In both cases we find that decentralized formal educational decision-making, and increased support of self-determination for indigenous groups play a key role in the successful pursuit of indigenous language instruction leading to increased salience of indigenous group identities and indigenous language use in schools, other institutions, and daily life. While each case has a unique history of oppression, colonization, duration of assimilationist policies, and available resources for the advocacy of indigenous language instruction, there are important similarities in the general experiences of indigenous language groups independent of whether the indigenous language in question is in a stage of revitalization or preservation.

Keywords Indigenous language • Indigenous identity • Language preservation • United States • Timor-Leste

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Introduction

In this chapter we explore the role of indigenous language instruction as a key element of revitalization of indigenous culture and identity in two very different contexts. Timor-Leste represents one context in which indigenous people have only recently begun indigenous language instruction as part of the decentralization of schooling in this developing country. This context provides an opportunity to consider how living indigenous languages can be incorporated into schooling. In contrast, native language instruction in the Northern Cheyenne Nation reflects the types of cultural preservation and revitalization efforts pursued by a number of American Indian communities who have suffered intensive language loss. The experiences of this indigenous people demonstrate the challenges of overcoming language loss through the expansion of indigenous language instruction. Not only is such instruction central to the improvement of schooling, it reinforces minority indigenous group identity. The differences in the two contexts highlight the shared challenges as well as the unique strategies for cultural decolonization that indigenous peoples use to sustain their survival and identities. In order to explore the relationship of indigenous language instruction to group identity, we first examine the unique resources of indigenous groups and features of each context that facilitate or impede indigenous language instruction. We then discuss the relationship of increased opportunities for indigenous language instruction on the cultural integrity and identity formation process of minority indigenous groups.

The language of instruction in contemporary schools, which is central to the process of teaching and learning, has special importance for indigenous communities. Since most formalized schooling in these communities was organized and administered by the dominant group (typically a colonizer), use of the dominant group language in instruction was employed as a method of forced assimilation of indigenous students into the national culture and society. Importantly, the language of instruction communicates more than knowledge relevant to becoming productive citizens of the nation-state; it is also the process by which cultural values, beliefs and meanings as well as collective identity and worldviews are formed and expressed (Champagne 2005). Thus, when students from indigenous communities experience schooling instruction in the language of the dominant group and their own language and culture are suppressed, they often experience alienation from schooling that results in lower levels of school performance and achievement (Abu-Saad and Champagne 2006; Ward 2005). However, in recent decades policy shifts that have supported decentralization of schooling and governance have brought new opportunities for indigenous communities to assert greater control over local decision-making and schooling, including the language of instruction. Thus, recent development of schools has included curricular changes that focus more attention on indigenous culture, history and use of the indigenous languages in instruction. These actions correspond to preservation and revitalization of the indigenous languages central to group identities.

Indigenous Language Revitalization and Decentralization of Schooling

Indigenous language revitalization efforts have gained momentum over the last several decades as indigenous peoples in both developed and developing contexts have increased attempts to counteract the language and identity loss created by state-supported forced assimilation efforts. According to Lewis and Simons (2009, p. 4):

> Of the 6,909 living languages now listed in *Ethnologue*, 457 are identified as Nearly Extinct, a category which represents a severe level of endangerment. Less serious levels of endangerment are not currently distinguished in the *Ethnologue*. If small speaker population alone were taken as an indicator of language endangerment, the current worldwide count of languages with fewer than 10,000 speakers is 3,524, which amounts to just over 50 % of the identified living languages in the world today.

In the US, in which the Northern Cheyenne are one tribal nation, a population of $2\frac{1}{2}$ million American Indians, representing approximately 500 tribes and 200 different languages (Reyhner 2010b), has seen a steady decline in indigenous language use as a result of federal assimilation policies. In Timor-Leste, a small country occupying half of an island on the southeast border of Indonesia, there are at least 20 well-established indigenous groups and languages (see Table 8.1 below for a complete list), but all were suppressed by the various colonizers in favor of dominant group language use, resulting in an erosion of indigenous language use. Janine Pease-Pretty on Top (2004, pp. 18–19) eloquently describes the impact of language loss for indigenous peoples, such as the Northern Cheyenne and the people of Timor-Leste:

> Language loss means the loss of linguistic as well as intellectual diversity. Every language loss causes serious damage to individual and group identity, for it destroys a sense of self-worth, limits human potential and complicates efforts to solve problems in the community.... Every Native language is replete with symbols of ethnic identity and it is a repository for much of their cultural heritage. The syntax and structure "embodies a way of seeing" the world.

In the US and in other countries, revitalization activities and programs take many forms—from informal family and community-based efforts to formal instructional programs located in schools (cf. Jacobs 2013). Of particular importance is that these efforts frequently draw on indigenous models of teaching and learning and, therefore, represent examples of decolonization and resistance to the culture of the dominant group (Fenelon and Hall 2008). Additionally, these indigenous language programs and the decentralization of schooling (De Grauwe et al. 2005; Fenelon and Hall 2008) reflect increased opportunities for indigenous communities to assert their presence culturally and socially. As a result of increased support by both public and private sources to elementary, secondary and higher education institutions serving indigenous communities, new language, history and cultural instruction contribute to the development of human and native capital in indigenous communities.

Table 8.1 Indigenous language groups in Timor-Leste

Language	Number of speakers	Percentage of population
Tétum-Praça	133,102	17.950
Mambae	131,472	17.730
Makasai[a]	90,018	12.139
Kemak	51,057	6.885
Bunak[a]	50,631	6.828
Tétum (rural varieties)	45,944	6.196
Baikenu	45,695	6.162
Tokodede	31,814	4.290
Fataluku[a]	28,893	3.896
Waima'a	14,506	1.956
Idalaka	14,201	1.915
Kairui-Midiki	13,540	1.826
Naueti	11,321	1.527
Galoli	10,998	1.483
Makalero[a]	5,981	0.807
Ataúran varieties	5,576	0.752
Bekais	3,222	0.435
Habun	1,586	0.214
Dadu'a	1,242	0.167
Makuva	100	0.013
Total population	741,530	93.172

[a]Languages of Papuan origin

Indigenous language instruction has become a significant aspect of schooling and cultural revitalization efforts in many indigenous communities. While the forms of instruction range from intensive immersion programs to bilingual education efforts, assessments of their impact on participants suggest not only greater self-esteem, but also increased school achievement (Pease-Pretty on Top 2004; Reyhner 2010b). However, the nature and effects of such efforts are highly context-dependent. While linguists and other researchers in the 1990s helped to clarify the means for measuring the level of language loss among indigenous peoples (Fishman 2007), more recent efforts have focused on developing the criteria for and assessing effects of language revitalization programs (Obiero 2010).

In addition to the efforts of linguists to determine what constitutes success, another question concerns the types of influences (both internal and external to indigenous groups) that facilitate or impede the effectiveness of language revitalization programs. Of particular relevance to this type of analysis is the framework developed by Cornell and Hartmann (2007, pp. 86, 205, 245) for understanding ethnic identity formation in the modern context. Ethnic group identity has been defined as self-conscious identification with a group that makes claims to have common origins and kinship and history (including territory or land) and culture (including unique practices, religion and language). Among the *external* factors that

increase the salience of ethnic identification are the distribution of political power; governmental policy that includes differential treatment of groups; occupational and geographic concentration of groups; disparities in ethnic group access to social institutions; ethnic categories of ascription; large status differences among ethnic groups; and ethnic group identities central in daily life. *Internal* group resources and characteristics are important as well and have long been associated with ethnic group identities. Key internal factors include: unique cultural practices, especially language and symbolic repertoire, as well as history and geographic location; a group's pre-existing identity; and the group's demographic and social class composition, including social and human capital.

In this framework, ethnic group identity formation is an on-going process that results from the interaction of external and internal factors within a specific time and place. For this analysis it offers for consideration of a range of factors affecting indigenous communities and their struggle for indigenous language use in their communities and in schools, which are critical to sustaining indigenous group identities. Figure 8.1 provides a summary of the influences identified in this framework of interest for an analysis of the use of indigenous language in schooling in these two cases.

Support for the revitalization of indigenous languages has coincided with increased decentralization of schooling both in the US and other countries. American education traditionally has been more decentralized than education in other countries (Brint 2006). However, recently decentralization has continued, as evidenced by the increased number of independent and charter schools, and the expansion of home schooling. This effort has developed in part in relation to the decline in the availability of state and local funding for schooling, critiques of the quality of schooling, and preferences by parents for alternative schooling options. DeGrauwe et al. (2005) provide evidence from research on the impact of decentralization in several developing West African countries that as the role of the nation-state changes, local communities may experience some increased resources and empowerment and greater influence on schooling. However, "the context of scarcity, in which decentralization is being implemented, intensifies the challenges local actors encounter while making it more necessary for the State to support them" (p. 6). In some cases, such as Mali, education decentralization has allowed for instruction in local languages along with learning the national language, French (Ballif-Spanvill et al. 2005). As in Timor-Leste, in many developing contexts, instruction in indigenous languages involves the use of living languages rather than heritage languages (i.e., languages that have experienced intensive loss).

Northern Cheyenne: A Case Study of Language Revitalization

In this section a brief history of policies toward Indigenous peoples in the US will provide the background for examining the relation of language revitalization to schooling in one American Indian tribal nation. Describing the policies of the US
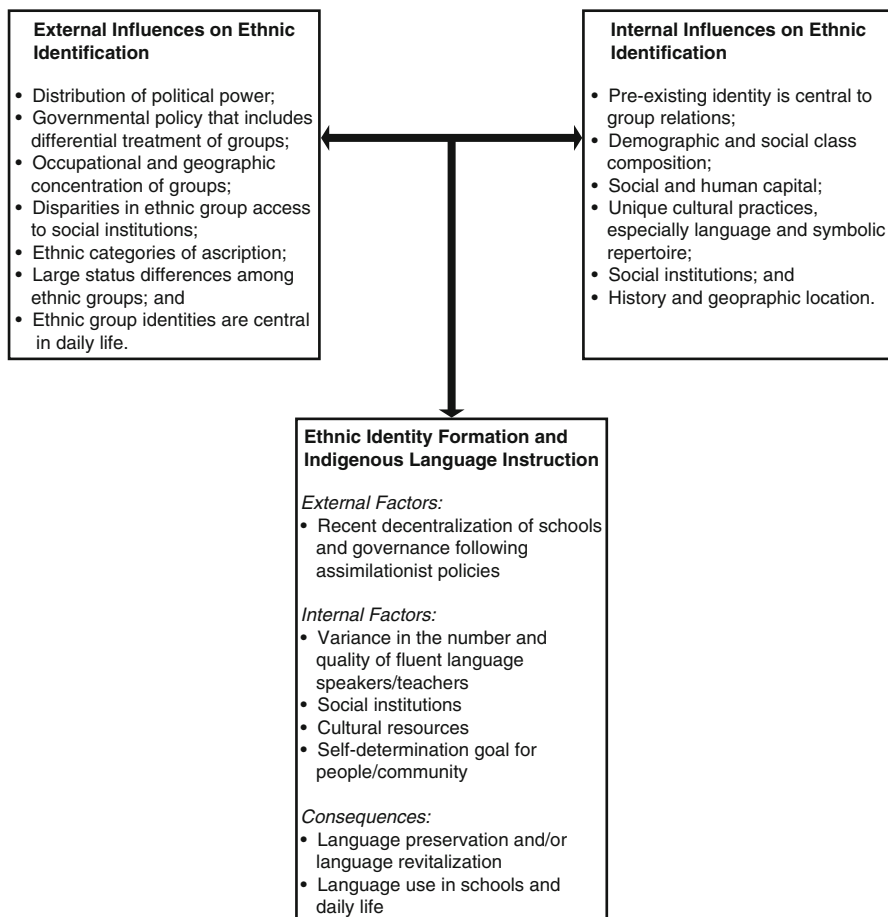
External Influences on Ethnic Identification

- Distribution of political power;
- Governmental policy that includes differential treatment of groups;
- Occupational and geographic concentration of groups;
- Disparities in ethnic group access to social institutions;
- Ethnic categories of ascription;
- Large status differences among ethnic groups; and
- Ethnic group identities are central in daily life.

Internal Influences on Ethnic Identification

- Pre-existing identity is central to group relations;
- Demographic and social class composition;
- Social and human capital;
- Unique cultural practices, especially language and symbolic repertoire;
- Social institutions; and
- History and geographic location.

Ethnic Identity Formation and Indigenous Language Instruction

External Factors:
- Recent decentralization of schools and governance following assimilationist policies

Internal Factors:
- Variance in the number and quality of fluent language speakers/teachers
- Social institutions
- Cultural resources
- Self-determination goal for people/community

Consequences:
- Language preservation and/or language revitalization
- Language use in schools and daily life

Fig. 8.1 Ethnic identity formation and indigenous language instruction

government toward indigenous peoples that included extermination, expulsion (or forced migration), forced assimilation and, most recently, pluralism, Yetman (1999, p. 91) asserts, "The European invasion of North America had a pervasive and enduring impact on American Indian people and cultures". Initially, relations were less strained because the European need for land was satisfied. However, subsequently the demand for land increased with the number of settlers, which resulted in changes in the status of American Indians to "captive nations" (Snipp 1988). Loss of land was enormous: the Native American land base declined from more than two billion acres to 155 million acres in 1871 and to 54 million in 1997 (Yetman 1999, p. 91). This development was only part of the effect of contact with Europeans, however. Additional impacts included the devastation of the population due to contraction of diseases carried by Europeans: the population that numbered between five and six

million at first contact dwindled to 237,000 by 1900, and the number of tribal groups from about 1,000 to 318 in the lower 48 states in 1992 (Yetman 1999).

Federal policies also included, for many indigenous groups, forced migration away from original homelands and relocation in areas that became reservations, which signaled the relegation of native peoples to minority status. This system of oppression included loss of freedom to come and go from the reservation, denial of the vote, and prohibition from engaging in traditional religious and ceremonial practices. Yetman (1999, p. 91) contends that, "Traditional cultures and patterns of authority were undermined as their economic resources eroded, their numbers plummeted, and the administration and control of the reservation were placed in the hands of white agents." Forced assimilation—socialization to white culture— was achieved with such strategies as breaking up reservation lands and granting land to individual Indians; government-subsidized schools controlled by white religious groups; and forcible removal of children from families and enrollment in boarding schools where they were compelled to adopt white styles of dress and were punished for speaking their native languages (Yetman 1999, p. 92). The intention was to ensure that American Indians would adopt the mainstream values of individualism, competition, and private enterprise common to many American citizens (Champagne 2005). However, countervailing forces slowed the colonization process. Not only did the system of racial stratification in American society at that time restrict the actual assimilation process, American Indian tribal nations resisted giving up their communities and cultures and used their unique legal status to pursue more pluralistic goals. Treaties between the federal government and sovereign tribal nations provided that they give up land and some sovereignty rights in exchange for US commitments to provide adequate resources to sustain communities (such as water, fishing and territorial agreements). These initial treaty rights, which included control over remaining lands, provided the basis for other pursuits, such as gaining control over education, religious practices and the revitalization of native languages and cultures (Champagne 2005).

Despite high levels of poverty and unemployment and poor health conditions in many reservation communities, the American Indian population has increased in recent decades to more than two million (Freeman and Fox 2005). Substantial political efforts to promote greater control over tribal affairs in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s resulted in pressures on the federal government to increase self-determination for tribal groups (Cobb 2008). The Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act in 1975 and subsequent legislation provided that tribal governments could assume more responsibility and control over the services provided to reservation communities (Bruyneel 2007). Additionally, tribes used their authority to take greater control over primary and secondary education, to charter tribal colleges to provide higher education to native communities, assert greater control over their natural resources, and to initiate innovative economic development strategies (Yetman 1999). Tribal nations also have pursued legal remedies to ensure that the federal government honors treaty rights.

Impact on Education

Champagne and Abu-Saad (2006, p. 3) describe the impact on indigenous communities of the imposition of the American system of education and indicate why indigenous groups continue to pursue greater control over schooling in native communities:

> Indigenous peoples are generally at odds with the ground rules of the mainstream community and with nation-state school systems because they do not necessarily share the values of individual capitalism, secular civic culture, and individual achievement, at least not in the same patterns as the mainstream communities.

They go on to assert that preserving indigenous cultural practices, institutions, organizations and values is important to many indigenous communities whose worldviews originate from living in their homelands for hundreds or thousands of years. Ogbu and Simons (1998) differentiate minority groups, such as American Indians, from immigrant minority groups: through conquest and forceful incorporation into the US, American Indians became an "involuntary" minority group that does not share in the nation-state's social and cultural goals. Alienated from the mainstream culture promoted in schooling, American Indian students are less likely to relate to the education process and drop out of school at high rates (Champagne and Abu-Saad 2006).

Focusing on potential solutions to these issues, Grande (2004) asserts that the so-called "Indian problem" has grown out of a failure to recognize the socioeconomic conditions that produce "at-risk" students. She identifies the following as conditions that place Native nations at risk (Grande 2004, p. 20):

- Schools have failed to nurture the intellectual development and academic performance of Native children.
- Schools have discouraged the use of Native languages in the classroom.
- Indian lands and resources are constantly besieged by outside forces interested in further reducing their original holdings.
- Political relationships between tribes and the federal government fluctuate with the will of the US Congress and decisions by the courts.

Unless reform efforts address economic exploitation, political domination and cultural dependency, educational reform will be insufficient to address American Indian education needs. Mike Charleston (1994), a Choctaw educator, called for this type of approach to educational reform in the draft report of the Indian Nations at Risk task force, "Toward True Native Education: A Treaty of 1992." He states:

> It is time for a new treaty, a Treaty of 1992, to end a shameful, secret war. For five hundred years, our tribal people have been resisting the siege of the non-Native societies that have developed in our native land. The war is over the continued existence of tribal societies of American Indians and Alaska Natives. We inherited the conflict from our ancestors. Our children face the consequences of this war today. Every tribal member has felt the bitter pangs of this relentless siege. It dominates our lives. It is killing our children. It is destroying our Native communities. (quoted in Grande 2004, p. 19)

While some authors have promoted the assertion of sovereignty rights as the means to initiate reform in schooling and on other fronts, others have rejected the concept of sovereignty as incompatible with traditional indigenous nations that had no absolute authority. Grande asserts that Native communities must "blend the power of tradition with the skills needed to manage the institutions of modern society" (Grande 2004, pp. 53–56) to achieve four goals related to nation-building: (1) Structural reform in governance, decision-making and dispute resolution; (2) Reintegration of Native languages as central to nationhood and community life; (3) Economic self-sufficiency in economic activities; and (4) Nation-to-nation relations with the state that includes self-determination. As suggested by these goals, native language revitalization is central to decolonization; it includes critical analyses and re-thinking of education, and "the institution of indigenous efforts to reground students and educators in traditional knowledge and teachings."

Language Endangerment and Schooling

Recent assessments have characterized indigenous language loss as severe: "155 of the indigenous languages are still being spoken in the United States, in North America and 135 of these are spoken only by elders; many of the 20 remaining languages, while still viable, will soon be fighting to survive" (Pease-Pretty On Top 2004, p. 9). McCarty and Dick (1996, p. 1), characterize the effects of language loss for indigenous communities:

> The loss of any language comes at enormous cost to its speakers. The most serious language declines have occurred among indigenous communities in the Americas, Africa, Australia and Southeast Asia. For these communities, the problem is acute. Precisely because they are indigenous, there are no language reinforcements available elsewhere, no other motherland, where children can return to hear the heritage language spoken or see it written. For indigenous people, when a language is lost, it almost certainly cannot be retrieved as a mother tongue.

Importantly, the means for addressing American Indian language loss through expansion and tribal control of education was provided by two important pieces of legislation, the 1972 *Indian Education Act* and the 1975 *Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act*. Despite fluctuations in federal funding for education, however, efforts to address native schooling needs and language loss continued in the 1990s. The *Native American Languages Act* of 1990, the final report of the U.S. Secretary of Education's Indian Nations at Risk Task Force in 1991, and the White House Conference on Indian Education held in 1992 all indicated a renewed interest in Indian education. Reyhner (2010a) asserts that as a result of this new attention to schooling, indigenous communities are now more involved in addressing the needs of native students who primarily attend public schools where lower school achievement rates and higher dropout out rates have persisted (Deyhle 1992; Freeman and Fox 2005; Ward 2005; Faircloth and Tippeconnic III 2010). Importantly, recent research has shown that where achievement gains have been made, often

it has been associated with a greater recognition of native students' cultures and languages (HeavyRunner 2009; Reyhner 2010a) and curricular activities designed to counteract the erosion of native culture and language among younger students (Freeman and Fox 2005; McCarty 2011). Pease-Pretty on Top (2004, p. 15) reports on the effects of these curriculum changes:

> Dr. Kenji Hakuta, nationally known language expert, testified before the National Commission on Civil Rights in 2001, that when the school values and utilizes students' Native language in the curriculum, there is increased student self-esteem, less anxiety, and greater self-efficacy.

Pease-Pretty on Top (2004, pp. 16–17) relates the reasons for language revitalization programs, such as immersion, to educational achievement:

- Language immersion positively impacts educational achievement.
- The greater preservation and revitalization of culture and language is connected to the greater Native community.
- Native culture and language teaching and learning positively affects tribal college student retention.
- Native leaders identify language immersion as a strategic counter to the devastating effects of American colonization of Native people; learning the tribal language is a part of the "tough struggle" to maintain the integrity of our way of life.

As Pease-Pretty on Top suggests, central to the importance of language revitalization is its connection to healing from the experiences of oppression and forced assimilation.

In the US context, decentralization has provided for community-based education that supports American Indian culture and language revitalization with funding from both public and private sources; e.g., the Administration for Native Americans (2012) has provided grant support for the development and preservation of native language programs since the 1970s. Additionally, the American Indian College Fund (2012), with support from the Lilly Endowment Foundation, recently funded a number of grants to tribal colleges for development of language revitalization programs. Through these programs adults and children develop their native language skills, adults are trained to be teachers in their own communities, cultural and historical archives are increased, and the native (intellectual) capital of native communities is enhanced.

Northern Cheyenne Schooling and Language Revitalization

Understanding Northern Cheyenne schooling and language revitalization begins with a brief review of the experiences of the Northern Cheyenne with shifts in federal policies from colonization/assimilation to greater self-determination. The earliest response to US policy involved resistance by the Northern Cheyenne people to forced migration.

Weist (1977, pp. 81–87) outlines these events. In the early nineteenth century, the Cheyenne gradually moved westward from the Missouri River into the Great Plains. Some of the bands drifted south of the Arkansas River and eventually settled in what later became Oklahoma. Other bands stayed north of the Platte and often were allied with the Sioux, for instance, in the Battle of the Little Big Horn (1876). In the year after the battle, the Northern Cheyenne bands surrendered to the army, and agreed to what they believed was a temporary relocation to the Southern Cheyenne reservation in Indian Territory. By 1878, disease and a desperate yearning for their home convinced some of the Northern Cheyenne to attempt an escape from their Oklahoma camp to their beloved Black Hills country. Part of this group, consisting largely of women, children, elders, and a few warriors, and led by Chief Dull Knife, were captured by the army in Nebraska and taken to Fort Robinson, where Crazy Horse had been murdered a year before. The commander of the fort received orders to force Dull Knife's people to return to Oklahoma. When Dull Knife refused, the commander locked the Cheyennes in a barracks with no food, water, or heat. On the night of 9 January 1879, using guns they had hidden from the soldiers, the Cheyennes broke out of their prison in an attempt to flee from the fort. Over half of the band of 150 was killed during the escape. Most of the others were recaptured over the next few days. It was a seminal event in Northern Cheyenne history. Although the survivors of the massacre were allowed to stay on the Sioux reservation in the north, the shared tragedy of Fort Robinson reinforced their identity as Northern Cheyenne against the possibility of simply being absorbed by the Sioux. Following public outcries about this episode that had been publicized in the newspapers, federal efforts were made to find a suitable land for the survivors who had followed Dull Knife and Little Wolf. The Northern Cheyenne reservation, encompassing 444,000 acres in southeastern Montana, was established by an executive order in 1884 and expanded in 1900. Today, the reservation is home to 5,000 Northern Cheyenne (Northern Cheyenne Nation 2014).

Similar to other tribal nations placed on reservations, the Northern Cheyenne had to cope with the federal assimilation-oriented policies involving both land and education (Champagne 2005). Following the Dawes Act, reservation lands were broken up into 160-acre plots and given to individuals to farm, although the expectation to turn to farming conflicted with Northern Cheyenne subsistence and cultural practices. Another assimilation-oriented policy involved establishment of schools to serve the reservation (Weist 1977). While Northern Cheyenne students attended the boarding school at the St. Labre Catholic Mission and the BIA Tongue River Reservation Boarding School, these schools were located close to where their families lived. Nevertheless, the Northern Cheyenne students experienced the same issues with assimilation-oriented schooling as other American Indian students in this era (Ward 2005). Ted Risingsun, a prominent Northern Cheyenne elder, remembered the school from his youth during the 1930s:

> Everything was like in the military. I was a little boy, and with the other little boys, we would get up when the whistle blew, dress when the whistle blew, go out and "police" the grounds picking up little pieces of paper and things so we would learn to be "responsible." We were

punished if we spoke to each other in Cheyenne, and we were made to feel ashamed that we were Indians and ashamed of our families. When I got a chance to go home, I cried that I did not want to come back [to school.] But my family said that I must go back. So I became deaf. I have been told that it was not a physical problem, but hysterical deafness. But I could not hear, and my family could not send me back to the school. I still, today, have trouble with my hearing sometimes. I think it goes back to what happened to me as a child. The Indian schools have done terrible things to Indian children. (Ambler 2008, p. 106)

Richard Littlebear describes the long-term negative effects of assimilationist schooling on the language abilities and identities of Northern Cheyenne students.

Assimilationist education denied Cheyennes the right to speak our own language, and the foundation of a healthy individual identity was severely shaken. We were denied the ability to speak Cheyenne and forced to take on a persona other than the one ensconced in and identified by the Cheyenne language. It was bound to fail, and fail it did simply because so many Cheyennes were not able to speak English even if they were willing to deny their Cheyenne-ness. This shakeup reverberated until it had reached every nook and cranny of the Cheyenne culture, and this culture is still experiencing aftershock after aftershock in academics, economics, spirituality, and socially (Ambler 2008, p. 42).

Despite the schooling that most children received, employment prospects were restricted due to the isolation of the reservation, the limited opportunity structure in the area, and prejudice against hiring American Indians in the towns and cities around the reservation (Weist 1977). Although Pubic Works Administration projects following the Great Depression in the 1930s and into the 1940s created jobs that involved building highways and housing on the reservation, unemployment and poverty rates remained high. In response to these conditions, the War on Poverty extended its programs to the reservation in the 1960s as the Office of Native American Programs funded social and economic development activities that increased public sector jobs (Weist 1977). Nevertheless, unemployment continued to be as high as 60–80 % (Ward and Wilson 1989).

Following legislation in the 1970s that provided support for increased self-determination in relation to schooling and language revitalization, the Northern Cheyenne were among the first to establish a tribally controlled school on the reservation. Ted Risingsun became the first chairman of the board of the Northern Cheyenne tribally controlled school in Busby. According to a recent Northern Cheyenne history (Ambler 2008, p. 106):

Busby School has changed a great deal. With more control by the tribe, it has become more responsive to community concerns and teaches Cheyenne students more about their history, culture, and language. However, it has continued to face problems in providing the kinds of schooling Cheyenne students need. Busby Tribal School's unique mandate to provide schooling to any Cheyenne student who wants to attend has resulted in a large number of students from other communities on the reservation choosing to go there, overtaxing the school.

Although pre-school and K-12 schools currently serving the reservation have also increased their curricula on Cheyenne language and history, English is the primary language of instruction.

Another initiative that has helped to counteract the effects of the earlier schooling efforts and promote post-secondary education was the tribal college, which was

chartered by the Tribe in 1975 initially as a vocational training program. The first academic courses were offered in 1978 as a satellite campus of Miles Community College. According to Ambler (2008, pp. 118–119), from 1979 to 1984 the college expanded its curriculum and offered a wide variety of student activities. In 1985, the Northern Cheyenne Tribal Council chartered Dull Knife Memorial College as a 2-year college. In 2001, the name of the college was changed to Chief Dull Knife College (CDKC). One of the college's missions is to support and promote Cheyenne culture. For example, the college offers multiple levels of college-level instruction in Cheyenne language as well as Northern Cheyenne history and government. CDKC's cultural heritage center, the Florence Whiteman Cultural Center, sponsors programs in Cheyenne language, history, and culture from the Cheyenne perspective. Other programs include the language immersion camps and Native American Week every September. Community members participate with tribal college students and staff in a variety of activities, such as a bow and arrow shoot; a tipi-raising class and contest; "handgame" tournaments; and cultural mini-courses that demonstrate cutting dry meat, making frybread, and flint-knapping arrowheads. The college also certifies Cheyenne language teachers through a Cheyenne teacher-certification program, established through the state of Montana's Office of Public Instruction (Ambler 2008, pp. 118–120).

Northern Cheyenne Language Revitalization

The Northern Cheyenne Nation is one of a number of indigenous communities that has been proactive in pursuing language revitalization. Richard Littlebear (2010, p. 1) discusses the reasons: "Teaching our languages and our cultures in our colleges are attempts to restore positively who we are as people." Efforts to preserve and revitalize the Cheyenne language began with development of a dictionary by Reverend Rodolphe Petter, a Mennonite missionary who published his dictionary in 1896 after studying the language with the Cheyenne in Oklahoma. The bilingual education program in Lame Deer continued to develop the written language in the 1970s, an effort joined later by Wayne Leman, a linguist, who lived on the Northern Cheyenne reservation for 35 years and worked with a number of Cheyenne speakers.[1] Although the dictionary is certainly helpful in the preservation of the language, teaching the spoken language is even more important: "Native speakers believe that language and identity are closely tied. Embedded in this language are the lessons that guide our daily lives. We cannot leave behind the essence of our being" (Ambler 2008, p. 42). Recommendations for revitalization efforts include:

> ...become both fluent (being able to sustain a prolonged conversation with fellow Cheyenne speakers) and literate (being able to read and write the Cheyenne language). These are crucial skills that are needed to transfer the language and the culture to coming generations. (Ambler 2008, p. 44)

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[1]Currently, the dictionary may be accessed through Chief Dull Knife College's website (http://www.cdkc.edu/cheyennedictionary/index-en.htm).

Thus, the college's Cheyenne language revitalization efforts include summer immersion camps for young children and older youth, and instruction (both classes and audio instruction) for CDKC students and community members, including those attempting Cheyenne language certification. Additionally, the CDKC cultural center staff provides support to Cheyenne language activities developed at local pre-schools and K-12 schools. Chief Dull Knife College also sponsors community language events that celebrate and provide information about the language and culture of the Northern Cheyenne; workshops for local teachers on Northern Cheyenne culture, history and language; publication of Cheyenne language, history and culture in the local newspaper; and development of Cheyenne history and culture archives. Two new CDKC language initiatives include the Northern Cheyenne Language Bowl, which involves student teams from local schools competing for top honors in Cheyenne language understanding, and Cheyenne language instruction for children attending the CDKC Early Childhood Learning Center. Each of these efforts contributes to learning and daily use of Cheyenne.

The expanded Cheyenne language opportunities for CDKC students has resulted in doubling the number of students learning Cheyenne and, as of 2012, certification of 27 Cheyenne language teachers who are now qualified to teach Cheyenne at local schools (Ward and Brown 2012). Additionally, recent Cheyenne class survey data show that 40–65 % of the respondents indicated that they were confident or very confident in understanding Cheyenne and indicated their interest in helping to support Cheyenne language activities and cultural and language events. Recent CDKC student data also show that these activities have begun to reverse the decline in Cheyenne language skills among younger generations of Cheyenne students: 2012 data indicate increases in the proportions of new CDKC students who report knowledge of the Cheyenne language (Ward and Jones 2013).

Despite this array of language activities and programs, keeping the language alive is a serious challenge. As Richard Littlebear remarks, "The real threat is that too few tribal members appreciate how endangered it (the Northern Cheyenne language) is and have a faith that is can be revived" (Pease-Pretty on Top 2004, p. 18).

Cheyenne Language Instruction and Identity Formation

Cornell and Hartmann's (2007, pp. 205–245) framework identifies key external and internal factors important for understanding the relationship between indigenous identity and language revitalization, which is supported by indigenous language instruction. In the Northern Cheyenne case important external elements of the context include changing state policies that in recent years have resulted in both federal and private support for indigenous language instruction and revitalization efforts. Increased political and financial support for Indian education programs also has contributed to indigenous cultural instruction and somewhat greater control at the primary, secondary and college levels. This has coincided with somewhat greater

self-determination in several areas: education, natural resource management and governance. Although some progress has been made, tribal sovereignty has been characterized as partial at best.

An important external influence is also the complex racial classification system that has shaped the nation-state's identification of American Indian tribal members as well as governance and other institutions in tribal communities (Garroutte 2003). The implications of the powerful nation-state influences include continuing limitations on the power of indigenous peoples to assert their identities in ways that are recognized by the state. Because federal and state policies have continued to constrain tribal governance, decision-making, community and natural resource management, indigenous nations such as the Northern Cheyenne have engaged in prolonged efforts to increase control over areas of interest critical to their well-being (Champagne 2005) such as natural resource management; law enforcement and health education; and public and tribally controlled schools (Ward 2005; Weist 1977).

Internal factors that impact Northern Cheyenne language revitalization and instruction include several resources that this indigenous community brings to the struggle for greater control over tribal affairs and resources. These include not only human capital (e.g., relevant education, skills and legal expertise), but also the cultural resources (e.g., tribal historians, indigenous language speakers, spiritual leaders, teachers and healers) that have provided important guidance in the development of language and cultural instruction. Northern Cheyenne leaders and local institutions play critical roles in developing language instruction opportunities in local schools—both K-12 and higher education—and in acquisition of new historical archives and artifacts that can be used for cultural instruction. The most recent efforts to promote language revitalization have contributed new opportunities to learn Cheyenne and to disseminate language, historical and cultural information to the Northern Cheyenne community. The tribal college now offers increased opportunities for students and faculty alike to utilize cultural and historical archives to pursue research questions and practice Cheyenne language skills. As Fenelon and Hall's (2009) approach suggests, these language revitalization efforts are developing within educational institutional settings that are not indigenous in origin. For example, Cheyenne leaders have utilized opportunities provided by the missions of tribally controlled schools to promote native language and cultural education while supporting mainstream educational goals, i.e., transfers to mainstream degree programs.

This combination of internal group resources and external factors has shaped the Northern Cheyenne pursuit of language revitalization in local schools and has resulted in much greater awareness of the importance of maintaining the Cheyenne language. As Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) framework indicates, language is central to ethnic identity formation for minority groups such as American Indians. However, Champagne (2005) reminds us that while, "The identity and identification as "Indian" or as a tribe is created through the process of colonization . . . Natives hold their own identities within their communities and cultures . . . Each is unique

in its combination of cultural belief, political relations, land and community relations" (8). Language is such a key element of indigenous culture that its loss often signifies significant erosion of native identity. Again, Champagne (2005) clarifies the dilemma associated with assimilation: "Natives are given the choice of abandoning their cultures and heritage in order to gain full citizenship within the nation state. This is a price that many native communities are not willing to pay" (9). For the Northern Cheyenne, language revitalization is paramount in its quest for maintaining both individual identity and a sense of peoplehood (Littlebear 2007).

Timor-Leste: A Case Study of Language Preservation[2]

> Any assessment of Timor-Leste's current state of human development must begin by recognizing the progress that has been made since independence in 2002. It must also recognize the extremely difficult conditions under which independence was achieved and the challenges the country has been facing since. (UNDP 2011, p. 11)

The tumultuous period preceding and following the official recognition of an independent Timor-Leste by the United Nations in 2002 presents an interesting case for examining identity and indigenous language use as the language of instruction in primary education. The following section provides a brief review of the history of Timor-Leste through the lens of language introduction and development and an analysis of how differences in resources and context among indigenous peoples have facilitated or impeded indigenous language instruction and identity formation. While this is not an exhaustive accounting of the people, education, or language development within Timor-Leste, we do attempt to depict the nuances in the history, development, and current status of language and education, which impact individual, group and national identity formation.

Timor-Leste: A Brief History of Language

The language history of Timor-Leste is presented in five stages: (1) Austronesian and Papuan migrations, (2) Portuguese colonization, (3) Indonesian occupation, (4) UN transitional rule, and (5) Independence for which a few critical events concerning the spread and evolution of the 32 languages currently spoken in Timor-Leste will be discussed.

Languages of Austronesian and Papuan origin make up the majority of languages found in Timor-Leste and, not surprisingly, those languages have been present on the island the longest. Evidence suggests that the first establishment of hunter gatherers

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[2]The presentation of information about Timor-Leste draws on secondary sources and does not represent empirical research conducted by the authors.

on the island around 11,500 B.C.E. coincided with the arrival of Austronesian languages, while the second wave of language diversification came with the introduction of agrarian society to the island around 3,000 B.C.E. as the peoples of east New Guinea migrated westward (Taylor-Leech 2007, p. 89; UNDP 2002, p. 70). Currently, 16 languages of Austronesian origin and four of Papuan origin are spoken in Timor-Leste, comprising the majority of indigenous languages spoken on the island.

Chronologically, the next major influence on the linguistic development of the people of Timor-Leste began in 1498 C.E. when the Portuguese discovered the island while establishing a trade route to East Asia. An official colony was not established until the early eighteenth century (Machado 2000, p. 406; Millo and Barnett 2004, p. 725), initiating colonial rule, which lasted until 1974, or approximately 450 years (Millo and Barnett 2004, p. 725; UNDP 2011). The Portuguese used the island colony primarily for resource extraction and did little to invest in infrastructural developments or in the education of natives. The little the Portuguese did was to provide elementary education to a select class of native Timorese who assisted with colonial rule. Consequently, while Portuguese became a language of the ruling elite its use did not become prevalent among natives at that time.

In 1975 the Portuguese left Timor-Leste and granted the small island nation its independence but it would not last. Less than a year after the Portuguese yielded control of the government of Timor-Leste to its native peoples the Indonesian military began an invasion of Timor-Leste that would last for the next 24 years. Prior to the Portuguese exodus, and before the Indonesian invasion, the native leaders whom the Portuguese had educated, and who had assisted in colonial regulation until 1975, split into two political parties: the União Democratica Timorense (UDT) and the Associação Social Democratica Timorense (ASDT). As the two groups struggled to gain political prominence UDT (whose name changed to FRETILIN, or The Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor) began to implement programs designed to combat the reign of illiteracy in Timor-Leste (Budiardjo and Liong 1984, p. viii). Despite these efforts, only a small percentage of the population became literate in Portuguese before the complete Indonesian takeover. However, during Indonesian rule, the Portuguese language would become a source of resistance, internal solidarity, and identity for the East Timorese (Taylor-Leech 2008, p. 157).

The Indonesian invasion of Timor-Leste, which began in 1975, resulted in the death of one third of the native population (Kiernan 2003, p. 202), the commission of numerous crimes against humanity (UNDP 2002, p. 72), and the forced Indonesianization of the Timorese people through, among other means, the use of complete language immersion (Goebel 2002). As reported by the United Nations Development Program (2002, p. 72) during this time causes of death among the native Timorese ranged from direct slaughter, starvation, sexual assault by the Indonesian military, to a lack of basic sanitation needs. In the process of the Indonesianization of the people of Timor-Leste Timorese women were raped, forced to take contraceptives, and in some cases sterilized without their knowledge (Mason 2005, p. 744). These sexual crimes against the people of Timor-Leste were justified

as a method of assimilation (Mason 2005, p. 744). While it is clear that the people of Timor-Leste suffered in all aspects of human life, knowledge of these events also indicates why many parents were, and are still, unwilling to send their children to Indonesian schools and why there was such a revolt against the use of Bahasa Indonesian in government affairs.

Although the atrocities committed during the Indonesian occupation of Timor-Leste are numerous, one important benefit of the Indonesian occupation was the vast investment by Indonesia in the infrastructure of Timor-Leste. Unlike Portugal, Indonesia sought to incorporate Timor-Leste as a functional part of the country by building schools, expanding public works, and even relocating Indonesian professionals to Timor-Leste to staff the new amenities. Over 900 school buildings were constructed and staffed by Indonesian teachers. Within these new schools the development, standardization, and prescription of Bahasa Indonesian as the language of instruction in schools became central to the incorporation of Timor-Leste into Indonesia (Goebel 2002, p. 480). Eventually, the mandated use of Bahasa Indonesian spread beyond education when the use of Portuguese in the areas of religion and public administration became prohibited. The explicit targeting of Portuguese for elimination combined with harsh penalties for speaking Portuguese led many Timorese resistance fighters and common people alike to turn to Tétum (the most commonly spoken indigenous language in Timor-Leste) as a source of collective identity and resistance during the Indonesian occupation. Consequently, older generations of East Timorese often associate Bahasa Indonesian with the language of the invader and Tétum as a source of cultural identity. However, younger generations who were not active in the resistance movement, or have no experience with the Indonesian occupation, do not share these polarized views of Bahasa Indonesian and Tétum (Taylor-Leech 2008, p. 158).

The indelible mark left on the people of Timor-Leste by the Indonesian occupation increased further during the violent aftermath of the 1999 referendum, in which the people of Timor-Leste overwhelmingly voted in favor of complete independence from Indonesia. The UNDP Human Development Report for Timor-Leste (2011) summarizes the effects of the Indonesian exodus from Timor-Leste as follows,

> An estimated 70 percent of private and public buildings were burned to the ground. Bridges and power lines were demolished, and the telecommunications system was rendered inoperable. Valuable files, including land and property titles, civil registry, and education records were destroyed . . . . About 25 percent of the population was forced across the border into Indonesian Timor. Education and health services collapsed, and the country had little or no trained personnel. Eighty percent of the country's primary schools were destroyed (p. 11).

The UNDP (2011) description of the destruction following the 1999 referendum vote paints a picture of the victimization of the people of Timor-Leste, but in reality while the carnage was immense the truth is that the people of Timor-Leste stood up for what they believed; they stood up for themselves, their identity, their families, their culture, and their ability to use their own language without fear of censorship or other repercussions. The people of Timor-Leste suffered heavily, but they never lost the will to express who they were, and in 1999, when given the chance, and in the face of almost certain violence, they stood united.

Following the referendum vote, United Nations (UN) peace keeping forces put an end to the violence and, in October 1999, established the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET). Under the direction of UNTAET Timor-Leste prepared for formal independence in 2002. Due to the poor state of affairs in Timor-Leste, a major priority of the UNAET was the development of a strong education policy within the country.

Prior to the arrival of UN peace keeping forces, English had never been widely used in Timor-Leste, yet despite its late arrival English continues to influence education and public policy in Timor-Leste. As nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) entered Timor-Leste, proficiency in English became a high priority among native Timorese who wanted to pursue employment opportunities with international NGOs that continued to arrive in the country (Taylor-Leech 2009). Demand for English became so great that college students petitioned UN volunteers to teach English language courses in the half burned down university in Dili following the 1999 Indonesian exodus (Taylor-Leech 2009). English also became the de facto language of the UNTAET (Taylor-Leech 2007, 2008, 2009), further inspiring many East Timorese to learn English and support its continued place in national policy as a link to: world markets, the aid organizations already at work in the country, and future opportunities.

Complete independence for Timor-Leste arrived in 2002 as the UNTAET transferred control of the government to the newly elected Prime Minister, Xanana Gusmão, allowing for the implementation of the national constitution, which was approved by the Constitutional Assembly on the 22nd of March 2002 (Constituição Anotada 2011, p. 12). Of interest to this study, the constitution makes specific reference to Portuguese, Tétum, Bahasa-Indonesian, and English. Under Gusmão, English gained a place as a working language alongside Bahasa Indonesian while Portuguese and Tétum became official languages[3] (p. 61). The other indigenous languages became national languages,[4] but were not afforded the privileged status of the official languages (p. 61). Since 2002 many important events have occurred in Timor-Leste, but none add dramatically to the present topic of language use within the country.

In summary, the primary languages spoken in Timor-Leste are of Austronesian, Papuan, Portuguese, Indonesian, and English descent.[5] The Austronesian and Papuan languages are living indigenous languages and constitute the most widely spoken languages in Timor-Leste. These languages are designated as national languages in the constitution, and by article 2 of section 13, these languages are to be valued and developed by the state (Constituição Anotada 2011, p. 61). English, Portuguese, and Bahasa Indonesian, on the other hand, are used less by the

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[3]An official language is that which the government uses in the fulfillment of its day-to-day responsibilities.

[4]A national language is a language that is symbolic of national heritage or culture.

[5]Other languages are spoken on the Island (e.g., Chinese), but are not as pervasive or established as those listed here.

general populace, but remain prevalent in government service; furthermore, they maintain a strong influence in the development of educational policy and language revitalization in Timor-Leste.

Table 8.1 shows the relative proportions of indigenous languages of both Austronesian and Papuan origin spoken among the total population of Timor-Leste as estimated in the 2004 National Census. The 16 Austronesian languages can really be thought of as 15 if Tétum and its variations are collectively considered as one language. The geographical prominence of the Austronesian languages is specific to the central and western portions of Timor-Leste. The Austronesian languages shown in order of the number of people claiming them as their first language in the 2004 census include: Tétum, Mambae, Kemak, Baikenu, Tokodede, Waima'a, Idalaka, Kairui-Midiki, Naueti, Galoli, the Ataúran varieties, Bekais, Habun, Dadu'a, and Makuva. The Papuan languages are spoken primarily in the eastern regions of Timor-Leste beginning at the coast and moving a little inland. These consist of: Makasai, Bunak, Fataluku, and Makalero (Taylor-Leech 2007, p. 91). With approximately 32 languages spoken in Timor-Leste, language policy is complex and diverse. The influence of official policies on indigenous language development in relation to schooling is addressed next.

Language Policy and Schooling

> Medium-of-instruction policy plays a central role in nation building and social reconstruction. It is perhaps the most important means at the state's disposal for maintaining and revitalizing languages and cultures. (Taylor-Leech 2008, p. 161)

From 2000 to 2001 the United Nations Transitional Administration (UNTAET) began a transitional process of re-instituting Portuguese as the de facto language of instruction. Portuguese was introduced to first and second grade students beginning in the 2000–2001 school year, while higher levels of instruction taught Portuguese as a second language. In subsequent years the levels of primary education utilizing Portuguese as the language-of-instruction increased consecutively (UNDP 2002, p. 51). This monolingual policy weakened the quality of instruction for students born after 1975 because they were less familiar with Portuguese since its use was prohibited after the Indonesian invasion (Millo and Barnett 2004, p. 48). While important, this failure during the era of UNTAET rule was small in comparison with their successes. By the end of 2002 the UNTAET had achieved almost all of its objectives for educational policy (World Bank 2004, p. 9): instruction at the primary level reconvened in October 2000; approximately 756 primary schools[6]

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[6]This figure is reported differently in various sources. In the MECYS (2005, p. 4) "Education and Training: Priorities and Proposed Sector Investment Program" published by the Secretariat of Sate for Labor and Solidarity of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste, the number of primary schools is reported as 756 (the actual report is for 922 schools of which 82 % are primary schools) whereas the figure as reported in UNDP (2002, p. 49) is 707.

were rebuilt; the number of teachers in primary education increased to 4,248,[7] resulting in a teacher to student ratio of 44:1; and a native department of educational administration was reestablished. The only objective that the UNTAET failed to reach was the adequate training and placement of teachers approved to provide instruction in Portuguese.

The return to native control of the government from the UNTAET in 2002 saw an increase in native language use and revitalization policies; these policies were many, but the two most important documents establishing indigenous language policies include: (1) the constitution of Timor-Leste and (2) the Timor-Leste Strategic Development Plan: 2011–2030. The constitution forms the basis of language policy in Timor-Leste with explicit definitions and categorizations of the many languages spoken in Timor-Leste. The Strategic Development Plan refines constitutional statements and promotes decentralized educational policy, allowing community choice regarding the language of instruction to be used in local schools.

The constitution elevates Tétum and Portuguese to the status of official languages, other indigenous languages are afforded the status of national languages which "shall be valued and developed by the state" (Constituição Anotada 2011, p. 61), and Bahasa Indonesian and English are confined to working languages (World Bank 2004, p. xxi). As mentioned above Portuguese was given the position of an official language and in a furtherance of its exalted position, article eight declares that, "The Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste shall maintain privileged ties with the countries whose official language is Portuguese" (Constituição Anotada 2011, p. 41). Bahasa Indonesia and English, on the other hand, are defined by the constitution as working languages and are only to be used in the civil services side-by-side with the official languages and only as long as their use is "deemed necessary" (World Bank 2004, p. xxi). Furthermore, Bahasa Indonesian was to be systematically removed as an instructional language in primary education (Taylor-Leech 2007, pp. 146–147). Overtime, official policy in Timor-Leste, with regards to instructional language, has evolved from the centralized mandates mentioned above to decentralized decision-making, which supports greater freedom and variation in the use of indigenous languages in schooling.

Indigenous Language Use in Schooling

The indigenous languages of Timor-Leste, including Tétum, come from an oral tradition, and because unified orthographies did not begin to be established until the later part of the twentieth century (Consiuição Anotada 2011, p. 61), the initial implementation of a new primary level curriculum mandated the use of Portuguese

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[7]Once again there is a discrepancy between the figures reported in MECYS (2005) and UNDP (2002). MECYS (2005, p. 5) reports 3,470 teachers in the 2000/2001 school year whereas UNDP (2002, p. 50) reports 2,991 primary school teachers for the 2000/2001 school year.

as the official language of instruction (Shah 2012, p. 32). In 2004 the National Institute of Linguistics (Portuguese: Instituto Nacional de Linguística) approved a standardized orthography of Tétum to be used in educational instruction. Unfortunately, the implementation of Tétum as an instructional language did not happen immediately or uniformly. Shah (2012, p. 35) notes that during this transition, the continued use of Portuguese in schooling, and a general lack of association with the Portuguese language by many Timorese, only served "to further alienate the formal schooling system from the people it" was "supposed to serve." Thus, while the Timorese government recognized Tétum as essential to the affirmation of Timorese identity (Consituição Anotada 2011, p. 62), it also needed to minimize the negative effects of centralized mandates requiring Portuguese as the principal language of instruction.

Most recently, the Timor-Leste Strategic Development Plan: 2011–2030 (SDP) articulates a proposal for a decentralization of the strict approach to instructional language in primary education previously mandated from the central government. The plan allows for the use of local languages in instruction in the first 5 years of basic education, with a smooth transition over those 5 years to fluency, or at least a working understanding of the official languages, Tétum and Portuguese (Timor-Leste Strategic Development Plan 2011, p. 18). In 2012, the Secretary of State declared that other indigenous languages "will now be used in the areas of the country where Tétum or Portuguese are not spoken so that children may participate more actively in school—as subjects of the learning process and not merely as the objects of learning" (Timor-Leste Secretary of State 2012, p. 1). In general, the use of Portuguese is conditioned on the development and promotion of Tétum (Consituição Anotada 2011, p. 62), indicating that beyond recognizing Tétum as essential to the affirmation of Timorese identity, the Timorese government is assisting in specific Timorese identity formation on both the national and individual level. The SDP demonstrates that the recognition of indigenous language use and development, as elements of identity formation, extends beyond Tétum to the other indigenous languages of Timor-Leste (Ritcher 2009; Timor-Leste Strategic Development Plan 2011, p. 18). In the forward to the SDP (2011, p. 8) José Ramos-Horta, then president of Timor-Leste, states that:

> The Strategic Development Plan is not a political document, it belongs to us all . . . [it] sets out an ambitious agenda, but it is one that reflects the will of our people, an understanding of our history and culture and our determination to have ownership and control of our development path. It provides certainty and focus for our development endeavor.

With the use of such language, the SDP (2011) represents the most forward-looking official statement from the government of Timor-Leste; it articulates the intention to use indigenous language instruction as a means of individual identity creation in a process of establishing a larger national identity for the people of Timor-Leste.

Indigenous Language and Identity Formation

In the case of Timor-Leste, the relationship of indigenous language use to identity is affected by a multiplicity of factors. Contemporary studies suggest that various

internal (group) and external (contextual) pressures shape the process of identity formation (Cornell and Hartmann 2007, pp. 205–245). Of importance are: (1) the distribution of political power; (2) the differential treatment of groups by the government; (3) the geographic separation of groups; (4) disparities in group access to social institutions, including inequalities in social capital between groups; and (5) preexisting group identities embedded in social relations. The groups referred to above are defined by numerous factors, but native language, or the language first learned by an individual, is a prominent concern in their creation. In the case of Timor-Leste the external factors include: the distribution of political power, the differential treatment of groups by the government, and the geographic separation of groups. The internal factors important in identity formation in Timor-Leste are related to disparities in group access to social institutions, including inequalities in social capital between groups, and preexisting group identities.

One external factor of particular importance is the distribution of political power, which in Timor-Leste is monopolized by the same two elite groups who split to form the Timorese Social Democratic Association (ASDT) and the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (FRETILIN) in 1974 when Portugal turned over control of Timor-Leste to the native Timorese. Members of these groups received formal education while under Portuguese rule and later maintained an active role in resistance efforts during the Indonesian occupation (Constituição Anotada 2011, p. 11). Their privileged position, both historically and currently, represents a disparity in the accrued social capital of each group and their ability to access social institutions, thus extending preexisting group identities and group relations into the present.

The differential treatment of Tétum by the government, and by association the people who speak Tétum as their native language, has created a system that privileges native speakers of Tétum. Differential group treatment can also be identified along geographical boundaries of the various indigenous language groups, which historically follow divisions among the ancient kingdoms of Timor and centers of colonial power (Consituição Anotada 2011, p. 33). The historical nature of these two external factors adds to their influence in the individual and national formation of identity. While these factors are important, one factor that may have a more immediate influence on identity formation is the relative size of the language groups.

Tétum has the largest population of native speaks among the languages spoken in Timor-Leste, and when the two dialects shown in Table 8.1 are combined the percentage of Timorese who speak Tétum far outweighs that of the next closest indigenous language. Consequently, by simple association native speakers of Tétum are endowed with greater social capital than native speakers of other indigenous languages. The geographic area of highest concentration among native Tétum speakers includes Dili, the capital of Timor-Leste. This geographically superior location is not a function of recent change, but represents historical trends of group dynamics in Timor-Leste. Together, the geographic location and differential treatment of language groups based on historical social structures are important factors in any analysis of identity formation, and need to be addressed by government officials when considering public policy.

Currently, as Timor-Leste seeks to develop economically as well as culturally, government officials are challenged to place a discernable emphasis on assisting the people of Timor-Leste form harmonious and lasting identities as individuals and as a collective. Identity formation is a constant process, occurring as new events and challenges enter individuals' lives; but the volatile history of Timor-Leste has hitherto hindered a stable and continuous process of identity formation, creating a country with little agreement on who, or what they are. While many factors affect identity formation, central to the case of Timor-Leste is the degree to which government policy allows the process of identity formation to be asserted by indigenous groups rather than assigned through central policy. The decentralized approach to educational policy articulated in The Strategic Development Plan of 2011–2013 is essential for strengthening identities among peoples who have suffered so much and experienced constant oppression over the last few centuries (for a general statement of decentralization see Consituição Anotada 2011, pp. 32–33).

Inherent in the advancement of a decentralized approach to educational policy, and consequently identity formation, is the idea that an individual can maintain multiple identities, each influenced separately by the internal and external factors presented above. Hence, a decentralized approach to educational policy, and in particular policy concerning the language of instruction in primary education, does not necessarily hinder the development of a unified national identity. Instead, as in the case of Timor-Leste, it may advance the simultaneous formation of unique individual and unified national identities.

Conclusion: Indigenous Language Instruction in Two Developing Contexts

Our analysis of indigenous language instruction in the two developing contexts reviewed above draws on concepts from Fenelon and Hall's (2008) approach to the revitalization of indigenous culture as well as some elements of the racial and ethnic identity formation framework developed by Cornell and Hartmann (2007). One purpose of this analysis is to clarify important contextual elements that facilitate or impede language revitalization and support indigenous identities—especially in terms of assignment vs. assertion and thickness or thinness.

Relevant to this analysis are Fenelon and Hall's (2008) discussion of modes of indigenous community struggle identifying the common experiences of indigenous communities engaged in resistance to neoliberal globalization. Among the four modes of resistance (decision-making; economy; natural resources, especially land and sea; and community), in this analysis we focus on community efforts to preserve language, history and cultural practices through activities that support tribal identity, social justice and the collective good. While some indigenous communities engage in creating autonomous structures, other communities alter

existing institutions to support indigenous identity, community and cultural survival. Community efforts to promote indigenous language use and revitalization in schools represent a significant area of resistance that indigenous peoples in Timor-Leste and the Northern Cheyenne have in common. An important difference for these two cases, however, relates to the contexts in which these groups are pursuing their struggles and the resources and goals they bring to the process.

Indigenous peoples in Timor-Leste and the Northern Cheyenne both have experienced severe oppression at the hands of the majority group, including forced assimilation and, in some periods, violent actions geared toward annihilation of indigenous peoples and cultures. However, an important policy shift in the recent past has been a move away from colonization and forced assimilation to greater self-determination for indigenous peoples in both cases. While early assimilation policies included use of the majority group languages as the language of instruction in schooling, decentralization policies provided opportunities for greater control over schooling and incorporating indigenous languages. This US policy shift in the 1970s corresponded with legislation creating opportunities for tribal nations to exercise some degree of self-determination in governing reservation community affairs. In Timor-Leste, the policy shift is more recent and came with a change in national government, which involved a return of governmental control to the Timorese people. In this process, the newly established national constitution provided recognition and support to indigenous languages. While early colonization/assimilation policies promoted use of majority languages and contributed to the erosion of indigenous identities, later policy shifts toward decentralized control in both cases supported indigenous language use in school and other settings, reinforcing indigenous group identities.

The Relationship of Indigenous Language to Identity Formation

Figure 8.2 has been adapted from Cornell and Hartmann (2007, p. 86) to provide a conceptual model of the relationship between majority vs. indigenous language use and indigenous group identity. Specifically, it shows two processes that shape native language use and identity among indigenous communities in Timor-Leste and among the Northern Cheyenne. The first process involves identity *assignment* vs. *assertion*—the extent to which group identity is the result of assignment by external forces, such as government systems and assimilation-oriented education policies, or *assertion* by the group itself. The second process in Fig. 8.2 refers to the *thickness or thinness* of group identity—the degree to which a group's cultural and social identity, as viewed through language use, shapes daily life. Additionally, Fig. 8.2 provides two points for Northern Cheyenne and Timor-Leste on these processes representing the language dimension of the processes—that is, the extent to which cultural assimilation and assertion have resulted in indigenous language loss or revitalization in these two cases.
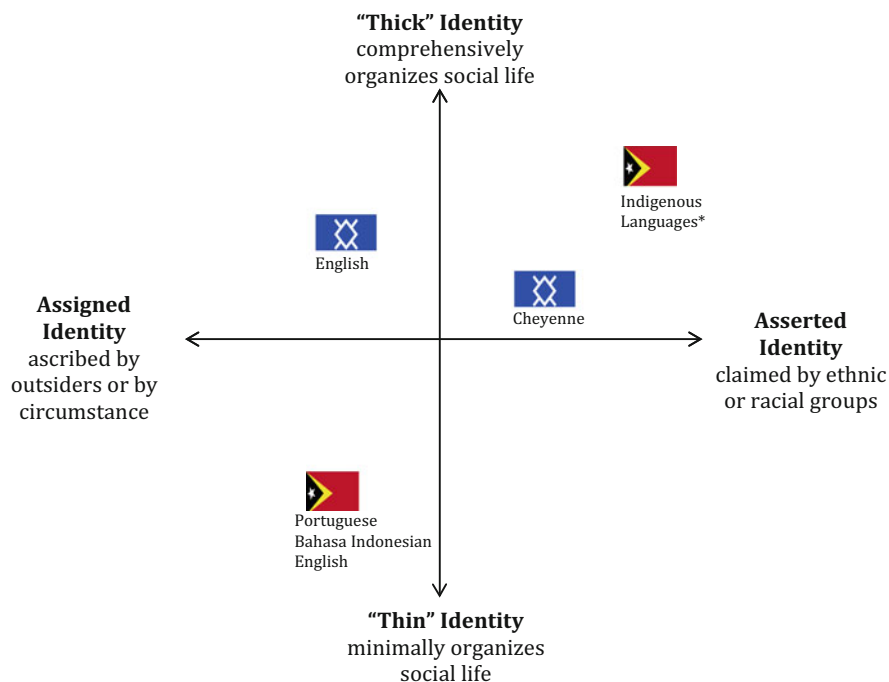
Fig. 8.2 Role of indigenous languages in identity formation processes (The basis for this figure is taken from Cornell and Hartmann (2007, p. 86). *The indigenous languages referenced are those listed in Table 8.1)

For the Northern Cheyenne case, recent efforts to intensify native language revitalization through providing multiple opportunities to learn and use the Cheyenne language in schools and other institutional settings is represented by the Morning Star symbol labeled "Cheyenne." Additionally, this symbol reflects the larger proportion of Cheyenne speakers in the older generations, a substantial resource for identity formation and language revitalization for the younger generations who are generally less proficient in Cheyenne. The Morning Star symbol labeled "English" represents the effect of forced assimilation and schooling in mainstream institutions, including the prevalence of English as a first language among younger generations of Northern Cheyenne. The location of these symbols in two different quadrants indicates the balance between current efforts to increase indigenous language instruction and revitalize the Cheyenne language and the effects of long-term, assimilation-oriented policies and actions toward the Northern Cheyenne. The relative closeness of the two symbols suggests the current tensions between these two countervailing forces. Ultimately, the recent increase in support for language revitalization for indigenous peoples in the US has the potential for increasing native language use and reinforcing native identity in general and specifically

within the educational system. However, the extent to which external factors, such as government policies, continue to support assimilation suggests that Northern Cheyenne cultural resources and efforts to increase and sustain native language use must remain strong in order to continue the process of language and cultural revitalization. Although the role of indigenous language instruction in schooling is central to this effort, opportunities to speak Cheyenne in multiple institutional settings and daily life are critical to language revitalization and reinforcing Northern Cheyenne identity.

In the case of Timor-Leste, mandated Portuguese, Bahasa Indonesian, and English language use have contributed to a pattern of assigned and thinning Timorese identity, as they were all central to efforts focused on the assimilation of native Timorese by outside forces. Yet, due to the relatively short period of forced assimilation, these external languages are of minimal importance in the organization of daily social life within indigenous communities where indigenous languages prevail. This combination places these foreign/external group languages and their impact on indigenous identity in Timor-Leste in the third quadrant of Fig. 8.2. On the other hand, the continued use of the indigenous languages of Timor-Leste represents a countervailing force that supports a thick Timorese identity asserted by the native Timorese when and where possible. Within the space of their local communities indigenous languages are associated with nearly complete control over the organization of social life and are used to express community identities. Thus, the indigenous languages of Timor-Leste are located in the first quadrant of Fig. 8.2, indicating strong support for indigenous identity formation.

The organization of these linguistic influences and their relationship to identity formation in Timor-Leste has direct implications for educational and public policy. Policies aimed at successful development should promote a unified and asserted identity at both the community and national levels. The use of indigenous languages as instructional languages in schooling and other arenas of daily life can assist in establishing a unified national identity in which the people of Timor-Leste have pride, while allowing for unique indigenous community identity formation.

Together the case studies of indigenous groups in Timor-Leste and the Northern Cheyenne provide the opportunity to examine how important features of two very different contexts shape the ability of indigenous groups to maintain or revitalize indigenous language use, which has been shown to be central to individual and group identity. Figure 8.3 provides a comparison of the two cases and shows the factors that are unique to each case and those that are similar. For example, although decentralization policies were implemented at different times in the US and Timor-Leste, these policies have had significant effects on indigenous language use. In both cases these policies have provided opportunities for indigenous groups to promote indigenous language use. However, for the Northern Cheyenne this shift in policies that formerly prohibited the use of native languages in schools now provides opportunities for younger generations to learn the Cheyenne language in school settings. These new opportunities to learn Cheyenne have begun to impact the younger generations of students who now express interest in learning Cheyenne. As one tribal college student explained, he learned Cheyenne as a child but began to

Fig. 8.3 External context and internal group factors influencing indigenous language instruction

lose his ability to speak it fluently as he got older. Now he wants to regain fluency so that he can talk with Cheyenne elders, learn their stories and the history of his people in Cheyenne. Similarly, a Northern Cheyenne teacher describes the importance of teaching Cheyenne to the younger generations (Ward and Brown 2009, p. 17):

> I believe and was told [by my elders] that when you speak Cheyenne to children, the words said have a deep meaning and become powerful . . . Because when we speak Cheyenne we have been told that the Cheyenne language impacts the spirit of the individual and that is why our children do not listen to us because we are speaking English and they know English and those words are empty. So we need to do everything possible to save the language, and I would do anything possible to save our language.

The comparison of these two cases suggests two important factors for explaining the differences in indigenous language preservation and use in schooling: (1) the duration of assimilation policies experienced by each group and (2) trends in international support of indigenous groups and cultures at the time of each groups' principal struggle against policies of forced assimilation. The Northern Cheyenne Nation experienced a century of assimilationist policies while the

people of Timor-Leste only traversed $2\frac{1}{2}$ decades of assimilationist policies under the Indonesian occupation.[8] While the travesties experienced by each group are comparable, in the case of the Northern Cheyenne, the effects of the prolonged assimilationist policies resulted in the severe loss of the Cheyenne language and fewer fluent indigenous language speakers available for instruction. Thus, a central effort is now preservation and revitalization of the language in preparation for greater use in schooling. Conversely, the relatively short period of 25 years of assimilationist policies experienced by Timor-Leste appears to have resulted in minimal, if any, language loss among the indigenous language groups. In contrast to the Northern Cheyenne, the new constitution of Timor-Leste and The Timor-Leste Strategic Development Plan have strengthened the language resources of indigenous groups in Timor-Leste and support new efforts to develop the linguistic and pedagogical tools needed for indigenous language instruction in schools. Additionally, trends in international support and denial of indigenous groups and cultures have shaped the policies and challenges experienced by these two cases.

These two cases help to clarify the significance of structural and contextual factors for understanding indigenous language preservation and revitalization. They also indicate the important role that indigenous language use in instruction plays in cultural preservation and the on-going process of indigenous identity formation. Additionally, these two cases provide support for consideration of the model of the multi-national state. As Champagne (2005) suggests, this type of state creates more substantial opportunities for indigenous groups to pursue self-determination and promote the wellbeing of their communities in ways that are socially and culturally meaningful. Specifically, these case studies affirm the use of indigenous languages within education systems designed to provide skills and knowledge useful for nation-building and for ensuring the continuity of indigenous institutions and culture (Champagne 2006, p. 151). Although for many indigenous communities, drawing on non-indigenous forms of education, skills and knowledge can contribute to their pursuit of solutions to contemporary issues, such as interacting with larger communities and world markets, the use of indigenous languages offers unique resources and perspectives that benefit indigenous communities engaged in this process.

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[8]The approximate 400 years of Portuguese colonial rule of Timor-Leste are not considered as years of assimilationist policy due to the fact that the Portuguese did not attempt to force the Portuguese culture or language on the people of Timor-Leste, but instead were content using the country for the extraction of natural resources.

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Chapter 9
Language-in-Education Policies in Africa: Perspectives, Practices, and Implications

Connie Ssebbunga-Masembe, Christopher Byalusaago Mugimu, Anthony Mugagga, and Stephen Backman

> *In Africa, identity struggles through the historical burden of colonization which imposed Western School Systems, languages, culture, and history as a means of suppressing local institutions and consolidating colonial rule.*
>
> (Ndoye 2003, p. 4)

Abstract In an attempt to match the pace of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and Education for All, the focus of this chapter is language-in-education policies in Africa where countries are characterized by the multiplicity of ethnic groupings and languages spoken. This chapter reviews the sundry perspectives, practices, and implications for social, economic, and national development—but specifically personal cognitive and educational development. Arguments and counter-arguments for language-in-education policies are premised on the colonial backdrop of foreign language institutionalization as well as the best practices for bilingual and multilingual settings. There is a potential adverse impact on the African child's learning when the teaching-learning process is in an unfamiliar language; yet, the former colonial masters' languages still hold high prestige in African societies. We conclude that there is a need to invest and strengthen the teaching of second languages so that African children acquire the functional proficiency to enable them to better use these languages with facility. However, we also recommend that high-quality teaching of second languages should be done alongside the development of indigenous languages so that children can learn through languages that they understand better.

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Introduction

Among such factors as insufficient resources, large classes, untrained teachers, hungry children, and long distances that could undermine the provision of quality education is the medium of instruction (MoI). Language is the most important factor in the learning process because the transfer of knowledge and skills is mediated through the spoken or written word. MoI is pivotal for understanding the nature, character, and form of education in any school system. Corson (1990) argues that in bilingual and/or multilingual societies there is need for language-in-education policies (LIEPs) that take cognizance of ethnic and linguistic diversity. It is argued that LIEPs are central to the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), universal access to quality basic education (UNESCO 2000), and production of citizens that are humane, committed, participative, and productive with a profound sense of patriotism and nationalism, such as citizens with the right skills, attitudes, and values. Thus, in the majority of African contexts which are characterized by bilingualism, multilingualism, and/or trilingualism the following are pertinent concerns:

1. Is cognitive development a function of language in which the learner has proficiency?
2. How can the diverse ethnic groupings be fairly represented in LIEPs?
3. What is the potential impact of the early use of a second language as the language of instruction?
4. How important can vernacular languages be in a LIEP?
5. Which factors influence the choice of one language-in-education over another?
6. Does language play a role in educational underdevelopment?
7. Is there empirical evidence to suggest that use of a certain LIEP does not adequately facilitate the teaching-learning process because learners are encumbered/incapacitated?
8. Why should the LIEP be in synchrony with the national educational policy and plan?
9. Which is the most suitable LIEP for the eradication of illiteracy?
10. What are the basic elements in the process of language planning and policy-making?

In the context of the diverse bilingualism and multilingualism in Africa, it became imperative for countries to address the hegemonic role foreign languages, which at that time authorities thought could serve better the purposes of international communication, unity, trade, and acculturation. Therefore, the above pertinent concerns continued to be of top priority in matters of language-in-education especially in SSA, and consequently the foreign languages became institutionalized in Africa.

Institutionalization of Foreign Languages

The majority of present-day LIEPs in Africa are related to the historic European scramble for Africa and the partitioning of the continent as outlined in Table 9.1, in which foreign language-speaking superstructures were imposed on Africa (Schmied 1991; Simire 2003). It is also clear from Table 9.1 that French and English are the major MoI in Sub Saharan Africa. Likewise, there are a number of countries (e.g., Algeria, Djibouti, Mauritania, Burundi, Rwanda, Botswana, and South Africa) that are using a foreign and local language concurrently both as MoI.

Foreign Languages-Based Policies

Many African countries have continued to follow foreign language-based policies despite significant research findings pointing to the shortcomings of teaching children in a foreign language. A number of reasons (Schmied 1991; Bamgbose 2003) that have been advanced for the "no change in colonial inheritance" principle include the following:

Insufficient Funds. It is argued that most developing nations are under strain with respect to human and financial resources, and any major changes in the education system such as changing to another MoI would necessitate enormous amounts of money to take care of changes in the curriculum, teacher-training programs, production of textbooks, and teaching aids.

Nation Building. Given the multiplicity of languages that characterize most African countries, the ex-colonial masters' languages are viewed to be the most ethnically neutral languages for the purpose of nation-building. In this perspective, any other indigenous language has the potential of threatening and weakening the much sought after unity of the nation-states since there are very few instances where mother tongues (MTs) are shared.

Technological Advancements. With the advent of technological advancements and innovations, it is argued that most African languages lack modern scientific and technical terminology, and that it would be difficult to develop in the near future due to the enormous efforts and costs required to do so.

International Communication. There is a need to promote and nurture international communication particularly for African countries given their diverse colonial heritage. This consideration is premised on the concept of a global village in which there is need for a common language for wider communication. It is thought that ex-colonial languages already have the ingredients and established potential necessary for serving the purposes of international communication.

Table 9.1 Language media of instruction in African countries

Country	European imperial power	Medium of instruction
Algeria	France	French & Arabic
Angola	Portugal	Portuguese
Benin	France	French
Botswana	Great Britain	English & Tswana
Burkina Faso	France	French
Burundi	France	French & Rundi
Cameroon	Great Britain & France	English & French
Central African Republic	France	French
Chad	France	French
Congo	France	French
Cote d'Ivoire	France	French
Democratic Rep. of Congo	France	French
Djibouti	France	French & Arabic
Egypt	Great Britain	Arabic
Ethiopia	Independent	Amharic
Guinea	France	French
Guinea-Bissau	Portugal	Portuguese
Kenya	Great Britain	English & Swahili
Lesotho	Great Britain	English
Liberia	America	English
Libya	Italy	Arabic
Malawi	Great Britain	English & Nyanja
Mali	France	French
Mauritania	France	French & Arabic
Mauritius	Great Britain	English
Morocco	Great Britain	Arabic
Mozambique	Portugal	Portuguese
Niger	France	French
Nigeria	Great Britain	English
Rwanda	France	French, Kinya-rwanda
Senegal	France	French
Sierra Leone	Great Britain	English
Somalia	Italy	Somali, Arabic
South Africa	Great Britain	English & Afrikaans
Sudan	Great Britain	Arabic
Swaziland	Great Britain	English & Swazi
Tanzania	Great Britain	English & Kiswahili
Togo	France	French
Tunisia	Great Britain	Arabic
Uganda	Great Britain	English
Zambia	Great Britain	English
Zimbabwe	Great Britain	English

Trained Teachers. It is argued that most African countries lack trained teachers who can teach competently and proficiently in African languages (Kamwendo 2008). One explanation for this is that the teachers are products of foreign language MoI, and therefore more confident and proficient in the second languages than in their MTs. This is further compounded by lack of funds and materials for training.

Tribal Rivalry and Ethnic Tensions. The lopsided development between and among regions and tribes within African states sets constrained relations between different tribes. This makes it hard for the different tribes to accept languages that are not their own.

Indigenous Languages-Based Policies

Five reasons have been advanced in the literature and in policy circles essentially castigating the continued use of the foreign languages for LIEP purposes. These reasons include psycholinguistic studies, an elitist position, linguistic imperialism, cultural imperialism, and barriers to education and economic development.

Psycholinguistic Studies. Many psycholinguistic studies have indicated that the child's cognitive development is better facilitated through the MT especially during the first years of schooling, as highlighted by UNESCO since 1953 (UNESCO 1953, 1990, 2003; UNESCO/UNICEF 1990). In particular, Webb (1999) identifies cognitive skills such as the ability to select and organize information into a new coherent whole, the ability to discover and formulate generalizations, the ability to understand abstract concepts and to manipulate them in arguments, and the ability to recognize relationships for cause and effect as some of the central cognitive skills that cannot easily be developed when children learn in a foreign language.

Elitist Argument. It is noted that use of foreign languages in education (particularly at the primary education level) is not fair to the majority of children since very few speak a foreign language in their homes. Although it might be true that the use of the "straight-for-French/English/Portuguese/German" approach is beneficial because it gives children an initial advantage over their peers that cannot use these foreign languages at home, children from such homes are an insignificant percentage (Bamgbose 2003). The elitist argument has changed in recent years, especially in urban African areas, where an increasing number of children are being raised in homes with family members who have been educated in a foreign language and use foreign languages on a daily basis in their professional lives. This, in turn, can rightly be viewed as an unfair advantage given to a minority of the population by using a foreign language as MoI (see for instance Backman 2009).

Linguistic Imperialism. From the "linguistic imperialism" point of view, it is observed that Africans should fight for complete independence, and one of the ways to do this is by ridding themselves of all remnants of colonialism. Language is one

of those remnants. Continued use of ex-colonial masters' languages is seen as a perpetuation of colonialism.[1]

Cultural Alienation. It is argued that the foreign languages come from totally different social and cultural contexts. They cannot by any means carry the associations and connotations of African identity. Thus, the values and thinking of Africans are compromised as they become excluded from all social institutions due to being cut off from their own cultural history. Yet cultural history is a legacy that could only be effectively communicated through the use of their own language to enhance all possibilities of untrammeled self-expression, self-image, self-esteem, and sense of identity.

Barrier to Education and Economic Development. Karl (1968) pointed out that disclaiming native languages as mere "vernaculars" is fraught with many costs. It is argued that forcing children through a language barrier for access to education leads to educational retardation. In agreement, Fafunwa (1989) remarked that one of the most important factors militating against the dissemination of knowledge and skills and therefore of rapid social and economic well-being of people in Africa is the imposed medium; for there seems to be a correlation between underdevelopment and the use of a foreign language.

Perspectives and Practices

This section provides an overview of the following case studies of perspectives and practices for both MT and foreign language as MoI: Tanzania, South Africa, Uganda, and Kenya.

Tanzania

Kiswahili has been the national and official language of Tanzania since its independence in 1961. The Education and Training Policy (Ministry of Education and Culture [MOEC] 1997) stipulates that the MoI in pre-primary and primary schools should be Kiswahili while English should be a compulsory subject. It further stipulates that English should be the MoI in secondary school, while Kiswahili is a compulsory subject up to "O" Level. However, this policy was reviewed in the

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[1]The authors recognize counter-arguments to this point of view. Scholars such as Canagarajah (1999) and Ramanathan (2005), for instance, have shown how ex-colonial languages have often been utilized by oppressed populations as a tool of resistance to colonialism and neo-imperialism. One such example in South Africa is how the anti-apartheid movement (such as the African National Congress) favored English as its language of communication over local MTs.

Sera Ya Utamaduni with the objective of clarifying the position of Kiswahili vis-à-vis other languages (about 120 ethnic groups speaking 110 different indigenous languages). Nonetheless, the teaching of English was not demeaned in the review as it would be strengthened albeit as a subject (MOEC 1997, p. 18).

The Sera Ya Utamaduni cultural policy document of 1997 indicated that Kiswahili was supposed to be introduced as the MoI at all levels of the education system. This position was affirmed by the Consultancy Report of 1998, which noted that Kiswahili would be introduced as a MoI in secondary schools in 2001. But the implementation was delayed, partly for reasons implied in the following explanation by the Minister of Education:

> My own opinion is that I have to take into account what the community wants. Is it the community that has asked for this change? I get a large number of applications from groups that want a license to start English-medium primary schools. I have not had a single application from anyone who wants to start a Kiswahili medium secondary school. (Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir 2003, p. 82)

From the Minister's response above, we note that much as the majority of Tanzanian children are more proficient in Kiswahili, there are sections of people in Tanzania that prefer the use of English as the MoI. This is despite research reports, such as the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM 1999) report that highlights language as the *Medium of Teaching and Learning* and points out that most students have problems with the MoI. Similarly, Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir (2003) comment on the consultancy report that at secondary school level, data revealed that teachers and students failed to use English effectively as the sole MoI. Kiswahili was instead used in class for teachers to express themselves effectively and for students to understand them. This data further pointed out that Kiswahili is the de facto MoI in many Tanzanian classrooms.

Uganda

The institutionalization of English in Uganda followed the colonial masters' interests of teaching it to a selected colonized people in order to prop up British administration. As noted above, the LIEP in Ugandan schools is just a definitive statement of practices that have been in place for a long time (Ladefoged et al. 1972). Both missionary and British colonial policy regarding language was generally to provide primary education in the MT and post primary education in English, with English taught as a subject in the primary schools (Kajubi 1989). Today the LIEP stipulates that in rural areas from Primary 1 to Primary 4, the MoI should be the MT, with English being taught as a subject. However, in urban schools English is the MoI throughout the primary cycle, while English is taught as a compulsory subject.

Unfortunately, actual classroom practice does not always follow recommendations. While in rural areas, the practice of using English as a MoI from the start of primary education is about 75 % of the schools, it is far higher in urban areas

where English is used as the MoI in almost all primary schools. This, of course, is contrary to the psycholinguistic notion that a child's cognitive development is better facilitated through the use of MT. Among the militating factors is the competitive education system which is entirely examination-oriented such that it is imperative that a child prepares for the examinations well in advance. Proficiency in the English language is critical since all examinations are conducted in English.

Kenya

Kenya follows the policy of using its former colonial master's language for its teaching and learning purposes (Ominde 1964). Like its sister East African nations, Kenya lacks a homogeneous culture and hence there is a multicultural complexity characterized by significant differences in linguistic structures and systems (60–70 languages). The ethnic and tribal groupings present divergent communal aspirations, problems, needs, and socio-cultural values that necessitate specific attention to policy planning and making. The current language policy stipulates that the dominant area language should be used for the first three years of primary education while Kiswahili and English are taught as subjects. Thereafter the MoI should be English.

However, in practice, Kenya uses both English and Kiswahili in teaching and learning. Thus, as in most of Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA)—notwithstanding the educational, psychological, and socio-cultural implications (UNESCO 1953, p. 11)—Kenya does not adhere to the universal requirement for the first years of schooling. The explanation for this discrepancy can be found in the tribal diversity and multiplicity of languages that impact on the production of relevant teaching-learning materials for the diverse linguistic backgrounds. The acquisition of English has significant socioeconomic benefits that most indigenous languages lack, such as the exchange of scientific, educational and technical knowledge (Schmied 1991). English is highly regarded as a gateway to accessing higher education, obtaining better job opportunities in a global economy, and hence leading to potential higher socioeconomic status. It is, therefore, not surprising that Kenyan parents are increasingly enrolling their children in schools that use English as MoI (cf. Dyers 2008).

It is important to note, however, that despite strong policy support for English proficiency levels, in general, as is the case in most Anglophone African countries, the standard of English has been declining (Schmied 1991, p. 108). There are complaints about the deplorable standards from almost all corners of society, particularly in speech, writing skills, and reading abilities. Cleghorn et al. (1989) also highlighted the deteriorating standards of the English language to the extent that many young people have difficulty reading read without stumbling and a number of them are unable to construct a single sentence.

South Africa

During the Apartheid era, the official languages were English and Afrikaans. The argument was that having two national languages would help avoid the problems that arise from ethno-linguistic complexity outlined thus far in this chapter. However, after the 1994 elections, the status of nine indigenous languages were elevated to serve as MoI where they were used as MTs.

Nevertheless, in practice, English is the MoI from Grade 4 onwards. Thus, the seemingly good LIEP is not being implemented. Like other SSA countries, South Africa does not follow the MoI as outlined by government. It is assumed that by exposing the child to the English language as early as possible, children will get a head start in the language that will be used in later stages of education, commerce, industry, and public management. However, this is not the reality since teachers generally code-switch or code-mix different languages during most lessons (as in Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana, and Cameroon) (cf. Alexander 1989; Desai 2000; Koloti 2000).

Of course, the use of the English language instead of the MT has not been without costs: children's cognitive development and participation levels, and overall academic performance, are often compromised. Heugh (2000, p. 304) notes that during the time that the MT was phased in and maintained for 8 years as MoI, the matriculation results of Black students steadily improved, reaching their zenith in 1976 with an 83.7 % pass rate. But due to the inflexible implementation of Afrikaans as the MoI for 50 % of the subjects in secondary schools it led to the students' 1975 uprising in Soweto, which forced the government to back down, pass the *Education and Training Act*, and reduce the use of the MT to four years of primary school. The reduction resulted into decreasing pass rates for African language speaking students, which dropped to as low as 48.3 % by 1982, and 44 % by 1992.

Best Practices in Bilingual/Multilingual Contexts

There are two main scenarios with respect to bilingual education: majority first language speakers and minority first language speakers. In the former, the teaching and learning process is conducted using a minority language; while in the latter it is carried out in the majority language. Additionally, there can be three types of bilingual education programs that can inform LIEPs: (1) where children are totally immersed in the second language early in their schooling; (2) where children are partially immersed early in their schooling; and (3) where children are totally immersed in their schooling. Studies such as the one performed by Swain and Lapkin (1982) that conducted comparisons of the three types have shown better performances for the experimental groups than the control groups. In this section, we largely draw from Webb (1999).

Majority First Language Speakers

In The Schools Council Project, 4-year olds from English-speaking backgrounds were exposed to schooling in the Welsh language for half a day from their first year of schooling to the end of their primary school. It was found that there was no significant difference between the bilingual children and their monolingual counterparts. In fact, according to Price and Dodson (1978), it was noticed that the bilingual children performed better in English; according to Price (1985), they developed a great deal of skill in Welsh language usage at the same time. These findings were in line with Dodson (1985), who indicated that bilingual education does not: (1) handicap conceptual development, (2) impede academic progress/general intellectual ability, and (3) lead to long term loss in the development of first language proficiency. So, a LIEP that appreciates both MT and second language seems worthwhile in contexts characterized by cultural and linguistic multiplicity.

Minority First Language Speakers

The common practice is to attempt to induct children from linguistic minorities into the majority language (i.e., English), like the Batwa and the Karimojong in South-Western and North-Eastern Uganda, respectively, the Turkana in North-Western Kenya, the Maori in New Zealand, the Aboriginal children in Australia, and the American Indian. But as already pointed out, this can permanently hinder minority language speakers' intellectual development and rob them of their educational chances (Saville-Troike 1982; Webb 1999).

Related to these studies is Cummins and Swain's (1986) "threshold hypothesis," which notes that there may be threshold levels of language competence that bilingual children must attain in their first language before switching to using second languages in order to avoid cognitive disadvantages and to allow the potentially beneficial aspects of becoming bilingual influence cognitive functioning. For instance, the former USSR, with a multicultural composition of more than 130 languages is a good example of bilingual LIEPs. The former USSR was recognized for its language rights of the minorities and stress was put on the role of the first language in second language learning, arguing that there is a single language competence that underlies the learning of both languages. Hence, children received instruction through MTs—at least for primary education (Guboglo 1986; Kamwendo 2008).

Unlike children from dominant majority language contexts that benefit from bilingual programs in which the majority language is used most (Dyers 2008), children from minority or subordinate language groups profit from bilingual programs in which their MT plays a leading role. Thus it is vital that children from minority or subordinate language backgrounds develop their MT fully in order for them to acquire the skill for manipulating abstractions and performing cognitive

operations that are important in second language acquisition. Worthwhile policy issues include: (1) using the minority language as a short-term transitional MoI; (2) teaching the home language as a subject in school hours; (3) using the minority language as a transitional MoI for long hours; (4) recognizing the minority language as MoI for much of schooling and (5) creating a separate system of education in the minority language (not necessarily separate schools, dual MoI, and schooling system; rather, a parallel MoI in the same school and identical curricula, but in a different language).

Additionally as a guide for designing school-based LIEPs, consideration should be given to: (1) the procedure for finding out languages represented in the school; (2) the steps that will be followed for staffing arrangements; (3) how minority languages are used in class; (4) the use, availability, and production of materials/resources that represent minority languages; (5) the importance of literacy in the minority languages; (6) development of staff proficiency through in-service training; (7) the use of community languages in school and the wider community; and (8) the role of the school in raising parents' awareness with regard to maintaining and developing home languages. Thus, planning is critical and drawing largely from Schmied (1991), the following are essential elements.

It should be noted that such LIEP issues and considerations, as listed above, are most effectively dealt with at the local, district, and/or regional levels where there is a more homogeneous, or at least less complex, linguistic makeup of the student population. This is largely due to the fact that policy issues become more controversial and politically contested as a larger number of linguistic and ethnic populations enter the picture. Thus, many of the arguments used as justification for foreign languages-based LIEPs become less significant. When LIEPs are formulated and implemented at the national level, they most often tend to favor the use of a foreign language as the MoI, often in the name of national unity, cost-efficiency, and feasibility. When LIEP decisions are more localized, then they can be better tailored towards the local linguistic context and the particular needs, interests, and feasibilities of the local population. The complexity of LIEP planning and formulation can be seen in the following section.

Language Planning

There are two basic aspects to language planning: the socio-linguistic and the political (see Fig. 9.1). The knowledge and use of a language as well as people's attitude in the sociolinguistic aspect inform the political decisions, which are the result of the sociopolitical evaluations, including the efficient communication, national integration, industrialization and modernization, cultural identity, and/or promotion of a language for its symbolic value. Then they become the subject for political debate on development versus nation building, whose outcome could either be endoglossic or exoglossic. Policy decision-making process is thus set in motion with formulation, implementation, and filtering at the micro-level in education,
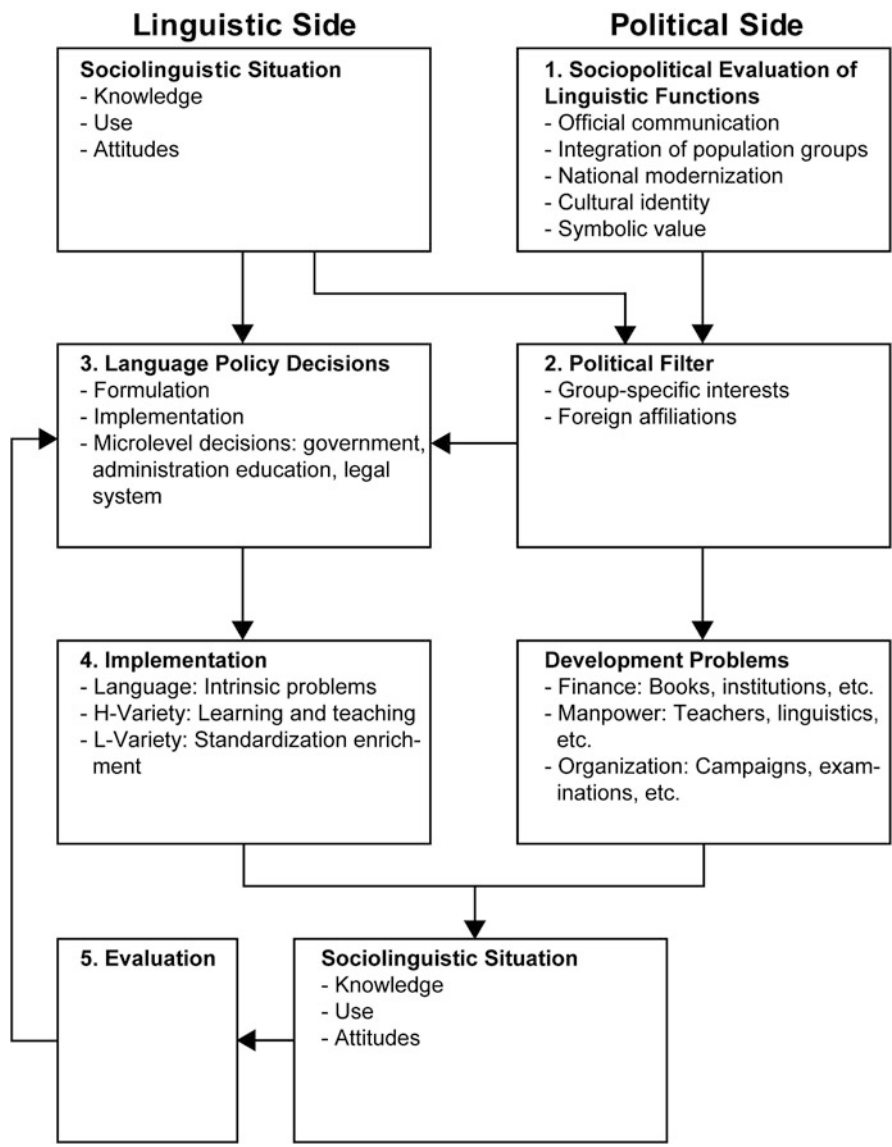
Linguistic Side   Political Side

Sociolinguistic Situation
- Knowledge
- Use
- Attitudes

1. Sociopolitical Evaluation of Linguistic Functions
- Official communication
- Integration of population groups
- National modernization
- Cultural identity
- Symbolic value

3. Language Policy Decisions
- Formulation
- Implementation
- Microlevel decisions: government, administration education, legal system

2. Political Filter
- Group-specific interests
- Foreign affiliations

4. Implementation
- Language: Intrinsic problems
- H-Variety: Learning and teaching
- L-Variety: Standardization enrichment

Development Problems
- Finance: Books, institutions, etc.
- Manpower: Teachers, linguistics, etc.
- Organization: Campaigns, examinations, etc.

5. Evaluation

Sociolinguistic Situation
- Knowledge
- Use
- Attitudes

Fig. 9.1 Phases and factors in language policy (*Source*: adapted from Schmied 1991)

administration, legal system. During the implementation phase, filtering based on political influence also takes place to handle both intrinsic and development problems. It is vital that a re-examination of the sociolinguistic situation is conducted vis-à-vis the planned expectations at the formulation stage, which evaluation could determine either a re-formulation or re-implementation.

As can be seen from Fig. 9.1, the political filter has a large influence on the actual formulation and implementation of LIEPs. Language issues in education are nearly always highly political and hotly contested. Therefore, if mechanisms are put into place which allow for greater participation from local educational stakeholders in the LIEP planning process, then there is a greater likelihood of the policies addressing local linguistic contexts, as well as educational needs. This does not eliminate the need for national LIEPs to provide an overall framework for the national education system, but it allows for more localized and school-tailored LIEPs that address local realities. In this way, schools can more realistically implement bilingual education strategies that are geared toward their student population, whether students are majority first language speakers or minority first language speakers. This also helps to reduce some of the barriers which are often used to justify using a foreign language as the MoI at schools.

Implications, Conclusions, and the Way Forward

Given the diverse and complex ethnical/cultural backgrounds in SSA, there is no alternative to the continued use of the English language in education as MoI due to the many local languages. This challenge is further compounded by the overwhelming increase in students' numbers, which in turn leads to a number of problems: reduced teacher contact with students and/or attracting their attention; insufficient teaching-learning materials; assessment/evaluation methods being limited to short answer/recall questions for easy marking, resulting in low proficiency levels and a vicious circle; the teacher-trainers' language proficiency is unsatisfactory; that of the teacher-trainees is undoubtedly poor; so is that of the in-service teachers; and consequently, that of the students cannot be any better.

Contrary to education theory and research, many parents in SSA prefer foreign languages as the MoI. While this preference is based on apparently sound reasons such as the second languages serving as international languages, providing access to school textbooks and literature, and being the most important languages of work in many countries (Webb 1999), use of a language that both teachers and learners are not proficient in could be one of the factors contributing to the perennial poverty in most SSA; for why is it that non-English-speaking nations such as China and Japan are successful although they do not use their former colonial masters' languages? In this regard, Mazrui (1997, p. 3) also asked, "Can any country approximate first-rank economic development if it relies overwhelmingly on foreign languages? Will Africa ever effectively 'take off'" when it is so tightly held hostage to the languages of the former imperial masters? These are questions that Prah (1995, p. 71) seems to respond to thus:

> No society in the world has developed in a sustained and democratic fashion on the basis of a borrowed or colonial language. . . . Underdeveloped countries in Africa remain underdeveloped partly on account of the cultural alienation which is structured in the context of the use of colonial languages.

Given the high prestige that the former colonial masters' languages have in society, there is need to invest and strengthen the teaching of second languages so that people acquire the functional proficiency to enable them to use the language with facility. The coping strategies used by many teachers such as translation, code-mixing, and code-switching are unacceptable. As Mwinsheikhe (2002, p. 67) notes, one teacher's response was as follows: "If I insist to use English throughout, it is like teaching dead stones and not students" (see also Saville-Troike 1982; Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir 2003). High quality teaching of the second languages should be done alongside the development of the indigenous languages so that children could learn through languages that they understand. If the policy is well designed, there should not be any conflict of interest between the needs of MT speakers and second languages. As Webb (1999) points out, we can readily enhance the teaching of second languages while strengthening the MT. The learner who is reasonably proficient in a first language has that proficiency increased, not diminished, by studying a second language.

A good number of language policies are not in practice determined by rational considerations and logic. Emotional issues such as tribal identifications, religious loyalties, national rivalries, racial prejudices, and the desire to preserve elites are among the unjustified factors that have influenced vital decisions (Nsibambi 1974). Somalia, where about 95 % speak Somali and very few speak Arabic, which the authorities tried to make official, is one example. Similarly, India had decreed that English should be replaced by Hindi. But the dual language policy failed because of the residual prestige of English language, and the resistance against Hindi. Today, India follows a "three languages formula" policy: the state language, Hindi, and English.

If we view society as a "dynamic organism" where there is an "ever-changing national, intra-national, and international landscape (e.g., political regime changes, shifts in international relations, internal and external economic developments, new cultural interests)" (Ladefoged et al. 1972, p. 9), then policy-making should be seen as an endless process. More and better information can continuously be received to improve existing policies. This offers the opportunity for the successes and failures to serve as invaluable lessons. As Schmied (1991) notes, many countries are conducting experiments to determine which languages provide favorable results. Thus there is need for participative language planning and policy making; and this emphasizes the need to compare notes from one country to another for the improvement of educational practices, management, policy planning, making, and evaluation (Muthoni 1986).

In line with the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, the Millennium Development Goals, Education for All, as well as respective national goals and general basic purposes of education, LIEPs should assist in producing a holistic person: a person with the right skills that can enable the individual to be productive, with positive attitudes, spiritual and aesthetic values, as well as a strong sense of patriotism and nationalism. LIEPs should effectively and equitably address the needs and interests of all segments of the community in order to avoid marginalization and exclusion.

The advancement of school-tailored LIEPs could provide the way forward. Each school could plan for the language minorities within its community and develop a school-based language policy that is in consonant with the various communities' cultural, social, economic, and educational developmental needs and interests. This might not only take care of such problems as stifling cultural diversity, ethnic identity, social adaptability, psychological security, linguistic awareness, and self-esteem, but would also ensure that social justice is done.

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Chapter 10
The Sámi People in Scandinavia: Government Policies for Indigenous Language Recognition and Support in the Formal Education System

Mina O'Dowd

> *The Sámi language as a written language is young compared to the so-called world languages. The Sámi are a small northern people who have not had equal opportunities to promote a global awareness of their lives, cultures, and languages. As we have never had our own state but have been spread across four countries—Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia—we have been forced to live at the mercy of these states. This has meant various stages and forms of oppression, neglect, ridicule, and theft, depending on each state's national and economic intentions. But even in small nations there are always people and groups of people who continue to resist the outside pressures and subjugation.*
>
> (Paltto 2010, p. 44)

Abstract The Sámi people in Scandinavia have experienced a long history of discrimination, oppression, neglect, ridicule, and theft. Today the Sámi who live in Sweden, Norway, and Finland, together with the Sámi in Russia have managed to improve their situation through concerted efforts, collaboration with one another, and cooperation with the international movement for the rights of indigenous peoples. More recently, the Sami have received support from both the European Union and the United Nations. Despite international support, the right of the Sámi people for self-determination has not been acknowledged by the Swedish, Norwegian, or Finnish governments. The Sámi's right to instruction and education in their own mother tongue has not been adequately addressed. Rather government policies in the Scandinavian countries can at best be described as policies for language maintenance, while what is sorely needed are policies that re-vitalize language use among all Sámi and provide support for endangered or nearly-extinct Sámi languages. Much remains to be done for this indigenous people, not the least of which is acknowledgement of right to their land, their hunting and fishing rights, and their right to determine if and how their land is to be exploited.

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Keywords Sámi • Sámpi • Scandinavia • Self-determination • Language revitalization

Introduction and Background

Presenting the Sámi people necessarily entails that the linguistic, historical and territorial complexity of the Sámi people in Scandinavia is described. This chapter will attempt to illuminate their situation, especially as regards government policies in three Scandinavian countries, Sweden, Norway, and Finland. Although Sámi people also reside in Russia, no attempt will be made in this chapter to treat their specific situation. Rather the focus here is the extent to which the Scandinavian countries in recent times, as both members of the European Union (Sweden and Finland) and a non-EU member state (Norway) have addressed the Sámi's rightful demands for indigenous language recognition and its support in the formal education system of each of these three countries.

As has been clearly stated above, all three of the Scandinavian countries in question have a less than admirable track record in the past as regards the recognition of Sámi rights (Aikio 1991, 1988; Hellsten 1998; Johansson-Dahre 2005; Lantto and Mörkenstam 2008). That being said, change has occurred in the last few decades, maintained here as the result of the interest in the international community as regards indigenous peoples' rights as well as the Sámi people's efforts through political movements to focus attention internationally on their situation. Indeed, the situation for the Sámi peoples in Scandinavia is historically one tainted with discrimination, displacement and prejudice. Sources cite the end of World War II as a starting point for the discussion of indigenous peoples' rights with the atrocities that befell the Jewish, Romani, and other ethnic groups seen as a backdrop for the international discourse on human rights. As regards the Sámi people, however, this period was also a time in which discrimination and prejudice was evident in all of the Scandinavian countries. Johansson-Dahre (2005) has shown how the Sámi people strengthen their position in the Scandinavian countries through the indigenous people's political movement in the 1970s, which demanded the right to self-determination, rejecting both the United Nation's as well as specific nations' definition of folk rights.[1] In the Scandinavian countries today, the Sámi people have not gained the right to self-determination, inasmuch as their rights are restricted through the control, both directly and indirectly, exercised by national governments and through national policies and politics.

The Sámi constitute the oldest group of inhabitants in Fenno-Scandia (Keskitalo 1981) as well as the Kola Peninsula in Russia, making up ethnic minorities in these

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[1]The indigenous people's political movement argued that the change from minority status to folk status in UN Human Rights Declaration did not entail an improvement as the right of self-determination was not guaranteed, vis-à-vis the state. Especially the Swedish government objected to the inclusion of self-determination on the basis of group rights (Johansson-Dahre 2005, p. 114).

countries, with the exception of Russia (Helander 1999). All in all the Sámi are estimated to include a population of 70,000–80,000 individuals who live in an area that has "different geographically, partially overlapping names: The North Calotte, The Barent Region, but also *Sámpi*, the name given and increasingly being used by the Sámi themselves, the original inhabitants" (Lantto 2010, pp. 543–544). The Sámpi is an area that is much larger than the so-called administrative areas that each of the Scandinavian countries have delimited as being the domicile of the Sámi people who reside within their national borders. Originally these administrative areas are the results of governmental policies that have forced the Sámi to relocate farther and farther north into less inhabited areas of Sweden, Norway, and Finland (Fig. 10.1).

By far the largest land mass in the Sampi is located within the national borders of Sweden. However, the largest Sámi-speaking population lives in Norway with

Fig. 10.1 Map of the Sámpi (*Source*: The Indigenous World 2008 Copenhagen 2008, Kathrin Wessendorf (ed.) International work group for indigenous affairs, Copenhagen 2008, http://www.scribd.com/sufernando1/d/48022312-THE-INDIGENOUS-WORLD-2008-Sri-Lanka-Country-Report)

approximately 25,000 Sámi speakers (Corson 1995). In Finland there are about 5,700 Sámi, approximately 3,000 of whom speak Sámi. In Sweden the number of Sámi is approximately 17,000, of which some 10,000 are Sámi speakers (Svonni 1996). Life for the Sámi today is a blend of the traditional and the modern, with between 10 % and 15 % of the Sámi population working as reindeer herders. The rest of the Sámi are engaged in other occupations. In this context, the definition of *Sámi-ness* is important. Generally Sámi-ness is related to active language used by oneself or one's parents (Helander 1999). As regards Sámi identity, national borders have constituted a barrier and in recent times a practical reality that have hindered as well as promoted the Sámi struggle for its rights. Patrik Lantto (2010) maintains that national borders have not only partitioned *Sámpi*, but have been used strategically by the Sámi: "Positive decisions and developments in one of the other states have consistently been used as leverage in national negotiations to influence their own state to follow the examples" (Lantto 2010, p. 551). Despite this relatively new strategy, legislation has been used historically in each of the Scandinavian countries to deprive the Sámi of their rights and livelihood. After the end of World War II, however, contacts between the Sámi in the Nordic countries increased through political Sámi movements in the three countries (Lantto 2010, p. 551). The Nordic Sámi Council was established in 1956 (Lantto 2000, 2003), changing its name in 1992 to Sámi Council, when the Sámi in Russia became members. Lantto (2010) quotes Gustav Park, a leading Sámi activist in Sweden, who described the establishment of the Nordic Sámi Council in the following words: "one Sámi people unconstrained by the dividing state borders is on the verge of being welded together into a true national community" (Lantto 2003, p. 68). In the period following the establishment of the Nordic Sámi Council, the identity of the Sámi as a pan-Sámi nation grew stronger as illustrated by a statement of the Nordic Sámi Council in 1971:

> We are Sami and want to be Sami, without therefore being any more or less than other peoples in the world. We are one people, with a territory, a language, and a cultural and societal structure of our own. Through history we have found our subsistence and lived in Sápmi, and we own a culture that should be developed and continue existing. (Ruong 1982, pp. 257–258 cited in Lantto 2010, p. 551)

Sámi Languages

"For the Sámi people, language is the lifeline of their culture" (Helander-Renvall 2010, p. 49). However, the situation for Sámi languages is precarious.

> Roughly half of the Sami people speak one of the Sami languages, but all 10 languages[2] are classified as endangered or nearly extinct. Whereas the biggest Sami language, the North Sami, has an estimated 30,000 native speakers, the smaller languages, such as Inari Sami

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[2]There is no consensus as to the number of Sami languages that still exist. However, the number that is often cited is 10 (see Kulonen et al. 2005).

and Scolt Sami have less than 500 speakers and the nearly extinct Sami languages, for instance Ume Sami, Pite Sami and Ter Sami, have only a handful of people still speaking them. (for more details, see Kulonen et al. 2005)

It appears that the discourse on Samihood, or Sámi-ness, that previously defined Sámi as nomads and reindeer-herders, has shifted to a definition based on language use. Given the fact that only half of the Sámi speak one of the Sámi languages, such a definition would appear to effectively disqualify as many as 35,000–40,000 individuals from government policies, support, and consideration. It is argued here that government policies based on such a definition of Sámi-ness can only be viewed as a policy of language maintenance, rather than policies that are essential to re-vitalize both language use among all Sámi and support for endangered or nearly-extinct Sámi languages. Another definition of Sámi-ness, based on individuals' subjective identification of themselves as Sámi, would be more appropriate, if the purpose of government policy was support for the entire Sámi population. Indeed, the Sámi themselves define Sámihood, regarding one's eligibility to be registered as a member of the Sámi Parliament in Sweden, as identification of one's self as Sámi and/or the use of a Sámi language.[3] This is also the definition used by the Swedish Discrimination Ombudsman in a report on the discrimination of Sámi (Pikkarainen and Brodin 2008). A concern regarding language use among the Sámi are the feelings of shame that are the result of assimilation politics practiced in all the Scandinavian countries. The manner in which assimilation policies were practiced in the Scandinavian countries differed. Lars-Anders Baer (2005b, p. 62), an active politician in the Swedish Sámi Parliament, distinguishes between Norway and Sweden's treatment of the Sámi in the past and at present in the following manner: "Perhaps Sweden has never come to terms with its colonial past because the Swedish brand of colonialism was never as brutal as that in Norway." Baer terms Swedish policy in the past and at present as paternalistic, distinguishing it from Norwegian policy in the past, the goal of which was Norwegianisation of the Sámi (Baer 2005b).[4] Sweden's Sámi paternalistic policy today is reflected in the fact that "structures that were created in the past are still in place today" (Baer 2005b, p. 62). In Sweden, Baer asserts,

> There was never any reappraisal, the issues were never discussed. The big question marks about land and water management remain since the Sami were not considered competent to manage land and water. Bureaucrats and politicians today do not know what happened a hundred years ago. But in Norway everything came to a head in connection with the protests against the Alta hydropower project in the early 1980s. We in Sweden never went that far, and politicians and the public never had to address the past. Compared with other sectors, therefore, the Sami question is still a non-issue in Sweden in the sense that it is not integrated into other policy areas. (p. 62)

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[3]http://www.eng.samer.se/servlet/GetDoc?meta_id=1111&open=4

[4]For Sami views on the distinctions between government policies toward the Sami in Norway, Sweden and Finland a useful site is http://www.eng.samer.se

Von Brömssen and Rodell Olgaç (2010, p. 131) conclude that the "Swedish nation-state has historically enforced monocultural and monolingual policies." Other researchers have even stated that "[t]he Swedish State crushed local and ethnic opposition in order to build a centralized system with a strong commitment to assimilating ethnic and social minorities" (Schierup et al. 2006, p. 198).

Language and Culture

The concept of culture has historically and even today been a two-edged sword used to deny the Sámi people of their rights to education, use of land, water, and farming and fishing rights, and other democratic rights of self-determination. However, the concept of culture used bears no resemblance to Sámi perception of culture:

> The Sámi language lacks the word 'culture', and the word for 'nature' (*luondu*) is ambiguous as it relates to inner aspects of nature (such as the non-human mind) rather than to the natural environment or landscape . . . . In Sámi contexts, nature can be transformed into culture through different activities, such as fishing, handicraft, healing, and food production. (Helander-Renvall 2010, p. 46)

And yet, the word "culture" has been used to sort Sámi people, identifying Sámi as reindeer herders and nomads, while those Sámi who are not reindeer herders have not been considered "real" Sámi. This sorting is exemplified by the Border Treaty of 1751, in which a land claim between Norway and Sweden was resolved in the Lapp-Codecil. Johansson-Dahre (2002) cites Mörner (1975, p. 93) who wrote:

> In a codicil to the Border Treaty, the specific problems of the Sami reindeer nomads were taken up and dealt with in a surprisingly generous way. They would be allowed to cross the border freely in the pursuit of pastures, even in wartime, but without being obliged to pay taxes in more than one of the two countries. In this connection, mention was made of the "lappskatteland" on both sides of the national border. These lands were explicitly referred to as their property. One of the Danish jurists who helped to prepare the treaty explained this Sami land ownership in terms of Samuel Pufendorf's "occupation per universitatem", that is, a title derived from group occupation in a deserted land with limits either man-made or created by nature. (Mörner 1975, p. 93 cited in Johansson-Dahre 2002, p. 25)

This Treaty served to incorporate Sámi lands within the territorial borders of Norway and Sweden, but at the same time recognized continuing Sámi land rights (Johansson-Dahre 2002, p. 25). However, as Johansson-Dahre attests, "the position was reformulated to the effect that Sámi rights only concerned reindeer herding, without ownership to the lands. A reformulation that the Sámi still are struggling to change" (Johansson-Dahre 2002, p. 25). The conflict between Norway and Sweden, mentioned above, can be traced even today, as Norway continues to refuse "Swedish Sami's rights" in Norway (Lantto 2010).[5]

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[5]Lantto cites the Reindeer Herding Convention of 1919 as the point at which Norway effectively closed large areas of land used by Sami from Sweden:"The signing of the Convention finally gave

The Establishment of Sámi Parliaments

As a result of the growing awareness of indigenous peoples' rights and the Sámi political movement, the establishment of the Sámi parliaments in Finland, Norway and Sweden in 1973, 1989, and 1993, respectively, should be noted. The Swedish Parliament recognized the Sámi as an indigenous people in 1997 (Pikkarainen and Brodin 2008). Despite Sámi parliaments in all three countries, recognition of Sámi demands for self-determination and ownership of land, water, farming and fishing rights have been resisted. Sámi parliaments in all three Scandinavian countries have limited power and are dependent financially upon the State for financing, while being denied both the power and the rights to manage and receive compensation for the use of the land, water and fishing rights as well as the other natural resources that are to be found in the administrative areas over which the parliaments have an advisory role to play at present. Mörkenstam (1999) maintains that the Swedish Sámi Parliament has the weakest constitutional position of all of the Sámi Parliaments, while Baer underlines the need for support to counteract the on-going exploitation of Sámi lands, an issue Olli (2011) has approached the UNPFII to discuss. As both Baer and Olli argue, the conflicts at present between the Sámi and international firms that wish to exploit natural resources as well as private persons are complicated by the fact that Scandinavian countries are in many cases owners in the international firms that wish to exploit natural resources in these same administrative areas, at the same time as the Sámi themselves are denied the where-with-all to contest others' claims to these same resources[6].

The ILO Convention No. 169 states, among other things, that "Sami are an indigenous people", requiring "special measures, which promote the social and economic rights of the peoples concerned and protect their spiritual and cultural values". The Swedish government has shown what can be appropriately termed reluctance to ratify the Convention as has the Finnish government, while Norway remains the only Scandinavian country that has ratified the ILO Convention. Failure to recognize Sámi rights is intimately linked to the extent to which the Sámi people's

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Norwegian authorities the necessary tool to limit and restrict the rights of "Swedish" herders to graze "Swedish" reindeer in Norway" (Lantto 2010, p. 550), a practice that exists to date.

[6]Steinlien (p. 11) writes: Through political channels available to them, the Sami people have repeatedly tried to focus on the colonial situation. They have done this by raising, as a political issue, not only rights to language and culture, but also rights to land and water. These issues arose because the Sami people felt them to be a threat to their cultural survival, as they saw the Norwegian state gradually taking possession of what they considered to be their original areas. The state sees themselves as property owner of about 90 % of Finnmark, the Northernmost county of Norway, and a major Sami area, without any formal session. The claim of territorial rights has first and foremost been formulated as a claim that Sami livelihood interests are going to be decisive in terms of exploitation of resources and intervention in what are considered Sami areas. And further, Sami feel that if there are diverging interpretations in the future concerning the administration of these areas, they must be settled by a representative body where Sami representatives are in a majority.

right to self-determination is recognized. This is an issue of great concern for the Sámi, who have interestingly enough received support of the European Union, a point that will be discussed later in this chapter.

Education

> In folk theories of cultural heritage *language* is often linked with *identity*. This rhetoric places language proficiency as the most important instrument for the maintenance of ethnic minority culture. Education, on the other hand, is one of the most effective means of manipulating both identity formation and language competence. In the school world these attributes are promoted among other means through the teaching of literacy. Furthermore, the educational language and literacy 'parcel' is offered in indigenous and minority education under a concept of 'multiculturalism', at least in some countries. This has several implications for minority peoples especially with the rise of the new European Union. (Hellsten 1998, p. 119)

Todal (2003) shares Hellsten's view that European politics have had an influence on the recognition of the indigenous and minorities languages in many parts of Europe, a view also first advanced by Allardt (1979). As regards Norway, however, Todal has reservations. On the one hand, Norway introduced a separate Sámi curriculum in 1997, which Magga (cited in Corson 1995, p. 501) found as sufficient cause to hail Norway as "a pioneer in indigenous and minority affairs." With more caution that than expressed by Magga (1994), Todal sees this reform as a step in the right direction, but not as the sterling success Magga describes. In 2000, the Norwegian government "partially transferred jurisdiction over the Sami school system to the Sami Parliament" (Todal 2003, p. 191). That transfer together with the Sámi curriculum is viewed by Todal as "two important steps on the path to Sami autonomy in the cultural area" (Todal 2003, p. 191). At the same time he warns "The challenge in the years to come will centre on how this new freedom for Sami education is used, and what it can actually accomplish for the Sami."

In Sweden there is no separate curriculum for Sámi schools. Sámi became one of the five official minority languages in Sweden, along with Finnish, Romani chub, Yiddish, and Meänkieli in 2000, although the Swedish government recognized the Sámi as an indigenous people in 1997. According to the Swedish school law, pupils are guaranteed instruction in their own national minority language through the responsibility which the State has delegated to municipalities. In a 2012 report from the Swedish Schools Inspectorate, however, the situation for language instruction in Swedish municipalities is severely criticized. The report clarifies that all instruction in principle in the national minority languages is given within the framework of mother tongue instruction, which often means 40–60 min a week. Bilingual instruction which the Council of Europe (2012a) has recommended is not offered. Other forms of language instruction, guaranteed by the School law, such as optional languages courses, are not offered at all. In this report compiled by the national agency with the task of monitoring schools, the following

reasons for municipalities' failure to follow the School law in Sweden are given: structural problems, lack of interest and lack of knowledge among decision-makers, lack of qualified teachers, and lack of clarity as regards who bears responsibility (Skolinspektionen 2012).

The Sámi People and the EU

Support for the Sámi People's Efforts for Pan-Sámi Collaboration

Inter-regional projects have enabled the Sámi people in the Scandinavian countries to finance pan-Sámi projects, among other projects, the purpose of which is to strengthen and support pan-Sámi cooperation. Inasmuch as Sweden is a EU member state, recognition of the Sámi as indigenous people has been acknowledged, serving to strengthen the Sámi's position vis-à-vis the Swedish state and enabling financial support for Sámi projects and initiatives. These initiatives and support are summarized on the website for the Sami Information Centre (2013) as follows:

> During the 2000–2006 programming period, the EU contributed around EUR 195 billion to the structural funds. For Sweden, this meant a financial contribution of around SEK 19 billion (EUR 2.186 billion). It is calculated that the Sami EU programmes, Target 1 and Interreg III A, for which the Sami Parliament was responsible, turned over around SEK 252 million during the period 2000–2006. Through the EU's structural fund programme, the Sami have gained access to offensive resources for Sami business and cultural development. Contributions from the EU's structural funds also demand national public financing of between 35–50 percent of the total cost of the projects.
>
> The Sami protocol, which has been attached to the agreement on Swedish membership of the European Union, recognises the obligations and undertakings that Sweden has in relation to the Sami people in accordance with national and international law. The protocol states that Sweden is committed to preserving and developing the Sami people's living conditions, language, culture and way of life. Sweden and the EU have also jointly observed that the Sami culture and lifestyle are dependent on primary sources of income such as reindeer herding in areas where the Sami traditionally live.
>
> The primary objective of the Sami EU programmes is to strengthen Sami business and thereby to contribute to the development of Sami culture and Sami social life. The challenge consists of strengthening and preserving the Sami's traditional trades, at the same time as creating the conditions for developing new, vital businesses on the basis of culture and social life. The long-term goal is a differentiated and developed Sami commercial sector that is based on the close ties between the natural environment, culture and tradition. It is important to utilise and develop traditional Sami knowledge, higher education and research adapted to Sami conditions.
>
> The position of the Swedish Sami in Sweden and Europe has been strengthened following EU membership. The Sami successes can be summarised as follows:
>
> • Sápmi has been designated as a region in Europe, and the Sami people's international work has been broadened as a result of the Sami's special conditions and circumstances being viewed from new perspectives.

- A form of Sami business fund was created nationally in Sweden (Target 1), as well as an "all-Sami" fund (Interreg III) where Norway, Finland, Sweden and Russia are working jointly for the development and reinforcement of Sami business and cultural life.
- With the support of the EU's subsidiarity principle, an improved form of self-determination has been achieved as a result of the Sami Parliament in Sweden and the other publicly elected bodies being responsible for and taking decisions regarding the use of the funds, as well as prioritising the work that is to be undertaken.

Support for the Sámi People's Claims

All of the Scandinavian countries have signed and ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. Norway ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages on 5 November 1992, Finland ratified the Charter on 9 November 1994, while Sweden signed the Charter on 9 February 2000. The purpose and goal of the Charter is the following:

> This treaty aims to protect and promote the historical regional or minority languages of Europe. It was adopted, on the one hand, in order to maintain and to develop the Europe's cultural traditions and heritage, and on the other, to respect an inalienable and commonly recognised right to use a regional or minority language in private and public life.
>
> First, it enunciates objectives and principles that Parties undertake to apply to all the regional or minority languages spoken within their territory: respect for the geographical area of each language; the need for promotion; the facilitation and/or encouragement of the use of regional or minority languages in speech and writing, in public and private life (by appropriate measures of teaching and study, by transnational exchanges for languages used in identical or similar form in other States).
>
> Further, the Charter sets out a number of specific measures to promote the use of regional or minority languages in public life. These measures cover the following fields: education, justice, administrative authorities and public services, media, cultural activities and facilities, economic and social activities and transfrontier exchanges. Each Party undertakes to apply a minimum of thirty-five paragraphs or sub-paragraphs chosen from among these measures, including a number of compulsory measures chosen from a "hard core". Moreover, each Party has to specify in its instrument of ratification, acceptance or approval, each regional or minority language, or official language which is less widely used in the whole or part of its territory, to which the paragraphs chosen shall apply.
>
> Enforcement of the Charter is under control of a committee of experts which periodically examines reports presented by the Parties. (Council of Europe 1992)

On a regular basis the Committee of Experts monitor and evaluate the work done by each nation towards the fulfillment of its obligations, as designated in the European Charter. This monitoring and evaluation process is based on information gathered from government reports, the Sámi Parliament, other Sámi organizations, and on-the-site visits. In the following the recommendations of the Committee of Experts with regard to the Scandinavian countries' fulfillment of their obligations in accordance with the terms of the Charter will be presented.

Sweden

The Council of Europe (2009), whose task it is to monitor the European Charter Sweden has signed in 2000,[7] makes the following recommendations:

1. define, in co-operation with the speakers, the areas where Finnish and Sámi are covered by Part III of the Charter and apply the relevant provisions of the Charter in these areas;
2. actively strengthen education in regional or minority languages both by adapting "mother-tongue" education to the requirements of Article 8 of the Charter and, where appropriate, by establishing bilingual education as well as by developing appropriate basic and further training of teachers;
3. establish a structured policy to encourage the provision of university or other forms of higher education in Sámi, Finnish and Meänkieli;
4. adopt, as a matter of urgency, flexible and innovative measures to maintain the South Sámi language;
5. establish a structured policy and take organisational measures to encourage the oral and written use of Sámi, Finnish and Meänkieli in dealings with judicial and administrative authorities in the defined administrative areas; [and]
6. facilitate the creation of newspapers in Sámi and Meänkieli.

Regarding this report, the Council of Europe (2009) concludes: "The Sami Parliament is the primary responsible body for monitoring the implementation of the Minority Act with regard to **Sami**. The Sami Parliament now determines the objectives of Sami language policy, rather than simply managing Sami language work. The new language centres for Sami and the inclusion of the South Sami area in the administrative area for Sami have led to promising signs of revitalisation of South Sami. Nevertheless, Sami education is in a critical situation. There has been a decline in the amount of bilingual education, and there is a shortage of teachers, which has been exacerbated by the failure to invest in Sami-language teacher training."

Finland

Below are the recommendations of the Committee of Experts based on the fourth monitoring report of the Council of Europe (2012b) submitted by the Finnish government:

1. *further strengthen education in Sámi, notably through the development of a structured policy and a long-term financing scheme;*

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[7]Sweden signed and ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages on 9 February 2000. The Charter entered into force in Sweden on 1 June 2000.

2. *take urgent measures to protect and promote Inari and Skolt Sámi, which are particularly endangered languages, in particular by means of the provision of language nests on a permanent basis;*
3. *take further measures to ensure the accessibility of social and health care in Swedish and Sámi;*
4. *develop and implement innovative strategies for the training of Romani teachers, extend the production of teaching materials in Romani and increase the provision of teaching of Romani;* [and]
5. *take measures to increase awareness and tolerance vis-à-vis the regional or minority languages of Finland, both in the general curriculum at all stages of education and in the media.*

The Council of Europe (2012a, p. 40) concludes that "The Committee of Experts has been made aware of the conclusions of the first education report of the Sámi Parliament in November 2008. The report is intended as an instrument of the Sámi Parliament for solving educational questions. The report states that the situation of the teaching in and of Sámi is particularly alarming outside the Sámi Homeland and that consequently, Sámi speakers remain more or less illiterate in Sámi. The number of Sámi speakers is on the decline. The education report showed that very few Sámi children and young people are taught Sámi."

Norway

The Committee of Experts of the Charter recommends that the Norwegian authorities take account of all the observations of the Committee of Experts and, as a matter of priority:

1. *ensure that social and health care institutions within the Sámi Administrative District offer services in North Sámi;*
2. *clarify the status of the Lule and South Sámi languages in relation to Part III of the Charter;*
3. *continue their efforts to provide teaching in/of Lule and South Sámi, including the development of teaching materials and teacher training;*
4. *continue their efforts to protect and promote the Kven language in particular in education and in the field of broadcast media;* [and]
5. *take measures to develop language education in Romani and Romanes in co-operation with the speakers.* (Council of Europe 2010)

The report acknowledges the steps taken in Norway, but maintains that Lule Sámi language remains in a "difficult position" for which

> Further resolute action is needed in particular in the field of education, where the recruitment of qualified teachers and the provision of appropriate teaching materials seems to be of highest priority. Innovative measures are needed to stimulate the use of Lule Sámi

in daily life. The good contacts with Lule Sámi-speakers in Sweden contribute positively to the promotion of the language . . . . South Sámi is spoken by few people spread over a large area. The language is in a particularly precarious situation and a number of measures are urgently needed if it is to survive as a living language in Norway. Some institutions have been established with a view to protect and promote South Sámi, namely Aajege in Røros and "Saemien Sijte" in Snåsa. Regarding education, the Committee of Experts has been impressed by the results achieved by the Elgå project at pre-school level. However, resolute support and innovative solutions are still needed at all levels of education. The co-operation with South Sámi speakers in Sweden also contributes to the promotion of the language. (Council of Europe 2010)

The Report of the Special Rapporteur

Another highly relevant monitoring and evaluating process is conducted by the United Nations General Assembly on Human Rights (Anaya 2011). In the following the report of the Special Rapporteur to the United Nations General Assembly, James Anaya, whose task it is to monitor nations' respect for the rights of indigenous peoples, reports on the situation of the Sámi people in the Sápmi region of Norway, Sweden, and Finland. Below the most recent report of the Special Rapporteur will be presented and the recommendations summarized:

Overall, Norway, Sweden and Finland each pay a relatively high level of attention to indigenous issues, in comparison to other countries. In many respects, the plans and programmes related to the Sami people in the Nordic countries set important examples for securing the rights of indigenous peoples. However, more remains to be done to ensure that the Sami people can pursue their self-determination and develop their common goals as a people living across more than one State, as well as enjoy within each of the States in which they live the full range of rights that are guaranteed for indigenous peoples in contemporary international instruments.

The Special Rapporteur commends Norway for being the first State to ratify International Labour Organization Convention No. 169 concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries. He urges Finland to complete steps to ratify that instrument and urges Sweden to consider ratification, in consultation with Sami people.

Despite having endured a history that divided their territory and people among four States, the Sami people have made remarkable efforts to maintain and strengthen bonds across the national boundaries and to advance their interests as one people. Several cross-border institutions have been formed to represent the interests of Sami people throughout the Sápmi region and play an important role in developing a Sami policy that applies beyond the State framework. The Special Rapporteur notes with satisfaction that the Nordic Governments, for the most part, have not hindered cross-border Sami relations and at times have facilitated it.

The Special Rapporteur notes the important work that has already been done toward the adoption of a Nordic Sami Convention. He welcomes the commitment on the part of the Nordic States and the Sami parliaments to recommence negotiations in 2011 toward adoption of the Convention. The Special Rapporteur calls upon the States to ensure that the framework for these negotiations allows the Sami parliaments to participate as equal parties.

The Special Rapporteur recommends that the Nordic States continue and enhance their efforts to implement the right of the Sami people to self-determination and to more genuinely influence decision-making in areas of concern to them. This end may to some extent be achieved through more effective consultation arrangements that seek to ensure that decisions directly affecting the Sami are not taken without their free, prior and informed

consent. Additionally, in consultation with the Sami parliaments, the States should consider delimiting certain areas within which the Sami parliaments can act as primary or sole decision-makers, particularly in relation to concerns that affect Sami people in particular, including issues related to Sami lands, languages, traditional livelihoods and cultures.

The Special Rapporteur recommends that the Nordic States, and in particular Sweden, introduce reforms as necessary to ensure that the Sami parliaments – as the highest representative bodies of the Sami people – have greater independence from State institutions and authorities. In particular, Sweden should review the statutory status and functions of the Swedish Sami Parliament in relation to Swedish Government authority structures, with the goal of increasing its independent decision-making powers.

The Nordic States should provide the Sami parliaments with funding sufficient for them to be able to effectively exercise their self-governance functions. In particular, greater funding should be available for projects and initiatives that the Sami parliaments themselves identify, develop and implement. The States should develop appropriate procedures for consulting with the Sami parliaments towards this end. (pp. 19–20)

As regards language and education, the following is stated:

Education is essential to maintaining and revitalizing Sami history, culture, knowledge and, of course, language. One common feature in all Nordic countries is that Sami students may study in the Sami language within the designated Sami areas, which are defined by law. However, some 50 per cent of Sami people, and 70 per cent of children under 10, live outside of the designated areas.

Of the three countries, Norway has made the most advancement in developing a comprehensive Sami educational policy. The Education Act guarantees that all Sami pupils, regardless of where they live, have the right to be taught their native language as part of their compulsory schooling. Outside the Sami area, students have the right to study Sami if at least ten pupils in the municipality request such instruction and the opportunity for distance learning in the absence of a Sami speaking teacher. Despite the increasing number of schools providing Sami education, continued shortcomings include the lack of Sami teachers, although the Norway Sami Parliament noted that it has achieved positive results in increasing the number of Sami teachers through its "dream job" project, which provides scholarships to students in order to become teachers in Sami languages. Other problems include a lack of language teaching materials and Sami teaching aids, in particular in Lule Sami and South Sami, and insufficient financial resources granted to the Norwegian Sami parliament to carry out its educational tasks.

In Sweden, education in the Sami language is mainly guaranteed in the Swedish Sami schools created in the 1990s, which are administered by a Sami school board appointed by the Swedish Sami Parliament and located in the traditional Sami reindeer herding areas. Outside the Sami schools, students may be taught in their mother tongue, but only if a suitable teacher is available, and since there is a major shortage of teachers, this programme only reaches approximately 200 pupils yearly. Also, a municipality can choose to offer "Integrated Sami education" within its school system if it makes the proper arrangements with the Sami school board. Under this programme, instruction about Sami culture is offered as part of compulsory school curricula. However, according to reports, the Sami school board reportedly does not have sufficient funding to offer this programme for all of the students requesting it. Also, taken together, these three programmes still only reach about 10–20 per cent of compulsory school-age Sami children.

In Finland, education in the Sami language is guaranteed by law within the Sami homeland and under the Act on the Financing of Education and Culture, municipalities receive increased subsidies for teaching in the Sami language within the homeland area. However, there is no legislation or policy that guarantees education in the Sami language outside the core Sami area, where the majority of Sami students live, even though for

years the Sami Parliament has proposed to extend the provisions of the Act on the Financing of Education and Culture throughout the whole country. The fragmentation of Sami settlements and shortage of Sami teachers presents a problem for education in Sami language and culture, and there is also a shortage of education material, especially in the Skolt and Inari Sami languages. Some measures have been taken to facilitate long-distance learning, but these programmes have experienced problems primarily due to a lack of funding.

Also important to reviving Sami language and culture is increasing the public awareness about Sami people. According to reports, the current primary school curriculum fails to adequately reflect the diversity of the Nordic countries' populations, and textbooks for compulsory schooling have used stereotypes to describe the Sami culture. Similarly, the Special Rapporteur was informed that the university curricula for teachers do not include sufficient guidance on the Sami history and culture. The Special Rapporteur also heard many accounts of media giving a highly stereotypical image of the Sami, which contributes to the deterioration of the public image of the Sami people and also leads to a general lack of interest in the Sami by the society at large. (pp. 18–19)

The Special Rapporteur recommends that the Nordic States and the Sami parliaments cooperate to redouble efforts to revitalize Sami languages and strengthen programmes for education in Sami languages and culture. The States should provide immediate and adequate funding to the Sami parliaments to assist in the implementation of concerted measures toward these ends. Among other measures, the States should increase the capacity and number of teachers proficient in the Sami languages. Additionally, the States should take efforts to strengthen Sami language use before courts and other public authorities, and continue to improve access to public services in Sami languages.

The States and the Sami parliaments should cooperate to develop and implement measures to increase awareness about the Sami people within the media and the public at large. Such awareness should be promoted, inter alia, through primary, secondary and university school curricula. (pp. 21–22)

Discussion

Progress Made Thus Far

Over and above the steps taken by the Sámi themselves to seek support for development of Sámpi, cooperation between Sámi Parliaments has given results. Pietikäinen (2008, p. 183) mentions the following:

> reconstruction of shared Sami identity, which was one of the concerns of Sami identity politics: Sami-ness, which used to be seen in terms of diverse and localized village-centred identities, has been articulated into a new collective Sami identity that reaches across borders and is marked by the symbolic construction of a Sami nation, Sápmi. Today, Sápmi has its own flag, National Day, national anthem – and, to an extent, joint media. This kind of shared indigenous identity is seen to be beneficial to the modern possibilities of participating in political and legal decision-making and allows the indigenous voice to be heard.

Another important step is the negotiations for a Nordic Sámi Convention, which were officially initiated in March 2011 after years of controversy and are expected to take up to five years. The aim of the Convention is to "strengthen the realization

of the rights of the Sámi in preserving and developing their language, culture, livelihoods and social life throughout the Nordic Sámi area and to eliminate hinders" (Council of Europe 2012b).

Remaining Challenges

The governments of Sweden, Norway, and Finland have historically refuted, in different ways and with differing degrees of aggression, the rights of the indigenous Sámi people. The turning point came when the Sámi themselves sought alliances with other indigenous peoples to advance their claims and to make their voices heard at a time when the international community began to focus attention on the plight of indigenous people worldwide. Today the Sámi receive support through the EU, which has provided financial support for Sámi development project and a monitoring and evaluation system that is based on recognition of the rights of indigenous people, such as they are put forward in the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, which all of the Scandinavian countries have ratified. When it comes to ILO Convention No. 169 work remains to be done. By signing of this Convention, governments agree that "special measures" are required to "promote the social and economic rights" of the indigenous people in their country and "to protect their social and cultural rights." It is telling that to date only the government of Norway has signed the ILO Convention. One can argue that after the assimilation policy of Norwegianisation, it is understandable that Norway has taken steps to rectify the mistakes made in the past. That does not explain, however, why neither Sweden nor Finland have followed suit. A possible explanation is the paternalistic policy that is in place, as the Sámi people continue to be viewed as stepchildren of the state. Given the reluctance of all the national governments to grant the Sámi people the right of self-determination, it seems fair to state that a paternalistic policy is being practiced today in Scandinavia, if by that one means that "structures that were created in the past are still in place today" (Baer 2005b, p. 62) and restrict the Sámi people's rights to self-determination. Land, water, farming, and fishing rights remain in government ownership. Natural resources in the Sámpi are not the property of the Sámi people. Even the obligation to confer and cooperate with the Sámi in all matters related to their welfare has been disregarded (Olli 2011).

Over and above a lack of confidence in Sámi ability to manage their own affairs, perceptions of Sámi as less competent and less civilized are problems that remain in the Scandinavian countries (Hansen and Sørlie 2012). Baer (2005a, p. 260) confirms that:

> Even though no authority today would claim that the Sámi culture is inferior to the non-Sámi cultures, this state of affairs persists because Swedish authorities have consistently held that the Sámi people have no legally enforceable right to their traditional land. Moreover, *Sápmi* is extremely rich in natural resources, which are continuously of great importance to Sweden's economy. Non-Sámi politicians, particularly those living in *Sápmi,* often claim that it would not be 'fair' if the Sámi people should have particular rights to these resources.

> Needless to say, Sweden allows the Sámi people no influence whatsoever over non-Sámi resources such as mining or water power plants, which at least Norway attempts to do, however, in a clearly insufficient manner.[8]

Lantto and Mörkenstam (2008, p. 51) maintain that "it is of importance to grant indigenous peoples, like the Sámi, some kind of secure political platform from which they could participate in the democratic procedure and legitimately counter-act the power of the nation states in which they live." In practice, however, the Scandinavian countries have consequently denied the Sámi such a platform.

As regards education, a valid point is made by the Special Rapporteur as instruction in Sámi has until recently been restricted in all of the Scandinavian countries to those Sámi who reside in the Sámi administrative areas: "One common feature in all Nordic countries is that Sami students may study in the Sami language within the designated Sami areas, which are defined by law. However, some 50 % of Sami people, and 70 % of children under 10, live outside of the designated areas" (Anaya 2011, p. 18).

This restriction of the language rights of Sámi as well as the inadequate financing of Sámi education remain barriers today. Sámi teacher training instructional materials are problems that have yet to be resolved in the Scandinavian countries. Other persistent problems with discrimination and prejudice also remain, as well as a lack of awareness in society and in the school systems in each of the Scandinavian countries as regards the Sámi, their languages, history, and the Scandinavian governments' assimilation policies and practices and the consequences these have for Sámi today.

Of utmost importance with regard to the future of the Sámi people in Scandinavia is that a progressive policy for language re-vitalization is adopted and implemented throughout all of the countries in question, to replace the under-financed language maintenance policy being practiced at present. Given the number of Sámi who do not live in the designated administrative areas and the fact that many of the Sámi languages are endangered as a result of assimilation policies practiced in all three countries, any government language policy that does not take immediate, comprehensive and adequately funded measures to reverse the on-going trend of language loss and language shift can only been seen as giving lip service to the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and disregard for international law.

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[8]Baer's position is supported by Egil Olli, President of Sami Parliament of Norway, who made the following statement at the UNPFII "The Sámi would once again like to direct attention to the heavy pressure being exerted on indigenous territories in connection with the quest for energy and industrial resources . . . .we are also experiencing ever stronger pressure on our territories on the Fenno-Scandinavian Peninsula and in northwestern Russia . . . enterprises' responsibility for indigenous rights. This will have a major impact in the Nordic states' policy in the European High North, particularly as regards enterprises in which the state itself is the sole or part owner. Here, Ruggie's three established approaches, described by the terms "protect, respect and remedy", will encounter challenges since the state finds itself on more than one side of the table. We recommend in the strongest possible terms that this work be continued."

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Chapter 11
Learning from the Moa: The Challenge of Māori Language Revitalization in Aotearoa/New Zealand

Roger Boshier

Ka ngaro te reo, ka ngaro taua, pera i te ngaro o te moa.
(If the language disappears, people will be lost, as dead as the moa.)

Abstract Māori are the indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand. They probably originated in Taiwan but, most recently, reached New Zealand (in ocean-going canoes) about 1,300 years ago. Pākehā (white settlers) started arriving in the 1820s and, in 1840 the British crown signed a Treaty wherein they made solemn promises to Maori. Promises were quickly forgotten so, by the middle of the twentieth century, Māori language was heading into extinction. In the 1970s, well-educated Māori launched a cultural and language revitalization movement. Regarding learning in informal settings, the author praises the Māori Language Commission and activists like Dun Mihaka. Regarding nonformal settings, the author analyzes Māori broadcasting and *Te Ataarangi*, a language revitalization nongovernmental organization. Regarding formal settings, the author charts the progress of *kohanga reo* (full-immersion kindergarten), *kura kaupapa* (full-immersion schools), universities and *wananga* (Māori universities). By 2014, many Pākehā and upper-class Māori were interested in learning the indigenous language. But, because of Māori poverty, tub-thumping as a substitute for theory and a lack of cooperation by parents, not far along the road ahead more Pākehā than Māori might be speaking the indigenous language.

Keywords Māori • Pākehā • Aotearoa/New Zealand • Settings for learning • Cultural revitalization

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The moa is a giant (up to 12′ high) wingless and flightless bird with a big neck once found in New Zealand. But, being extinct, it has major disadvantages. Māori claim to have hunted moa in the 1770s but scientists say the bird was "officially extinct" by 1400 A.D. Among other reasons, the moa is extinct because of Māori over-hunting.

Māori are the indigenous people of *Aotearoa* (New Zealand) and, not long ago, it looked like their language was set to follow the moa into extinction. For good reasons, language is a big issue in New Zealand. First, because of serious disagreements about the intended meaning of words in the one Māori and several English versions of the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi (between Māori and the British crown) (see Mutu 2010). Second, because of the possibility of Māori emulating other indigenous languages and disappearing into oblivion.

There will be continuing arguments over what Treaty signatories thought they were signing and which version will prevail. But, with regard to Māori language, starting in the 1970s, political activists started trying to turn the situation around. By 2014, 75 % of Māori still did not speak *te reo* (Māori). But, after the *Language Act* of 1987, Māori became an official language of New Zealand and plenty of people are learning it.

For the last 40 years there has been a renaissance of Māori culture in New Zealand and the need to revitalize the language is widely supported. This does not mean language activists can relax because the prognosis is still mixed. As yet, there is no "convincing evidence" (Maaka and Fleras 2005) the decline has been arrested. Although 42 % of Māori understand some parts of their language, only 9 % speak it "well" or "very well" (Te Puni Kokiri 2003). On the other hand, with an elite high school like King's College making Māori compulsory (in Year 9) how could it slide into oblivion?

Almost every Māori or Pākehā (white New Zealander) understands the long ocean voyage. A very long time ago people with the same DNA as modern Māori left homelands in what is today southern Taiwan. Hence, when former Māori Party leader Pita Sharples visited Beijing he caused consternation (then amusement) by saying he had returned to claim ancestral land. According to legend and archaeological evidence, after leaving Taiwan, Māori departed from an archipelago east of New Guinea about 3,500 years ago. Another previous homeland of "modern" Māori were small tropical islands of Central Polynesia. It took about a month to paddle and sail a 15–25 m long *waka* (catamaran canoe) from there to *Aotearoa*. There are strong similarities linking Māori and Pacific languages. Modern Māori arrived in New Zealand about 1,250–1,300 years ago (McKinnon et al. 1997).

Because chiefs came ashore in several places (or made several trips back and forth) and men from one tribe had children with women from another, most Māori claim affiliation with more than one canoe. Certain *waka* captains—such as Kahungunu took many lovers and left descendants as they travelled at sea or overland. Nearly 500 years would slide by before Māori would see white faces gazing at them from foreign ships. At first, they did appreciate what white men would do to Māori land, language, and culture.

Orality has always been a pillar of identity and, prior to arrival of Europeans, Māori depended on spoken (rather than written) language. Hence, early

(and still influential) dictionaries of Māori words were created by Europeans—such as Williams (1844). Before World War II, most Māori lived in isolated rural areas and, in 1913, 90 % of their children spoke *te reo* (the language). In 1953 this percentage had dropped to 26 %. By 1975 it was 5 %. "These figures show how effective has been the educational policy that has operated in a social climate where children hear nothing but English on all sides—at the cinema, on radio and television, and in their ordinary social and school life" (*Waitangi Tribunal Report on Te Reo* 1985).

The Ministry of Education claimed there was no official policy demanding corporal punishment for speaking Māori at school. But Sir James Henare (former Commander of the 28th Māori battalion) said "the facts are incontrovertible. If there was no such policy there was an extremely effective gentlemen's agreement" (*Waitangi Tribunal Report on Te Reo* 1985, para 3.2.6, p. 16). Hence, at tiny Te Hapua in the far north, Selwyn Muru (2012) was thrashed for speaking *te reo* at school. It was the same elsewhere.

Imposing English as the national language was part of the "civilising mission" of colonizers (Simon and Smith 2001). In the 1800s, Governor George Grey saw Māori as a "problem" to be resolved through assimilation and subsidized mission schools to "rescue" native children by having them adopt the language of Europeans. This language policy was formalized in the 1877 *Native School Act* which authorised classroom use of a small amount of Māori—but only for the purpose of teaching English!

Europeans started landing in the 1840s but the peak year for settler arrival was 1874. In that year the author's grandfather (and great grandparents) departed Gravesend on the sailing bark *Euterpe* and reached Wellington 5 months later. After felling trees in Matamau, they opened "Bosher Bros sawmill" in Winiata, just south of Taihape in the central North Island. Their landlord was Mr. Bennett, a local Māori, and they employed 8–10 of the Winiata *whānau* (extended family) who lived near the mill. Bosher's (the "i" came later) and their relatives, the Holders, enjoyed cordial relations with Winiata Māoris and, on a triumphal arch built to welcome the main trunk line railway and Prime Minister Richard Seddon, carved the Māori greeting "*kia ora*." Although English was spoken at the mill, like settlers elsewhere whose survival depended on Māori, Boshers also endeavored to learn *te reo*. Because their well-being depended on it, a lot of settlers spoke Māori.

Despite promises made in the 1840 *Treaty of Waitangi* (between Māori and the British crown), white colonization had a devastating effect because settlers brought lawlessness and foreign diseases (Mutu 2010). Opportunists traded muskets and Pākehā (white New Zealanders) acquired Māori land under dodgy circumstances. Until recently, many Pākehā regarded learning Māori a waste of time and a former Prime Minister thought it would be better to learn Japanese! Hence, "for some Pākehā … the Māori language … is worthless, primitive and a waste of time in a modern society of science and industry" (Vasil 1993, p. 3).

Benton (1979) surveyed 33,638 North Islanders and found 70,000 fluent speakers (out of a potential speech community of 300,000). Some observers thought this meant Māori language was flourishing. But, whereas most Māori were under the

age of 15 years, most fluent speakers were over 45 years old (and constituted only 12 % of the Māori population). Unless something was done, as older people died, the language would also go to the cemetery. The point of "no return" was just up ahead.

Language and Identity

The author is Pākehā from Ngati Kahungunu (east coast of the North Island), went to school and played rugby with Māori and was fortunate to land at Wellington Teachers' College (in 1960). Here he joined the Māori club, learned from outstanding academics such as Jack Shallcrass, Keith Fox, George Webby and Anton Vogt and enjoyed the company of other students—such as Kuni Kaa (Jenkins 2000), Steve (Sir Tipene) O'Regan, Betty Nohotima, Jimmy Nuku, Rosemary Gurney, Dave McGill, Ken Hayward, Garry Weeds—and other architects of Māori learning and education (see Webby 2006).

Now, more than 50 years later, most New Zealanders applaud the way Māori culture has emerged from the margins. New Zealand children enthusiastically sing the national anthem in Māori and rugby crowds applaud the *haka* (dance) used to intimidate rivals. Judges, politicians, broadcasters and Pākehā families routinely use Māori terms—such as *powhiri* (welcome), *mana* (reputation), *tangi* (funeral), *waka* (canoe), *waka-jumping* (going to Australia), *whānau* (extended family).

Yet, just when most Pākehā seem to have embraced Polynesian notions of *Aotearoa*, there is still hard-core racism. In a speech at Orewa, the then National (governing) Party leader Don Brash (2004) was assumed to have "played the race card" when he said there was a "dangerous drift towards racial separatism in New Zealand, and the development of the now entrenched Treaty of Waitangi grievance industry . . . Over the last 20 years, the Treaty has been wrenched out of its 1840s context and become the plaything of those who would divide New Zealanders from one another, not unite us . . . In parallel with the Treaty process and associated grievance industry, there has been a divisive trend to embody racial distinctions into large parts of our legislation, extending recently to local body politics. In both education and healthcare, government funding is now influenced not just by need—as it should be—but also by the ethnicity of the recipient" (Brash 2004, p. 1). Brash seemed to want a country where Māori remained docile in the face of Pākehā humiliation, lawlessness and loss of land. In his view, seeking redress had spawned a "grievance industry."

Not long after the 2004 speech, Brash was toppled from power. Just as well, because, for Māori, tribal affiliations, land and language are key pillars of identity and, when taken away, low self esteem, confusion and, in too many cases, self hatred is the result (see Maaka and Fleras 2005). Hence, in what remains of the centre and political left in New Zealand, there has been an embrace of *te reo* and support for cultural renaissance of Māori. This was particularly the case during the third (Norman Kirk, 1972–1974) Labour government and arose again during Ngati-Kuri and other treaty settlements formalised in 2014–2015.

Back from the Brink

In the 1970s, self-educated farm-gate intellectuals (Boshier 2002) and university-educated activists started *Nga Tamatoa* (the "Young Warriors") and, amongst other things, circulated a petition calling for Māori language to be taught in schools. In 1973, Nga Tamatoa wore black arm bands to Waitangi Day ceremonies to protest language loss and alienation of 24 million hectares of Māori land.

Two years later (1975) a Māori "land march" started in Te Hapua—in the far north—and, on 13th of October, ended in Wellington. Led by the crusty Whina Cooper, protesters walked under the slogan "not one more acre." The land march was a defining event of twentieth century Māori politics. At the time, only 5 % of Māori children could speak *te reo* and, under pressure, government launched a "Māori Language Week" (New Zealand Parliament 2010).

In some respects, grassroots language learning is running well ahead of the ability to theorise it and, in New Zealand academic circles, there is a tendency to cloud simple ideas in jargon from overseas. Despite the need for better theory, much volunteer and paid effort has gone into creation (and study of) *kōhanga reo* (immersion kindergartens) and *kura kaupapa Māori* (immersion primary schools). A lot of literature is focussed on learning in formal education settings (e.g., Whitinui 2011). But, as an adult educator—and exponent of learning in informal and nonformal settings (Boshier 2011b, 2012)—the author considers formal settings only part of a bigger (and more important) story.

With this as a backdrop, now the task is to chart the coordinates of Māori language revitalization efforts in informal, nonformal and formal learning settings. This order is deliberate because, as May and Hill (2011) demonstrated, large and difficult questions hover over the extent to which schools are the best places to build language fluency. Language revitalization should be a societal preoccupation (not just a matter for schools).

Informal Settings

Informal are the everyday settings of life. In educational discourse they are often overlooked because of their ad hoc, ordinary, unorganized and serendipitous nature. But, in HIV/AIDS or other important awareness campaigns the only way to "get out the word" is by campaigning in informal settings. Singapore, for example, is an adroit exponent of learning in informal settings.

Overseas visitors notice how Māori language permeates ways English is spoken in New Zealand. Radio and television broadcasts are prefaced with a greeting in Māori and words like *whānau*, *aroha*, *hui*, *tapu*, *utu*, *marae*, *tangi*, *kai*, *powhiri*, *hangi*, *tikanga*, *kaupapa*, *iwi*, *hapu*, *whakapapa*, are used by Pākehā. Politicians and judicial authorities often point at *whānau* (extended family) as a resolution to social problems. At professional conferences—such as the *New Zealand Association for Research in Education* (NZARE) there will be a *powhiri* (welcome), *poroporoaki* (farewell) and group singing of *waiata* (Māori songs). New Zealanders returning

home also notice ways mispronouncing Māori words now attracts a stigma. Correct pronunciation is particularly important in broadcasting and educational settings.

When Māori Language Week was first launched in 1975, not much happened. By 2014 it was a major event—cosponsored by the Māori Language Commission, Ministry of Māori Development and, most notably, the government Human Rights Commission. Along with a website with useful suggestions there are public events, *kapa haka* shows, awards and festivities designed to get New Zealanders speaking *te reo*. Among recent "handy hints" was "put five new words on your fridge." As part of language week, tax collectors have a *kia ora* club—staff who wear badges indicating they speak *te reo*. Māori Language Week is a clear (and effective) use of informal settings for learning *te reo*—involving government, broadcasters, universities, schools, families, *whānau*, businesses and communities.

Māori activist Dun Mihaka is best known for mooning (i.e., dropping his pants) in a traditional Māori insult to British royalty. In 1979 when he appeared in court (charged with fighting police) he insisted on speaking *te reo*. Dropping his pants paved the way for the introduction of the Māori language into the criminal justice system. Mihaka's royal bare-bum gesture was followed by introduction of the *Māori Language Act* of 1987, which gave *te reo* equal status with the English language. Hence, in the mostly ridiculous 2012 Uruwera "terrorism" trial, Tuhoe activist Tame Iti spoke only Māori.

Many Māori words have multiple meanings but are increasingly woven into the fabric of Pākehā discourse (Metge 2010). All government departments advertise their names in Māori, there is radio news in Māori and a very successful Māori Television Service. Thanks to Dun Mihaka, *te reo* may be spoken in Parliament or courtrooms. Air New Zealand pilots use Māori greetings on in-flight public address systems, newspapers are published by Māori, indigenous art is much sought after and polls suggest 98 % of Māori and 96 % of non-Māori think it good "for Māori to speak *te reo* in public places or at work" (New Zealand Parliament 2010).

New Zealand texting software recognises common Māori words. Hence, the worried cook only needs to type the first few letters of "open the *hangi* (underground oven) at 6 p.m." Or "get *kaimoana* (seafood) for dinner." The Team New Zealand sailing syndicate has a partnership with Ngati Whatua (an Auckland tribe) and, during the September, 2013 America's Cup regatta in San Francisco, deployed Māori haka and other rituals. On Internet chat rooms, supporters urged *taniwha* (mischievous creatures) to help Team New Zealand. At many public or private events (such as conferences or weddings) there is a good chance *te reo* will be spoken. Māori are proud of their identity and there are plenty of informal settings for learning *te reo*.

Nonformal Settings

Immense amounts of learning occurs in nonformal settings and, it would be a grave mistake to ignore the needs of adults or underestimate the power of learning in out-of-school settings. Because many New Zealanders (Māori and Pākehā) disliked

school, they would rather learn *te reo* elsewhere. There are many more nonformal than formal settings for learning but, because of space constraints, the focus here is on broadcasting, *marae* (community meeting places), the Māori Women's Welfare League and Te Ataraangi.

Māori Broadcasting

Prior to World War II, most Māori lived in rural areas and depended on radio. But almost no Māori language came out of radio sets. Because many families wanted their children to learn English—the route to a job—there were grumbles about the lack of *te reo* but no sustained campaign for Māori radio. This changed in 1943 when families needed to know what Hitler was doing to their sons. In Wellington, the Broadcasting Service had the author's former colleague Wiremu (Bill) Parker read news items in Māori. In 1945—at the end of the war—Māori became a subject in the School Certificate public exam. Even so, by 1953, only 26 % of Māori children could speak *te reo* (New Zealand Parliament 2010).

Although language advocates continuously pressed for a separate all-Māori broadcasting service it took a long time to get organised. During the interregnum, the state created spaces for Māori on national (English-speaking) radio and television networks. In 1971 Selwyn Muru sat in an Auckland radio studio and launched Te Puna Wai Kōrero on the state broadcasting service. He produced it until 1978 when it was taken over by Whai Ngata (1978–1981) and Henare Te Ua (1981–1996)—whose biography is an engaging account of struggles to develop Māori broadcasting (Te Ua 2005).

In 1972 a petition to Parliament called for Māori language and culture to be taught in all schools. In 1974 state television broadcast the influential *Tangata Whenua* (People of the Land) series made by Pacific Films. Written by Michael King, and shot by Barry Barclay, in these six one-hour programs Māori spoke for themselves. But, being mostly in English, *Tangata Whenua* did not do much for *te reo*.

Working in English and Māori on the national radio service, Selwyn Muru highlighted basic Māori concerns and need to speak truth to power (Webster 1998). Despite deadlines, there was always something worth broadcasting (Muru 2012). In 1975 he took over production of *Te Reo o te Māori* (radio) previously produced by Ted Nepia. This program was completely in *te reo* and regarded as the "flagship" of Māori radio unit output.

In 1978 a 25,000 signature petition to parliament claimed there were more black people from the United States than Māoris on New Zealand television (Boyd-Bell 1985). Whereas older Māori were docile, polite and patient, younger (in many cases, university-educated) Māori were tired of the waiting game. They saw broadcasting as part of a larger struggle for *tino rangatiratanga* (Māori self determination) or rights guaranteed by the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi. After 140 years, waiting was not an option. Hence, during the 1980 Māori Language Week there was a colourful

and boisterous Wellington protest march demanding Māori have the same status as English language. In 1983 Wellington Māori activists borrowed a studio from university students and, for two days, demonstrated all-Māori radio was possible. "The point is proven by Māori to Māori. It can be done on the smell of an oily rag" (Winitana 2011, p. 154).

Four years later the first fulltime all-Māori radio station started broadcasting from Wellington. *Kōhanga reo* (infant language nests) needed support so Piripiri Walker and helpers went looking for scripts and Māori music. This was the beginning of Māori tribal radio and Wellington Māori were pressured to train others. Chris Winitana's (2011) romp through radio and television studios offers delicious insights into the politics of Māori broadcasting. It also celebrates the *kiwi* (New Zealand) penchant for improvisation and shows what can be accomplished by a motivated *whānau* (extended family) led by a language advocate.

With funding from the *Te Mangai Paho* (Māori Broadcasting funding agency), in the next two decades, 21 tribal stations went to air. Most days each of them broadcast eight hours of Māori language—for a total of 61,000 h per year (Winitana 2011). Up north, Nadia Glavish (Ngati Whatua), a telephone operator, was disciplined for using "kia ora" (roughly comparable to the Hawaiian *aloha*) as a greeting. After the furore died down, television news readers, airline pilots and prominent citizens were saying "*kia ora*" instead of "good morning" or "hello." Even in Canada, the author has "*kia ora*" as the greeting on his telephone answering machine.

Radio is less complex than television. However, in a country with few channels, television can have a massive impact on public discourse. Starting in 1975, New Zealand celebrated Māori Language Week and, at these times, English-speaking continuity announcers would use a bit of Māori. But, for television, the breakthrough was in 1980 when *Koha* (Gift) appeared on screen.

Koha was given the personnel and money needed to put it on a par with other high-profile programs like *Fair Go*. The first year of *Koha* "confounded sceptics" (Boyd-Bell 1985, p. 198) and, by 1983, was well established. Although partly in English, for Māori Language Week in 1983, it broadcast Selwyn Muru's play Te Ohaki a Nihe (The Final Gift of Nihe) in Māori. In the same year, television created a daily four minute all-Māori news program (Te Karere).

In 1996 *Aotearoa* Māori television service was broadcasting in Auckland but brought down by scandal. However, pressure was on and, in 2003, a *Māori Television Act* was passed in Parliament. Critics trotted out familiar epithets about "wasting money," "one nation," "useless language" and "pandering to Māori." Even so, in a climate of great expectations, Māori T.V. began broadcasting in 2004. Because of banal, mostly imported, programs on other television stations, it did not take Māori Television long to start pulling huge numbers of Pākehā and Māori viewers. Much to the chagrin of sceptics, Māori Television was (and still is) a major success. It is, without question, the broadcasting success story of the early twenty-first century. Although MTV (Māori Television Service) had high production values, some of their most successful shows were talent quests (and similar shows) stitched together with not much more than good humour and No. 8 wire style improvisation.

During one month, MTV attracted more than two million unique viewers (New Zealand Parliament 2010).

For commercial (market share) reasons, Māori Television broadcasts many programs in English. But, in 2008, language revitalization activists got what they wanted—a second channel—*Te reo*—entirely in Māori. As the same time, Google launched a Māori version of their search engine and the Māori Language Commission compiled the first ever monolingual Māori dictionary. In 2005 an interactive "korero" website (www.koreromaori.co.nz) was launched and Microsoft produced Māori versions of popular software.

Marae

There are about 2,000 *marae* (community meeting places) in New Zealand, most in the North Island. A *marae* consists of a meeting house (suitable for sleeping and other activities), a *pae pae* (the speaking area out front) and grounds for welcomes, farewells, sport, ceremonies and outdoor activities. Because *kai* (food) is a centrepiece of Māori life, *wharekai* (kitchens) are nearby.

The *marae* is a spiritual and cultural home—even for descendants who moved to other places. Despite rivalries, everyone supports the *marae* and it is a critical site for language learning and dialogue. As a child, *whaikōrero* (oratory) expert Selwyn Muru (2012) lurked at the edge of the Te Hapua *marae,* watching and listening to great orators of the 1940s and 1950s as they called for action on lost land, assailed sand mining and confronted the rigours of rural life. Fascinated by what he saw and heard, Muru stayed late—until the last words were spoken. *Marae* are named by and after ancestors. What occurs there happens under the eyes of *tipuna* (ancestors).

Considerable *mana* (prestige, reputation) is attached to having the ability to perform *marae* rituals. Important rites de passage are enacted and major *hui* (meetings) are held there. Hence, in the Māori world, the *marae* is a crucial nonformal learning setting. However, there is an urgent need for knowledgeable younger people to fill gaps created by urban migration and death of old people.

Māori scholars are aware of international currents in lifelong learning (see Bishop 2011; Boshier 2011b, 2012) and, in the Bay of Plenty and other places, there is a strong interest in placing learning in the vanguard of what occurs at *marae*. Just as there are learning cities in other parts of the world, New Zealanders want "learning-*marae*." With their strong showing elsewhere, and grasp of out-of-school learning, the Māori Language Commission might be the agency to get this going.

Apart from the honour of learning under the gaze of ancestors, there is good infrastructure—parking, sleeping accommodation, kitchens, dining areas and places for children to play at *marae*. In most parts of their lives, New Zealand Māori have to fit into Pākehā notions of modern living. On *marae*, the power relationship is reversed. As such, *marae* are robust and powerful arenas for language revitalization. Most important, they are a direct link to *tipuna* (ancestors).

Māori Women's Welfare League

By the 1970s there were many educated Māori in New Zealand and efforts underway to gain admittance to PhD programs at universities. Unlike polite elders of earlier eras, the new generation were more "uppity" than their parents and arrived at protest meetings and *marae* citing Freire, Gramsci and US-based black power advocates. Later, some quoted Michel Foucault and, at one point Jacques Derrida visited the University of Auckland where Selwyn Muru, now the university orator, invoked his *Ngati Kuri* (Tribe of the Dogs) ancestry to say "today dogs welcome the frogs."

In contrast to earlier times, twenty-first century New Zealand women are less dominated by men. Yet, in some Māori tribes, there are disputes about where women can speak. Hence, even Prime Minister Helen Clark had problems speaking at certain *marae*. But, without doubt, women have been at the centre of the *Aotearoa* language revitalization movement. Hana Jackson, Cathy Dewes, Ripeka Evans, Donna Awatere, film-maker Merata Mita and other (then) younger Māori women were at the forefront 1970s and 1980s protests about land, sovereignty and language. As well, language revitalization was nurtured by tough older women like Mira Szaszy, Whina Cooper or Eva Rickard. Through personal effort and the Māori Women's Welfare League, women complemented efforts of men.

The Māori Women's Welfare League was founded in 1951 with Whina Cooper as the first President (King 1983). At first, the task was to preserve culture through arts and crafts. By 1956 there were 4000 members and the mandate had broadened to encompass housing, health, education and politics. However, Whina Cooper was prone to "lead from the front" (King 1983), no longer consulting the membership and, as such, persuaded to step aside in 1957. In the 1960s, the League was concerned by language loss and Māori under-achievement at schools. Hence, the focus turned to after-school homework programs and language revitalization.

In 2011 the League was rocked by a takeover bid (from within the fundamentalist Destiny church) but, for 60 years, has been an arena for strong women to enter the mostly male-dominated world of Māori politics. Three distinguished league presidents (Dame Whina Cooper, Dame Miraka Szaszy and Dame Georgina Kirby) received the female equivalent of a knighthood.

Although the Māori Women's Welfare League engaged in odd acts of censorship (such as the 1964 suppression of Ans Westra's exquisite photo-essay *Washday at the Pa*), it has been a key part of the Māori renaissance—of which language is a vital part. For the Māori Women's Welfare League, by 2014 speaking *te reo* was linked to health issues—concerning, for example, smoking, parenting or food production.

Te Ataarangi

Another manifestation of the "strong women" tendency in Māori politics was the work of Dame Katerina Mataira. In the 1950s she was an art teacher at Northland

College and part of the "Tovey-generation" (named after influential Arts and Crafts Supervisor Gordon Tovey) that launched the careers of Māori painters who blended a modernist ethos with traditional motifs. Selwyn Muru (2012) ascribes much of his passion for language and the arts to Katerina Mataira, his teacher when he was a pupil at Northland College.

Like others, Katerina Mataira was concerned by the declining number of Māori language speakers. In the late 1970s, after a chance meeting with students of Gattegno (1963), she and Ngoingoi Pewhairangi acquired cuisenaire rods (previously used for teaching math) and, using the "silent way," launched the Māori language revitalization movement known as *Te Ataarangi.* According to Gattegno (1963), orthodox education puts too much attention on the teacher. In his model, the teacher is mostly silent. By using cuisenaire rods and "discovery learning," by their silence, the teacher puts attention on the learner—all in the context of Māori tradition and customs.

Te Ataarangi offers community-based classes, workplace language learning, home-based learning, regional conferences and *hui* (meetings) and national events. *Te Ataarangi* learning principles are—Do not speak English; Do not be disrespectful of customs or beliefs; Do not prompt one another; Only answer questions directed at you; Be humble.

Formal Settings

Benton's (1979) research suggested Māori language was at the edge of a precipice. Tired of waiting for state intervention, activists decided it was time to act. Despite difficulties, the creation of *te kōhanga reo* (infant language nests) and *kura kaupapa* (Māori immersion primary schools) was a turning point in Māori language revitalization.

Kōhanga Reo

The first *kōhanga reo* (infant language nest) was created in April 1982 in Wainuiomata, near Wellington. In *kōhanga reo,* young children were encouraged to act and talk Māori. The task was to bridge the gap between small children (0–5 years) and mostly older (over 40 years) language speakers acting as teachers.

Kōhanga reo were not created to compete with state schools or kindergarten. Rather, they were a "do-it-yourself effort … a desperate drive to save the Māori language" (Jenkins and Ka'ai 1994, p. 163). Organizers felt survival of Māori (as a people) depended on language. Six years after the opening at Wanuiomata, there were 400 *kōhanga reo* in New Zealand involving more than 12,000 children.

Many *kōhanga reo* were hard-pressed to find facilities but, as is still the case, disused "prefab" buildings were acquired. Most "teaching" was done by older

"aunties" or "nannies." Although *kōhanga reo* were motivated by the needs of children, teachers also had to improve their knowledge of Māori language and *tikanga* (customs). In addition, parents (of youngsters) had to confront their inability to speak *te reo*.

In a way, *kōhanga reo* was an adult education exercise. By focussing on elderly teachers, parents with mediocre language skills, and eager youngsters, what started as a kindergarten turned into a national learning movement. Considerable satisfaction was derived from operating beyond the purview (but with the liaison of) the state and, for many people, kōhanga involvement was a transformative experience (Jenkins and Ka'ai 1994). It was also a lot of work and there was often a crisis when a valued teacher left. Other crises flow from the limited language skills of certain teachers.

Academics hovering around language nests (or, in some cases, inside singing and playing with children) realized the future of this project would, in part, depend on their ability to theorise it (Bishop 2011). Most of the time, drawing on Māori cultural frameworks (like *tino rangatiratanga*) worked better than reference to foreign critical theorists. Sceptical observers like to phone hotline radio shows to wonder if *kōhanga reo* music and language games lead to better scores on math tests. However, throughout its history, there has been a justifiable stress on identity as a precursor to achievement at *kōhanga reo*.

Kura Kaupapa

At age six, *kōhanga reo* children going to monocultural (English-speaking) schools would quickly lose whatever *te reo* fluency they had acquired—particularly if parents were speaking English at home. Hence, when *kōhanga reo* opened, it was clear *kura kaupapa* (Māori immersion primary schools) would have to follow.

Only four things are needed to create an educational institution—a building, plywood (for a sign), paint, a hammer and nails. In this kind of way the first *kura kaupapa* was founded at Hoani Waititi *marae* (Oratia, West Auckland) in 1985. For the opening, soon-to-be-leader of the Māori Party, Pita Sharples, assembled prominent New Zealanders to witness the launch of what most hoped would be a revolution in language revitalization. Photographs taken that day show Sharples, then Prime Minister David Lange, Sir John Bennett, Sadie Graham and soon-to-be Governor-General Paul Reeves.

By 1987 it was clear *kura* needed theory and a working party, helped by Katerina Mataira, adopted *Te Aho Matua* as a guiding philosophy for pedagogy and curriculum. It contained six parts—*te ira tangata* (the physical and the spiritual), communication, identity, environment, pedagogy, and outcomes. *Te Aho Matua* was the kaupapa—guiding idea concerning governance and relationships—to which *kura* were expected to adhere. The working party was composed of activists and intellectuals—Katerina Mataira, Cathy Dewes, Tuki Nepe, Rahera Shortland, Graham Smith, Pita Sharples, Pen Bird, Tony Waho and Linda Smith.

In 1987 a *kura* was created in Kelston, in 1988 another opened in Mangawhau and in 1990, Mangere. The movement then spread to all parts of New Zealand and government was under pressure to provide funding. In 1989 the government amended the *Education Act* to legitimize *kura kaupapa* and, in 1999 there were further amendments designed to protect the Māori character of the schools.

By 2013 there were 73 *kura kaupapa* (enrolling 6,038 students) in *Aotearoa* and old prefabs at Hoani Waititi were still in use. Each *kura* is governed by a Board of Trustees representing local *whānau* (extended families) who decide on admissions, set curriculum, appoint teachers and monitor requirements of the state. The number of *kura kaupapa* has been stable since 2003.

The state Education Review Office (ERO) has criticised *kura kaupapa*—especially those in remote areas (Education Review Office 2000). In addition, news media like pouncing on scandals involving *kura kaupapa* (e.g., $1 m building botch up 2012, p. 1) to criticise "uppity" Māori who created them and moan about creeping "apartheid" in New Zealand.

There are also prominent Māori critics of *kura kaupapa*—many worrying about the quality of language spoken at the *kura*. First, "it is painfully evident that the widespread use of ungrammatical Māori which native speakers have difficulty understanding must be corrected if revitalization of the language is to succeed in the long term" (Mutu 2005, p. 129). Second, there are not enough fluent speakers of Māori willing to opt for a career in teaching. Bad grammar, slang and substituting English for Māori gets defended as a "natural" hybrid language process—much like "Singlish" (Singapore) "Spanglish" (California) or "Chinglish" (worldwide). Scholar-activists like Professor Margaret Mutu do not relish the day Māori speak "Manglish." For Mutu, the road ahead involves studying the language and grammar of ancestors. However, Mutu's position too often sounds like fundamentalism-in-action.

Kura architects have also worried about ways Pākehā notions of school excellence do not capture the nuances of Māori learning and education. By 2011 these worries seemed less relevant when the government Educational Review Office (ERO) came out with positive reviews of *kura kaupapa*—particularly those on the east coast of the North Island (ERO tracks the ongoing improvements on Coast 2012, p. 1). According to ERO, "effective professional leadership at most schools and *kura kaupapa* Māori is bringing about positive changes for Māori on the Coast."

Much "theory" justifying *kura kaupapa* concerns colonisation, resistance and confrontation with Pākehā but does not explain how to organise optimal conditions for learning. Repeatedly complaining about Pākehā is part of the backdrop to language revitalization but does not explain how to engage with learners in joyful, conciliatory and motivating ways. *Te Aho Matua* is useful but abstract and does not adequately address deep structural questions pertaining, for example, to the shortage of teachers fluent in Māori. Even so, scholars (Māori and *Pākehā*) are putting plenty of energy into finding answers to questions about the 73 *kura kaupapa* mostly available to Māori—but also open to Pākehā.

University

Universities have not been a significant site for the revitalization of Māori language. At one time there were few Māori academic staff (faculty) members and not many students capable of speaking *te reo*. Before World War II most Māori lived in rural areas and the four colleges of the University of New Zealand were in cities. In 1925 Apirana Ngata urged the University of New Zealand to offer Māori as a subject for university study. But nothing was done for another 25 years. It was the familiar waiting game.

Significantly, it was a university Adult Education departments that first opened doors for Māori. In 1949 Norman Richmond was Director of Adult Education at the University of Auckland and appointed Maharaia Winiata (the first Māori PhD) as a tutor in Māori. In 1952 Matiu te Hau joined him at the Adult Education Centre and, later on, Koro Dewes. Rangi Walker joined the University of Auckland Adult Education (then named "Continuing Education") group in 1970 and Roger Boshier came in 1971.

As a colleague, the author got free access to Matiu te Hau's justifiably famous Māori language classes. Even better, the author saw how "Uncle Matt" te Hau (National Party) and the sometimes feared "Dr. (Rangi) Walker" (Labour Party) spoke to power. Walker felt "the pedagogy of adult education tutors concentrated on . . . . cultural reconstruction, validation and incorporation of Māori knowledge into the academy" (Spoonley 2009, p. 149). Despite political differences, when Māori issues arose at the university or in the community, he and te Hau went to Walker's office and stayed there until a united front was in place.

By 1963 Auckland University had lost patience with Māori rural work and, after orders from above, it ceased (Walker 1980). In the city the task of the Māori academic was "to give lectures on Māori society . . . to the middle-class mums of Remuera and Pākehā liberals who came to get their instant fix of Māori culture" (Walker, Quoted in Spoonley 2009, p. 72).

For Smith (1997), low Māori participation rates in tertiary education were not due to psycho-social deficiencies or the oppressive structures of university life. Instead, the situation called for a "cultural" remedy. In short, there was a poor fit between Māori cultural needs and the monocultural ambience of the typical university campus. This idea was elaborated by Bishop (2008, 2011) who, in a reworking of 1970s ideas about "congruence" (Rogers 1959; Boshier 1973) as a key factor in educational environments, criticised "blame-the-victim" explanations for difficulties and highlighted the need to build optimal relationships (e.g., between teachers and students, schools and communities).

By 2014 most polytechnics and universities had Māori studies and language courses and, in the Bay of Plenty, universities, polytechnics, and *wānanga* were building partnerships (for language and other purposes). At the national level, funds also went into technologically-enhanced networks designed to foster postgraduate study for Māori. The Auckland University of Technology *Te Kawai Kumara* project (which depended on whiteboards and other "digital resources") was designed to build a network wherein postgraduate courses could be offered in Māori. In addition,

there was a need to prepare academic staff who could supervise Master's and Doctoral theses written in Māori. While appealing, this *kumara* project was nested in exaggerated (and unrealistic) techno-utopianism (Ka'ai 2011).

While land, housing and health were important, education and language were keys to cultural survival. Just as activists had gone outside established channels before, now there would have to be a tertiary institution for Māori learners. While not renouncing the importance of skills for the global economy, *wānanga* would become arenas for celebrating Māori culture and language revitalization.

Wānanga

It was only a matter of time before there would be demands for Māori tertiary institutions and *wānanga* became the outstanding story of late twentieth century New Zealand education (Boshier 2011a). *Te Whare Wānanga o Raukawa* (in Otaki) opened as a tribal university in 1981. *Te Wānanga o Aotearoa* (in Te Awamutu) is committed to cultural revitalization and opened in 1983. In the Bay of Plenty region, students and staff at the University of Waikato created plans for a *wānanga* in the old sawmill at Whakatane and *Awanuiārangi* got started in 1992. Today, there are three *wānanga—Raukawa, Awanuiārangi* and *Aotearoa*—offering undergraduate, graduate and *iwi* (tribal)-development programs.

These are significant institutions. In 2005, *Te Wānanga o Aotearoa* was the largest educational institution in New Zealand with about 40,000 students. Each *wānanga* embraces Pākehā (or world) knowledge while foregrounding indigenous views, *te reo* and ways of behaving. The three of them now enrol about 60 % of Māori tertiary students (Durie 2009).

At *Awanuiārangi* the administration is clear about what differentiates them from others. Advertising material quotes Jaimie Tutbury, a BEd student. "I was brought up in Dunedin and studied Maori by correspondence. It's a terrible way to learn a language. So the context of this [Awanuiārangi] program is important . . . . There's a lot of awhi [love] shown here, a lot of care. At Awanuiārangi they really want students to excel. I started studying at the university but it is very impersonal—here, the lecturers actually want to be there to help you. We are taught in a whanau environment and no door is closed" (Tutbury 2012), Instead of marginalising adult education, *Awanuiārangi* were using its principles in *iwi* development programs where the task was to "staircase" adult learners into tertiary education (Boshier 2011a).

Road Ahead

The Māori Language Commission is a positive development but the language crisis is not over and it is still important to remember the moa. Many old problems have not been solved and, in the meantime, new ones have arrived. Some problems arise

from practical difficulties to do with reaching learners. Others are deeply theoretical. Among future issues are—Māori poverty, reliance on schools, dangers of techno-utopia, parenting under pressure, tub-thumping as a substitute for theory, and Pākehā on the road ahead.

Māori Poverty

Māori constitute about 15 % of the New Zealand population but fill 51 % of the prison cells (United Nations 2006). Despite the 40 year cultural renaissance, too many still live in poverty. As Maslow (1954) suggested, people fixated on lower-order needs are not likely to embrace higher-order needs like language learning. Or put five new words on their fridge. For them, it is enough of a struggle to get food on the table and shoes on their children. Hence, in significant ways, language revitalization depends on ameliorating poverty. There is also a continuing shortage of teachers fluent in the Māori language.

Over-Reliance on Schools

Activists who launched *kohange reo* and *kura kaupapa* can be proud of their efforts and nobody should under-estimate schools as sites for language learning. Yet, as proponents of lifelong learning have demonstrated, language is as much a societal as it is a matter of schooling. The Māori Language Commission and NGOs like *Te Ataarangi* have done a good job but there are numerous other nonformal learning settings in New Zealand. For example, although some *marae* have embraced learning, others have yet to get themselves organized.

For more than 30 years, *kura reo* (total immersion) programs have been held on *marae*. However, using it for occasional courses is not the same as having learning as the vanguard of *marae* activities. This centrepiece of Māori life has many advantages and observers are waiting to see what arises from discussions about "learning *marae*." Learning is a lifelong process occurring in a broad array of informal, nonformal and formal settings.

Weakness of Techno-Utopia

During the 1970s, the author was a willing—and engaged—student in Matiu te Hau's Māori language class at the University of Auckland. The classroom was not flash, there was no Powerpoint and te Hau was an exuberant rascal. But he was warm-hearted, generous, spirited and had Māori language engraved into his soul. Matiu was all-Māori, all the time! Contrast that with "digital networking" and

the idea computers are the answer to language revitalization questions. Language learning is a social process—best done face-to-face—with people who know and like what they are doing and care about their learners. If there is a choice between a video-conference or learning from Matiu the maestro, the answer is obvious.

Parenting Under Pressure

Language advocates are chagrined by Māori ordering children to speak English. Despite efforts to disabuse people of superstition, too many parents think learning Māori will stuff up a child's ability to speak English. Another oft-heard claim is the notion Māori language is useful at the *marae* but has little to do with getting a job. In these circumstances, convincing parents to shape up might be more important than getting children into *kōhanga reo*. The home is a potent site for learning and it is unreasonable to expect children to swim upstream—against the advice of their parents.

Tub-Thumping as a Substitute for Theory

Educational practice not informed by theory will fall on barren ground and, when something goes wrong, what is the practitioner supposed to do? Forty years into the Māori renaissance, condemning colonists makes a good keynote address. Historically contextualised assumptions are the building blocks of theory but, in addition, there should be "if-then" statements and, if possible, testable hypotheses. Good theory is testable, parsimonious and significant. The Māori context needs to be in the foreground. But where are the operands—the working apparatus to revitalize the language?

By 2014 the challenge was to produce fresh theory capable of fostering an ability to understand, make predictions about, and then accelerate language revitalization in *Aotearoa*. Before that can happen, scholars need to engage with the theory of theory (and what distinguishes it from frames of reference and models). Unlike static models, a theory should explain how things work. Hence, it should explain cause-effect relationships.

In New Zealand much critical "theory" consists of essentialist or fundamentalist anti-colonial tub-thumping. Colonialism and assimilation comprise the historic background to why language revitalization is needed. But, at 9.00 a.m. on Monday morning, the teacher facing 30 children, adolescents or adult learners, needs to know what to do. He or she needs theory that works. This demand could easily be dismissed as Pākehā positivism. With the usual disregard for Māori values! But, in New Zealand, *Te Ataarangi* has clear theoretical commitments and others deserve something just as durable. For example, for learners reeling from earlier encounters

with education, *whānau* values—such as those at *Awanuiārangi* —or building a "culture of care" (Cavanagh 2011), have considerable merit.

In New Zealand, theory concerning language revitalization too often resorts to simple-minded (and often false) binary oppositions or seeks a return to an unproblematized "essential"—largely mythical—form of Māori living. As Māori activist Dun Mihaka (1989) said, it would help if Māori scholars would stop using "shallow" terms like "Pākehā law," "Pākehā institution," "Pākehā parliament." "More emphasis should be placed on analysing race relations from a socio-economic class point of view." Mihaka also considers it time for Māori academics to stop justifying themselves by "bullshitting about the pre-eminence of things Māori over things Pākehā" (1989, pp. 47–48).

Pākehā on the Road Ahead

For good reasons, Pākehā colonisers are blamed for the loss of the Māori language. So how do we explain the following? Language revitalization and the need for New Zealanders (especially public figures) to speak *te reo* has created the possibility that, not far from now, more Pākehā than Māori will speak *te reo*. It would be deeply ironic (and unpalatable for many) to have Pākehā emerge as the greatest beneficiary of language revitalization. Because they are more wealthy, Pākehā have time and energy needed for language study. As noted, Māori is a compulsory Year 9 subject at King's College, an exclusive (and expensive) Auckland high school.

In 2003 only 9 % of Māori spoke *te reo* "well" or "very well." Hence, 91 % of Māori were speaking it poorly. Or not at all. Because of poverty and other reasons, not enough Māori were making an effort to learn. Pākehā are not likely to elbow Māori out of language classes but, throughout *Aotearoa*, descendants of the coloniser realise fluency in *te reo* is needed and are doing what they can to learn it. Where will this lead?

New Zealand Is a Better Place

Despite occasional racist eruptions, most New Zealanders welcome the renaissance of Māori culture and know enough *te reo* to participate in call-and-reply and *waiata* (Māori song) singing at ceremonial occasions—such as the deeply-moving Ngati Kuri treaty settlement signing on 7th February, 2014. The 40-year Māori cultural renaissance has made New Zealand a better place to live. Partly because of Māori, New Zealanders know who they are—and not easily confused with Australians or citizens of the United Kingdom!

The Treaty of Waitangi and Pākehā tendency to underestimate Māori gives *Aotearoa* a special character. Even so, saving the Māori language provides a stern test of theory pertaining to lifelong learning. Much of what lies on the road ahead

is not yet visible. However, these are intriguing processes and Māori have not lost their sense of humour. Few people know how the next 40 years will unfold. But, it is certain they will also be fascinating.

Haere ra!

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Chapter 12
Heteroglossia: Reframing the Conversation Around Literacy Achievement for English Language Learners and American Indian/Alaska Native Students

Evelisa Natasha Genova

> *Is the American Dream for monolinguals only? What will it take to have children's voices heard?*
>
> —Lourdes Diaz Soto, 1997

Abstract The dominant academic discourse of policy makers in the United States for closing literacy achievement gaps has focused on improvement and assessment of efficient English language acquisition. However, insufficient attention is being paid to literacy achievement that is not at the expense of the mother tongue, and policy has not considered the true cost of these measures implemented for English literacy achievement for all English language learner (ELL) students. There exist cultural and political tensions in learning Standard English for both American Indian and English as a second language (ESL) students. American Indian languages and cultures are being lost, partly as a result of federal and state education policies that historically and continue to call for the "Americanization" of Indian students. Additionally, many ELLs face the threat of language drift of their distinct mother tongue. The unique implications of English-language achievement pose challenges and opportunities for educators striving to ensure that such students succeed in school. In this chapter, we propose that closing achievement gaps should be seen within a larger context of how language is embedded in students' holistic identities. Improving literacy achievement must be driven by policy and practices that address tensions inherent in teaching a dominant language—Standard English—to non-English populations.

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Keywords Literacy • American Indian • Assimilation • Achievement gap • English language learners

In the United States K-12 public school system, there are significant achievement gaps in literacy amongst English Language Learners (ELL) and American Indians/Alaska Natives (AI/AN), compared to their non-ELL and AI/AN peers. While AI/AN populations often have a mother tongue other than English, even those who may speak English as a first language experience considerable disparities form nations averages and curriculum standards. The language tensions in learning Standard English are thus similar to ESL students, and there exists instances where both ESL and AI/AN students are identified as English Language Learners. ELL students come from over 400 different language backgrounds, and are the fastest growing student population in the United States (Goldenberg 2008) making this an increasingly complex educational and cultural subject. The burgeoning numbers of ELL students pose unique challenges and opportunities for educators striving to ensure that such students succeed in school, with unique implications in standard English-language skill achievement.

While AI/AN students may categorically fall under the scope of ELL students by sharing similar traits of lagging literacy achievement and language drift, we also distinguish American Indian communities because of the unique urgency of language extinction ("Royal Commission" 1996; Wiessner 2007). It is estimated that where there were once (pre-Columbus) 300 indigenous languages spoken in North America, by the year 2050, only 20 indigenous American languages will remain (Crawford 1999). While Native American populations have, in fact, been growing across the United States over the last 30 years, American Indian languages and cultures are being lost, partly as a result of federal and state education policies that call implicitly for the "Americanization" of Indian students (Reyhner 2006).

The dominant academic discourse of policy makers in the United States for closing literacy achievement gaps has focused on improvement and assessment of efficient English language acquisition. However, insufficient attention is being paid to literacy achievement that is *not* at the expense of the mother tongue, and policy has not considered the true cost of these measures implemented for English literacy achievement for all ELL students.

While education policy intends to resolve disparities in ELL literacy achievement, we argue that solutions cannot address language acquisition simply by the most efficient means possible. In this paper, we propose that closing achievement gaps should be seen within a larger context of how language is embedded in students' holistic identities, taking into account the intrinsic and extrinsic values of a student's primary language. Through examining current domestic discourse and policies and promising practices abroad, we consider the implications for policy reform within the United States.

Policy Imperatives

Improving literacy achievement must be driven by policy and practices that address tensions inherent in teaching a dominant language—standard English—to minority populations. Since literacy is embedded within language and "language expresses culture," the treatment of culture is of primary significance for the literacy achievement of the learner ("Royal Commission" 1996; Wiessner 2007). Language drift and language extinction are serious consequences of current practices that fail to consider the political, social, and anthropological implications of these approaches (Soto 1997), and thus must be considered as integral facets of the education discourse around literacy.

Increasing literacy achievement without the loss of language and culture is a moral and social justice imperative for equitable participation of all peoples in global economic, political, and cultural systems. If we accept that literacy's trajectory includes being an instrument that allows all citizens to interface effectively with national and global systems (Sillitoe 2002a; Wiessner 2007), all peoples ought to be offered the opportunity to engage in this global system, leveraging English as an international skill for agency and self representation (Wiessner 2007; Mundy and Farrell 2008; Sillitoe 2002a). This participatory development process is susceptible to the risk of hegemonic decision making and civic practice without the voice of different or dissenting views, and thus literacy education must carefully serve to support the best interests of the child and their cultural and linguistic identity. For AI/AN populations, this is also a charged civil rights issue around language extinction. The 1990 *Native American Languages Act* declares that "the right of Native Americans to express themselves through the use of Native American languages shall not be restricted in any public proceeding, including publicly supported education programs" (in Reyhner 2006).

Implicit Issues

Literacy policy that hopes to close the achievement gap must also take into consideration the implicit power relationships that are part of teaching a dominant language to the greater ELL community. Soto (1997, pp. 95–96) asserts,

> The ability of schools and communities to view themselves as co-workers with families and teachers will transform the coercive power structure currently oppressing and dominating language minority populations. In spite of the hidden and not so hidden English-only curriculum . . . in our schools, the challenge for the new millennium will be to explore and implement collaborative power models that can restore the losses to bilingual families, children, schools, and communities.

This declaration is echoed by Cummins (2000, p. 29) in the way "power is negotiated between dominant and subordinated groups," reflected in how language

proficiency is conceptualized and assessed, how languages are integrated into the classroom, and choice of pedagogical methods. Since approaches to literacy have such far-reaching implications for learners, policies that begin to address these variables for literacy achievement must be the result of "informed dialogue"; Cummins (2000, p. 30) identifies "coherence through an integrated interdisciplinary perspective" as an appropriate framework to approach language learning; sociology, linguistics, psychology, and education researchers reintegrating their disciplinary perspectives for policy and practice that affects learners and communities alike.

Assessment is an important indicator of the way these powers are negotiated (Cummins 2000) since "assessments have long been driven by the geo-political and economic interests of Western nation-states" thus trends and country profiles are not necessarily unbiased by political interests and requirements (Mundy and Farrell 2008, p. 211). Mundy indicates that indigenous students are often excluded in sampling for international assessment, and accountability-driven policy leads to standardization and homogenization across educational systems, with all students evaluated based on these specific prescriptions (Cummins 2000; Mundy and Farrell 2008).

History in the United States

Recent discourse of policy makers in the United States with regards to literacy achievement has been focused on straightforward assessment of standard English language acquisition. Legal considerations began as recently as 1968, when the *Bilingual Education Act* (Title VII) acknowledged the educational challenges faced by ELLs and allocated funds to support their learning (National Council of Teachers of English [NCTE] 2008). Within the last two decades, accounting for ELL academic achievement through standards-based state assessment has become a major national priority (Rivera and Collum 2006). Rivera and Collum (2006, p. xxxiii) explain,

> Including ELLs in state assessments and holding states, districts, and schools accountable for the academic progress of these students, it is believed, will ensure that the needs of these students will be made evident and that educators can respond more appropriately to the instructional needs of this growing population of students.

However increasing standardization and the stringency of assessment have led to singular approaches and teaching to the test, often missing the importance of the aforementioned multiple variables involved in language learning.

Title III of the *No Child Left Behind Act* (NCLB) requires all states to identify English learners, measure their English proficiency, and include them in state testing programs that assess academic skills. States are required to establish statewide English proficiency standards and assess each ELL with a statewide English proficiency assessment that reflects these standards. However, individualized states' flexibility in defining ELL subgroups has led to inconsistency across districts and

schools regarding the designation and assessment of ELLs (NCTE 2008). These inconsistencies make it difficult to gain a true picture and understanding of literacy rates and achievement (Carrasquillo and Rodriguez 2002).

Furthermore, there is little monitoring in schools showing us the amount of support students receive or, most critically, the quality of instruction and whether or not it is helpful for student achievement. Goldenberg (2008, p. 11) asserts, "there is no way to know whether ELLs tested in English score low because of lagging content knowledge and skills, or because of limited English proficiency, or because of other factors that interfere with their test performance—or some combination."

Tensions between bilingual education and English-only classrooms further complicate methods of instruction in the K-12 public school system. Many states employ some form of "mainstreaming," the integration of ELL students into English-only programs (Carrasquillo and Rodriguez 2002). This process suggests assimilation and homogenized success as an end goal, with language drift as a real consequence (Sillitoe 2002b; Wright 2000). While schools may employ some degree of bilingual education, the mother tongue is positioned primarily as a functional tool for English acquisition, thus replicating issues of cultural and linguistic power dynamics.

Variations of all-English instruction policy are being implemented widely across the country. California's 1998 Proposition 227, for example, requires that all California public schools conduct instruction in English. It also mandates that ELLs be taught "overwhelmingly in English" through sheltered and structured English immersion, then transferred to a mainstream English-language classroom. Massachusetts has similar protocols, and 25 states have English-only laws shaping ELL education (Goldenberg 2008; NCTE 2008). Outspoken advocates such as businessman Ron Unz have publically rallied support to pass measures such as Proposition 203 in Arizona, which mandates all-English instruction, overruling "choices of Hispanic and Native American parents, judgment and experience of professional educators, decisions of local school boards, [and] sovereignty of Indian nations trying to save their languages from extinction" (Crawford 2001).

In spite of this push toward all-English instruction, there no strong evidence that statewide English-only initiatives improve the learning outcomes of ELLs. In fact, these policies contradict research literature that disproves this approach (Goldenberg 2008; NCTE 2008). Goldenberg (2008, p. 8) asserts that "if we conducted more research with ELL's, and paid more attention to the research that exists, we would be in a much better position," affirming the complexity of language acquisition and the importance of prior language and culture as highly relevant and central to the process of learning a new language—in this case, standard English.

Concurrent with trends in ELL policy, the US government also has devoted attention to AI/AN education policy. Title VII—Indian, Native Hawaiian, and Alaska Native Education—of NCLB authorized "culturally related activities, early childhood and family education, enrichment programs, career preparation, and 'activities that promote the incorporation of culturally responsive teaching and learning . . . into the educational program'," (NCLB 2002 in McCarty 2008, p. 2). In reality, these culturally related activities are so highly constrained by strict

assessment and accountability systems that Title VII has not proved successful in implementation (Reyhner 2006; McCarty 2008; Au 2011). What is incontrovertibly clear is that achievement gaps for ELL and AI/AN students appear only to be growing—and the costs are not being measured or accounted for.

"From Paternalism to Partnership": Pertinent Practices Abroad

> Language policy will articulate the choices we have as educators and the images of students implied by those choices. For example, does the school language policy view students as bilingual, with talents in both their home language and English, or just as learners of English whose home language is irrelevant to academic success? (Cummins 2007, p. 3)

By looking critically at practices in the United States with a comparative international lens, we can learn from and adapt living models to address ELL and AI/AN literacy achievement gaps in meaningful and effective ways. Ontario and Australia share status with the United States as English-speaking pluralist nations in the Western world. However, unlike the United States, both regions have tied the issue of literacy achievement gaps with their ELL and indigenous populations to a larger goal of expanding educational quality that values students' mother tongues. Canada also consistently ranks highly in international literacy assessments like PIRLS (Mullis et al. 2012) making it a meaningful site to compare and learn from.

With explicitly documented and integrated national apologies towards their indigenous populations, a focus on reconciliation in Ontario and Australia has driven education policy "from paternalism to partnership" ("Reforming First Nations education" 2011), with ongoing efforts being made to satisfy this movement towards social justice in ELL and indigenous student learning. It is important to identify that while these apologies are not necessarily followed with consistent and thorough acts of restorative justice and equity in policy and practice, these visible national apologies help to set a tone of acknowledgement and justify for efforts towards the goals of justice and equity for First Nations' or Aboriginal peoples. According to Nadine Dutcher at the Centre for Applied Linguistics, expanding educational quality includes expanding access, improving efficiency, enhancing quality, and achieving equity (Dutcher 2004). These themes resonate throughout various policies and practices that address literacy for ELL and indigenous students in these regions.

Expanding access to quality education is demonstrated in Ontario's Ministry of Education (2014) *Equity and Inclusive Education* guiding document, which emphasizes school outreach for students and family access to the learning community through the involvement of students, parents, and communities and "providing a high-quality learning environment for all" (p. 6). Addressing Article 15 of UNESCO's Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Canada's Aboriginal

Plan proposes "government support for education reform on reserves, improving quality and cultural relevance . . . and capacity of First Nations systems," indicating access to quality education at local levels for Indigenous populations, both on reservations and in urban centers ("Gathering Strength" 1997).

Improving Efficiency is a tangible byproduct of Canada's French Immersion program, an international exemplar of successful learning through a mother tongue. Arguably it is one of the "most successful program[s] ever recorded in the professional language-teaching literature . . . no program, to my knowledge, has done as well" (Krashen 1984, p. 61). Teaching and learning through the first language includes "emphasizing performance within language[,] . . . acknowledging that culture and language are interconnected," and linking French with English within a larger literacy block (Literacy and Numeracy Secretariat 2011, p. 3). Efficient acquisition is just one of the many returns for this pedagogy, where "reduced time in English did not negatively affect students' achievement in English," outperforming English-only schools in California "by some 10 per cent on reading tests" (Lo Blanco 2009, p. 33).

Enhancing Quality in Ontario refers to both teacher and student learning for the greater ELL populations, including quality professional development, developing student portfolios of work, and quality language support for students who are placed in grade levels appropriate to age and prior education, regardless of English proficiency (Ontario Ministry of Education 2007).

Achieving Equity Ontario's *Equity and Inclusive Education Strategy* defines equity as "a condition or state of fair, inclusive, and respectful treatment of all people" (Ontario Ministry of Education 2009b, p. 4). The policy is a call for justice in education, stating "there are ongoing incidents of discrimination . . . that require our attention. In fact, the Supreme Court of Canada in 2005 acknowledged that racial prejudice against visible minorities is so notorious and indisputable that its existence needs to be treated as a social fact" (p. 7). In the Ontario Ministry of Education's (2009a, p. 3) mandated Aboriginal curricula, students are expected to discuss "how power can be used positively . . . or misused in work, family, and peer contexts, and learn how to effectively respond."

Across the board, successful programs in these regions frame students as the primary stakeholders in an ongoing learning process that is responsive, equitable, and high-quality.

Implications of Literature Review

Based on this literature review of practices and policies within the United States, Canada, and regions of Australia, the following are policy recommendations for building better policies in the United States.

1. ***Create a Unified, Widely-Distributed Definition of Literacy That Includes Considerations of Identity, Agency, and the Connection Between Literacy and Language.*** We see from Ontario how powerful having this definition is in establishing a comprehensive common purpose to measure success. The Ontario Ministry of Education (2008, p. 3) definition of literacy includes "language and images . . . to think imaginatively and analytically" and communicate effectively to address "issues of fairness, equity, and social justice . . . [being] an essential tool for personal growth and active participation in a cohesive, democratic society."

2. ***Use Students' Primary Language in English Instruction.*** Au (2011) argues that achievement gaps in literacy are often due to the exclusion or limited use of instruction in the home language in many school programs. Moll and Diaz (1985, p. 132) explain, "Students are not usually encouraged to use their home language skills as the basis for developing literacy in school, because these skills are often ignored to denigrated." Canada's French Immersion develops student's proficiency in French (their first language) while building a mastery of English; viewing the first language not as deficit but as asset in English literacy achievement.

3. ***Improve Teacher Training and Professional Development.*** In places like New York City, professional development programs have been established to help teachers understand "the basic principles of second language literacy instruction, understand . . . cross-cultural contexts, and provide ELLs with content-based instruction through academic language" (NYC Department of Education 2008, p. 4). Training should also develop teachers' interpersonal engagement with their students. Reyhner (2006) explains, "A number of studies show that dropouts, Indian and non-Indian alike, perceive their teachers as uncaring." To that end, Au (2011, p. 44) argues teachers must be trained to "become culturally responsible in their management of classrooms and interactions with students."

4. ***Develop Culturally Responsive Curriculum.*** Patricia Ruggiano Schmidt (2005, p. 1) sites several studies arguing that "culturally responsive instruction makes connections with students' backgrounds, interests, and experiences to teach the standards-based curriculum. Learning becomes more meaningful and relevant as teachers draw upon students' prior knowledge" (see also Calhoon et al. 2007). UNICEF's *State of the World's Indigenous People* (2009) reports, "national school curricula tend to have very little (if any) focus on indigenous peoples, their issues and histories. Some national curricula even reinforce negative stereotypes, portraying indigenous peoples as underdeveloped, childlike or uncivilized" (Champagne 2009, p. 139). In the process of developing curriculum, therefore, "teachers must be aware of the diverse ethnic and linguistic groups . . . . They must be empathic in order to understand and be sensitive to students' socio-cultural and linguistic make-up and needs" (Carrasquillo and Rodriguez 2002, p. 16). This includes schools working with ELL and AI/AN parents to integrate "funds of knowledge" from the home into the daily curriculum and lesson planning, improving both teaching quality and level of student engagement (Moll et al. 1992).

Conclusion

Policy makers in the United States must reframe the issue of literacy "achievement gaps" for ELL and AI/AN students, taking into account the reality of language drifts and language extinction that threaten the integrity of learners and compromises a true pluralism that characterizes the nation. For students of colour in non-English speaking, historically disenfranchised, and even threatened communities, English literacy can be a skill for self representation and agency in local and global contexts, yet ultimately is secondary to the integrity of people's cultural identities. We must build a vibrant future together through rich intersubjectivity, spoken across local and global contexts.

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Part III
Culture

Chapter 13
Somos Incas: Enduring Cultural Sensibilities and Indigenous Education

Maureen K. Porter

Abstract This framing chapter presents four core elements of the concept of culture that are particularly salient for indigenous education. First, I examine how culture has been metaphorically constructed in terms of "human rights" and as a "resource" in international educational discourse and practice. I offer a critique of problematic aspects of framing indigenous education across cultures. Moving beyond this introduction to culture, I focus on cultural wisdom derived from indigenous ways of knowing. This second element grows from acknowledging that how we epistemologically make meaning in the world can help us to de-center Western worldviews and modes of inquiry. Third, I reflect on Native traditions of conceptualizing and visualizing that integrate deeply-rooted aesthetic and intellectual repertoires. Both the process of engaging in art-making and the products themselves are important tools for rethinking education. I then introduce the fourth element, the importance of interrogating what it means to do research in the academy, looking at modes of engaged scholarship that legitimate reciprocal partnerships, embolden embodied engagement, and lead to academic institution building. Throughout the sections, I provide ethnographic insights gleaned from a decade of academic service-learning with indigenous communities in the Andes.

Keywords Indigenous education • Engagement • Human rights • Andes • Culture

Introduction

Perched high on a mountainside above Cuzco, the Navel of the World, is the Incan stone fortress of Sacsayhuamán. *It is Sunday, the day set aside for local citizens to have free entry to the World Heritage Sites and other attractions listed on the* boleto turistico. *My Peruvian godchildren and I have come up to the capital for a much-needed day off from research interviewing, videotaping, and working with the schoolkids in our homebase in the nearby Sacred Valley. The strong*

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winds that always whisper through the ruins seem to sing aloud to us this sunny afternoon, accompanying our leisurely stroll among the fortress' massive tiers of interlocked boulders. The sheer size of the mortarless blocks impresses the visitor, each dovetailed colossus a testimony to the engineering prowess of the Incans. We wonder to one another about the people who labored to build this fortress, who fought and were slaughtered here, who escaped, and who endured. The sheer scope of the drama in front of us dwarfs our own lowly struggles, pushing algebra homework and journal article deadlines out of mind for the afternoon. Wildflowers spring up all over and provide the impetus for the boys' impromptu bouquet. We walk in beauty and awe. We climb the successive tiers of zig-zig shaped fortifications ascending the side of the mountain, delighting at the hidden marks left by warriors and priests of the past. We pause to trace the shadowed outline of the great fifty foot-long serpent that the late afternoon sun's slanting rays makes just visible in the subtle arrangement of blocks in the walls, its head reared up one wall flank and tail curled past a bulwark around the corner. We wander, deftly avoiding the large clutches of Japanese and German tourists and their loud, umbrella-wielding guides. Astounding feats of architecture impress us at every turn, and we too take our picture under the stone doorways that have withstood the onslaught of Spanish arms, colonial looters, and centuries of pollution and tourism. Together we cast a web of long shadows across the crown of the mountaintop.

Suddenly, the sun has begun to slip too close to the horizon, and it is time to go home with Nico, our friend and driver. We have to go! So we cavort downhill, descending sure-footed directly down, down, down the side of the foothills toward the far parking area. We eschew any easy path, picking our way through the rough terrain with the surety those who are used to making their own way. Breathless, exhilarated, we glance back up at the heights and the tumbled field of black boulders we've left in our wake. "Wow, we're fast!" I praise our little troupe, as we glance over at the straggling line of weary tourists, now winding their way sedately down a gentling inclined artificial path at the far end of the complex. "Somos Incas!" they proudly exclaim, grinning. We all are Incas! This is our place and we can do anything! We laugh together, hurtling toward the van and our waiting compadre.

Effective education by, for, and with indigenous peoples needs to consider culture in its full sense. The challenges and big questions can only be fully understood in their particular cultural context, tied to both heritage and hopes of a collective future. Certainly this concept cannot be separated from issues of either language or identity, but a purposeful focus on this concept offers a complementary perspective that enriches our policy repertoire. This Culture and Education section brings cultural dimensions to the fore. Whether offered piecemeal in national schools or offered holistically as part of an integrated framework for intergenerational education, meaningfully adding indigenous culture has the power to transform what we mean by education.

As anthropologists of education, we know that "education" encompasses more than what happens during the formal school day or within the confines of the school building. We look at the cultural systems that encompass formal, informal, and non-formal learning that together are as important to youth as the hegemonic messages

that they receive through state-supported textbooks, internationally funded curricula, and centrally-certified teachers. We try to take an integrative approach, gleaning wisdom from the study of education in other cultures as well as the study of multiple cultural groups within a single educational setting. We go to work in the field, applying theory and practice, and use the synergy these two create in praxis to propel the cycle of analysis, collaboration, and reciprocity with our community partners. Our work is intentionally intercultural and comparative and deeply embedded in sticky webs of context. In sum, we consider both "education" and "culture" in their holistic, cross-cultural, transnational senses.

When applied to indigenous issues, this work, by necessity, must cross borders both symbolic and literal. Rameka and Law assert that an indigenous framework for education must be global, just as the issues that they confront are global. The first and foremost of their four arguments is grounded in shared experiences:

> Together we constitute an identifiable, international strata or group. We are people with common experiences of colonization and oppression: an oppression that extends well beyond the economic and social notion that we associate with class relationships into the realms of culture, values, beliefs, and language; that is, into our whole way of thinking and living. (1998, p. 213)

Rameka and Law also note that indigenous education and training issues are inherently transnational because the multi-nationals and inter-governmental agencies that provide funding, programming, and publishing operate globally. Third, since indigenous people are, as individual groups if not as a class, minorities within their own nations, it is by concerted collective effort that they can gain the critical mass necessary for visibility and political leverage. They argue that international networks provide an essential means both for specific tribal goals and for shared recognition. The shared base is culture; struggles for cultural continuity, intergenerational cultural transmission, and cultural self-determination are the common architecture that unify action globally.

It helps to take a step back. Looking down from high atop Sacsayhuamán, the scope of complex change is easier to see. The ancient layout of a puma, of which the jagged-toothed fortress is the head, that guided Incan city planners is difficult to perceive in modern Cuzco, although it is there beneath the surface. Just like the great fitted stone walls of the Coricancha, the foundations are still there (Elorrieta Salazar and Elorrieta Salazar 2004). Some things endure and cannot be moved. There is the sense of having ground to stand on, of having a heritage that cannot be taken away, only built upon.

By grounding my framing essay in this story, I wish to situate myself and my intentions. "The place from which I speak" is a complex metaphor. It evokes my stance, voice, allegiances, personal ties of kinship and loyalty, convictions, sense of justice, and worldview. It is very much tied to my sense of place, location, positioning, and vistas. Thus where and how I come to write about Native issues arises from my own personal journey as a scholar and a human being. It comes from my work as a service-learning program leader and an ethnographic fieldworker. As an anthropologist of education long involved in indigenous issues in education,

I have worked on many applied projects. From regional curriculum developer in California, to state-level policy analyst in Minnesota, to project leader and researcher in the Andes and professor in Pennsylvania, I have worked to expand my own repertoire of engaged scholarship. For example, I have "walked the talk" by writing curriculum units incorporating indigenous worldviews into the Celebration of Columbus Day/Indigenous Peoples' Day.

This framing essay offers lines of inquiry that propel our thinking about how to develop culturally responsive and relevant education. Clearly there is much to be done; the problems lie not only in schooling outcomes for indigenous students, but also with what we acknowledge as problematic in what learners are provided.

Much of the literature on indigenous education has documented what Tuhiwai Smith calls the "grim picture of disengagement," (2005, p. 95) focusing on underachievement in public schooling, and on the quality of teaching and learning. Although this literature has become international in scope and more diverse in theoretical approach, she notes that it still reflects a partial line of inquiry:

> Questions of Indigenous knowledge, language, and culture have usually been viewed as potential solutions to make classrooms, the curricula, and teachers more responsive and inclusive, with the students more engaged in schooling and therefore more likely to achieve. Although the research generally asks deep questions of structure, of systems and policies, an underlying assumption of much research is that schooling is inherently good for Indigenous children and their communities and the greater challenge is about how to get the best match, how to make it work better – how to fit students, parents, the curriculum, and teacher practices into a system that will work for all. Indigenous communities often have a quite different set of questions that frames the key educational issue as being primarily about epistemic self-determination that includes language and culture and the challenges of generating schooling approaches from a different epistemological basis. (p. 94)

An inclusive definition of culture that takes epistemological foundations of ways of knowing into account prompts us to rethink the lines and modes of inquiry that truly matter in praxis. Which kinds of educational experiences truly matter for Native youth and communities? What are the principles for working effectively with tribal authorities, nation states, and international organizations in assessing the effectiveness of innovative practice? How do ways of knowing and engaging both depend on and translate beyond local cultural contexts? In "speaking back" to Western, colonial systems of schooling, Native educators and scholars note that culture is at the heart of the matter, because if reforms are not personally compelling and collectively evocative they will not be adopted and sustained. Future agendas for educational research and policy need to take this expanded charge into account. Only then will the purposes, practices, and outcomes of education be consonant with the genuine needs and dynamic cultural repertoires of indigenous peoples.

The feature articles in this section provide rich illustrations of the challenges of indigenous educational reform. Some provide broad regional overviews, others compare national case studies, still others hone in on the complexities of tribal or provincial affairs. They offer solid data about the nuances of innovation, and they propel us further along the path of transformation by prompting us to envision collaborative efforts that are both liberatory and inclusive. The draw in the reader

with detailed linguistic analyses, extended case studies, and personal reflections on long careers engaged in social justice work. They let us see cultural savvy at work.

Many of us build on Freirian commitments to *conscientização,* (Freire 1970) as a requisite element to a social justice centered culture of research, collaboration, and schooling itself. The process of conscientization offers participants collaboratively led opportunities for intentional critical reflection on the production of knowledge so that resulting effective literacy instruction serves the immediate and authentic political needs of the learner. Rather than a state-mandated curriculum that serves the interests of the powerful or sees the learner as passive, in a liberatory stance the goals of self-determination, agency, and empowerment are front and center. Lessons from indigenous communities show us that whatever their size or status, it is possible to practice critical consciousness, using ancient as well as emergent modes of expression. With or without non-Native allies they create spaces and forms of expression, transgression, protest, and innovation. Translating these into programming and policies in the formal world of private, charter, tribal, or public schools is another level of challenge.

When the going gets tough, the tough get culture. Gathering up remaining fragments, e.g. of language, kinship expectations, material culture, coming of age ceremonies, or astronomical savvy, is a prerequisite step needed to reboot with a sense of possibility. As Hinsdale, Lewis, and Waller share in their jointly composed account of community development and local theology, liberation-oriented community revitalization succeeds by being explicitly grounded in local culture at every step and mobilizing (and when necessary overtly reinventing) rituals and symbols. The key is creating shared ownership, exercising voice, and supporting a sense of agency and possibility among long-term residents. Participatory documentation with new media can be central to this endeavor (Hinsdale et al. 1995). A liberatory-oriented approach takes an active stance, combining action and research strategies, and cultivates agents of change at every level. Understanding culture is essential in this process, as it provides both the means and the motivation for engaging the generations.

In addition to reinforcing a liberatory approach, these chapters expand the realm of viable educational policy and practice by offering alternative sets of priorities. As Breitland, this volume, asserts, "the primary value of indigenous knowledge is its capacity to politicize and mobilize counter-hegemonic indigenous ideas and practices." The diverse voices in these chapters bring wisdom from Africa, Latin America, the Pacific, and Native North America.

Wisdom comes from a strong foundation in knowing who you are, where you come from, and where you stand. Culture provides the coherence and the continuity of tradition that are the basis for insight and then action. Working in partnership to find better ways to incorporate indigenous culture into education in substantial, critical ways will help us to better reframe the problems and to create more responsive solutions. Culturally sound pedagogies that take very real modern global pressures into account are possible. By sharing best practices and diverse standpoints we can find the shared foundations for steadfastness as well as innovation. This is the basis for a collective repertoire of resilience.

Culture is a usefully stretchy and porous concept. To make it more tangible, in the first part of this framing essay I look at four core elements of the concept of culture that are particularly salient for indigenous education. I then examine how culture has been metaphorically constructed in terms of "human rights" and as a "resource" in the international educational discourse and in practice, and look at implications for reframing indigenous education cross-culturally.

I then move beyond this opening explanation of culture to focus on cultural wisdom derived from indigenous ways of knowing. First, acknowledging how we epistemologically make meaning in the world helps us to decenter Western worldviews and modes of inquiry. This is important for moving beyond the dominant frame of reference of educational "success" and "meaning." Next is a focused look at Native traditions of conceptualizing and visualizing that integrate aesthetic and intellectual cultural repertoires. Both the process of engaging in artmaking and the products themselves are important tools for rethinking schools. Third, I review the importance of interrogating what it means to do research in the academy, and look at modes of engaged scholarship that legitimize new forms of partnership, engagement, and service-learning.

"May you walk in beauty" is an oft invoked Native blessing. It connotes as sense of balance, rightness, and gratitude. My we accept these chapters as gifts from many disciplinary traditions and parts of the globe. Together, they help us to persist in the journey. It need not be a solitary one, for, as this book aptly illustrates, similar struggles are taking place concurrently around the world. We walk hand in hand. The work that follows can help us to imagine what could exist further down the path, to celebrate the successes of fellow educators, and to see beyond our currently limited horizons.

Contributions of the Concept of Culture

It is Mother's Day in Ccotochuincho, a growing Quechua settlement on the fringes of the market town of Urubamba, our research and service-learning homebase. Once again I am in Peru during May and celebrating with my second family. My hair is filled with tiny, multicolored confetti that was tossed upon every woman of childbearing age emerging from Mother's Day mass that morning. Other ladies have been hugging my shoulders and combing through my locks all morning, probably as much to secretly imbed more confetti as much as to feel my blonde tresses. I'll find that tiny confetti in my pockets and shoe linings for the next year.

We head to my goddaughter Veronica's private school party, a raucous celebra-tion of music, chicha *corn beer, and motherhood. Recitations of noble patriotic and devotional poems lead the order of the program, then both students and teachers delight in a program of folk dance standards. Everyone is in full regalia befitting that particular dance. Veronica has become a graceful and accomplished performer of*

the coastal Marinera *dance, her bright white blouse and flowery skirt complemented by the garland of scarlet roses in her hair. All the mothers, me included, are given front row seats to the dignified performance and presented with individual roses, and then the other blue uniformed schoolmates serve us the sugary, fruit-filled cake first. After the dances the teen performers change back into their jeans, skin tight lacy shirts, and baseball caps and rearrange themselves into lounging clusters in the schoolyard, doodling on their instruments, smoking, and joking.*

Now we sit at their home, savoring the roasted guinea pig, cuey, *that my* comadre's *husband had been slow cooking. The crispy skewers of meat on the plates in front of us represent a shockingly large portion of what was the family's entire working capital. The remaining* cuey *who had been spared this round scamper underfoot, their contented sqeakings a melodic refrain that oddly harmonizes with the radio in the corner playing Peruvian pop. Greasy, savory, mounded meat is served with fava beans and rehydrated potatoes on their best plates. This is a delicacy that is served with love and great significance. Few events other than the glories of Mother's Day could prompt such a sacrifice. I'm going to be leaving in a few days, and already extricating myself from this culture seems hard to comprehend. Although we are satiated and tired from the extended mass and the school celebration, this holiday family meal is indispensible, a priceless gift. Wrapping up the leftover* cuey *in aluminum foil, my* comadre *implores, "Please take this for the airplane!" concerned as all of her generous sisters are, for the well-being of her guests. She's never traveled all that far, certainly never flown, but she's heard that air travelers need decent meals. What could be better nourishment for the body and spirit?*

Processing Culture

Anthropologists, cultural theorists, community activists, poets, educators and theologians all offer compelling approaches to defining culture. Culture is about making meaning and making sense of the world; having a coherent, strong cultural foundation makes a difference. It is at once complex and contentious and, in essence, simple and everyday. Native and non-Native scholars point to sets of knowledge, skills, and affinities that distinguish "the culture" of any particular group. Politicians dispute the strategic merits of *indigenismo* and media pundits debate the authenticity of a cultural practice. But on the ground level, culture is about knowing who you are, where you come from, and where you stand. It means knowing that you have an honorable past and believing that you have a future worth fighting for.

For our purposes, I'd like to highlight four D's of culture: it is dual, dialogical, dynamic, and distinctive. These specific features are pivotal in educational policy and program design in general, and have particular salience when applied to indigenous education. They also inform international treaties and provide the gist for ongoing debates.

First, culture is dual, it is at once content and practice. It is often impossible and, furthermore unproductive, to artificially separate the concurrent aspects of sophisticated Native life. For example, material culture such as an intricately-pieced, Sioux Star Quilt embodies the spiritual needs for warmth, comfort, continuity with tradition, and tangible connection with the community of crafters who came together to create the gift (Forrest and Blincoe 1995; Mauss 1990). Sims and Stephens (2011) offer a lucid, definition of folklore that integrates these dual cultural elements of content and practice:

> Folklore is informally learned, unofficial knowledge about our world, ourselves, our communities, our beliefs, our cultures, and our traditions that is expressed creatively through words, music, customs, actions, behaviors, and materials. It is also the interactive, dynamic process of creating, communicating, and performing as we share that knowledge with other people. (pp. 11–12)

While it is easy to see the external trappings of culture, it is the underlying meanings, webs of relationship, linguistic uses, and symbolism that give objects and their use significance.

In schools it is easy to incorporate Indian things into the curriculum, whether it be in language, social studies, or science classes. A few male Native American chiefs are considered part of the core cultural literacy in North America (Hirsch et al. 1993), and vocabulary words abound. English adopted *moose* and *papoose* as early as 1603, and a steady stream of new food, animal, and material culture terms flowed over the centuries. Spanish provided the bridge for words such as *hammock, maize*, and *barbecue* (Bryson 1994, p. 23). These were not simply nomenclature for new species, but radically different ways of understanding trade, politics, representative government, recreation, housing, cuisine, and kinship. The "Indians" of the Americas transformed the world with their concepts, refined cultural practices, and agricultural products: caucus, powwow, wampum, potlatch, amaranth, tomatoes, ipecac, kayaks, coca, cochineal dye, quinine and more (Weatherford 1988). In the twenty-first century, business people debrief in special rooms designed to resemble kivas, and teachers use talking sticks and talking circles to facilitate conversations. The challenge is to move beyond a simplistic "festivals and feasts" approach that displays decontextualized artifacts of "exotic" cultures as something to be consumed or commodified. We need to re-place cultural elements within webs of coherent meaning systems so that students can come to appreciate both the elements themselves and the process of meaning-making in their own and others' cultures. We need to use such examples as teachable moments to show how cultures endure, clash, interact, and constantly adapt to one another. We need to incorporate multilayered, deep culture.

Intentional focus on the underlying significance of interactions points to the dialogical nature of culture, the second attribute relevant for this discussion. Knowing who you are is not a singular event, it is part of an ongoing cultural dialogue (Spindler et al. 1990) that transpires across a lifetime. Learning is dialogical – it is a process that is interactive, transactional, negotiated. One of the fundamental questions youth ask is what does it means to be "schooled" in

a culture. This is a question on the move, but linked to fundamental questions of self in relation to others. In many Native groups, this is only answerable in relationship to interpersonal ties and to place, be that an ancestral center or refugee camp, or in tribal, shared off-reservation, national, or hybrid geographies (Biolsi 2005). Problematic as the practice of defining "indigenous" people primarily in relationship to the "non-Native" is, this normalizing discourse of being the Other sets up indigenous interests and cultures as being in opposition to the politically powerful norm. It places the displaced Native outside of the normalized realm of the properly schooled subject.

What constitutes a well adjusted and well "educated person" is a culturally contested construct, one that can put indigenous definitions and priorities at odds with outsiders' views of development (Apffel-Marglin and PRATEC 1998). Community is dialogic, one that speaks loudly to those who would hear. Grillo Fernandez (1998) writes beseechingly about cultural affirmation in the Andes, articulating his philosophy of *lo andino*. He notes the embodied, dialogic nature of Quechua culture:

> Our community is not simply a human environment, rather it is all of us who live together in a locality: humans, plants, animals, rivers, mountains, stars, moon, sun. Similarly, our *ayllu*, our family, is not only the people of our blood lineage; rather we are the whole of the human community of the locality (*runas*) and also our natural community (*sallqas*) and our community of the sustainers of life (*huacas*) with whom we share life in our locality (*pacha*) in the annual telluric-sidereal rhythm (*wata*). We, the Andeans, reach the full delight of our lives in contributing to nurture our *ayllu* and in letting ourselves be nurtured by our *ayllu*. We live in symbiosis, that is, facilitating the life of our community brothers and letting them facilitate our lives . . . . The communitarian feeling is rooted in the conviction that only in our belonging to the community can we be who we are, feel what we feel, enjoy what we enjoy. In such a world, solitude does not exist. Here we all know one another, we all always see each other. Here life is only possible in the symbiosis of the community. From this arises a feeling of incompleteness on the part of each one, because we well know that our life is only possible inside this energetic flowing of life which is the Andean communitarian world.

Cultural affirmation in this context is about working together to negotiate what he characterizes as "the game" schools play that distance youth from land and family and denigrate hands-on knowledge. It is about retaining strong ties of kinship and place and not letting discourses about the superiority of abstracted book learning overwhelm or exclude personal, visceral experience.

Being acknowledged as a learned person is part of the daunting struggle for recognition that faces both Native students and Native scholars. This is intensified by the third attribute of culture, being dynamic. Belief in cultural evolution and in the triumph of "civilization" has long been a tenet of European self-aggrandizement and a view of the Western self as the epitome of human development. Part and parcel of this view has been a characterization of the dynamic adaptation, flexibility, and sustainable lifestyles practiced by indigenous peoples around the world as mere remnants of an a-historic past. Native people have been relegated to the oriental Other, the Noble Savage, the Fourth World, the static if expedient stereotype (Said 1978).

Battiste (2002) notes that indigenous cultures have always had to be resilient and flexible, to be dynamic so as to fight fragmentation and disruption, whether in divisive politics or in the segmented curriculum. She outlines principles for wholeness, authenticity, and spirituality so that indigenous knowledge can be integrated into Canadian schooling in a holistic, respected manner on par with other dominant disciplines. In this volume we reclaim the integrating dimension of culture, noting that it provides the common ground for work in indigenous education. Just as cultural norms within tribes (anthropologists included, satirically notes Slade (2002)) adapt, norms of working across interest groups also can shift. Bielawski, working in North America, writes about dynamic shifts in the culture of the academy in just who counts as the disenfranchised "other" and who should take an active role in shaping the landscape of educational praxis:

> Indigenous knowledge is not static, an unchanging artifact of a former lifeway. It has been adapting to the contemporary world since contact with "others" began, and it will continue to change. Western science in the North is also beginning to change in response to contact with Indigenous knowledge. Change was first seen in the acceptance that Inuit (and other Native northerners) have knowledge, that is "know something." Then change moved to involving Inuit in the research process as it is defined by western science. Then community-based research began, wherein communities and Native organizations identified problems and sought the means to solve them. I believe the next stage will be one in which Inuit and other Indigenous peoples grapple with the nature of what scientists call research (1990, p. 8).

In the decades since this wish was expressed, some of this has indeed come to pass.

The constituent elements and processes of indigenous cultural life come from a shared stock of components, form regular patterns, and hold influence across seven generations and more. However, the particular modes of expression and content can change considerably over time. Native groups also respond to their particular geo-political location – or dislocation – and their relationships to ancestral homelands are often contested, frequently politically fragile. Flight or forced migration across constantly moving national borders has etched poignant mental maps deep into the indigenous psyche. Environments that once sustained vibrant, healthy communities may have become uninhabitable due to war, environmental destruction, external or commercial intrusion. Change is the legacy, whether forced and summary or gradual and sought.

What does remain the same is the indigenous spirit of resilience and the will to survive against all odds. This tenacity is rooted in a sense of perspective over time, place, and generation. It is also anchored in the conviction of being culturally unique and, on that basis, having dignity and worth. The fourth attribute then, is that culture is distinctive. This criterion of having a distinctive cultural heritage has become part of the human rights discourse undergirding international declarations. Having unique cultural traditions to pass on is the *raison d'etre* for separate educational provisions.

Cultural continuity, and fidelity with that heritage, has often been deployed as part of the very definition of who may call themselves "Native." As defined by the United Nations Special Rapporteur to the Sub-Commission on Prevention of

Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are:

> [T]hose which having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop, and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems. (Martinez-Cobo 1986)

This discourse of distinctiveness is fundamental to much of the literature written by indigenous as well as non-Native scholars, activists, and educators. The authors in this section both draw on and play against this backdrop, expounding on specific stories and instances as well as highlighting perennial challenges of recognition and legitimacy.

Codification of the cultural aspects of tribal life has pros and cons and these directly play out in curricular choices. For example, linking tribal legitimacy to cultural expression is problematic. Who could serve as arbiter of what is authentic culture? Should there be a cultural litmus test, much like a citizenship test or a language proficiency exam, required for graduation or full adult membership? Another common question in tribes where language survival, not to speak of fluency, is in grave danger, is how can language acquisition and revival help recruit and retain members? Should this even be the domain of the common public school or set aside for tribal control? What is the role of the nation state in promoting a colonial language (and its concomitant cultural assumptions) vis-à-vis Native local languages? Another common problem is if the culture is not vibrant or the community is thoroughly dispersed, what role do non-members play in cultural maintenance?

Claims of cultural distinctiveness have been necessary precursors to establish international frameworks and to pass human rights declarations. However, since we live in complex, fluid communities of human beings, neither static definitions of what a group has been nor overly proscriptive statements about where they may go or what they may be are appropriate. Likewise, where we have been as allied communities of scholars is not where we are going. The chapters in this section remind us that each tribal community has its own legacies of colonialism to surmount and the educational choices they make will need to match the distinct geo-political context in which they have to establish school policies. They also reinforce a shared stake in collective success and thereby transcend what otherwise could be seen as simply local or regional struggles. International partnerships and parallel declarations have played major roles in providing public witness to shared interests, bridging distinctive and potentially divisive cultural differences. They show areas of congruence and common interest. They continue to helpfully shape the policy arena for culturally responsive work in indigenous education.

In summary, culture is a powerful and evocative force in education. Its attributes of being dual, dialogical, dynamic, and distinctive each manifest themselves in educational praxis. The next section looks at two of the most common deep metaphors that undergird this structure and lend it tensile strength.

Codifying Cultural Claims

Understanding the deep metaphors embedded in the international discourse on indigenous culture is an important further step in problematizing this recurrent word. This section offers a brief discussion of some of the advantages and caveats of framing the concept of culture in terms of human rights or in terms of being a resource. "Culture" can be mobilized as a human rights watchword, used to legitimize claims of distinctiveness and demands for formal schooling. "Culture" can also be deployed as a resource, something to brag about, to bargain with, and to barter. As a tangible good it can be counted and accounted for in educational logs. Both of these social constructions of culture play into international discourse and shape the kinds of solutions that leaders (i.e. governments, international agencies, and tribal authorities) find palatable and profitable.

Deep metaphors are built out of complex layers of primary metaphors that are enriched and fortified with culture. Folk knowledge, cultural models, folk theories, everyday idioms, images, and proverbs all reinforce underlying metaphorical concepts. These include expressions about education as being about making progress forward, life is a competition, or students ought to climb the ladder of success (Lakoff and Johnson 1999). Alternative metaphors about the nature of success, life, and lifelong learning that may have more cultural credence within indigenous communities may be directly at cross purposes with those taught at school. They may also be different from the way that indigenous groups wish to be depicted by international organizations; nonetheless, dominant metaphors appealing to outsiders have a great deal of influence on the kinds of development policies that are funded and monitored. As I have elaborated elsewhere (Porter 2011), underlying cultural paradigms matter – and have direct consequences for social justice – when it comes to investing in schooling for all or a select few, what the relevant returns to education are, and whether the ultimate aim is a narrow definition of equality of input or equity in terms of experience and meaningful outcomes.

Rights

One of the most common ways of presenting indigenous culture is to frame it in terms of a "human right." This has been a critical, even necessary, aspect of securing international recognition and legitimation for Native peoples worldwide. It builds on the four dimensions of culture briefly outlined above and has strategic importance for formal education reform.

This construction is common in the language in international accords. The 1989 International Labor Organization Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention was the first convention to intentionally focus on indigenous human rights, particularly the role of governments to promote and protect those human rights. This work was expanded in the 1990 Convention on the Rights of the Child to include specific

provisions and regulations for indigenous peoples. Article 29 provides for "the right to education, including education on human rights, its own cultural identity, language and values" and Article 30 states that "children of minorities or indigenous origin shall not be denied the right to their own culture, religion or language."

What counts as "culture" or "civilization" has always been tied to colonial power and self-interest. Those who have a culture deemed worthy of preserving, transmitting, and codifying have a different stake in the international arena. Appeals to a generic, single standard of human rights may be problematic if they run counter to Native values or particular interests. But putting Native cultures as a whole, or parity as a concept, on the table has its benefits, particularly when negotiating for inclusion. Horsthemke, working in a South African context, writes about the relative merits of appealing to a human rights framework when arguing the philosophical basis for indigenous knowledge in the official curriculum:

> Recognition, protection against exploitation, appropriation, counteracting wholesale sub-jugation of everything that is deemed subjugatable is best achieved not on the basis of appeals to the validity of 'indigenous knowledge' and 'indigenous knowledge systems', but by locating the pleas for recognition etc. in a rights-based framework. The latter has potential for the necessary educational, ethical and political clout to effect lasting changes. Insofar as human rights are anchored in as well as responsive to human agency, rights are essential for the protection of human differences. In essence, taking rights seriously implies taking individual, social and cultural identity seriously. (2004, pp. 42–43)

He recommends that African traditional knowledge be taught alongside other aspects of cultural heritage and subjected to the same critique as other traditions, myths, and knowledge systems. In this way, indigenous cultural systems become one of several treated as worthy of full consideration in the political arena.

Full participation in school and in larger social life has been a long row to hoe; in most places there is still far to go for the full exercise of human rights. However, recent economic and political shifts in postcolonial settings and new democracies have created access to new *chakra* fields for Native peoples to shape their future. De la Peña links the long tradition of *indigenismo* in Latin America to twenty-first century neoliberal trends that have opened up political and economic spaces for democratization. These new legislative spaces are, if incomplete, a "radical rupture with the previous situation of constitutional void" and offer a legitimized, official means for "indigenous people" to claim this title as their "rightful political personality" in order to act in the newly reconstituted public realm (de la Peña 2005, p. 734). The result is that, "The overwhelming majority of indigenous movements are not claiming political independence or artificial isolation but are demanding an inclusive definition of the nation where the right to cultural diversity is an essential aspect of citizenship" (p. 733).

This shift in the political discourse of human rights has happened at the same time as shifts in cultural discourse about human rights has expanded to emphasize multiculturalism, participatory research, autonomy, and cultural rights. Indigenous groups have increasingly begun publishing and enforcing their own access and research requirements for those who would do work in schools, much like universities have their own Institutional Research Boards. Harrison (2001) has

written a particularly supportive guide outlining best practices in working with indigenous communities to conduct research. The guide can help Native and non-Natives navigate the often confusing worldviews, moral obligations, professional standards, community expectations, and institutional requirements imposed upon potential colleagues so that productive, mutually beneficial community development programs can result. Honoring rights is also about responsibility and reciprocity. Consent and respect for rights is a path that we make together all throughout the course of a research endeavor, not something achieved by signing a paper or making an initial oral agreement.

Another shift that has been prompted by the insistence of Native educators has been a greater balance of understanding culture as human rights that are shared by both the person and the collective. Although the Universal Declaration of Human Rights focuses on the individual, indigenous groups often struggle for collective recognition. As a group they need rights to have legitimacy to lobby, to control their own schools, and to exercise sovereignty. The Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples may be the most comprehensive statement so far that establishes collective rights. A nearly universal theme in indigenous writing is the role of the family, tribe, community, and nation in the role of the child. Metaphorically, the collective provides the immediate cradle of culture, the vehicle for preserving one's legacy, and the map that traces the historical continuity of cultural struggles as well as ties to land and heritage. The commonwealth is what sustains a school, pays for and supports teachers, passes on the language, and gives youth meaningful roles. Understanding rights as vested in the group as well as the individual therefore is an important synchronized way of understanding what it means to be fully human, an full adult within a cultural context.

A further advantage of a rights-based framework is that it puts the onus of action on educational institutions to provide for and to protect the welfare of its learners. Kirkness and Barnhardt challenge higher education to attend to the human rights of First Nations students; as a vital institution whose offerings and credentials matter, universities must take the initiative and move towards respect, relevance, reciprocity, and responsibility vis-a-vis indigenous students. They deserve not just an equal or an equitable education, but a better education, one that leads to empowerment not just as individuals, "but empowerment as bands, as tribes, as nations, and as a people." This means "an education that respects them for who they are, that is relevant to their view of the world, that offers reciprocity in their relationships with others, and that helps them exercise responsibility over their own lives" (2001, p. 14).

In conclusion, understanding the human rights aspects of culture helps us to see school reform in the larger context of international collective action, thereby furthering our essential humanity. Important progress has been made by appeals to human rights, both those held by the individual and those vested in the group. Educational policies, as well as the research relationships that inform that work, are shaped by our respective rights and responsibilities. Rights carry obligations for mutual engagement – students, families, and collectives share accountability for success with those working in institutions.

Resource

A second common way of framing indigenous culture is to treat it as a "resource." Examining this deep metaphor also helps further clarify some of the problematics of this concept of culture. Foregrounding assumptions and implications associated with this approach suggest tactics for educational reform. Whether "developing" resources, cultivating, deploying, harvesting, hoarding or stewarding, this construction of culture has shaped the international policy discourse on the purposes of education in which indigenous people navigate.

When culture is an object, then one way of representing it in formal documents is as something that can be possessed, transferred, or utilized toward a specific ends. It is potentially separable from the group that initially owned or generated it, and can be used, traded, or commodified by others. The Council Resolution on Indigenous Peoples within the Framework of the Development Cooperation of the Community and Members States (1998) resolution states: "Indigenous cultures constitute a heritage of diverse knowledge and ideas, which is a potential resource for the entire planet." While the overall resolution calls for full and free participation of indigenous peoples in the development process, framing their cultural bounty, if not the cultures themselves, as goods ready for international economic absorption comes across as problematic. The same metaphorical construction exists in international documents about the treasure trove of educational knowledge and practices accumulated by indigenous peoples over the ages.

Over the years there has been a shift away from cultural exploitation towards a more mutual stewardship and acknowledgement of the contribution indigenous peoples can make to education for all. The Convention on Biological Diversity (1992) is more explicit about the nature of a reciprocal, respectful use of the shared patrimony of cultural resources and expertise. It calls on its signatories to:

> [R]espect, preserve and maintain knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous and local communities embodying traditional lifestyles relevant for the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity and promote their wider application with the approval and involvement of the holders of such knowledge, innovations and practices and encourage the equitable sharing of the benefits arising from the utilization of such knowledge, innovations and practices (Article 8(j)).

A more respectful construction of cultural resources that acknowledges the human agency involved in sustainability and stewardship is good for all parties involved. Schools that do not shy away from controversies surrounding intellectual property and global trade or those surrounding commodification of genetic materials and mineral rights help their students to see how human rights and resources are integrally tied together.

We need to move beyond treating cultural expertise as one more kind of booty, something that can be disemboweled from a place or extracted from those who have nurtured it in context. Rather than fragmenting and exporting indigenous culture in a neo-colonial global marketplace of education reform, we need to think carefully about retaining the integrity of indigenous worldviews and the underlying

cultural coherence. This may mean taking an explicitly anti-colonial approach to doing research, engaging in political advocacy, and designing education for sustainability and self-determination, strategies that represent "a web of liberation strategies Indigenous Peoples can employ to disentangle themselves from the oppressive control of colonizing state governments" (Simpson 2004, p. 373). Simpson takes academics to task for sanitizing Traditional Ecological Knowledge "of the ugliness of colonization and injustice, so scientists can potentially engage with the knowledge but not the people who own and live that knowledge" (p. 376).

Cultural knowledge cannot simply be extracted from a sense of place. The international organization Cultural Survival has long been on the forefront of advocacy for Native voices and worldviews. On their extensively webbed Internet presence they link to pages on the culture of subsistence in Alaska. Misconstrued in government documentation, vilified by animal rights groups, and misunderstood by teachers distressed at students' absence from school, Thornton seeks to put this way of approaching life into its larger cultural context. He quotes, "As Inupiat leader Eileen MacLean put it: 'Subsistence is not about poverty; it is about wealth. This wealth is expressed in the harvest and in the sharing and celebration that result from the harvest.'" (1998). More than a defense of an archaic lifestyle, it is about reframing a fundamentally different approach to living, community and life-long learning. It challenges ideas about rights and resources and has a direct impact of school persistence and relevance. The author notes, "In the end, however, more than terminology, it is the conflicting cultural visions – a Native one based on cultural identity, customs, and traditional values, and a non-Native one based on individual rights and economic need – that continue to polarize the subsistence debate."

A more culturally appropriate assessment index of returns to investments in education is already underway that takes a more inclusive notion of "culture as a resource" into account. Working from Australia, Taylor (2008) writes about the United National Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues established in 2000 to create statistical profiles of the world's indigenous peoples. He notes that the Millennium Development Goals and other global frameworks need to be refined with a broader and more culturally-responsive set of criteria for assessing and inventorying resources, human and otherwise, when comparing well-being and disadvantage. For example, the ability to engage in reciprocity and distribute resources may be something to aspire to rather than the personal acquisition of materialistic goods; the former shows up in government accounting as poverty and the latter as wealth. More appropriate and comprehensive measures that start from community definitions and shared ownership, rather than bureaucratic models of deficit based on mainstream norms, would provide a better picture of community standards. They would also provide a much a needed alternative characterization so that youth, and future social scientists, could see these communities as "rich." The challenge remains to link grassroots re-definitions to national-level participation and to garner political support for the use of these indexes.

In summary, we need to bring our own intellectual, cultural, and academic resources to bear in better understanding the metaphorical underpinnings of school-ing. Is it a right or a resource? Which constructions of these metaphors can we use

to evoke constructive responses that do not exploit or marginalize? By critically appraising how the discourse of "resource" has been deployed, indigenous groups can take care to see that their cultural worldviews are better reflected in the language, as well as the provisions, or international agreements. Indigenous cultural accomplishments, botanical savvy, worldviews, and artistic traditions are not simply valuable because of their instrumental utility but on their own terms. When teaching youth about the wealth of nations, indigenous definitions of well-being and value enrich the curriculum and help broaden the criteria by which we inventory students' funds of knowledge or overall deficits.

Beyond Culture to Cultural Wisdom

We're sitting in my comadre's *two room adobe home one night after an exhausting day of fieldwork, schoolwork, and market work. We're all weary from long hours of trudging through crowds with a tripod and camera asking for interviews, having to answer test questions, or wheeling an ice cream cart along overcrowded market boulevards hawking fruit gelatos –"Maracuya! Papaya! Lucuma! Guanavana! Mango! Chirimoya!" The extra coins left over after the daily cart rental fee have paid for this dinner of chicken necks and pasta soup, with the luscious addition of chocolate torte from my friend and photographer colleague Angel rounding out the meal. School uniforms are hung up tidily on pegs, extra jackets removed, and babies' shoes loosened as we settle in to enjoy the warmth generated by the roaring hearth in the adjoining cooking room. We all eat family style, sitting in a heap on the one large piece of furniture in the room, a family bed piled high with warm, woolen blankets which also serves as the shared couch and study desk.*

This year, we eat in the glow of a television. It was a surprise to me, the purchase earned by pooled resources. The men of the extended family work as migrant laborers up over the mountaintops to the east in the Amazon, harvesting chocolate and coffee, and send funds back to the women and children who are in residence in this town where there is a good school and market. Raw beans from their coffee harvest sit in a container on the TV, which runs off an electric line patched in from the neighbor's house. Several teenage cousins have eagerly come over to watch the Peruvian version of Sabado Gigante *in all of its whirling, shouting, musical extravagance. The allure of instant riches from trivia games, seductive advertisements, over the top confessions and affairs, brazen commercialism and prizes, and semi-nude dancers is mesmerizing. The well-coiffed actors and curvy actresses are mostly light skinned, speak only Spanish, and wear clothes that could have come from most anywhere in Latin America. To me it seems like a sleek urban nightmare, a bizarre, garish parody of the hard-working Peruvians I know. But the older teens hock on squat stools on the floor, their eyes glued to the luminous glimmer. Gently maturing Miguel looks over at me, beaming with delight, "That's where I'm going to go one day – the real world!"*

As my godchildren have become teenagers and young adults, their choices have become more complex and daunting. I saw to it that they finished high school; they are among the very first in their families to even pass beyond primary school barriers. But now, how can they reconcile being the most "well-educated" members of their families with intensely gendered expectations that they prioritize filial obligations to close family and extended kin? Should they leave the primarily indigenous, marginal settlements on the edge of a market town for the light speed chaos, harsh competition, and opportunity of the national tourist mecca just a winding bus ride away? Has their education, at home and in school, given them the strength of character and sense of cultural continuity to survive, even thrive? Do they have the wisdom to know the difference?

Indigenous culture, when incorporated in a holistic and substantial manner into educational programs, is powerful. Understanding the deep metaphors that are embodied in international accords and school policies is one step in unpacking the culturally linked constructions that constitute our current approaches to reform. This helps us to see underlying themes that may not be apparent in surface fragments by themselves. Moving beyond a traditional "add culture are stir" model is important if either Native or non-Native students are to gain a coherent sense that indigenous contributions to learning are more than superficially meaningful. A second step is to interrogate ways we actively make sense of complex systems, such as education, by looking at how culture informs cognition. What we are able to conceptualize depends on how we make sense of the world, what we even perceive as evident, and how we envision (new) ways to depict/communicate an emerging sensibility. In order to be transformative, cultural elements of educational reform need to draw deeply on the underlying wisdom that pervades and sustains practice.

In the previous part I introduced core elements typically included in definitions of "culture;" it is dual, dialogical, dynamic, and distinctive. These include the received forms of knowledge that young members of indigenous groups learn from both their communities and from non-Native sources about what it means to "be Native." This knowledge constitutes the cultural core.

We can further strengthen this discourse about information, practice, tradition, and relationship when we look at the conjoined ways of thinking about inspiration, affinity, evidence, and public witness. These provide the added dimensions that can move reformers from having basic cultural knowledge to taking effective transformative action. For our expanded purposes, cultural wisdom moves beyond the introductory definition of culture to encompass the elements of epistemology, visualization, and research. Therefore, in the second part of this framing essay I briefly review key issues in making meaning, visualizing reform, and extending what we mean by research. Each of these has been chosen because they represent a major contemporary theme in Native education reform. I provide a promising example for each that serves as a complement to the chapters in this section. Each kind of cultural wisdom initiates open-ended lines of inquiry that run parallel to questions taken up by the authors in the Culture and Education section.

Making Meaning

Cultural *ex*-pressions are the living result of a dynamic interplay between integrated, perceived, and celebrated traditions (Moore 1989). Cultural *im*-pressions are similarly part of the ongoing process of generation, formation, and interpretation. Culture is not only what is known, but how one comes to know. Across generations, indigenous students ask, how do I know that something (i.e. a version of history, a dream or vision, what constitutes good medicine) is true? Epistemological inquiry is the formal quest to understand how people assign legitimacy and primacy to sources of inspiration and ways of knowing. In many indigenous traditions natural, spiritual, and symbolic modes of *Wahrnehmung* (to borrow a wonderful concept about truth-making from the Germans) are of primary importance. These are often direct and personal experiences; Ermine (1999) provides a lucid elaboration from Australia:

> Aboriginal epistemology is grounded in the self, the spirit, the unknown. Understanding of the universe must be grounded in the spirit. Knowledge must be sought through the stream of the inner space in unison with all instruments of knowing and conditions that make individuals receptive to knowing. Ultimately it was in the self that Aboriginal people discovered great resources for coming to grips with life's mysteries. It was in the self that the richest source of information could be found by delving into the metaphysical and the nature and origin of knowledge. Aboriginal epistemology speaks of pondering great mysteries that lie no further than the self.

Over time, personal conviction comes from assembling symbolically and socially significant messages into a lucid – if not consciously articulated – pattern that forms the foundation for personal integrity and action. Wisdom informs worldview which in turn reifies the wisdom itself.

Wisdom does not exist in a vacuum. In fact, life-changing insights might be encountered within a community festival, on a vision quest, or during purposefully designed educative moments. It has been the traditional role of education to guide young members of a cultural group to coherent logic that explains these experiences. Whether you are a Tiwi teenage initiate making sense of a coming of age ritual or a young Hopi girl learning about what happens when you won't look after your younger sister, each keenly absorbs the lesson that personal actions are tied to the balance of the universe. Physical pain, emotional agony, despair and reconciliation, the comforting embrace of a loved one, and ecstatic dance all are profound ways of knowing great truths about adult life. These happen within carefully orchestrated cultural contexts that only recently have been connected to or contrasted with formal schooling (Eggan 1997; Hart 1997; Sindell 1997).

These personal encounters with natural, spiritual, and social forces proceed against the morally dense philosophical backdrop of formal authority, that is, institutionalized or codified forms of religion or academic knowledge. What the elders say is right, what the religion sanctifies, what the academy rewards all are tied to epistemological hierarchies of power. Nowhere is this encounter more rigidly codified than in schools.

Internationally, European models of schools and universities spread in tandem with formalized systems of rational thought and moral reasoning that operate in concert with Western, written academic disciplines. Their precepts were codified in languages of instruction and examination. Scientific modes of operating on the world by objectifying natural forces and treating people as "subjects" became dominant if not exclusively legitimate.

Ways of knowing based on linear, rational, logical thought occupy a central, dominant location on campus. Much as major medical institutions that may tolerate (or even graciously sponsor) a minor, peripheralized "alternative medicine" section, alternatives to the canon often are first marginalized in "[insert: Women's/Third World/African-American/Indigenous] Studies" programs. Certainly there are compelling arguments that it may only be in these liminal, border spaces that divergent and transgressive work may be fully realized. Indeed, some of the work profiled in this book initially arose in such creative spaces. The challenge is to see that the resulting scholarship impacts the full institution and is not quarantined or silenced. In promoting a more liberatory and inclusive praxis of indigenous education, an essential step therefore is countering the often invisible underlying epistemological justifications that have kept indigenous ways of knowing at the margins and have fortified the dominant epistemology that underlies reigning practice. This is a consequential realm of endeavor. Epistemology impacts belief, justification, and reasoning. It therefore affects educational policy decisions ranging from how to design appropriate curricular structure to how to count what is worthy of credit. It directly shapes whose knowledge counts.

Maffie (2005) regards "Western epistemological practices as simply one among many alternative, contingent epistemological projects advanced by and hence available to human beings." Instead, when thinking about how people explicitly reflect on truth and worthwhile knowledge, he proffers the cross-cultural term "ethnoepistemology," which squarely foregrounds the cultural aspects of ways of knowing. By emphasizing that explicit reflection is not just the domain of academics nor of published Western authors, but also of every person, he asserts that non-dominant and indigenous worldviews offer important cultural critiques; taken together these could "decenter and provincialize the definitions, aims, assumptions, methods, problems, and claims of Western epistemology."

Many indigenous writers think more inclusively, including culturally sophisticated systems of reasoning and conceptualizing the world that defy thin boundaries of what constitutes the nature, sources, and limits of knowledge. For them, the distinction between truth and moral and aesthetic virtue are artificial. Further, many indigenous worldviews dismiss the Western educational standard that students should be trained exclusively in "knowledge that" (information abstracted to correspond to cross-culturally universal facts or truth). They argue that students need to "know how" and to "know to" so that learning is for the sake of right action rather than simply right belief. Hester and Cheney, writing about North America, note that ethics based on responsibility, goodness and well-being are built on an epistemology of respect rather than a preoccupation with control (2001). It is not surprising then that learning by doing connected to community experts and elders often shows up

in core curricula recommended by indigenous education professionals. Knowing how to complete authentic tasks grounded in culturally relevant practices and relationships, displayed in an appropriate manner, and bookended by critique given and received with proper decorum all are part of being a well-educated person. Knowing why they matter and knowing to share them appropriately bring cultural nuance to the work and make this kind of school learning acceptable, even finally welcome, by the community.

A successful example of a university partnership with Native peoples in Alaska shows the generosity and fortitude needed to persevere to implement a culturally coherent program of education reform that can even have state wide impact. Recognizing that most educational reforms were a variation on the theme of better adapting Alaska Native students to the immigrant population's schools, educators sought to establish a large-scale school reform program that would honor a two-way transaction. Instead of marginalizing and fragmenting Native culture, it would put Native epistemologies on equal status with Western education, including the high stakes realm of doing math and science. To these ends, the awe-inspiring Arctic setting could not possibly be relegated to a simple backdrop for an abstracted or decontextualized approach to compartmentalized disciplines. Instead, the goal was to focus on cultural integrity and bring forth the fullness of Native cultural ways of knowing the world so that they could "reconnect education to a sense of place and its attendant cultural practices and manifestations" (Barnhardt and Kawagley 2005, p. 10).

In 1998 the Assembly of Alaska Native Educators, "a resource for compiling and exchanging information related to Alaska Native knowledge systems and ways of knowing" published the Alaska Standards for Culturally Responsive Schools. This was the significant synthesis of wisdom brought together from many diverse Alaska Native cultural traditions. The Standards are published as part of an extensive website that provides an epistemological framework for comprehensive education reform. The standards provide a set of benchmarks and principles to assess how well traditional ways of knowing and cultural knowledge systems are being mobilized to foster the well-being of students. The authors offer them with the following in mind:

> These cultural standards are predicated on the belief that a firm grounding in the heritage language and culture indigenous to a particular place is a fundamental prerequisite for the development of culturally-healthy students and communities associated with that place, and thus is an essential ingredient for identifying the appropriate qualities and practices associated with culturally-responsive educators, curriculum and schools.

I have always appreciated the utility of Alaska's pioneering Standards as a holistic framework for my own teaching in a School of Education where future teachers, principals, policy makers, international aid organization leaders learn together. The Standards lay out Cultural Standards in parallel columns for Students, Educators, Curriculum, Schools, and Communities. The focus is on clear demonstrations of competency, with specific illustrations of what the outcome could look like in practice. The linked growth and responsibilities of one are mirrored in the rights and resources necessary in the other stakeholders' columns.

The multiple sources of experiential insight draw on direct engagement with the environment, the community, and with the reflective self. These ways of knowing are central to indigenous learning and teaching. Because of this in-depth structure, the authors feel that the quality of the curriculum will benefit all learners:

> Though the emphasis is on rural schools serving Native communities, many of the standards are applicable to all students and communities because they focus curricular attention on in-depth study of the surrounding physical and cultural environment in which the school is situated, while recognizing the unique contribution that indigenous people can make to such study as long-term inhabitants who have accumulated extensive specialized knowledge related to that environment.

The authors note that their use of "standards" is in the sense of shared intentions and goals, not homogenization. Culture was, and needs to remain locally diverse, vibrant, and distinctive. As state-level synthesizers offering this set of shared ideas:

> The cultural standards are not intended to produce standardization, but rather to encourage schools to nurture and build upon the rich and varied cultural traditions that continue to be practiced in communities throughout Alaska.

As Alaska Natives and non-Natives working together, they are keenly aware of the legacy of colonial imposition of external regulating forces.

The accumulated curriculum resources that support the achievement of these standards are arrayed into a comprehensible form through use of the Curriculum Spiral Chart. In the next section I write more about the importance of such visualizations for conceptualizing reform, particularly the importance of the circle; it is important to note here that this Spiral Chart also plays an important role, not just in organizing resources, but in linking them in a comprehensive manner that has internal logic and cultural significance. The sections of the spiral move from the first (the family) through the twelfth (exploring horizons) moving through cultural expression, outdoor survival, and applied technology on the way. The web organizers note:

> The curriculum resources included here have been selected to illustrate ways in which Indigenous and Western knowledge systems can be brought to bear in schools through a balanced, comprehensive and culturally-aligned curriculum framework adaptable to local circumstances. The resources are intended to help teachers and students make the connection between the knowledge, skills and ways of knowing used to maintain a livelihood in the villages, and the knowledge, skills and cultural standards for teaching and learning reflected in the school curriculum.

This visualization has served them well in communicating the integrated structure of the curriculum. It shows how multiple community members are necessary for success, and how different realms of knowledge contribute to unified curriculum design. I particularly appreciate the science fair materials available on the website, and often use it in social foundations courses with teacher certification candidates to help them extend their thinking about what an effective home-school linkage could look like that would engage students otherwise labeled "at risk" of disengaging from school and from science.

The Alaska program's focus on synthesis, that is, incorporating the depth and breadth of Western and Indigenous knowledge systems and pedagogical approaches, is based on mutuality and respect. A challenge of this approach is honoring the cultural integrity of each way of knowing as well as identifying potential areas of complementarity and connectivity. Stephens (2000), looking at culturally responsive science curricula, identified four categories (i.e. organizing principles, habits of mind, skills and procedures, and knowledge) where there is overlap between traditional Native knowledge system and western science. The Alaska Rural Systemic Initiative tries implement this reform, offering a comprehensive curriculum that bridges these two broad frameworks as well as preserves the essential integrity of each, cultivating an appreciation of the range of traditions among Native and non-Native students alike. In this regard, the scholarship from Alaska is important in the larger landscape of multicultural education, as it embodies what Nieto (1999) advocates as the shift from monocultural education to a pedagogy based more in "affirmation, solidarity, and critique." She writes that multicultural education needs to move from tolerance to acceptance to respect, and beyond to a more critical and potentially transformative stance.

Thanks to the dedication that PreK-20 educators, community members, academics, and people of all races were able to extend to one another and sustain over time, the Alaska Standards for Culturally-Responsive Schools came upon the international scene. Numerous subsequent guidelines, online resources, books, training materials, and academic programs have also grown from this initiative. It is not coincidental that the participants' research methods matured to become more effectively multivocal and epistemologically diverse in parallel with the refinement of their pedagogical recommendations. Cultural wisdom comes from putting value on not just what we know but how we come to know. Barnhardt and Kawagley note the synchronized benefits:

> By documenting the integrity of locally situated cultural knowledge and skills and critiquing the learning processes by which such knowledge is transmitted, acquired, and utilized, Alaska Native and other Indigenous people engage in a form of self-determination that will not only benefit themselves but will also open opportunities to better understand learning in all its manifestations, thereby informing educational practices for the benefit of all (2005, p. 20).

Taking the epistemological roots of indigenous cultural wisdom seriously leads to necessary and positive growth in our set of skills to analyze, conceptualize, write up, and share educational dilemmas.

Thanks to the decades of work on this project, in the state of Alaska "what counts" as meaningful knowledge is culturally relevant, contextually grounded, and exemplifies world-class standards. This framework is available for Native and Non-Native alike. Indigenous ways of knowing have not only begun to directly shape the materials and pedagogy available in the classroom, but also by being codified in the state of Alaska's Standards they have gained a legitimacy as core forms of wisdom valuable for all students. Ongoing research continues to build upon the foundational partnerships and ways of knowing that were piloted in the research and innovation process and are being translated into classrooms. New graduate

programs keep the momentum going and offer formal credentials for expertise. New generations of scholars are adding connections to ethnomathematics, place-based education, and indigenous epistemologies from many nations' cultural traditions. It is truly a mutual, multi-way exchange, with Alaska Native scholars, teachers, and cultural experts increasingly sharing the center. This is a move toward being more liberatory and inclusive.

When looking beyond culture to cultural wisdom, a culturally informed ethnoepistemological stance recognizes that there is not and need not be a sole set of criteria for what constitutes worthwhile explicit, reflective engagement in meaning-making. In such programs there is not a sole source of authority or inspiration. This stance's conceptual shift may well signify a more broadly ecumenical, anthropologically sound, and non-ethnocentric approach, and therefore provide a useful framework for thinking about how to incorporate teaching about ways of knowing into a sustainable foundation for curricular reform. Everyday people – from school children to teachers' aides, ethnographers, rhetoricians, politicians, and elders – draw on cultural wisdom in order to bring order and purpose to the world. How they go about making sense of received lore and symbols and then deftly weave these into compelling stories itself becomes part of the cultural fabric available as broadcloth for reform. The forms and textures of the underlying inspirations become part of the design that is finally created. The motifs that the authors in the Culture and Education section offer us are sources of inspiration with which we can address our own models. The next part picks up this idea of visualization and adds it alongside epistemological awareness to our trousseau.

Visualizing Reform

A further benefit of looking at cultural wisdom is that it propels us to literally take a look at education with new eyes. Conceptualizing alternatives to the status quo in indigenous education requires us to be able to see beyond the present dire state of affairs prevalent in so many locations around the world.

The educational reform process is one of intentional design as much as it is one of introspection. Models and visualizations can help refine the cyclical process of finding compelling reasons for reform, systematically gathering evidence, and drawing conclusions. New maps to the future can help us envision livable territories and to chart trajectories that diverge from currently unproductive – or even destructive – ones. New schematics, images, and visual analogies help us recognize when we are going in idle circles and when a cycle might indeed be a good way to think about the processes of change.

For indigenous groups, the impetus for starting an education reform program may be anchored in a personal history, collective struggle, or political imperative. Whether explicit or not, these are linked to particular ways of depicting the issues or sides. The models that we create to frame policy debates are fundamentally cultural, that is, what constitutes the fundamental "problem" or constitutes a viable, ethical

"solution" is socially constructed (Edelman 1988) from relevant cultural building blocks. We need to use these elements purposefully to visualize more effective, sustainable educational reform.

St. Clair writes that indigenous cultures with rich oral traditions tend to use visual metaphors just as Western print cultures have finely developed verbal metaphors. This difference in practice has a direct bearing on both dominant information processing strategies as well as educational cognition styles and preferred modes of relations between children, peers, teachers, and the curriculum (St. Clair 2000). A recurring visual representation in many indigenous educational traditions is the circle. The council, the drum, the dance – many of these take the form of a circle. Native forms of homes and ceremonial buildings also purposefully make use of the structural, aesthetic, and symbolic virtues of the circle; these include the Plains tipi, Ethiopian tukul or sarbet, Mongolian yurt, earth lodges, assembly houses, Southwestern hogan and kiva, Samoan dome, Zulu indlu, and more (Kahn and Easton 1973). Spirals, circles, concentric and spatially meaningful arrangement of villages and whole cities extend cosmic order to the human realm and to human affairs. Consider the wealth and cultural congruence apparent to every child growing up in this environment: "Among the Dogon and Bambura of Mali every object and social event has a symbolic quality, and the Dogon civilization, otherwise relatively poor, has several thousand symbolic elements. The farm plots and the whole landscape of the Dogon reflect this cosmic order. Their villages are built in pairs to represent heaven and earth and fields are cleared in spirals because the world has been created spirally" (Rapoport 1969). When formal educational institutions recognize indigenous cultural symbolic systems and incorporate them into architectural forms, school design, gathering spaces, and welcoming grounds and gardens, youth – and their visiting families – see that they are not only accepted but also appreciated (Deal and Peterson 2009). Visual literacy and design matters as much as other forms of cultural literacy.

A particularly potent elaboration of the circle can be found in the Medicine Wheel or Sacred Hoop shared in several Native cultures. A circle equally divided into four quarters, it is a simplified visual that conveys complex Native philosophical thought. While the basic principles may be part of everyday tribal folklife, its quadrants easily and colorfully depicted in a classroom worksheet, the Sacred Hoop's extensive significance and symbolism might only be fully mastered by only a few after a lifetime of dedicated study. Like other potent cultural symbols, it can be understood at a rudimentary level suited to school emblems as well as at deeper levels worthy of graduate study.

Native author and literary critic Paula Gunn Allen calls the concept of the Sacred Hoop the "dynamic whole" that embodies unity and collective momentum (1986, p. 187). It is a visual reminder that individual fulfillment is concurrent with and dependent upon the intermingling life forces around oneself. Fulfilling one's place in the universe is about active engagement. Gunn Allen links indigenous peoples' sense of agency, even the imperative to act, collectively and in harmony with other animate forces to this underlying cultural epistemological framework, noting that Native tribespeople:

> [A]cknowledge the essential harmony of all things and see all things as being of equal value in the scheme of things, denying the opposition, dualism, and isolation (separateness) that characterize non-Indian thought ... the non-Christian tribal person assumes a place in creation that is dynamic, creative, and responsive (Ibid, pp. 56–57)

Using the Hoop as a guide, the student is encouraged to master complementary forms and applications of culturally valued skills. In order to attain balance, academic performance must be one of the domains of action.

Such quaternic visual representations as the Medicine Wheel or Sacred Hoop offer an easily accessible and culturally congruous model of action. Whether painted in a hallway, used in entryway floor tilework, or used as part of a school's letterhead logo, they can help center reform efforts on key principles. The didactic purpose of the Medicine Wheel is to convey not opposition but complementarity, that the constituent parts are interdependent and balanced rather than antagonistic. North/east/south/west are a set and all necessary. They may be conceptually linked with, for instance, winter/spring/summer/fall or the life stages of elder/new birth/puberty/adulthood. They can be used to elaborate fourfold systems of corresponding spirit keepers, colors, elements or 12-fold cycles of the moon, plants, or color systems. Humans and other living things revolve in regular cycles of relationship and responsibility toward one another (Sun Bear and Wabun 1980; Lake-Thom and Medicine Grizzly Bear 1997). By attuning to the various attributes of the Sacred Hoop, students are asked to become part of dynamic cultural exchange around them. To abandon the circle would be to "fall out of rhythm with life and to cease to grow" (Sun Bear and Wabun 1980, p. 5).

An impressive example of how indigenous visualization tools were explicitly used to propel education reform is the project that culminated in the 2000 publication of *Indigenous Educational Models for Contemporary Practice: In our Mother's Voice* by Maenette Kape'ahiokalani Padeken Ah Nee-Benham and Joanne Elizabeth Cooper. Questing and seeking clarity of vision were central to the process of generating the wisdom collected in this book. Throughout the text, contributors refer to the journeys, the spiritual quests, and the long roads that the "warriors, peacemakers, and the ambassadors" from many places around the world took to gather at the Sol y Sombra Ranch in Sante Fe, New Mexico in the hope that they could "leave even better paths to education for the generations yet to come" (xvi). The goal of the retreat was to create a sacred space in which to share and to create. Nee-Benham writes that this project is about "breaking the silence" and coming together "to create a space for the sharing of conversations and for the learning of both truth and wisdom" (xix) Both editors write that reclaiming the role of oral storyteller, and then book organizer, was a way of reclaiming loving power and connecting to the sacred duty and wisdom of their elders, particularly their female ancestors. The wanted to speak "In our Mother's voice."

The gathering of educators took place in a sanctuary that had fountains, lounges, open courtyards, private quarters, gardens, and meeting spaces. Open natural and enclosed spaces framed transitions, groupings, reflection, and renewal. Participants had time to brainstorm, create models, write in journals, give interviews, walk, and participate in talking and sharing circles. It was not coincidental that both

the ceremonies and the resultant model intentionally made use of the attributes of the circle, the essence of which "advances the concept that social interaction, development of community bonds, and oral traditions are fundamental to indigenous experience and identity" (p. 9).

The collective process of discernment led to an integrating model for the book that they named Go to the Source. This is a specific illustration of using the sacredness of the circle to generate dimension in a synthesis model. Using it to structurally link the individual contributions, to continually re-center via thematic transitions, and to visually organize the text keeps the book anchored, reminding "Native educators to remember our indigenous roots and to cling tenaciously to that which has fed us: our language, culture, land, and spiritual past" (xx). The model clearly reflected the contributors' awareness of global stresses and influences on their particular communities, and at the same time the need for cross-regional partnerships to meet those pressures head on. It highlights common areas of concern and key areas of curricular action, and positions central stakeholders. The overall design is a ring of fire with the sun (the learner) in the middle. They identified goals for a collective educational program for Native children and youth. These state the unequivocal importance of language, heritage, culture, cultural self-esteem, civic responsibility, family, and professional networks of best practices. Grounding the model are four principles, the "four essential life elements", which at once honor the distinctiveness of cultural variation and also reflect shared commitments: "Native spiritual wisdom which is guided by the hearts of our grandmothers and grandfathers, critical development of the intellect which intersects Native ways of seeing and doing with modern ways of seeing and doing, promotion of a healthy body and healthy environment, and preservation and revitalization of Native languages, arts, and traditions." Noting that this model is more than a heuristic, the authors note, "Because we honor Native ceremony, we must also remember that the four principles must also work collectively to achieve balance at the personal, institutional, and community levels" (pp. 16–7). This includes offering ongoing teacher professional development, developing materials and critical guides to praxis, trying diverse culturally-responsive models of pedagogy, modeling community leadership, involving community mentors, and hosting cultural events at the schools. Several of the authors particularly note the importance, but in some settings the dearth, of Native teachers who are immersed and vested in the culture who bring that sensibility and commitment to their classrooms.

The book traces the contributors' different paths to the Source (the shared model). The contributions are grouped by the inspirations, themes, and features found in the education model that each participant created on-site out of art supplies, sacred objects brought from home, artifacts, photos, and sketches. Every chapter includes a photo of the author's 2D or 3D model and of the author engaged in the retreat. Key ideas and open questions for discussion are summarized, as are individual stories. The process of creating the model and then interpreting it formed the core of the deliberation at the retreat. By seeking to orally and aesthetically give form to their personal struggles, professional work, and hopes, they created something new that was, for example, grounded in Native ways of knowing rather than a sociocultural

or politically hegemonic deficit model of indigeneity. The synopses and transition essays caution against being overly simplistic or romanticizing the work. The writing captures the essence of being involved in conversations, exhortations, heated questions about models, collegial disagreements, and questions of elaboration and speculation. The process and the products become part and parcel of the gift that the authors give to us through this liberating, eye-opening volume. *Mahalo.*

Cultural wisdom comes from many sources of inspiration and analysis. Both grade school students and educational leaders in advanced graduate programs can benefit from creating a portfolio of culturally coherent depictions of what education means to them. "Writing up," can take many forms, depending on whether the final product is destined for a printed book, interactive curriculum materials, an ongoing blog, or digital production. As anthropologists of education working from a liberatory stance, we know that sometimes the process is at least as important as any particular product. The generative process of brainstorming grows through arts-based inquiry, making music together, and engaging in sacred activities; these all help us to visualize new possibilities. By including Native culture in its full depth – the underlying metaphors, fundamental epistemologies, conceptualizations of the world, and modes of visualizing – we recapture forms of cultural expression lost if we only look at surface attributes of culture. We honor the process as well as the product. Cumulatively, such shared inquiry enhances shared cultural wisdom.

Extending Research

Finally, deepening our analytic framework of culture to include cultural wisdom encourages reformers to rethink what it means to do research. Worldwide, in recognized nations as well as through virtual spaces, many indigenous cultural organizations are reclaiming – and thereby redefining – the hegemonic on-line search delimiters "education" and "research." These groups provide invaluable links for one another and for non-Natives to find perspectives and best practices. By sponsoring collaborative projects, posting model curricula for primary to university levels, hosting gatherings and blogs, and propelling culturally dynamic exchanges, these spaces provide new modes of brainstorming, modeling, distributing, and assessing educational models. They cross all known physical boundaries of scholarship and research. This is cultural wisdom writ large. One such site that has strengths in epistemology and educational decolonization is the AERC that is "exploring many facets of Aboriginal education as it develops vibrant ethical dialogic processes and results that contribute to increased success for Aboriginal learners" (Aboriginal Education Research Centre 2007). Student researchers benefit alongside their teachers.

Decentering a Western ethnoepistemologcal tradition that marginalizes Native ways of knowing is not simply about replacing one form of hegemonic discourse with another. Likewise, becoming great educational policy analysts is not about becoming fluent in only one discourse. Indigenous students need cultural fluency and the academic savvy to thrive in multiple, often conflicting, and always contested

spaces. The first step in gaining a solid foothold is understanding where they are coming from as scholars and organic intellectuals. In the groundbreaking *Decolonizing methodologies* (Tuhiwai Smith 1999) identifies research as a necessary site of struggle. She asserts that a "recovery of our language and epistemological foundations" is key to effective, international advocacy and transformation, asserting:

> [T]he methodologies and methods of research, the theories that inform them, the questions which they generate and the writing styles they employ, all become significant acts which need to be considered carefully and critically before being applied. In other words, they need to be "decolonized." Decolonization, however, does not mean and has not meant a total rejection of all theory or research or Western knowledge. Rather, it is about centering our concerns and world views and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes. (p. 39)

Both Inter-cultural and inter-national collaborations help to collect data from multiple points of origin and to diversify the research base available.

One of the shared intentions of this volume is sharing indigenous cultural wisdom drawn from many places around the world in order to reshape education policy and practice. By focusing on the unique contributions that cultural elements bring to the fore we expand the cultural dialogue and promote tangible international exchange. We are more likely to achieve what Battiste et al. (2002) hope to see in a postcolonial university, that is, the full infusion, if not centering, of an "Indigenous renaissance and its empowering intercultural diplomacy."

Linking the project of decolonization and decentering to liberation and transformation is a short step. Part of this concurrent process is recognizing that the interstitial spaces, those place "betwixt and between," those Borderland places once fully excluded or on the margins, may be strategic locations for challenge and change (Anzaldua 1987). Liminality has long been a fruitful area of inquiry in anthropology, a space that Brayboy (2005) inhabits and fulfills with TribalCrit, a major contribution that grows out of the liberatory tradition of Critical Race Theory. He outlines tenets of TribalCrit that are central to transforming educational praxis and analysis of policy that situate reform within an enduring cultural historical context of oppression, highlight principles for action, identify priority domains of intervention, validate Native sources of strength and cultural knowledge, laud traditional forms of theorizing and communicating, and bolster the importance of praxis among educational researchers. The larger goal is to foster more inclusive research, analysis, and presentation. His intent is to generate theoretical dialogues that center indigenous perspectives and that, rather than marginalizing Native students and perspectives, center them within formal institutional life. In the United States, by taking a critical stance vis-à-vis one another, American Indian students can think differently about school and university and such institutions can rethink how they consider American Indian students.

So the challenge for indigenous education internationally is to find ways of solidifying building blocks of liberatory and transformative education. Native scholars and allies need to engage in praxis, i.e. the linkage of theory and practice, by explicitly using culturally-relevant forms of pedagogy and epistemology so that these become more visible and acceptable in the academy and in publishing. We

need to incorporate indigenous ways of knowing, share findings via Native modes of aesthetic expression and community folklife, and cultivate transnational forums and funders to spread best practices. We need to document even small victories so that those struggling in one isolated national setting can see that, like the slogan in another civil rights movement, "it gets better." The collected set of essays in this book contributes to this transformative project.

I hope that an example drawn from my own research may be an illustration of the kind of research that exemplifies the move toward engaged scholarship in partnership with indigenous communities. The goal of the Learning Integrated with Needed Construction and Service (LINCS) service-learning program has been to link university students with non-profit organizations deeply rooted in the Andes to help previously disenfranchised communities realize school construction projects that they democratically decided that they wanted to complete. The college students ranged in age from early twenties to late fifties, and represented those considering teaching or international development to those who had already had extensive professional careers and were pursuing advanced degrees. We worked with Amizade Global Service-Learning and then with ProWorld, exceptional organizations that cultivate local and long-term staff with the deep ties, language skills, and cultural savvy that make effective work with indigenous communities possible.

Service-learning differs from simple community service in that it is an intentional integration of academic study and theory-building with hands-on engagement in community development. In the graduate School of Education's program in Social and Comparative Analysis of Education it is also part of an extensive research apprenticeship program designed to nurture engaged scholars who approach praxis as living out social justice. Reflection, participatory documentation and analysis, critical appraisal of the work, and dialogue across cultural lines are part of the intentional capacity building among both community members and students in the linked credit-bearing courses. All sides involved both give and receive; rather than the charity of a one-way "hand out" to those who need to conform or develop, it could be seen as a "hand up," or even better, a "hand to" via mutual engagement.

One of the core precepts of service-learning is reciprocity. However, as our study with indigenous communities first in Bolivia and then Peru progressed, we noticed that nuances of the Quechan cosmology that made our communal labor significant were not part of the extant literature. Therefore, Kathia Monard, an Ecuadorian student who brought extensive experience with service-learning to her graduate program and who served as my co-leader during her second trip, and I began a more systematic investigation into the ways that an Andean indigenous approach to reciprocity could enhance and challenge the Western assumptions implicit in the literature. The core of our understanding came through the direct, embodied experience of working hand in hand on the construction worksites over the course of weeks and through the debriefings and interstitial chats with residents, NGO leaders, and co-workers. We shared oral and written drafts of our work with these experts, program alumni, and colleagues, and we are grateful for the ways that they have profoundly shaped our conclusions as well as the framing and wording of our final manuscript.

In "*Ayni* n the global village: Building relationships of reciprocity through international service-learning" (Porter and Monard 2001) we identify eight lessons about *ayni*, the Andean concept of reciprocity, that expand Western ways of thinking about obligation, respect, mutuality, and need. Each of these has a direct impact on the pedagogy of service-learning as it is widely practiced in universities. We do not shy away from addressing the translatability of indigenous perspectives to Western institutions or critiquing the embedded power issues in relationships forged through service-learning, educational tourism, or development programs. We offer frank questions about proprietorship of educational innovations or facilities and fostering a sustainable sense of community ownership. To these ends, indigenous worldviews that take the very long view of history, allow fluidity in how favors are reciprocated, honor literal sacrifices of blood and sweat, require personal commitments, and demonstrate patience have a great deal to teach.

Our research "speaks back" to a narrow construction of the value of experiential education and to the depiction of indigenous communities as inert recipients of educational goodwill. By doing research that arises directly from extended collaboration and putting their worldviews and core cultural concepts front and center, we exercise resistance, what Rigney calls the first "emancipatory imperative" of indigenist research. He notes that resistance along with political integrity and privileging Indigenous voices, are the core of a potentially liberatory indigenist research methodology (Rigney 1999, p. 116).

The LINCS service-learning program is part of a body of scholarship that exemplifies a liberatory and inclusive way of working with, among, and for indigenous kids, their teachers, and their communities. Since 1998 we have done other extended collaborative research projects that showcase indigenous ways of knowing and framing culturally responsive lines of inquiry in education. Each of these rely on the foundations of trust, reciprocity, and generosity laid down in the school construction programs facilitated by our non-profit service-learning partners. The research was conducted between and after cycles of service-learning building programs; several involved teaming with community members whom we had worked beside and come to respect and cherish as elders, teachers, and friends. The intentional portfolio of often co-authored pieces ranges from peer-reviewed journal articles to movies, a set of tween-hosted podcasts, radio programs, practitioner journal articles, a major photography installation, numerous performative conference events, two dance recitals, a play that we have done in several settings, a scrapbook series, and interactive K-6 events for school audiences distributed through the university's Center for Latin American Studies' School Outreach Program. The number of related papers, theses, and dissertations done by LINCS alumni and supporters now numbers in the dozens.

Two of the larger programs show what can be done when we understand research to be a joint endeavor that puts indigenous cultural transmission on center stage. Our dear Salomé Carhuasilla Gutierrez, our "Mami," was as essential member of these research teams. Dancer, Quechua teacher, storyteller, broker, gifted and insistent interviewer, she is the person to whom I have dedicated my contributions in this book. An early major program entitled "In the Steps of the Ancestors" took us

far and wide studying how newly required training in folklore was shaping teacher education candidates' view of traditional knowledge. Since they would be expected to perform at mandatory school celebrations of dance, oration, and culture, some teacher candidates opted to spend their required apprenticeships with a local dance troupe. My research team partnered with this troupe, rehearsing and competing together that fall. Beyond all reasonable expectations, we were ultimately awarded a place among the ten groups showcased at Inti Raymi, the world famous celebration of indigenous culture held on the parade grounds at Sacsayhuamán. In front of hundreds of thousands of people from around the world, we danced together with pompons whirling, leather whips cracking, skirts aflutter. That performance and the plethora of odd and startling cultural encounters that surrounded it were fodder for performances and panels at conferences in the United States for seasons. Another project several years later built on the success of those collaborations with teachers as well as our devotion to many of the schoolkids we had befriended. We designed a series of podcasts about the impact of climate change with fourth graders in the US and in Peru working together via Skype to ask one another interview questions, set the parameters of the podcasts (the impact of climate change on potatoes and on the melting of prominent glaciers in the Sacred Valley). The kids chose what their counterparts should take pictures of (e.g. French fried potatoes for school lunch or new recycling bins), shared idioms, and suggested interesting interview questions (which 10 year old doesn't like potato worms?). The podcasts we knit together were then posted on the web so that both sides could view the results.

Transforming what it means to do research is a slow but rewarding process. It means putting relationships and rigor before research deadlines, social justice and shared visibility before individual credit. By involving students in participatory documentation projects with kids determining the questions and doing some of the key interviews, they both gain experience and a sense of accomplishment no matter what the final product. Gaining a voice and knowing that others in the global village appreciate what you have to offer was important. My own institution has gone through growing pains as it has accommodated engaged scholarship as it brings along with it a decentering of cherished notions of authority, exclusivity, and canons of what counts as research and teaching productivity (Boyer 1996). Trans-cultural wisdom seldom comes easily.

In concluding this final section, cultural approaches to education reform that draw on the deeper symbolic, metaphorical, and epistemological levels of indigenous wisdom have the power to move us past superficial changes. Pedagogical choices that integrate deeply cherished modes of storytelling, drawing, and oral proficiency connect multiple forms of literacy. School design that makes use of community architectural norms, aesthetics, and traditional motifs helps students and parents see an extension of the community onto the school grounds. Planning documents that utilize Sacred Hoops to depict ideas, councils that use a kiva format to debrief, grading schemes that prioritize team projects, tenure decisions that reward collaborative authorship and long-term community engagement – all of these are hallmarks of the potential of indigenous models of best practice to transform formal education as both an endeavor and an economic enterprise. Both Native

peoples and their allies benefit through international exchanges of culturally-sound, contextualized studies that because of their depth can be adapted to a range of local circumstances. Research that integrates indigenous voices and modes of storytelling can enrich both primarily indigenous gatherings as well as academic professional conferences unused to creative formats beyond the tedious 8-min paper summation. Continuity, coherence, and a creative life that honors rather than trivializes Native contributions can indeed be core parts of the institution rather than peripheral to school life. We need to learn all our lives. Whether preparing to be a scholar, researcher, or practitioner, developing these capacities can help constitute what it means to become an "educated person."

Closing

"¡Dime con quien andas y te dire quien eres!" *means "Tell me with whom you walk, and I will tell you who you are." This idiom is part of the received cultural wisdom in Latin America, and is a fitting accompaniment to our journey. Becoming a* runa*, a full-fledged adult, that is, a person, in the Quechuan Andes means being able to draw on the slogans, parables, and adages that undergird local discourse. Tell me with whom you walk, with whom you share your dreams and your dearest hopes for the future. These sayings having meaning because they are dialogical and didactic, reiterated across the generations in print, images, and in oral jokes and rebuffs. They require an active cultural dialogue, one that is being transmitted and transformed daily. Multimedia, the web, internet cafés, and international conventions generate new spaces for conversation in addition to the long-standing forms of cultural transmission.*

We saw firsthand in Peru that traditional idioms are still taught in the formal schoolbooks, are still passed down in minka *communal work admonitions, and still used in billboard-sized election posters. The Quechua idiom* "Ama quella, ama sulla, ama llulla*" means "Don't lie, don't be lazy, Don't steal." Most any young child from the region can recite this adage as part of their cultural heritage. This inscription can be found on colorful, hand-lettered placards posted along streets. They are part of the preschool course. They are even sometimes included as part of the design of grand, official highway road signs announcing the patrons of new state-sponsored communal paving projects. Throughout the Sacred Valley you don't have to look far to see explicit and expert play with indigenous cultural images, symbols, and icons.*

The traditional and the modern elements of culture coexist, interact, and play off one another; indeed, they need one another to derive meaning. And sometimes, explicit adoption turns exploitative. Politicians and bankers who want to align themselves with the authentic, the local, the indigenous coopt images of Quechan women (never men alone) dressed in distinctive full sets of traditional clothing on their electoral and advertising posters. Alcohol distributors do the same on their salacious calendars, but remove nine-tenths of the women's clothing until Daisy

Duke looks well-covered in comparison. "Get your own authentic tasty bit of the Andes!" the beer sellers solicit, tongue-in-cheek. Frothy beer gushes over the tops of the iced bottles that the babes hold out to voyeuristic passersby. Well-educated, fully-dressed, capable adult women identifiable as Quechua or indigenous Andean seldom if ever appear on posters. Instead, these calendars are what my godchildren have had to see in the open doors of shops as they made the long walk to school each and every day.

In closing, I offer an invitation to readers in the style of many Native ceremonial invocations. To begin, a centering and a call to remember the struggles and sacrifices of the people who have come before. Then, a call to serve the larger community. Finally, a reminder to bring the lessons home, to take them to heart, as we continue on the long path ahead of us.

First, the authors in the Culture and Education section share a common appreciation of the long-term struggle of Native peoples around the world just to survive colonial domination, denigration, and exploitation. But survival is not enough. We share a commitment to move beyond this state and create culturally relevant and responsive forms of education through which indigenous peoples can thrive. We invoke the spirits of the ancestors to stand with us and to bless us in this undertaking. We share a commitment to engaged forms of liberatory and inclusive praxis.

Drawing on historical accounts of the sustained fight for cultural survival, Native scholars and educational activists encourage us to remember and draw strength from the past. Meaningful cultural practices connect students to their heritage, give them perspective in the present, and provide promises for the future. Keeping an eye on the ideals and basic human rights that ancestors have fought for gives students and teachers the guiding principles to test proposed educational reforms. The core list related to indigenous education includes: Dignity, Sustainability, Generativity, Continuity, Sovereignty, Autonomy, Authority, and Self-Determination. These form a circle, a sacred whole, with culture as the nexus. This fundamental understanding of the unifying role of culture is built into many indigenous languages' way of naming themselves as a people. In the Andes this is expressed as earning the right to be called a *runa; it* is the same as becoming a person, an adult, a civilized being, a human thoroughly educated in the culture. A full adult has both the capacity and the will to engage in *ayni,* reciprocity, with others and to live out those shared commitments across the generations. It is culture that provides the substance for long-term resilience.

Second, we need one another to meet the challenge of moving from local to global and back. In order to scale up education reform in ways that are culturally appropriate and responsive we need the direct input and practical expertise of educators well-grounded in particular cultures with a stake in community development and long-term whole group welfare. We need to keep in mind that just as human rights are vested in both the person and the group, it is both an individual and a collective responsibility to make these a reality. A critical mass of organic intellectuals who come from indigenous communities who return or remain connected to their roots is essential to sustaining change. This is particularly

important in settings where nearly all of the fully certified teachers are transient outsiders who are not part of the Native community.

Serving the larger good will require rethinking how we mobilize culture as a resource. We need to continue to build on discourses that treat indigenous world-views and ways of knowing as part of the wealth of nations rather than as deficits or as failures of the mono-cultural state education system to convert and modernize archaic peoples. A strengths-based approach that takes epistemological diversity seriously challenges the very foundation of disciplines, including anthropology of education, and institutions, including the university. Engaged scholarship asks non-Native allies to think hard about what it means to be part of a web of support that has their back and does not strangle Native colleagues.

Proactive support is key. It is not enough to bring indigenous voices into the fray, for as the articles in this section poignantly illustrate, the echoes of colonial domination are booming and loud. They quickly drown out all but the loudest and most insistent demands to be heard. And even when part of the public realm, radical differences in epistemology, alternative ways of visualizing and depicting the world, and divergent standards for engaging in ethical research have positioned indigenous advocates on the margins. This liminal space may at times be a productive position from which to speak and do counterhegemonic, transgressive, even liberatory work. However, we also need to speak back to the centers of authority and share our scholarship with power brokers. This is where international collections provide the critical mass of collective wisdom necessary to inform cross-cultural praxis. Culturally thick accounts provide strategies for social justice.

Third, while education policies may be written at a national or even international level, real reform is radically local. The cultural context of a particular place and time matter tremendously because, in the end, cultural sensibilities are a deeply personal matter. They connect the individual to the community and to a greater sense of purpose. Likewise, indigenous education programs that successfully lay the foundation for an active sense of self are grounded in kinship and connected to the transnational, even the transcendent. Holistic, culturally vibrant programs provide the vital link between past, present, and future. A sense of tangible cultural heritage can be a source of strength that transcends time, place, and nation. It can make even the most interminable school lesson, continual refugee resettlements, and repeated civil wars survivable.

As Eagleton (2000, p. 131:131) notes, "Culture is not only what we live by. It is also, in great measure, what we live for. Affection, relationship, memory, kinship, place, community, emotional fulfillment, intellectual enjoyment, a sense of ultimate meaning: these are closer to most of us than charters of human rights or trade treaties." The very intimacy and immediacy of cultural aspects of education are what engender their potency. It is culture that provides the enduring sensibilities basic to empowerment.

I opened this framing essay with the exhortation to "walk in beauty." Paulo Freire and Miles Horton teach in their conversations at Highlander Research and Education Center, that "we make the road by walking" (Bell et al. 1990). The authors in this section tell powerful stories of culturally responsive educational

reforms, of the joint challenges and pleasures of making the road by walking. Their writing partnerships and long-term collaborations tell us much about the kinds of commitments necessary to work from within and with indigenous communities over time.

If, as the opening idiom, teaches, "you are who you walk with" we are indeed in good company on this long journey. One crisp fall day in May we joined the La Salle brothers in Ururbamba for their Tuesday evening radio program on current topics on education. This Radio La Salle *"Rumarinakusunchis"* ("We all are communicating") program was a regular feature highlighting indigenous education news, local education innovations, and regional educators who came in to talk about their philosophies and best practices. We came in as a team, fresh (or rather, still very dirty) from another intense day of constructing the adobe preschool building in the nearby satellite community of Rumichaka. Good thing it was radio, not television, we laughed. As a team comprised of the university service-learning crew, a local community leader, and a NGO representative, we conversed with the brothers across three languages about our respective goals. Knowing that our words were flying far and wide over the Andes, we shared candidly – yet purposefully optimistically – about the challenges of empowerment, community ownership, cultural continuity, and the promise of greater access to early childhood education in this Quechua-speaking village.

The brother hosting the conversation frankly acknowledged our ongoing obstacles, and shared a favorite saying about walking the tough mountain paths, "*Si no se encuentra nuevas piedras usted no avanzan*" or "If you are not encountering new stones, you are not making progress." After having spent the week moving rocks in incredibly stony mountain fields to clear a schoolyard, this saying rang indelibly true. We may have struggled, but our team was a committed mesh of South and North American workers. The way may be filled with stones. The path of real change is one of uneven terrain and plentiful, even sometimes formidable, obstacles. But it is a road that we make through communal labor with fellow travelers. And it is also one that our ancestors have traveled before, both metaphorically and tactically. Just like during that memorable late afternoon walk at Sacsayhuamán, their songs carry on the wind, accompanying us as the enduring cultural sensibilities that give us strength for the journey. Listen well and take heart.

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Chapter 14
History, Culture, and Indigenous Education in the Pacific Islands

Richard Scaglion

Abstract This chapter reviews the many competing trends and agendas that have shaped educational policy and planning in the Pacific Islands through time. It describes traditional indigenous education, which took place within a village context, instilling in young adults locally-appropriate knowledge including a nuanced understanding of their environment and the skills and knowledge to exploit it. But most Pacific Island peoples were subject to European colonialism for more than a hundred years, during which new educational models advanced European values and orientations at the expense of these indigenous understandings. Building on this historical baseline, the chapter examines two contrasting but ultimately parallel case studies of how educational development unfolded for the Abelam of Papua New Guinea and for Native Hawaiians, underscoring how many contemporary islanders attempt to blend together ancestral values, beliefs, and knowledge with Western and global orientations to achieve fulfilling lives in a changing world. The chapter demonstrates how cultural diversity and sociopolitical organization in the Pacific have shaped both traditional learning and the experience of introduced or imposed education, and argues for multiculturalism and a culturally-responsive pedagogy for the future.

Keywords Pacific Islands • Abelam • Native Hawaiians • Culturally-responsive pedagogy • Colonial education

The Pacific Ocean is huge. It contains more than half of the world's free water and comprises more of the earth's surface than all of the dry land gathered together. If you orient a globe just right, nearly everything you see is the Pacific. This vast expanse contains tens of thousands of islands—more than in all other oceans combined—but most are small and widely scattered and accommodate only about 0.03 % of the world's population. Thus the weary traveler, flying over

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the world's largest geographic feature, receives an impression of immense and monotonous emptiness. The exploration and settling of this entire region by Pacific Islanders, most of it undertaken over just a few millennia, was one of the greatest accomplishments of humanity. At a time when many Europeans still thought the earth was flat and avoided venturing into the open sea for fear of falling off the edge, ancient Polynesians were engaged in great voyages of discovery, settling in such far-flung places as *Aotearoa* (New Zealand), Hawai'i, and *Rapanui* (Easter Island) and adapting to new environments. Indigenous systems of knowledge, especially of seafaring, navigation, and local ecologies enabled this achievement, and traditional education perpetuated it.

Much of indigenous education in the Pacific—especially that required for basic subsistence and for the smooth operation of Island social systems—was community-based, informal, and available to all. Education was participatory: young people learned by doing as they moved about their homes, communities and environments during their daily activities. But highly-valued specialized knowledge, which often combined ritual and "practical" understandings, was possessed only by experts and kept secret from the general population. Only understudies to the masters who guarded this knowledge were initiated into its secrets. In most Pacific locations, European missionaries were the first to bring "introduced" education to the islands, and formal schooling became part of evangelizing activities. Accustomed to the importance and significance of esoteric knowledge, Islanders were usually eager participants in early educational opportunities, apprenticing themselves to these new experts. But later on, colonial governments entered into the educational enterprise, at times reluctantly, providing alternatives to missionary schools. Almost immediately, fundamental debates about the utility and purpose of education arose. What should be the language of instruction? How should "spiritual" or "moral" education be balanced with more "general" education? Should education have "practical" or "academic" aims? Should schools strive for a "vocational" outcome for a few, or more general literacy for all? And as Pacific polities later moved towards independence, and Islanders achieved greater influence in shaping their own educations, the place of "traditional culture" and "indigenous knowledge" in curricula became issues. Should learning be geared towards some sort of "standardization" within an interconnected world system, or be more localized, blending traditional and introduced forms of thought and learning? This chapter reviews the many competing trends and agendas that have shaped educational policy and planning in the Pacific Islands through time. I begin with some background on the Pacific Islands and Islanders, continue with an examination of traditional education in the region, assess the educational efforts of missionaries and colonial governments, review two case studies of how educational development unfolded in two different Pacific Island environments, and conclude with a consideration of contemporary education in a postcolonial, global world. The chapter shows how cultural diversity and sociopolitical organization in the Pacific have shaped both traditional learning and the experience of introduced or imposed education, and argues for multiculturalism and a culturally responsive pedagogy for the future.

Background

Ever since 1832, when French naval commander and naturalist Jules-Sébastian-César Dumont d'Urville proposed a division of the "Great Ocean," the labels "Melanesia," "Polynesia," and "Micronesia" have been applied to sections of the Pacific region (Fig. 14.1). Dumont d'Urville recognized considerable cultural, linguistic and phenotypic diversity of peoples throughout Oceania, and based his divisions on these characteristics. In the nearly two centuries since his time, we have learned that these divisions often obscure as much as they illuminate, but the labels persist as geographical and even sometimes cultural categories. However, Polynesia alone qualifies as a fairly homogeneous culture area. Micronesia, and especially Melanesia, display considerable cultural and biological diversity among indigenous peoples.

But a more useful way of thinking about populations in the Pacific Islands, based on prehistoric settlement patterns, is now emerging. It is generally agreed that there were two major migration "waves," or series of migrations, into the Pacific. The indigenous peoples of Australia and New Guinea are believed to have moved into the area between 50,000 and 35,000 years ago, probably from what is now Indonesia. In contrast, a much later (post 3000 B.C.) migration of seafaring people from Asia discovered and settled in the rest of the Pacific Islands, including all of Micronesia and Polynesia and much of island Melanesia.
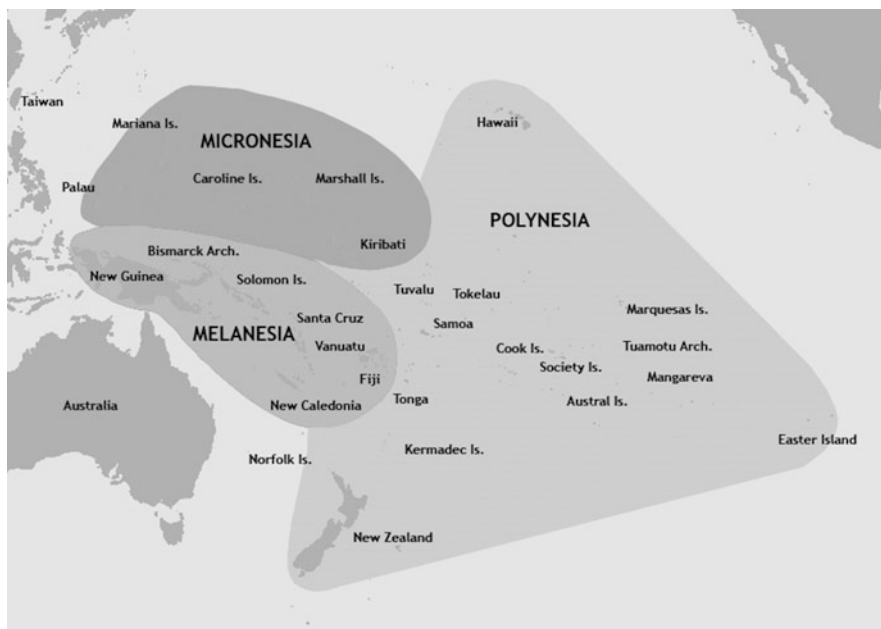
Fig. 14.1 Pacific regions (From Scaglion and Feinberg 2012, p. 2; adapted from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Pacific_Culture_Areas.jpg by Amanda Mullett)

The differences between descendants of these two waves of immigrants are significant today, and have impacts on education in the Pacific Islands. Due to over 35,000 years of isolation, migration and mixing, the earlier migrants developed a staggering multiplicity of languages and cultures that continues to challenge anthropologists and linguists just to describe them all. Papua New Guinea (PNG), which is only half of the island of New Guinea together with neighboring islands, today contains some 850 ethnolinguistic groups. Vanuatu, with a total population of less than 250,000 has more than 100 living languages. I explore the challenges of education in situations of such great linguistic and cultural diversity further along in this chapter. But in contrast to this, the more recent migrants, whose descendants today speak languages belonging to the Austronesian language family, display relatively less linguistic and cultural diversity due to their presumably common origins and rapid dispersal throughout the islands. Thus the indigenous Polynesian people of the Hawaiian Islands share a single language and culture remarkably similar to that of the Polynesian Māori people of New Zealand, despite the great distance that separates them. And, although Samoa and American Samoa are separate political entities, the Samoan people have a single common culture.

There are other differences between the two sets of migrants that impacted the introduction of education from the outside. The later-arriving Austronesians, who probably developed social complexity in Asia before undertaking their migration into the Pacific, tend to have hierarchically-organized social structures (Scaglion 1996). The descendants of the earlier migrations, on the other hand, almost uniformly lacked traditional social hierarchies, instead enjoying relatively egalitarian social organizations based on reciprocal relationships. In 1963, Marshall Sahlins published an influential article distinguishing between Polynesian chiefs and Melanesian big men as contrasting models of Pacific leadership. While the political types he described at that time have proven to be elusive to precisely define, and are not exhaustive of all types of Pacific leadership, they do nicely illustrate an important distinction between the social orders of these two groups of people.

The concept of "authority," something that Polynesian chiefs hold, is crucial to this difference. Authority is defined simply as power that is recognized as legitimate by society. People believe that chiefs have certain rights and privileges, and hierarchical societies give considerable "weight" to their decrees and to "rules" of behavior, thus privileging formalized laws and norms. But in the relatively egalitarian, decentralized tribal societies found in most of Melanesia, there are no formal political or legal authorities, and formal rules are much less important. In these societies, no one has the "right" to make decisions for others. Big men can persuade their followers to follow a particular course of action, but they cannot compel compliance. A chief has the authority to issue a proclamation that all the children in his polity will attend school, but in an acephalous society, only parents or children themselves can make such a decision.

Missionaries and colonial governments were quick to perceive the differences between these models of social organization, and had very different reactions to each. Since Europeans understood the rule-oriented model of authority that they shared with many Austronesian peoples, they often made efforts to co-opt,

complement, or build upon existing authority in their colonizing projects. In many parts of Polynesia and Micronesia, introduced ideas, including schooling, often worked through existing hierarchies. In Hawai'i, for example, newly-arrived Congregationalist missionary Hiram Bingham and his wife Sybil forged a friendship with Queen Ka'ahumanu, nursing her through a particularly severe illness in 1821, after which the queen gratefully established a law that prohibited work and travel on the Sabbath. Queen Ka'ahumanu later learned to read and write, after which she became a strong advocate for introduced education, and in 1841, Punahou, the first "American" high school west of the Rocky Mountains, was established. Clearly, Westerners were comfortable with societies in which someone was "in charge," and often worked with existing power structures to achieve their goals. However, in many parts of Melanesia, where societies lacked any forms of centralized authority recognizable to colonial governments, indigenous people were considered to be "primitive" or "undeveloped," and efforts were made to supersede indigenous systems of leadership with introduced models. Further along in this chapter I detail how these two basic orientations—the relative cultural homogeneity and the importance of rank and social hierarchies of the later migrants versus the great cultural and linguistic diversity and egalitarian ethos of the earlier group—have impacted educational policies through time.

Traditional Education

Many classic works in educational anthropology have described Pacific Island societies. Early studies such as those by Margaret Mead (1928) on Samoa and (1930) on Manus Island, John Whiting (1941) on the Kwoma, and Homer Barnett (1960) on Palau; followed by many others in the 1960s and 1970s; informed what George Spindler (1997) and others call "cultural transmission." As explained earlier, most traditional education was open to everyone in Pacific Island societies. Children had to be provided with basic skills and the knowledge to survive, and these they learned mostly by observing, emulating, and participating in family and community life. In a background review of education in the Pacific, R. Murray Thomas (1993, p. 234) shows how traditional education served to socialize young people into the roles and duties required of them, imparting to them an understanding of which roles they could choose and which were fixed. Knowledge was typically segregated by gender, and rites and rituals that initiated youth into adult status often had a more formal character. But balancing these relatively "open" systems of instruction were what Ron Crocombe (2013, p. 299) has called "closed" systems. In many cultures, specialized knowledge belonged to particular professions, or was available only to people of specific seniority or rank. In particular, the magical techniques that were used to help enlist the aid of gods or ancestral spirits were carefully guarded and passed along to a relatively few individuals. Such spells were often part of the specialized knowledge possessed by experts in particular fields: in addition to religious specialists, many societies also had experts in

medicine, navigation, weather control, and fishing (mostly male activities) as well as midwifery, herbalism, and clothmaking (traditionally female pursuits). Samoans, for instance, recognized *tufuga* (specialists) who had exceptional skills and ritual knowledge in tattooing, boat construction, house building, and surgery (Holmes and Holmes 1992, p. 49) as well as the *tautai* or master fishermen (Holmes and Holmes 1992, pp. 54–55).

At first, the specialized knowledge offered by missionaries to indigenous peoples fit in well with the "closed systems of knowledge" model found in many Pacific cultures. Clearly, these newcomers had impressive new expertise, and, if they were willing to share it, it was natural that some Islanders would seek to acquire it. For their part, missionaries were willing to train acolytes to spread the gospel to other islands. As introduced education stretched more widely, it became more "open" in nature, designed to impart as much knowledge to as many students as possible. This model was in direct competition with indigenous systems of education, however. Students were segregated in schools and removed from observing and participating in the everyday village activities that were formerly part of their educations, and the acquisition of specialized traditional knowledge, demanding years of supervised instruction, became rare. Instead, a standardized European (and later, "global") curriculum was promoted over indigenous understandings, and much of the specialized information safeguarded by Pacific Island experts was lost within a few generations. But the recent resurgence of Polynesian long distance voyaging using traditional navigational techniques, current attempts to understand "TEK" or traditional ecological knowledge, and contemporary studies of local medicinal plants and their usages are all examples of new trends to recapture some of what was lost and preserve what remains.

In order to provide a background for the case studies that follow, I proceed to an examination of traditional educational in two Pacific societies: the Abelam of Papua New Guinea, gardeners whose ancestors were one of the earlier migration groups to enter the Pacific Islands, and the Samoans, whose seafaring progenitors arrived later. The traditional education of Abelam youths was not unlike that of many other decentralized societies of Melanesia. For the first few years, a child was mostly in the care of female relatives—older sisters, aunts and grandmothers, in addition to the mother. As in the case of small children in most cultures, gradual instruction in basic behaviors designed to keep them safe and adjusted to the behavioral norms of the group was practiced. But in later childhood, children were expected to contribute productively to the welfare of the family. From the time a little girl could carry a younger sibling on her hip, she was usually responsible for a large part of the aforementioned socialization of small children: keeping her charge from engaging in dangerous or disruptive behavior, and encouraging appropriate conduct. She also assisted with the fundamental tasks of gardening, cooking, and attending to the household. Young boys enjoyed somewhat greater freedom of movement, learning the basics of hunting, setting snares for wild game, and orientation in the bush from other boys, and by participating in general village activities, thereby gaining familiarity with tasks such as gardening, house building, etc.

Both women and men received more formal instruction during rich and elaborate coming-of-age rituals during which they were introduced to the *mayéra* or sacred secrets of their gender. Female initiation occurred individually, at first menarche, through rites believed to imbue female virtues. This was a time of great joy for the young woman—called *naramtaakwa* or "decorated woman"— and her family. She was secluded for a time in a specially constructed menstrual house (*kalmbanga*), while food for an initiation feast was collected together. The young woman was decorated with finery, publicly "presented," and instructed to observe a series of taboos. Some of these, such as not eating with her hands, required her to depend on female relatives. The secret part of her instruction took place in the menstrual house, where, during the period of her seclusion, she was tutored by adult female relatives, learning adult taboos and behaviors, and gaining gendered knowledge, especially related to birthing. Abelam recognized that the two fundamental activities necessary for a group to survive and flourish were procreation (the realm of women) and control of the supernatural (the realm of men). Each gender transmitted their secrets while isolated from the other.

Traditional Abelam supernatural beliefs involved a somewhat vague and uncertain collection of mystical objects, plants, animals, spirit beings, and, especially, ancestral spirits (*ngwaalndu*). Several classes of these supernatural beings were thought to be capable of influencing human affairs, and a considerable part of Abelam spiritual instruction was designed to teach male initiates how to effectively seek their aid by giving gifts, performing magic, and avoiding actions that would anger them. Boys and young men were introduced to these spirit-beings in age-grade cohorts in a series of successive, fairly well-defined and formalized initiation ceremonies that unfolded over the course of many years.

Details of the initiation stages vary from place to place, but in Neligum village, site of my own fieldwork, there were four basic grades. The first two took place outside of the *kurambu* or spirit house, and were designed to introduce boys to the lower spirits. Importantly, they also served the function of isolating young boys from their female caretakers and teaching them male activities. The later stages continued their instruction as young men, and introduced them to the awe-inspiring ancestral spirits represented by statues, paintings, and sounds. Initiates were shown or given various musical instruments including bullroarers, soundboards, flutes, ocarinas, resonators, and trumpets whose sounds embodied spirit voices. In the last two stages of initiation, special rooms in the *kurambu* were arranged with scenes containing painted wooden carvings and other figures symbolizing the spirits, which were revealed to the initiates.

As with young females, male initiates were secluded during these rituals, and received instruction from their same-sex elders in gender-appropriate behavior and knowledge. As they learned more, they enjoyed special privileges, including the right to carry string bags with designs signifying their initiation stage. Once fully initiated, Abelam men possessed rich comprehension and power to influence the *ngwaalndu* and other supernatural beings. Traditional Abelam initiation was a crucial part of understanding and coping with the natural and supernatural worlds,

imparting to initiates a rich knowledge of local ecology, gardening techniques, and other skills and understandings critical for survival.

In sharp contrast to Abelam society, in which all social positions were achieved, traditional Samoans lived in a hierarchically-ordered world in which social rank was ascribed at birth. Much of the ancient system of Samoan social organization remains intact today, although I employ the past tense in describing traditional practices. While Abelam had no formal political offices, only "big men," or influential leaders who persuaded others through their oratory, experience, and accomplishments, Samoans had an authority structure presided over by *matai* or chiefs who held certain titles. There were two sets of these: the *ali'i*, who embodied the dignity of the descent group or *aiga*, and the *tulafale*, orators who spoke for the *ali'i* at certain public events. A council of *matai* called the *fono* exercised political control of the community, with the *'aumaga* or untitled men's organization acting as executive body. Titles were ranked, and *tamaiga*—those holding very high titles—enjoyed special authority.

Like the Abelam, Samoans were gardeners, raising taro, yams, bananas, bread-fruit, and coconuts, but they also supplemented their garden foods with products from the sea. As in other Pacific Island societies, there was division of labor by sex. Men did heavy labor in the gardens including clearing and planting, while women weeded and assisted with harvesting. Men fished beyond the reef, while women foraged in the lagoon or on the reef for small sea creatures, and also collected wild plants. Women looked after the household, cared for children, made bark cloth, wove fine mats, and plaited utilitarian objects. Men built houses and canoes.

Thanks to Margaret Mead's widely-distributed study*, Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928) (especially Chap. 2: "The Education of the Samoan Child"), the outlines of the socialization and education of children in traditional Samoa are well-known. Early education resembled that described for the Abelam, with older siblings, mostly female, responsible for educating their juniors, and older children learning gender-appropriate skills by watching and doing. But there were differences, owing to the hierarchical order of Samoan sociality. Thomas Bargatzky (1991, p. 288) summarizes this as follows:

> Starting at about $1\frac{1}{2}$ years of age, children become subject to an education Europeans would label as "authoritarian." They are expected to obey their parents and elders at once, without hesitation and without asking questions. Overt and direct expressions of hostility and aggression are discouraged, but *musu*, the state of sullen unwillingness to comply with orders, is a culturally tolerated outlet. Much of the actual education work takes place in the peer groups where older brothers and especially sisters are made responsible for the behavior of their younger siblings.

Complementing this "open" system of education that applied to all youths was more specialized instruction. The expert knowledge of traditional Samoa was safeguarded by those with special abilities. Carpenters, boat builders, and tattoo artists were organized into guilds that passed along their expert knowledge to apprentices who spent years acquiring expertise. These skills consisted of what Westerners would describe as both "practical" and "spiritual" understandings, although ancient Samoans did not see these as separate. For instance, disease

was thought to be caused by the displeasure of some ancestral spirit or *aitu*, and intervention with the offended spirit necessary for recovery. A master healer or *taulaitu* ("anchor of the *aitu*") would intercede with the spirit, but would also administer various herbal remedies and/or perform massage therapy (Bargatzky 1991, p. 289).

Mission and Colonial Education

Mission activity in the Pacific Islands began in earnest in 1668, when Spanish Jesuits from the Philippines arrived in the Northern Marianas and Guam in the western Pacific. But education was not their priority. It would be over a hundred years later, in 1771, when the Spanish governor established the first schools there (Crocombe 2013, p. 299). In contrast, the Protestant missionaries who began operations in the eastern Pacific wanted indigenous people to be able to read the Bible in their own languages, so literacy was promoted from the outset. The oldest Protestant organization was the London Missionary Society (LMS), which acquired a vessel, the *Duff,* and landed a large party of mostly lay missionaries in Tahiti in 1797, with smaller parties in the Marquesas and Tonga. According to Tom Hiney (2000, p. 14), the rather vague instructions given to these missionaries were "… to make as friendly contact with the islanders as possible, build a mission house for sleeping and worship, learn the language of the island and, until able to preach in the native tongue, offer examples of 'good and co-operative living'." These early missionaries took an approach that was to be repeated many times over. After learning the language and becoming familiar with local political alignments, missionaries formed alliances with local chiefs who were struggling for control. In Tahiti, the conversion of chief Pomare led to the formation of a Christian kingdom following his victory at the battle of Feipi in 1815. Other chiefly confederations became Christian kingdoms on Ra'iatea, Huahine, and Bora Bora. As church membership increased, approved converts were sent out to new locations as "native teachers" (Gunson 2000, pp. 178–179). John Williams of the LMS began the "native agency" in 1821, sending Pacific Island converts out to settle in non-Christian areas. John Barker (1999, p. 240) summarizes how "Over the succeeding decades of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Tongans preached the gospel to Fijians, Samoans found converts in Tuvalu, and Hawaiians spread American Congregationalism across central Micronesia. In a massive effort, hundreds of Polynesian and eastern Melanesian missionaries introduced Christianity in the small coastal communities of Papua New Guinea under the banners of a half dozen denominations" (Garrett 1982, 1992). As each new mission base was strengthened, a new wave of converts moved out to the next island or valley. Thus the conversion of Pacific Islanders was accomplished not so much by European missionaries directly, as through the mediation of other Islanders interpreting the word.

This phase of evangelization followed the "closed" system of education, with emphasis placed on training the next wave of pastors, and some of the earliest

schools established in the Pacific Islands were theological colleges. The first of these, the Takamoa Institute was established in the Cook Islands in 1839 by the LMS. Soon after, Congregationalists founded Malua in Samoa, which became one of the largest institutions of higher learning in the Pacific Islands. Both colleges still operate. Due to the efforts of indigenous converts, Christianity spread widely and rapidly in the Pacific Islands in comparison with other mission fields. In many locations, the arrival of missionaries coincided with other dramatic changes including the ravages of new diseases, widespread warfare and depopulation, weakening beliefs in traditional gods and demonstrating the supremacy of the new religion and the chiefs aligned with it. And in some cases, as A. R. Tippett (1967) describes, missionaries staged "power encounters" between the old gods and the new. Sacred shrines were desecrated, monuments to the gods were toppled, and, in some of the societies in Melanesia, men's cult houses were violated and sacred objects revealed to uninitiated boys and women. But even as old religious beliefs were abandoned, Pacific Islanders remade Christianity in their own form. Samoans and Tongans transformed the relatively egalitarian Congregationalist and Methodist missions into hierarchical organizations with the pastor assuming the authority and importance of the priests of old. And in parts of egalitarian Melanesia, a syncretic Christianity arose in which the old spiritual entities lived on as "devils."

Once widespread conversion to Christianity was accomplished, a more "open" model of education that combined sacred and secular instruction followed. Basic literacy was promoted so that converts could read the Bible in their own languages. But most of the curriculum in mission schools was imported directly from Europe or the United States. Students studied Christian doctrine, the "three Rs" of reading, writing and arithmetic together with some geography and world history. Girls often learned to sew and boys were taught Western carpentry techniques. Removed from village life, students would spend hours in new schoolhouses learning the alphabet, listening to lectures, reading the Bible, and reciting scriptures and practicing arithmetic.

Missionaries were among the first foreigners to settle in most Pacific Island locations, and as European powers vied for influence in the islands, missions had a hand in who prevailed. Thus French Catholics were instrumental in helping the French to gain control in the Society Islands, the Marquesas and New Caledonia, the LMS promoted British hegemony in such places as the Cook Islands and Tonga, and Congregationalists from the United States supported American interests in Hawai'i. Before the Spanish-American War, Spain had influence in the Western Pacific, and before WWI, Germany also had key holdings. Japan colonized most of Micronesia after WWI, but following the Second World War, the main colonial powers in the Pacific have been France, the UK, the former British colonies of Australia and New Zealand, and the United States. After WWII, self-determination movements gained momentum, with many Pacific nations achieving independence in the 1960s–1980s.

In the early days of colonialism, as European countries sought to consolidate their influence in various Pacific locales, colonial governments concentrated on problems of control and commerce, and education was mostly left to the missions. But later, as government influence strengthened, church schools were gradually supplemented

by secular schools. Since the aims of colonial governments differed from that of the missionaries, educational models and objectives varied. One of the most obvious changes was that colonial governments promoted their own languages as media of instruction in their schools. For example, as David Ramarui (1976) shows, during the period of Japanese control in Micronesia (1914–1945) there were two sets of schools, one for the children of the colonists, and one for the indigenous children. In both, instruction was in Japanese and taught by Japanese, with Micronesian assistants, and for the most part, a Japanese curriculum was followed in both. Likewise, other colonial governments followed the curricula that prevailed in the state-operated schools of their mother countries, in many cases employing the very same textbooks used there. And of course, much less stress—if any at all—was placed on religious instruction. But it proved difficult to teach solely in the colonial language, particularly in the lower grades, and a "split system" developed, with education being delivered in the local vernacular in the primary grades and later shifting to the colonists' language in the upper-elementary or secondary grades. Since missionaries had by now accomplished their goal of conversion, they were committed to a more universal model of education. But oddly enough, since colonial governments had to train a new generation of specialists to staff mid-level positions, the secular school often promoted the system of "closed" education at higher levels, which was no longer a priority for the church schools.

Despite the differences between the church and government systems outlined above, from the Pacific Islanders' point of view, both sets of introduced education were broadly similar. Perhaps most obvious were the personnel hierarchies. Top administrative, supervisory and instructional positions were held by foreigners, with Islanders relegated to lesser positions as teachers and teaching assistants, especially for lower grades and in outlying locations. Both types of schools taught essentially the same foreign information and cultural orientation at the expense of traditional understandings, and both lacked the strong "participatory" aspect of traditional learning. Students were secluded in age-sets, away from the rest of society, and passively received their instruction, as is typical of Western educational systems. This long history of colonial and neocolonial education in the Pacific Islands continues to influence the educational policies of today.

I proceed to two case studies to illustrate these historical developments and their impacts on contemporary and future education in the Pacific Islands. The first considers the challenges of education in Papua New Guinea, a country of great cultural and linguistic diversity in which centralized educational policies have proven to be elusive. PNG shares many of these problems with other countries of Melanesia, whose ancestors diversified into many autonomous groups with widely varying cultural orientations. The second concentrates on the education of Native Hawaiians, where centralization of social organization and educational policies ultimately resulted in the subordination of Hawaiian language, culture, and indigenous understandings to a dominant European way of life. While this pattern has been particularly severe in Hawai'i, it is a story repeated many times over in other parts of Polynesian and Micronesia.

Education in Papua New Guinea

Due in part to its cultural diversity, Papua New Guinea has been one of the last countries in the world to institute a uniform national education system (Weeks 1993, p. 261). It is also a very large country by Pacific Island standards: it has been called the "giant" of the South Pacific, owing to what Mark Bray (1993, p. 346) notes is ". . . a population greater than that of all of the other Island countries put together." It has ample land with abundant natural resources, but is inhabited by mostly rural and somewhat isolated populations. Expenditures on education must compete with the needs of an emerging economy, together with many other government priorities, and sadly, the proportion of the national budget devoted to education has been in general decline since independence in 1975. In many ways, PNG has lagged behind most of its Pacific neighbors. A 1994 UNDP report revealed that PNG citizens had a life expectancy at birth of just 49.6 (compared with life expectancies in the 60s elsewhere in the Islands). The adult literacy rate was just 52 % (compared with 98 % in Samoa, 91 % in the Marshall Islands, and 87 % in Fiji) with mean years of schooling only 2.1 years (compared with 9.1 in Samoa, 8.5 in the Marshall Islands, and 6.8 in Fiji) (Mather 1999, p. 298). The soaring costs of higher education produce a high dropout rate in secondary and tertiary levels despite shortages in skilled positions and continued reliance on expatriate expertise.

PNG's rough topography dotted with widely scattered populations has produced a patchwork of educational development throughout its history. In the early part of the twentieth century, several mission denominations operated in the country, mostly respecting one another's "territories" and establishing central bases independent of one another with school systems and curricula likewise distinct. The Australian administrations of the Territory of New Guinea in the north and Papua in the south were content to leave education to the missionaries, and educational development was very uneven, with coastal areas receiving much more attention than interior locations, many of which were barely explored at the time.

After WWII the territories merged, and the combined administration entered the educational arena with the establishment of a Department of Education in 1946. The great diversity of people, cultures and languages was a problem, and the Director of Education, W. C. Groves, realized that educational policies and practices that worked well in one cultural context might not transfer to another. He believed that teachers should be educators involved in all facets of community life, not just instructors in schools. Favoring a multicultural approach, he encouraged teachers to develop curricula appropriate for local needs. But most Australian teachers posted to the new territory were unfamiliar with local conditions and cultures, and proved unequal to the task. G. T. Roscoe, appointed Director in 1958, attempted to develop a more uniform system by leaning heavily on the Queensland (Australia) curriculum with which he was familiar, according to K. R. McKinnon (1972, p. 346). But during the run-up to independence in 1975, a standardized curriculum proved equally difficult to implement, and both government educators and indigenous activists soon sought curricula more appropriate to the circumstances of the country and

Table 14.1 Schools and enrollments in PNG, 1970

Controlling authority	Primary		Secondary		Teachers' colleges	
	Schools	Enrollment	Schools	Enrollment	Schools	Enrollment
Administration	501	82,233	29	10,771	3	666
Anglican	62	7,522	2	559	0	0
Catholic	526	75,424	21	4,884	5	551
Evangelical Alliance	98	9,722	1	286	1	68
Lutheran	150	17,319	4	1,014	1	229
Seventh Day Adventist	107	7,137	2	615	1	71
United Church	165	14,868	3	584	1	121
Other	11	1,033	0	0	0	0

Source: Anon (1972, p. 355)

the cultural diversity of the population. During this phase, locally-produced syllabi, often fashioned by area committees, helped elementary education to become more community-based, but the uneven delivery of education in PNG continued. In 1970, shortly before independence, church schools were still educating more children than were government schools (Table 14.1), and there were relatively few other educational options, mainly a small number of government-run vocational (a total of 61 schools enrolling 3,140) and technical (9 enrolling 1,575) schools (Anon 1972, p. 355).

Language policy has proven to be a particularly vexing problem for educational development in PNG. During the colonial era, the difficulties of communication in an environment of great linguistic diversity resulted in the emergence of two creole languages that facilitated communication between Europeans and indigenous peoples as well as among different language groups. These were Tok Pisin in the north and Hiri Motu in the south. Together with English, they make up the three official languages of PNG today. It seems reasonable to imagine that these creole languages would be naturals for instruction, especially Tok Pisin, which has always been and continues to be more widely spoken than English. But employing these languages worked against both missionary and government objectives. Missions wanted to deliver the word in the local vernaculars to more directly reach minds and souls, and the government viewed "pidgin" as a weak alternative to English, which they saw as a more "practical" and universal language. Although there was no official policy prohibiting the use of vernacular or creole languages in government-operated primary schools, and teachers were often forced to communicate in them at first, English was vigorously promoted from the first day of school, and used exclusively at higher levels (McKinnon 1972, p. 347).

The colonial legacy remains strong in Papua New Guinea today. Many Papua New Guinean educators were trained with Western syllabi, and PNG is still heavily reliant on outside consultants who promote Western models of education. But working against these trends toward centralization and universal curricula are many factors. People in PNG have never seen themselves as members of large collectivities. Centralized structures of governance have always been at variance

with egalitarian cultural patterns, and PNG has experienced increasing political demands for government decentralization. In education, grassroots alternatives like the *Viles Tok Ples Skul*, a movement that aims to bring appropriate education to rural locations, have gained traction. "Barefoot instructors" move among villages to teach basic literacy and skills in local vernaculars, but also provide instruction in local customs, values and behavior (see Mather 1999, p. 299), thus combining introduced and indigenous systems of learning and cultural orientation. Since independence, slow economic growth, rising violence especially in urban areas, and a high rate of unemployment have presented many challenges for PNG. Dwindling educational resources have been diverted from higher education to primary education in an effort to promote more universal literacy, but educational attainment remains low, regional variation in educational equity remains, and school leavers find economic opportunities limited. And with decreasing economic support at the tertiary level, the University of Papua New Guinea, the University of Technology at Lae, and other institutions of higher education in PNG continue to struggle.

Native Hawaiian Education

Papua New Guinea faces problems of linguistic and cultural diversity that make educational delivery challenging, and work against a uniform and standardized educational policy. In contrast, the indigenous people of Hawai'i shared a single language and culture. But today they face a different kind of diversity: they have become a minority population in their own homeland. The contemporary Pacific has a number of "settler colonies"—Australia, New Zealand, Guam and Hawai'i come immediately to mind—in which non-native settlers now outnumber indigenous people. And Native Hawaiians have not fared well in this environment. The idyllic picture of a proud and vibrant people promoted by Mark Twain and Robert Louis Stevenson belies a pattern of poverty, underachievement, poor health, and low self-image today. Employment figures confirm that Native Hawaiians are underrepresented in white collar jobs and overrepresented in service and low-status occupations. Health statistics indicate lower life expectancy due to diabetes, heart disease, and cancer. Native Hawaiians rank well below other ethnic groups on State of Hawaii standardized achievement tests and are overrepresented in vocational and special education programs, resulting in disproportionate numbers of blue collar jobs and higher poverty levels, and some 30 % of Native Hawaiian adults are estimated to be functionally illiterate (Kamehameha Schools/Bishop Estate 1993). How did this come to be? In *Cultural and Educational Policy in Hawai'i: The Silencing of Native Voices*, Maenette Benham and Ronald Heck explain how, telling a moving and complex story from the point of view of indigenous Hawaiians. The following review draws heavily on their work.

The indigenous society that Captain James Cook first encountered in Hawai'i in 1778 impressed him greatly. He marveled at how their canoes could sail rings around

his own ships. The story of how this island civilization developed in virtual isolation from the rest of the world is beyond the scope of this chapter, but Polynesian explorers discovered verdant islands with abundant natural resources, overcame the challenges of their new environment, and constructed a unique, self-contained nation over the course of some eight centuries. In broad outline, Hawaiian social organization resembled that which we have sketched for traditional Samoa, but was even more hierarchical. There was a caste system separating chiefs (*ali'i*) and commoners (*maka'ainana*), and powerful chiefs held authority over great valley systems. With the aid of Western settlers, King Kamehameha I united all the Islands and established the Kingdom of Hawai'i in 1810. And as in Samoa, specialized, secret knowledge was guarded by priests and occupational specialists.

We have already sketched out how missionaries and other Westerners co-opted the Hawaiian royalty for their colonial project. Settlers ingratiated themselves with the nobility, in many cases marrying into royal families and gaining land in the bargain, and before long, Westerners had established themselves as part of the elite of Hawai'i. As Benham and Heck (1998, p. 46) put it, "They came to do good, and did very well!" From the outset, Western education was promoted by this new elite. Toward the end of the 1820s, the missionaries were able to convince most *ali'i* to mandate schooling for all children, and by 1832 there were about 900 schools and about 50,000 learners (Benham and Heck 1998, p. 58) and an impressive literacy rate. But the system of education that was established perpetuated the caste system and served to strengthen foreign power and values. Two types of schools were established: common schools for common people, and select schools for Whites and the children of the elite. The commoner children were taught in Hawaiian, but the elite children learned English, and were thus in a better position to attain high status positions and to support the growing economic interests of the settlers. Select schools trained the next generation of teachers and policy makers. Lahinaluna Seminary, established in 1831, graduated many of the legislative leaders of the late 1800s whose actions led to the Americanization of the Hawaiian people and ultimately to the forceful overthrow of the monarchy in 1893 and annexation by the United States in 1898. And the colonial legacy of a two-part school system lives on today in the form of Hawaii's separate private and public school systems.

Both types of schools devalued Hawaiian culture and Hawaiian ways of knowing and eventually resulted in the disenfranchisement and subordination of Native Hawaiians. Although the common schools were conducted in the Hawaiian language, both types of schools promoted European values that stressed individuality over commonality, property and the accumulation of goods over other measures of success, and a work ethic that promoted such results. Benham and Heck (1998, p. 33) review some of the contrasts between European and Hawaiian orientations. For Hawaiians, thinking comes from the "gut," and the heart and mind are united such that feelings and emotions are not separate from "knowing," whereas for Europeans, cognitive and affective domains are separate. For Hawaiians, boundaries (as between spirituality and knowledge) are fluid and ambiguity is tolerated, but European domains are more concrete and compartmentalized. For Hawaiians,

people are part of broader reciprocal social relationships, but Europeans focus more on discrete individuals. And like Samoans, Native Hawaiians respect authority and do not directly challenge teachers (*kumu*). Unlike Native Hawaiians, many of Hawaii's ethnic minorities, including Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, Portuguese, and others, chose to immigrate to Hawaii, albeit at times under push factors in their home places. But according to John Ogbu (1992), involuntary ethnic minorities like Native Hawaiians have special difficulty with school learning and performance because of cultural factors. Succeeding in school means emulating the language and culture of the oppressors and suppressing their own culture and values, and their peers sometimes see them as traitors for acting like *haoles* (foreigners). The overt expression of behaviors that deviate from standard European practice—like speaking pidgin in school—are discouraged and ultimately lead to failure.

Owing to the hierarchical orientation of both Native Hawaiians and Europeans, education in Hawaii has been and continues to be a top-down operation with relatively little local voice. Benham and Heck's policy analysis shows how the head of government and inner circle advisors (e.g., minister of education) have controlled school governance, policy, and even to some extent curriculum, even today, in the form of a governor and one-party state legislature. Such a uniform approach, as we have seen, has worked against Native Hawaiians. But there have been recent moves to reintroduce Hawaiian language and culture into local schools. The Constitution of 1978 established Hawaiian as an official language of the State and thereafter a Hawaiian Studies Program was established, making use of local elders (*kupuna*) as speakers and part-time teachers in local schools. Since 1987, a Hawaiian language immersion program has been in existence, combining indigenous and introduced understandings and ways of learning. These sorts of approaches are those favored by Benham and Heck (1998, pp. 231–232):

> We argue for a clear and substantive articulation of a multicultural perspective. Perhaps the greatest danger of educational policy and curriculum change, especially when it entails a change in the expressed belief system, is that the curriculum becomes heavily in favor of one culture while opposing all other cultural traditions. The analysis of each of the preceding case histories identifies this as a typical result of educational policy and curriculum programs in Hawai'i over time. A solution to this dilemma is to support ongoing educational efforts that are multicultural in focus for children, adults, and families—providing opportunity for the transference of ethnic traditions. Thus, in becoming pro-Hawaiian, a person does not become anti-every other ethnic group.

Taken together, these two case studies—of Papua New Guinea and Native Hawaiians—underscore the importance of culture in shaping educational histories. The cultural diversity and egalitarian ethos of PNG constantly worked against possibilities for a uniform educational policy and has encouraged multicultural solutions to educational problems from the earliest days of introduced education. In contrast, Hawai'i's cultural homogeneity and hierarchical organization allowed for a centralized educational policy but worked again the interests of Native Hawaiians, making them a minority in their own land. But the cultural heterogeneity of Hawaii today again argues for multiculturalism and a culturally responsive pedagogy.

Conclusions

Most Pacific Island peoples were subject to European colonialism for more than a hundred years, throughout which teachers advanced European values and orientations at the expense of indigenous understandings. So it is not surprising that in the contemporary Pacific, Islanders are now promoting traditional culture, language, and indigenous knowledge as correctives to restore some balance in their lives. They are attempting to blend together their ancestral values, beliefs, and knowledge with Western and global orientations to achieve fulfilling lives in a changing world. In this complex learning environment, the most basic questions must be addressed, such as, Education for whom? And for what?

The discussion of traditional education that opened this chapter illustrated how, for people like the Abelam, customary learning took place within a village context, instilling in young adults a nuanced understanding of their environment and the skills and knowledge to exploit it appropriately. Ceremonies and rituals served to educate children to their social and natural surroundings, and outfitted them with locally appropriate knowledge. Life skills were acquired gradually by watching and doing. With limited employment opportunities today, many Pacific Islanders still live off the land, depending on a subsistence-based economy. Many Abelam school leavers have little opportunity for cash income and ultimately return to their home villages. But they are ill-equipped to live traditional lives, since much of their Western-oriented knowledge is of little use back home. But neither have they been adequately prepared to participate fully in a cash-based economy. Those who drift to regional centers in search of low-paying jobs do not have the benefits of land and gardens, and are forced to live in inadequate housing and subsist on relatively inexpensive but unhealthy introduced foods. Wellbeing suffers, and many are disenchanted with their lives. Educational policies that encourage universal literacy but limit possibilities for higher education and downplay traditional skills have not served them well.

Pacific Islanders living in more developed circumstances seem no better off. In many places, there is universal education to a modest level, but opportunities for higher education are often limited, and, as illustrated by the case of Native Hawaiians, many are relegated to low status service employment or blue collar work. Many other Islanders move abroad in search of jobs, often to the home countries of their former (or current) colonial administrations, where opportunities are likewise limited. And because of the previously-described cultural focus on family and the collective welfare of the group, most are obligated to send a considerable proportion of their income back home, creating the remittance economies that prop up many Pacific Island nations (see, e.g., Cathy Small 2011).

It seems surprising that Papua New Guinea, which has had one of the most decentralized systems of education in the world owing to its cultural diversity, and Hawaii, which has had one of the most centralized systems owing to its history and cultural traditions, have both turned increasingly to multicultural solutions to their educational problems. Too much instruction in introduced values and knowledge

ill-equips Pacific Islanders to live fulfilling local lives, but too little fails to provide the wherewithal for full participation in a global world. The challenge seems to be in finding the right balance between introduced and traditional education at the local level.

The examples in this chapter have demonstrated the importance of cultural factors in shaping educational histories, and give hints about what will work in the future. The linguistic and cultural diversity of Papua New Guinea and the lack of traditional hierarchies required a decentralized approach to education from the very beginning. But the teachers imported from Australia were unprepared to implement culturally appropriate and locally suitable models of instruction. The future of education in the Pacific Islands seems linked with educational policies that clearly advocate a multicultural approach. However, equally essential for success are teachers who understand indigenous cultures and are willing to partner creatively with local people to serve the needs of local communities. This approach has been variously called culturally sensitive pedagogy or culturally responsive teaching (see e.g., Geneva Gay 2010). With the benefit of such instruction, Pacific Islanders can obtain the blend of traditional and introduced knowledge that will serve them best in a changing world.

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Chapter 15
Reclaiming Indigenous Cultures in Sub-Saharan African Education

Edward Shizha

Abstract The cultures in indigenous Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) are heterogeneous. Although there is not a common culture shared by all Africans, particularistic cultures exist in areas where common cultural and/or linguistic characteristics exist. However, African education systems are similar in that they can generally be categorized and conceptualized as circular, organic, or collectivist. In this chapter, a discussion of African cultures focuses on the application of indigenous education methods, which are generally universal to SSA societies. This chapter contends that culture plays an important role in students' educational achievements, and asserts that despite the advent of decolonization in the 1960s, SSA education systems mirror colonial hegemonic paradigms that are disruptive to African cultural practices. These paradigms were inherited from former colonial education, which undermined indigenous knowledge systems, resulting in dissonances and disjuncture between the cultural and social-specific contexts of cultural education and the pedagogical practices taking place in schools. This chapter offers a decolonizing cultural critique and argument for reclamation of African indigenous knowledge systems in SSA education, and concludes that indigenous knowledge systems are tools that help students to conceptualize knowledge and to enhance academic performance and achievement.

Keywords Colonial education • Culture • Indigenous knowledge • Participatory learning • Sub-Saharan Africa

Introduction

Despite the advent of decolonization that started in the 1960s, Sub-Saharan African (SSA) education systems mirror colonial education paradigms that were inherited from former colonial governments. SSA countries are those which are located south of the Sahara Desert and were victims of colonization by European "powers," which imposed their concept of education and knowledge on their African victims.

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Colonial education was hegemonic and disruptive to African cultural practices, indigenous knowledge systems and ways of knowing. Prior to independence, the majority of Africans was socialized and educated within indigenous cultural contexts. With the advent of colonization, traditional institutions of knowledge started disappearing from educational settings due to cultural repression, misrepresentations, misinterpretations and devaluations. Indigenous cultures affect African students' educational progress and sense of personhood (Ngara 2012). The process of learning relies fundamentally on the learners' abilities to identify with their culture for identity formation and social referencing. Thus learning is an interaction process that requires the strategies for reproducing culture. Inappropriately selected culture leads to academic failure among students, while culture that is appropriately selected represents a vital component of the formal school curriculum. African educational planners should be sensitive in selecting educational knowledge that is relevant, meaningful and appropriate to their citizens.

Students in SSA schools experience challenges in learning because of the dissonance between the school curriculum and the cultural experiences they bring from home and their communities into the classroom. African school curriculum falls short of adequately reflecting African cultures. What the schools teach, and how teachers disseminate and transmit knowledge does not reflect the symbolic conventions and representations of the students' cultural experiences. These symbolic conventions or representations include knowledge constructs, and the mode of transmission in a familiar language of instruction. Schools isolate students from the collaborative and participatory learning that are the foundations of African indigenous cultures and indigenous education. From a critical postcolonial/decolonial approach, cultural and social-specific contexts are vital in defining the nature of education and its role in social development in SSA. While SSA has different cultures and cultural practices, the countries within the region share many similar experiences of colonization and they also live under the legacy of colonialism. Their cultures and knowledges were colonized and disrupted by European hegemonic epistemologies. Therefore in SSA, there is a disjuncture and dissonance between the cultural and social-specific contexts of education and the actual practices and activities that take place in schools. In this chapter, I seek to advance a post-colonial cultural critique (Smith 1999) and decolonial cultural discourse that argues for the reclamation of African indigenous cultures and languages in SSA schools. The chapter argues that indigenous cultures and languages are tools that help students to conceptualize knowledge and enhance academic performance and achievement.

Indigenous Cultures in Africa

SSA is a large geographical region that has many diverse indigenous cultures. In this chapter, the term "indigenous Africans" is used to refer to "'native' Africans who have their origins and cultural experiences based on their indigenous [African]

communities" (Shizha 2010, p. 116). However, the culture of indigenous Africans is characterized by heterogeneity rather than homogeneity. Africans do not share a common culture, but have cultures that are particularistic based on high levels of cultural and linguistic diversity. Yet, African ways of knowing are similar in that they can be "enacted and conceptualized as circular, organic, and collectivist" (Swanson 2012, p. 37). A discussion of African cultures, in this chapter focuses on the application of indigenous ways of knowing, which can be generalized as universal to sub-Saharan African societies. According to Jayeola-Omoyeni (2009, p. 265), indigenous African cultures "comprise all the indigenous activities such as intellectual, moral, physical and vocational training." Indigenous knowledge in African cultures encompasses what local people know and do, and what they have known and done for generations, it is significant and present at the heart of indigenous peoples' self- identities (Kapoor and Shizha 2010). Traditional African thought seeks interpretation, expression, understanding, moral and social harmony (Swanson 2012), rather than positivist verification and prediction reified through Western scientific paradigms (Shizha 2010). However, as Battiste and Henderson (2002) have noted indigenous knowledge is empirical (that is, based on experience) and normative (that is based on social values), a philosophical approach that is unfamiliar to Eurocentric knowledge systems, which make a clear distinction between the two. As a system, indigenous knowledges constantly adapt to the dynamism of empirical knowledge as well as changing social values (Battiste and Henderson 2002, p. 19).

Considering the multiplicity of ethnic groups on the continent, cultural education has been performed through different channels depending on the group's beliefs, social organization and values (Diame 2011). Nevertheless, the systems share some commonalities, such as the paramount place of elders, and the participatory mode of education. Reflectively, African indigenous education entails a process of learning, participation, sharing histories and identities expressed through social, economic and political life and experiences. While indigenous knowledge has no universal definition because of its fluidity and multiple meanings, Battiste and Henderson (2002, p. 42) describe it as "the expression of the vibrant relationship between the people, their ecosystems, and the other living beings and spirits that share their lands." An important aspect of life in SSA is the extent to which indigenous knowledge is an attribute of a whole range of human cultural experience (Shizha 2009).

Traditional and Colonial Education

For almost 200 years, Western education systems have dominated educational institutions in SSA. There is no doubt that current educational practices are largely rooted in Western cultural traditions. The arrival of colonialism in Africa in the nineteenth century disrupted African cultural beliefs and traditions. Before the

introduction of colonial education, education on the continent was essentially indigenous. European education marginalized the holistic, lifelong and practical indigenous traditions. Adeyemi and Adeyinka (2002, p. 224) have defined education as "the process of cultural transmission and renewal." From an indigenous African perspective,

> Education is an integral part of the culture and history of a local community, which is stored in various forms and transmitted through various modes. Such modes include language, music, dance, oral tradition, proverbs, myths, stories, culture and religion . . . and have to some extent been the basis for sustainable development in agriculture, food preparation, health care, conservation and other sectors for many centuries. This mode of education has by and large been used as a way of acquiring lifelong learning. (Omolewa 2007, p. 594)

When compared to traditional education, colonial education was oppressive. Garvin (1987) defines oppression as "the destructive effects of social institutions on people, when such institutions damage their identities, denigrate their lifestyles, and deny them access to opportunities" (quoted in Murphy 2011, p. 50). Regarding Western education, sociologists of education, following Bernstein (2000), describe Western education as creating power structures in the ways it selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates educational knowledge.

Broadly speaking, the marginalization of African indigenous culture in education in postcolonial SSA is a continued historical legacy of European colonialism and mental manipulation. This historical legacy continues to shape contemporary educational and knowledge discourses in Africa. During colonial period, Western education created individuals who, at the time, partly failed to use a critical and analytical perspective on the structural causes of their oppression and poverty (Murphy 2011). While the education system was supposed to free indigenous Africans from poverty, if ever they were living in poverty, it actually contributed immensely to their marginalization and their cultural oppression. Cultural marginalization created African youths who were and are still alienated from their culture and their identities. Oluwole (2000) has summarised this plight by arguing that:

> Africans today do not know who they are because they never studied nor tried to discover who they were yesterday. However, they have been told they are inferior to whites. Do our youths not deserve to be allowed to find out for themselves who they are? Do we not owe them the duty of providing them with an African education which allows them, to reach their own conclusions on the basis of evidences? Through Western education, we have mostly misled African youths.

Reading from Oluwole's observations, critical postcolonial theorists have concluded that excluding African cultures in the education system has meant that African students are forced to learn a foreign culture that psychologically emasculates their self-identity. Students have become victims to "unexamined epistemological assumptions that re-inscribe particular forms of white supremacy . . . and colonial relationships" (Kincheloe 2009, p. 108). The negative effect of colonial education necessitates the implementation of critical and transformative education systems throughout SSA.

Indigenous Knowledges, Democratic Knowledge, and Emancipation

Much of what African students learn today is far from democratic knowledge that was transmitted during early socialization by their communities. Traditional theories of socialization emphasize that enduring social, cultural and political values, attitudes and beliefs are gradually acquired during the formative years in childhood and adolescence (Grusec and Hastings 2007). Socialization processes are thought to shape the ways in which individuals acquire their attitudes, beliefs, and values from their social and natural environment. According to socialization theory, once established, cultural orientations are likely to crystallize and persist, even if the new foreign knowledge systems are introduced. Cognitively, cultural values, past knowledge, and historical commemorations should be the foundations of African school curriculum.

Democratic knowledge is political and works to decolonize Western knowledge that is legitimized as school knowledge. It frees the oppressed African knowledge that is undervalued by positivist approaches to knowledge production. According to Kincheloe (2009), democratic knowledge is created to develop and cultivate a reflective community in which members participate and reflect on their everyday situations and the nature of their participation to gain insights into challenges facing their communities. Democratic knowledge, which other scholars describe as critical knowledge (Ngara 2012) is not personal and individualistic but it is community knowledge that reflects shared cultural beliefs and traditions of community members. Community-based knowledge confers ownership and control of crucial participation in community projects and development. Any democratic or critical pedagogy that empowers learners and gives meaning to knowledge and learning must be embedded in social relationships and dynamic lived socio-cultural contexts.

Education has the power to free people from misconceptions about knowledge, the nature of knowledge and the utilization of knowledge. According to Paulo Freire (1970), in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, education is the practice of freedom for dealing critically and creatively with our reality to participate in the transformation of our world. Acquired cultural knowledge can emancipate individuals and communities by empowering individuals with skills, knowledge and tools for active productive participation in society. From a Freirean perspective, *dialogics* is the essence of education that provides freedom. The educational paradigm involves a human-world relationship in generating themes, and the program content of education as the practice of freedom. The themes and school curriculum content should be extracted from the cultural environment of the learners. Curriculum planning should involve community stakeholders in order to awaken critical consciousness in the learner, teacher and the community.

Critics of "modern" African education argue that it is facing a deep dilemma in spite of its "great achievements" (Shizha 2010). It promises to bring freedom to people, while in practice it builds new cages (Wei 2009). The schooling model

is extremely structured and limits the freedoms of both teachers and students as it tends to focus on abstractions that do not necessarily correspond to the world-views of African students. The majority of Africans lives in rural communities where Western knowledge might not make sense because rural communities depend on their indigenous knowledge systems to manage and control their social, health and economic lives. Therefore, Western knowledge is extremely alien and divorced from their realities. To be of value and meaning, education should be a flexible, creative and socio-cultural enterprise involving learners and their communities. Knowledge should create and/or mirror the actual cultural needs and expectations of communities in which the schools are located. Meaningful learning should be embedded in the lived experiences of the learners. From a phenomenological perspective, students rely on their personal knowledge and their community knowledge and lived situations to reflect on their learning experiences (Dei and Asgharzadeh 2005). From this perspective, students are involved in active and reflective participation in meaning-making derived from knowledge that has practical significance. Thus, learning becomes liberating and fulfilling while reinforcing experiences at the same time. Unlike indigenous/phenomenological knowledge which is participatory and empowering, Western education and knowledge cage the spirits of learners, and dehumanizes them through feelings of alienation, powerlessness and hopelessness. Indigenous knowledge as phenomenological knowledge enhances our perceptiveness, it contributes to our sense of tact in human relations, and it provides us with phatic forms of understanding that are embodied, situational, relational and enactive (van Manen 2008).

Education should serve as the praxis of liberation (Freire 1998). Indigenous knowledge, which is rooted in indigenous cultures, has a liberating effect. It liberates students and their teachers [who are also indigenous] from the enslaving effects of Western education that has continued to disrupt continuities in students' experiences, thus creating identity crises. Failure to identify with school knowledge and the structured experiences of formal schooling can "generate tremendous anxiety in those facing questions about who they are, who they should be, and how they want others to see them" (Toshalis 2010, p. 15). The absence of empowering pedagogies and indigenous perspectives in formal schooling is a threat to educational performance and success, cultural identities and self-perceptions of African students. As Omotoso (2010, p. 229) aptly concludes,

> Western knowledge has exposed us to the outside world, but indigenous knowledge will restore our inward beauty, identity and pride. It behoves us to choose where indigenous education belongs so we can proceed in putting measures in place to attack any hindrance to emancipation, and then stimulate our powers to achieve the objectives of our choice. True emancipation lies in our return to indigenous knowledge with a meticulously synthesised introduction of Western knowledge.

Western knowledge has taken root and is now deeply seated in African education systems. We cannot deny that it plays a critical role in widening students' experiences. However, its alienating effect challenges education policy makers and governments in SSA to deconstruct and rupture the colonial mentalities it has created and continues to create in African students. Colonial mentalities do not

form a shared experience that defines "the African" who should be proud of their indigenous identity, their language, and their cultures. Current African education systems should be redefined and reconfigured to portray African sensibilities and aim at reclaiming the African cultural histories and memories (Shizha 2005) by providing cultural spaces that reinforce students' cultural identities.

Education is supposed to buttress continuity in social and cultural processes via active participation. Active participatory learning is situated in Freire's (1970) liberation theory, which was the essence of African traditional education. Freirean liberation theory promotes "problem-based learning, dialogue and participation within a co-operative learning environment" (Chaib 2010, p. 42). Central to the philosophy of African traditional education was a student-centered pedagogy, which placed the student at the heart of the educational experience through doing and exploring the ecological, social and cultural environments. African traditional education mirrored Freire's anti-didactic approach to education that enables learners to take an active role against oppression in order to bring about social transformation. Learners in traditional African societies were taught to be masters of their natural environment and to actively take part in social and cultural activities. Learning was not an oppressive experience that silenced learners into passive recipients of knowledge but through dialogical education learners were active co-creators of knowledge. For African students, as Freire (1998, p. 101) contends the basic importance of education lies in the "act of cognition not only of the content, but of the *why* of economic, social, political, ideological, and historical facts . . . under which we find ourselves placed."

Traditional African Education and Participatory Learning

African perspectives on education hinged on strengthening the relationships between the learner and the community and the ability of the learner to contribute to the community. Learners engaged in negotiating a space where common ground could be determined and built upon in culturally safe, yet challenging, ways. Knowledge of the social, cultural and ecological place was necessary for everyday interactions, personal and community survival. Local knowledge of land and place worked synergistically to construct multiple social realities and ways of knowing. Knowledge of space, land, language, culture and community intersected with and informed participatory learning and action-oriented educational practices. African traditional and indigenous knowledge were scripted on the consciousness of the people who recognized that human beings were not detached from their ecological environment. Therefore, knowledge was consciously created and it reflected life in an African community or society.

In African traditional education, participatory learning was a strong component of the education system. It was critical and relevant to local contexts. Participatory learning was largely a community engagement rather than an individualistic, private and personal pursuit as promoted in Western education systems. It was embedded

in a theoretical framework based on indigenous orientation to place and community. Indigenous researchers such as Kincheloe (2009), Shizha (2009), Smith (1999), and Weber-Pillwax (2009) assert that participatory action in knowledge construction and learning is a model that is deeply connected to indigenous ways of knowing and to the decolonization process. Participatory action research is not new to SSA but a process that was colonized by Europeans. As Elizabeth Lange (2009, p. 124) reminds us, the term participatory research began in Tanzania as "a description for community-based approaches to knowledge creation, which merged the processes of social investigation, education, and action." Evidently, participatory education has always been a component of African education. African traditional cultures were inclusive when it came to knowledge production. The input from members of the community assisted in preparing young members who were easily integrated into society as active participants in every aspect of community life.

Participatory learning/education is strongly linked to skills development and social and economic development. Ideally, social development for Africans had a humanist approach, development of the people toward their greater freedom and well-being (Nyerere 1968), an approach consistent with African indigenous cultural perspective on working for the betterment of society. All members of society had to participate in the task of community building and share in its rewards. Active participation brought a measure of harmonious relationships between communities and the sharing of ideas, knowledge and goods led to a balanced society. Participatory development was linked to participatory learning that children learned from adults through traditional forms of education. The crux of participatory learning involved young members of society observing adults at work and then taking part in the activities, or when the young went out into the forests, rivers, mountains to practise the knowledge they had learned from adults. Learners, who acquired a deep knowledge of a particular place, cared about what happened to the landscape, creatures, and people in it.

Rationale for Reclaiming Indigenous Cultures in African Education

Reclaiming indigenous cultures in SSA is not an exercise in replacing Western systems of education that are entrenched in Africa but a response to dominant discourses and epistemologies that marginalize African ways of knowing. The aim is to suggest "critical platforms of education and culture that are epistemologically inclusive . . . of African knowledge systems, philosophical traditions and current learning realities" (Wright and Abdi 2012, p. 3). Cultural reclamation in African education is a necessary means for deconstructing Eurocentric schooling programs by incorporating critical aspects of indigenous philosophies, content, and approaches. The purpose is to decolonize African education systems by providing appropriate educational programs that are pragmatic and culturally responsive.

Cultural reclamation stems from a realization that contemporary African education is a relic of the historical colonial education that was used to push forward a colonial agenda since the nineteenth century. The aim of colonial education was mainly to create an identity crisis via proselytization, economic exploitation and the assimilation of indigenous Africans into Western cultures. SSA education systems continue to create an identity crisis and an identity-perception gap between what schools teach and what most students experience in their homes and communities. There is limited direct relationship between what is in the curriculum, pedagogic practices and the everyday lived experiences of students. The self-identities schools and teachers construct for their students are usually incompatible with students' perceptions. In this context, schools create a crisis that may lead to social antagonisms (Toshalis 2010), which is reflected in the failure by students to see the purpose and relevance of school knowledge to their communities.

The retention of Western education systems in Africa cause cultural dissonance in students and those who are schooled in Western world-views. Describing the experiences of African students in contemporary schools, Shizha (2011, p. 21) defines cultural dissonance as "the disturbing inconsistency between African students' cultures and the curriculum that is taught in African schools." Current SSA schooling practices and experiences contribute to what Andreas Huyssen describes as "inner and outer imperialism" (Shizha 2005, p. 67) via Western constructs of school knowledge that contribute to colonial mentalities and mental confusion and lack congruities with students' everyday experiences. Cultural dissonance among students can be explained using the congruity theory (Osgood and Tannenbaum 1955) which predicts that if there are two contradicting sets of information, or concepts on which a judgment must be made by a single observer, the observer will experience pressure to change his or her judgment on one of the sides. However, if the two sets of information are similar or congruent, then there will be no problem, and the observer will not experience pressure of any form. For the majority of African students, cultural dissonance leads to academic failure that often results from the introduction of external realities and/or knowledges that have little practical implication for their community and its survival. In reality, the external knowledge is not congruent to their lived experiences and it dislocates and disrupts their cultural lives (Shizha 2011), destroys their self-affirmation and their holistic life experiences. According to Diame (2011, p. 16),

> African children are no longer educated to become responsible community members . . . . Traditional values and socio-economic skills transmitted from fathers to sons, elders to youth, and mothers to children are replaced by general-knowledge teaching, specific knowledge such as mathematics, sciences, grammar, etc. and skilled knowledge basing more on foreigners' culture, history and economics. The changes that accompany the Western educational system have had major impacts on different aspects of African life.

The changes from traditional cultural knowledge to Western knowledge introduce incongruities, incompatibilities and contradictions in managing the complexities of belonging to an African culture while being assimilated into a foreign cultural system. The students are expected to cross multiple epistemic, linguistic, and political spaces everyday of their schooling experience. They are not culturally connected

to the formal school curriculum. The challenges faced by African students call for reclamation of indigenous cultures in SSA education. Perhaps, as Dei and Asgharzadeh (2005) inform us, curriculum planners, including teachers should be aware that different cultures, particularly those in contemporary classrooms, bring in multiple ways of knowing.

Reclaiming and Emphasizing Indigenous Knowledges in SSA Education

Formal education should be informed by the history, geography and sociocultural context of the learners. In order to consider meaning-making in classrooms for learners, we have to recognise its dependence on individual experience and sociocultural practices that are situated in the history and culture of the society in which the education system operates. Education systems that do not take into account the life experiences and cultural contexts of learners lead to significant cultural and conceptual disconnections that often emerge in classrooms.

The cultural foundation of the school curriculum is critical to the education of students. Curriculum, in this context, is the body of knowledge of *what* is to be taught, and *how* it is to be taught in schools (Shizha 2005). In SSA, the content of the curriculum and the pedagogical practices are not consistent with the culture, norms and expectations of African societies. The curriculum contains some Eurocentric biases and assumptions, which are a result of the colonial legacy. These biases need to be problematized in order to help students develop more appropriate lenses for thinking about knowledge and its relationship to them and their society (Milner IV 2010). An appropriate and culturally relevant curriculum requires an approach that uses students' culture in order to transcend the negative effects of Eurocentric knowledge systems.

While some governments may have attempted to Africanize education by modifying the humanities and social sciences, in many cases, African knowledge does not occupy a large portion of the Africanized curriculum. The content of learning, for example, in natural sciences uses Western cultural referents to impart knowledge, skills and attitudes, which contributes to cultural marginalization of indigenous knowledges. A culturally relevant curriculum is one which has content and pedagogy that empowers students intellectually, socially, and emotionally by using cultural referents that match students' everyday experiences to school knowledge. To use students' culture is to create meaningful understanding of their world and the world presented in the curriculum. The negative effect of Eurocentric education has been challenged by Kwakwa (cited in Nwomonoh 1998, p. 265) who reported on the social divisiveness of schooling in Africa:

> The effect of the Western type of education has been to produce ... three nations in one country, each unable to communicate effectively with the others ... the 'educated,' ... many who do not understand the ways of the 'educated,' ... then ... a third group, the

> 'half educated' who understand neither the ways of their own indigenous society nor those of the 'highly educated.'

Western education is creating divisions that are at odds with the harmonious traditional cultures that focus on collective lives and educating individuals for the good of the community. Consequently, schools churn out social misfits who are alienated from their African societies. Ali Mazrui (1978, p. 16) sheds more light on cultural misfits in terms of the linkage of education with the rural–urban divide:

> Western education in African conditions was a process of psychological de-ruralisation. The educated African became … a misfit in his own village … when he graduated … his parents did not expect him to continue living with them, tending the cattle or cultivating the land.

Contrary to the individualistic goals of Western education, cultivation of the individual's communal responsibility was the dominant objective of indigenous African education.

Systems of education and school curriculum should emphasize social and cultural harmony that is built on the "*narrative of the nation(s)*, as told and retold in national histories, literatures, and popular culture" (Hall 1996, p. 614). From Shizha's (2005, p. 67) point of view, narratives of the nation are "a set of stories, images, historical events, national symbols, and rituals which stand for, and represent, the shared experiences that give meaning to African societies." Narratives of the nation which are communally generated should be the framework of the African school curriculum. A negation of the people's historical commemorations delegitimizes the people's overall wellbeing that is structured by their cultural histories. The school curriculum should involve a deconstruction paradigm that redefines the structures of knowledge systems as socially situated. Socially situated knowledge assumes that knowledge construction and learning cannot be dissociated from interpersonal interactions and relationships located in cultural frameworks (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). In addition, socially situated learning recognizes that values, emotions, experiences, and cultural contexts are integrally related to learning; they support and reinforce students' prior knowledge from home. Shizha (2010, p. 120) argues that the application of Western approaches to knowledge and learning to African schools "decontextualize[s] knowledge production and dissemination." The reason for this de-contextualization is that African education systems tend to mimic European curricula and knowledge systems.

African school curricula should generate and adopt greater fluidity and flexibility that will enhance the accumulation and dissemination of knowledge that has an African cultural identity. Cultural identity brings together all that is common to the members of a group (Shizha 2012), including the epistemological constructs, language, values, philosophy of life that one shares with one's community. From a social constructivist approach, fluidity, and flexibility allows for community knowledge and narratives to be the foundation of African school curriculum designs and plans that will include epistemologies and ontologies that are often overlooked or neglected by academic neo-objective positivists.

Medium of Instruction as an Educational Cultural Tool

Language plays a pivotal role in the production and transmission of knowledge. The language that teachers use in the schools determines the extent to which students will participate in contributing their knowledge to the learning situation. In most SSA classrooms, formal learning is conducted in foreign languages that continue to dominate the education systems as the media of instruction. Languages of instruction in African schools—such as English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Afrikaans—distort the abilities and academic contributions of the majority of students. Those students who cannot or who fail to master a foreign language are excluded from their right to learn, especially in their first languages (L1) or mother tongue. The use of foreign languages perpetuates neo-colonial or postcolonial oppression. With postcolonial oppression, the notion of "white" supremacy that was established during the colonial period is likely to prevail (Murphy 2011). An education system that facilitates the entrenchment of foreign languages is not the most desirable. Critical sociological research, for example, recognises the differentiation and inequality in the politics that control the selection, organisation, access and redistribution of knowledge, and the politics behind the evaluation of legitimate knowledge through educational institutions and the impact these have on the marginalization of indigenous knowledges.

One major component of current SSA classrooms that seriously requires reconsideration and reclamation is the language of instruction. Shizha (2012, p. 148) describes language as "a societal vehicle for life stories, historical commemorations, communication, and meaningful social activities." It can either enhance or frustrate the acquisition and sharing of knowledge. In discussions of language and education, language is usually defined as a shared set of verbal codes (Heugh 1999), such as English, Portuguese, Shona, French, and Swahili that have a communicative and instructional role. Teachers and students use spoken and written language to communicate with each other–to present tasks, engage in learning processes, present academic content, assess learning, display knowledge and skill, and build classroom life. In addition, much of what students learn is language. Language and ways of knowing are learned within dynamic cultural systems that structure experiences. It involves socialization in the ability to decode scripts and to reason in patterned ways that are consistent with the learners' cultural experiences (Brock-Utne 2005).

In SSA, schools are seen as the repository of the "standard" foreign language (English, Portuguese or French), which is assumed to be the proper medium of communication and instruction. However, for the majority of learners and their teachers in Africa, a foreign European language is a second language, which many struggle to speak and understand. Subsequently, the voices of the students who are second language learners are often marginalized in the classroom discourses (Irizarry and Raible 2010). Colonial education policy defined the failure by indigenous students to use the colonial language as cultural and linguistic deficits. In SSA, foreign languages continue to be used as media of instruction, while indigenous languages are viewed as inferior especially in science education (Shizha 2011). This view

reflects the current practices in most SSA countries that advocate the continued use of foreign languages as the primary media of instruction throughout the education system. The argument for maintaining the current language policy in education is that if the policy worked well and succeeded under the colonial system in developing the leadership needed and in training the manpower required for the Africa, it should work in postcolonial Africa (Alidou and Brock-Utne 2006). However, this colonial practice that marginalized indigenous languages in education should no longer be the vision for contemporary Africa.

African indigenous languages are often perceived as deficient in scientific and technical terminology to be used in pedagogical settings. However, not all critics on language-in-education agree on the deficit-model. Researchers who have studied the use of African languages in education argue that when indigenous languages are used in school instruction they act as a resource for learning and conceptual development (Brock-Utne 2005). There is convincing evidence that the use of mother tongue or of an African indigenous language as the natural medium of instruction in African schools improves teaching and learning. Kathleen Heugh (1999) who studies language education models in Africa and the use of African languages in South African schools concluded that indigenous languages contribute positively towards the better provision of education for children. In a longitudinal study that compared the use of Yoruba and English as media of instruction in Nigeria, Bamgbose (2005) concluded that children who were taught in Yoruba, the home language, performed significantly better than those who had been taught in English, although those who were taught in English had a specialist teacher of English who provided a model of communicating in English for the class. In Ghana, Wilmot (2003) studied classes in which the medium of instruction was changed from English to the child's mother tongue, and found that children knew much more and learned much better when they were taught in a language familiar to them than in a foreign language. Wilmot also found that children who were classified as low achieving actually had a lot of knowledge which the school incorrectly assessed because the children did not master the foreign language which was the language of instruction. In Zimbabwe, Shizha (2008) found that the use of English as a medium of instruction in primary schools was the main factor that silenced students in science classes, while in Niger, Chekaraou (2004) who made a comprehensive study of the use of Hausa in primary schools observed that teaching in these schools through a home language fostered active teacher-student interactions which enabled students to develop their critical thinking skills which were transferable to all learning experiences even when the first language ceased to be the language of instruction in upper grades.

With regard to silenced voices, Les Back (1996) argues that in schools, the muted voices, which happen to be the everyday indigenous language of the child, must be integrated into any understanding of contemporary politics of culture, identity, and education which leads to the promotion of educational equity and social justice. Studies of culture, language and cognition show that through repeated and patterned experience in the world, children who use their indigenous language develop schema through which they can filter future experiences (Gee 1999).

New learning is strongest when children are able to communicate in a familiar language to make connections to prior knowledge since language has important outcomes for the ways children are or are not able to extend the funds of knowledge they bring to classrooms. For most African children, school knowledge and the language of instruction are disconnected from the children's home experiences and from interactions with teachers. Hassana Alidou and Birgit Brock-Utne (2006) conducted classroom observation studies in several countries in Africa (Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, South Africa, Togo, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Ghana, and Botswana) and found that the use of unfamiliar languages forces teachers to use traditional and teacher-centred teaching methods which undermine the teachers' effort to teach and students' effort to learn. Closing the communication gap between the teacher and students is a crucial and rewarding undertaking for both teachers and students. Gap-closing can be adequately achieved by integrating the mother tongue as the medium of instruction in African schools. Knowledge and information needed for modern development cannot reach African masses that have no access to the official/foreign languages. Because knowledge and information in Africa is transmitted through the official/foreign language, the critical mass of knowledge required to achieve development will not be created in a foreseeable future if the language of education is not transformed to include indigenous languages.

Conclusion

The emphasis of this critical approach to knowledge production and dissemination in Africa is on incorporating indigenous cultures and languages in the curriculum and education in SSA schools. Education systems in Africa run the risk of reproducing colonial education that is not responsive and appropriate to Africa and that reproduce an African "elite" that is disconnected from the African realities. The process of reclaiming indigenous cultures in African education recognizes that indigenous knowledge systems have a role to play in social development in SSA. Looking at the impact of colonization and globalization in education and the effects they have on the African elite, it is imperative that we recognize and acknowledge the relevance of African cultures; indigenous knowledge and languages in mental decolonization and enhancing students' educational success. This chapter discussed the importance of rethinking the African school curriculum to emancipate Africa education from Eurocentric biases that are in many ways limiting appropriate pedagogical policies and practices. A major shortcoming of the contemporary African education systems is the exclusion of vital world-views of African learners and the use of familiar languages in schools. African indigenous knowledges, historical commemorations, languages and cultures are necessary in the school curriculum to provide positive self-identities for African students. Epistemological questions regarding the production, dissemination and consumption of indigenous knowledges, the relationship between culture and learning in current systems of education in SSA need to be interrogated and addressed. Indigenous

cultures and languages should be the cornerstone of educational development in SSA, an educational practice that employs pedagogical thoughtfulness, pedagogical sensitivity, and pedagogical tact (van Manen 2008) in order to emphasize students' cultures and experiences in schools.

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Chapter 16
Indigenous Knowledges in Education: Anticolonial Struggles in a Monocultural Arena with Reference to Cases from the Global South

Anders Breidlid and Louis Royce Botha

Abstract The chapter looks at the potential of indigenous knowledges as a counterhegemonic force within mainstream educational settings. Taking an anticolonial perspective, the concept of indigenous knowledges is historically situated within a global context of colonial relations, as well as in current national struggles of indigenous people in the educational arena. In this regard, the cases of South Africa and Chile are critically examined and shown to be lacking in terms of the scope of the initiatives that respond to the culturally based educational needs of their respective indigenous populations. The chapter argues that these countries' policies and practices for including indigenous knowledges into the national curricula are generally superficial and western in their approach. It advocates for an epistemological shift that relinquishes the ongoing colonial control over knowledge making in the global South. Greater indigenous agency driven by an indigenous consciousness is suggested as one means for promoting knowledge diversity in this region.

Keywords Anticolonial struggle • South Africa • Chile • Indigenous knowledges • Indigenous agency

Introduction

The main argument of this chapter proceeds from the understanding that the processes of colonialism continue to shape and direct cultural activity of marginalized or minority groups today. They do so because those forces set in motion by European colonialism continue to find impetus and momentum through globalization, but

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also because the effects of these forces constitute responses on the part of the marginalized communities with which they come into contact.

From this position we forward the argument that, if culture is to survive colonialism it needs to anticipate the constant repositioning of theory and practice within the hegemonic systems of knowledge production and reproduction. In this regard we consider indigenous knowledges to be a counterhegemonic cultural force to that of colonialism. Their radically different ontological and epistemological foundations mean that indigenous knowledges are well-suited to exposing the Eurocentric assumptions inherent in conventional ideas about knowledge making, and formal education, in particular. Moreover, indigenous knowledges offer interesting possibilities for including alternative forms of cultural activity into our learning and teaching practice. Unfortunately the mechanistic instruments through which these knowledges are viewed and transported into mainstream knowledge making systems tend to homogenize rather than interrogate and enrich our epistemological ensemble. Such tendencies, we believe, perpetuate the colonial relationship which has characterized the contact between western and indigenous knowledges since globalization in its many forms brought them into contact with each other. We draw from the debates and initiatives in indigenous education in Chile and South Africa to briefly illustrate this point of view, which we frame within specific interpretations of the concepts of "anticolonialism," "indigenous," and globalization.

Outlining an Anticolonial Approach

As Dei and Asgharzadeh (2001) correctly assert, theory, and an anti-colonial discursive framework in particular, is and should be imbued with a purpose. Its purpose here is to dialectically engage with hegemonic, colonizing discursive formations in order to expose and undermine their marginalizing tendencies and attempt to re-order the relations of knowledges and power that serve to privilege a select few. As the above-mentioned authors put it:

> The aim of anti-colonial discourse is to provide a common zone of resistance and struggle, within which variously diverse minoritized, marginalized, and oppressed groups are enabled to "come to voice", and subsequently to challenge and subvert the hegemonic systems of power and domination. (Dei and Asgharzadeh 2001, p. 317)

This anti-colonial perspective is based upon a definition of colonialism which is much broader and on-going than the European colonialism upon which its post-colonial counterpart draws. It recognises a wider spectrum of modes of domination as colonialism thereby making it easier to recognize oppressive relations which are non-European in origin as well.

A more inclusive definition of colonialism is appropriate if one is to account for the impacts of globalization and especially if one considers Abdi et al.'s (2006) contention that "globalisation is also a continuation of the historical processes of imperial control" (2006, p. 4).

We further wish to bring to mind Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) assertion that colonial relations are also fuelled by the imagination. The capacity of the west to imagine a world organized according to its cultural precepts is instrumental to the process of colonizing and subjugating "the other." Thus, in the same way that colonizing is realized by the imagination first, so too must it be countered by the capacity to imagine differently. Where post-colonial theorists perhaps fail to transcend the discursive frameworks of the structures they wish to critique, the anti-colonialist should embrace completely new ways of knowing offered by the marginalized groups with whom they wish to ally. In this regard the diverse and radically different ontological and epistemological perspectives of indigenous people offer a particularly rich source.

Anticolonialism provides a lens through which modes of domination in terms of categories of race, class and gender are united and historically situated under "a common zone to resist oppression" (Dei and Asgharzadeh 2001, p. 318). This is particularly relevant for indigenous communities and their resistance to the cultural invasion which has a distinct purpose even as it is continually changing shape. As noted elsewhere:

> By tracing the inequalities complicit in knowledge production back to colonialism, the anti-colonial framework situates the present condition of indigenous and marginalized ways of knowing in a historical context that brings continuity to the struggles of the holders of those knowledges. (Botha 2011, p. 30)

Defining "Indigenous" in Terms of Colonialism and Indigenous Consciousness

Just as the discursive framework for this analysis orients itself in terms of colonial relations, so too does the definition of indigenous.

Its intention, along with our reflections on issues of indigeneity, is to critique and hopefully also undermine the empowered western epistemological tradition from which, ironically, we as academics engage them. Thus we tend to identify with those who define indigenous primarily in terms of a shared experience of domination (see, for example, Semali and Kincheloe 1999) which, for indigenous people, "originates with, and is perpetuated by their contact with a western hegemonic epistemology" (Breidlid 2013, p. 31).

The identification of "indigenous", like probably any identification, draws its significance from the context in which it is used. In early modern Europe, for example, the term was used synonymously with "domestic" to refer to plants, animals, practices, behavior or any phenomena originating or occurring locally in Europe (Cooper 2007). These days the word is commonly used in relation to a group of people who are considered to have developed a long-term cultural relationship with an area of land, where such a relationship pre-dates the colonial conquests from Europe. Viergever (1999), examines the definitions of indigenous knowledges generated from collaboratively produced documents based on three

international gatherings of representatives from indigenous people's organizations and communities. The indigenous participants' definitions show a strong focus on territoriality. Viergever suggests that the notion of "conceptually bounded spaces" may be appropriate for the connection indigenous people described between their physical and social environment.

Such an understanding of indigenous is acknowledged here, but not just as a characterization of indigenous as "local" or as culturally connected to genealogical inheritance (Green 2007). What should be emphasized when locating and historicizing indigenous communities is the significance of colonial domination by the West (Breidlid 2013). Definitions of indigenous as we understand them here, arise and are shaped by historically initiated relations of dominance and subjugation which persist between western and indigenous communities. The above instance of the indigenous participants' strong focus on issues of land and culture illustrates this tendency for indigenous people and those dealing with issues of indigeneity to use definitions that are in some way referent to colonization and its effects.

That is, the understanding of a community and its knowledges as indigenous does not simply imply that they are different from another category identified as "the West," which has contrasting features of social and cultural expression. Being indigenous means experiencing a social, cultural, political and ontological domination by a hegemonic form of western thought and social organization that orients itself toward a particular version of modernity. It also means resisting that domination through a self-identification which most likely attempts to use cultural and historical differences as referents. This is how the substantive, epistemological and contextual themes identified by Agrawal (1995) may be interpreted—where essentialist views contrast indigenous knowledges with western knowledge, characterizing the former as specific to a group and location, developed and tested practically over a long period of time, oral, open to intuition and spirituality, holistic, and so forth. Perhaps such views can best be understood as imposed or appropriated as a result of a particular species of contact with a dominant western society. Reading definitions of indigenous in this way sets up the possibility of theorizing them in terms that, as Dei and Asgharzadeh (2001, p. 298) put it, "offer a social and political corrective"—which is to say, the theories and ideas instigate social change or transformation.

It therefore becomes apparent that the purpose of the definition of indigenous is not simply to attempt to characterize people or knowledge according to a set of criteria. Its purpose is also, or perhaps mainly, to situate them within an agenda. Defining indigenous in terms which locate it within relations of colonial domination and consequently the agenda of an anti-colonial discursive framework, recognizes that everyday reality takes place within matrices of huge and small schemes, from the political to the personal. A proactive definition of indigenous is therefore intended to mobilize the counterhegemonic elements that constitute its discursive regime. But its responses to the truths established by the dominant discourse are limited. The relations of domination engendered by the colonial encounter mean that indigenous people have limited access to the power/knowledges that defines them. Instead the hegemonic discourse may be more successful at assigning meaning to indigeneity.

Consider, for example, how Edward Said's (1979) doctrine of Orientalism could account for the construction of an indigenous Other. The ways in which "indigenous" is arranged, positioned, and exemplified by the dominant power/knowledges would make certain truths about it evident while obscuring others. South Africa's economic discourse around indigenous resources and the treatment of the indigenous people in Chile are illustrative of this, as is evident from the discussion below.

We therefore maintain that a useful definition of what it is to be indigenous starts with western-indigene relations in the context of colonial and "post-colonial" encounters. Such a definition could critique and perhaps undermine hegemonic and oppressive conceptualizations of "indigenous," and circulate empowering ones.

This is also the reasoning behind why the element of spirituality is strongly emphasized in the way in which indigenous knowledges are defined here. Spirituality is understood as

> a relationship with the supernatural or spiritual realm that provides meaning and a basis for personal and communal reflection, decisions and actions. While religion is generally considered an institutionalized set of beliefs and practices regarding the spiritual realm, spirituality describes the personal and relational side of those beliefs, which shape daily life. (Ver Beek 2000, p. 32)

From the above definition we could very well say that people in western societies are also spiritual and make use of spiritual elements in their reflections, decisions and actions. However, could we say that their "relationship with the supernatural or spiritual realm" forms a fundamental part of their daily lives, including their knowledge making? Rather, the hegemonic version of western knowledge exemplified by modern science does not look to the supernatural or spiritual realm to provide meaning about its activities or the phenomena it investigates—it looks to a particular kind of logic and sensory experience as the source of its knowledges.

In fact, the hegemonic western knowledge's aversion for spirituality is well known by indigenous people who participate in academia. As Walker (2001, p. 19) points out: "The sacred aspects of indigenous experience are directly silenced when they are eliminated from formal research, relegated to religion or labeled as lacking rigor."

On the other hand, the spiritual dimension is more acceptable and pervasive in indigenous understandings of the world. Walker describes a medicine wheel methodology as an example of how indigenous researchers access the "interconnections between experience of the sacred and the practical and analytical aspects of formal research" (Ibid.).

The relationship that indigenous people have with the supernatural or spiritual realm extends not only to a deity, but to all kinds of animate and "inanimate" objects within their environment as well. Drawing from his upbringing in an indigenous Chaga community in Tanzania, and his studies of indigenous religions and spiritualities, Mosha (2000, p. 213) explains: "...the Chaga people find themselves interacting with a universe that is dynamic, alive, calling, and giving all sort of messages. According to this understanding, everything is alive. Stones

and mountains, rivers and lakes, clouds and rain, are all alive in their intrinsic meanings and in their active partnership to people and everything else." The kind of relationship and dialogue that Mosha describes as characterizing indigenous knowledges, simply cannot be said to be a usual feature of the modern scientific or even common sense knowledge typical of modern western society. Neither can the indigenous Andean perspective described by Semali and Kincheloe (1999) in which rivers, mountains, land, soil, lakes, rocks, and animals are all sentient and these sentient entities nurture human beings and our role as human beings is to nurture them. Semali and Kincheloe (1999, pp. 42–43) contend that: "In this belief the Andeans are expressing both an epistemological and ontological dynamic—a way of knowing and being that is relational." The authors argue that the western scientific epistemological concept of knowing may not fit the Andean context as the latter's is "not as much an expression of knowing as much as it is one of relating. Such relating is undoubtedly a spiritual process" (p. 43).

While it is true that religion, spirituality and intuition may occasionally infiltrate some areas of a modern western interpretation of the world and practices in it, as indicated earlier, such spiritual elements are strongly resisted within the hegemonic western knowledge making traditions and institutions (Walker 2001; Breidlid 2013). On the other hand, Walker claims that by embracing indigenous world views in her research, her participants tended to speak "openly of experiences with spirits and ancestors through dreams and visions" (2001, p. 20). Spirituality and intuition thus appears to be fundamental to and pervasive in indigenous ways of knowing. This was also our experience while working in indigenous communities in South Africa, and from Breidlid's research in Chile.

The dominant ways of knowing and being, which we include in our definition of colonialism, to a large extend destroy or undermine the spiritual relationship that helps to give meaning to indigenous people's everyday lives. They separate people from their environment physically and through the systems of knowledges, beliefs, politics and economics which they impose.

Many indigenous people are therefore trapped between their spiritually-informed understanding of the world and the reality sanctioned by a hegemonic western knowledge. This tension, as Ver Beek points out, impedes indigenous people's realization of their full potential because the spiritual element of indigenous people's understandings "gives them a sense of power and hope" (2000, p. 32).

It is for these reasons that we propose firstly, that a definition of indigenous, and thus indigenous knowledges, be contextualized within a critical understanding of the hegemonic knowledge traditions perpetuated by colonialism, and relatedly, that spirituality feature prominently in the concept of indigenous knowledges since including spirituality in a definition of knowledges constitutes a direct challenge to the hegemonic western conception of knowledge.

Furthermore, it is from this perspective that Black South Africans are considered to be indigenous people even though some discourses may exclude them from such a classification on the basis of the supposed absence of threat to their culture.

Culture, Education, and Indigenous People

> Colonially educated teachers create a cultural dissonance between the learners' acquired life experiences and the abstractions of Euro-American science. Neo-colonial education driven by neoliberalism and the credentialization of learning for market-place certification invalidates African sciences to the extent that they are regarded as 'backward' and 'retrogressive.' (Shizha 2010, p. 37)

While the counterhegemonic perspectives discussed thus far are certainly applicable globally, we find that indigenous people's experiences of education are particularly useful for interrogating ongoing forms of colonialization at a national level within the contexts of supposedly postcolonial, multicultural societies such as Chile and South Africa. For instance, South Africa's apparent transition to democracy and the politically correct values of its constitution are well known. Yet, despite efforts to incorporate these ideas of democratic participation into a multicultural vision of education, Black students' continue to experience schooling as dislocated from their culture and daily lives (Breidlid 2009). In an analysis of earlier attempts to include indigenous knowledges in the country's education through the Outcome Based Curriculum, Curriculum 2005 (the Revised National Curriculum Statement of 2002 [RNCS]), Breidlid found that references to Black students' experiences as well as indigenous knowledges are included, but in a very fragmentary way. Curriculum 2005 is primarily based on a Western discourse where concepts of modernity are hegemonic (see also Soudien and Baxen 1997). In the RNCS of 2002, however, there is a discussion of indigenous knowledges and how Black school children move from an indigenous worldview at home and a more modernist worldview at school. According to the RNCS:

> The existence of different worldviews is important for the Natural Science Curriculum. Several times a week they cross from the culture of home, over the border into the culture of science, and then back again. (Department of Education 2002, p. 12)

The RNCS also queries how this epistemic border crossing impacts on the pupils' learning:

> Is it a hindrance to teaching or is it an opportunity for more meaningful learning and a curriculum, which tries to understand both the culture of science and the cultures at home? (Department of Education 2002, p. 12)

The crossing of epistemological borders to accommodate the culture of science underlines the epistemological challenges faced by the education system in South Africa. Even though the revised curriculum statement touches upon the issue it does not, as noted, impact on the modernist foundation of the curriculum. It seems as if the acknowledgement of the importance of indigenous knowledges and Black students' experiences proceeds "from epistemic and practical models that are located outside of indigenous ways of knowing so that indigenous peoples are most often the ones having to make the cultural journey, and are seldom the culture brokers" (Botha 2012).

Similarly Chile's multicultural policy adopted by President Bachelet in 2008 seemed to usher in a new relationship with the indigenous people of that country:

> It is time that we assume ourselves as diverse and that this diversity should have the political representation it is due. I want to see indigenous representation in Congress . . . But let's call things by their name; it has not been easy leave behind old racist prejudices and the lack of understanding of the indigenous world by some sections of Chilean society. (in Montecinos and Williamson 2011, p. 327)

However, as Rother (2005) argues, and as in the case of South Africa, this multicultural rhetoric failed to translate into spaces for indigenous people to develop their cultural institutions or to participate equitably in those of the majority population. Proceeding from the conflict between the Mapuche people and the state over issues of land, which have intensified since the 1990s and become progressively more violent, Rother (2005, p. 72) contends instead that education and the school has become a battle ground which embodies this conflict between the dominant and indigenous minority culture:

> in a conflict between the dominant culture and indigenous culture, the institution of the school is an important point of contact. In the present case, there is no doubt that, as part of the state structures the school represents a meeting point between the Chilean state and the Mapuche people, and at the same time it is an interesting "mirror" of the relationship. But the school is also an indirect "battlefield" of intercultural conflict, much more so since 1993 when the Chilean government implemented the program of Educación Intercultural Bilingüe (EIB) for the Mapuche, because it is there that the basic contradiction between a state-dominated education and intercultural education approach becomes manifest, and ideally, through which dominant behaviour should be suppressed.[1]

Given the manner in which the Concertación government, as well as the subsequent Piñera administration have suppressed indigenous demands for land and cultural recognition, it is unsurprising that Rother concludes that the school, in its present form as an institution that reinforces the "legitimate culture" and contributes to reproducing social inequalities, cannot really become an engine of change. Thus, while the antagonism between the indigenous people in Chile and the state demonstrates more explicitly the power struggle between contesting cultures which have been offered only a single arena in which to find legitimacy, it also mirrors the more subtle psychological conflict experienced by the majority of South Africans being educated in languages and through frames of reference that are not their own (see also Breidlid 2013).

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[1]The original in Spanish reads: " . . . en un conflicto entre la cultura dominante y la cultura indígena, la institución escuela constituye un punto de contacto importante. En el caso que nos ocupa, sin duda que como parte de las estructuras estatales la escuela representa un lugar de encuentro entre el Estado chileno y el pueblo mapuche, siendo a la vez un interesante "espejo" de esa relación. Pero la escuela es además un "campo de batalla" indirecto del conflicto intercultural, mucho más desde que, en 1993, el gobierno chileno implementara el programa de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe (EIB) dirigido a los mapuche, puesto que es allí donde se manifiesta la contradicción básica entre una educación dominada por el Estado y el enfoque de una educación intercultural, a través de la cual, idealmente, el comportamiento dominante debiera ser suprimido."

The failure of education to account for the diverse needs and experiences of learners in these countries are, primarily, symptomatic of the historical processes of exclusion instigated by the Pinochet and apartheid regimes. As Joel Samoff (2008) argues, the climate for an innovative change in South African education has been stifled by the recent politics of change of that country. Whereas the anti-apartheid era education arena was characterized by "the energetic education activism of the 1970s–1990s [which nurtured] intense debate about policies and practice, militant organizations that mobilized students, teachers, and higher education staff, and leaders whose ideas, public roles, and legitimacy where forged in the struggle" (2008, pp. x–xi), the conciliatory politics of the post-1994 government resulted in less progressive reforms that were more incremental and focused on policy change. With the assumption of political control the African National Congress (ANC) also wrested the initiative from teachers and grassroots organizations, replacing the activist transformative practices within schools and communities with a top-down approach that nurtured insecurity and apathy amongst many of the teachers.

It would seem that much of Chile's post-dictatorship educational reform echoes that of post-1994 South Africa. The preoccupation with socially just educational reforms, concern for international opinion and global competitiveness, and the top-down "command and control" model of curriculum reform (Valverde 2004) mean that Chile and South Africa have ended up with similar responses to their respective educational challenges. Due to various legal and political barriers erected by the exiting Pinochet government and the National Party element of the post-apartheid government of national unity, the processes of reform in Chile and South Africa were unable to seriously interrogate the privileged position of the elites in these countries. Thus, in the case of South Africa, McKinney and Soudien (2010, p. 11) note:

> Soudien's recent historical analysis of racial integration in South African schools has shown how integration has been characterized by asymmetry in which "white" people are positioned as the bearers of preferred knowledge and "black" people, by contrast, as the embodiment of inferior understandings of the world.

Pointing to the way in which language can limit Black students' inclusion in the learning process, they use the following statistics for the final exit point school examinations, the National Senior Certificate (NSC), as an indication of "how this marginalization—activated structurally but also enacted by the subjects themselves—actually works in relation to the continuing racial and class based achievement gaps amongst young people in South Africa" (McKinney and Soudien 2010, p. 17) (Table 16.1).

The privileging of one segment of the population is also evident in the discrepancies in educational performance between the Chilean majority population and the indigenous people. For example, in Chile the 2002 census (INE 2002) puts the literacy rate of the indigenous population older than 10 years of age at 91.8 % literacy, as opposed to the 96 % of the non-indigenous population. Education among indigenous peoples is 2.2 years less than the national average of 9.5 years, and only

Table 16.1 National senior certificate passes by race, 2007

	Candidates who wrote	Candidates who passed	Candidates passes with endorsement (eligible for access to higher education)
African	458,836	277,941 (60.6 %)	49,950 (10.9 %)
Coloured	34,741	27,101 (78 %)	5,367 (15.4 %)
Indian/Asian	52,467	37,308 (71.1 %)	11,382 (21.7 %)
White	42,617	41,921 (98.4 %)	22,145 (52 %)

Source: McKinney and Soudien (2010, p. 6)

3 % of the rural indigenous population has received any secondary education by 15 years of age. Gender and generational differences also apply, with rural women and older people showing less schooling.

For both the Black South Africans and the indigenous population in Chile, their poor performance at national assessments has to do with poor quality schools and teaching. However, as the more politically engaged indigenous people and a select group of South African academics contend, the more fundamental cause is the nature and content of the school curriculum.

While obviously different, both Marco Curricular and Curriculum 2005 and its subsequent revisions represent a mono-cultural educational experience which marginalizes indigenous histories and ways of knowing. From the Chilean side, this has been acknowledged by Guillermo Williamson, the first director of EIB in the Ministry of Education:

> For us it is very clear that the hegemonic setting of schooling for indigenous peoples has never worked and what remains of it today is still not working. No matter how many millions in resources and time you invest in the current model, it will not work, because there are factors of values, of learning approaches, of social and community patterns of interaction and links to local development that are fundamental to the indigenous cultures, that are just not present in the current European centered modern schooling that is dominant today in this country. (in Ortiz 2007, p. 106)

From this point of view it is clear that the differences in educational performance between learners in the same country reflect the advantages accrued by those who continue to hold the mainstream knowledge and cultural capital according to which the school system operates and by which all students are judged.

If we were for a moment to overlook the lack of political will, and simply question the pedagogical approach of the educational systems of Chile and South Africa, the inequalities which their citizens experience in this arena could be said to stem from a failure to take seriously the social nature of learning. When education is understood as a cultural activity that entails socially constructed meaning making rather than simply the transfer and replication of information and skills, multiple cultures become recognizable in any learning activity:

> For instance, a pupil encounters the culture of home, the culture of peers, the culture of school, the culture of the science classroom, and the overarching culture determined by the community in which the pupil lives. (Jegede and Aikenhead 1999, p. 46)

Contrary to the mono-cultural approaches to learning, the above perception allows us to view learning as a cultural activity that is located simultaneously within a range of contexts. Also, these cultures should not be seen as embodying essential characteristics but rather understood in the way that Gutiérrez and Rogoff (2003, p. 21) suggest "that people live culture in a mutually constitutive manner in which it is not fruitful to tote up their characteristics as if they occur independently of culture, and of culture as if it occurs independently of people." They make use of the concept of "repertoires of practice" to "focus on people's history of engagement in practices of cultural communities" (p. 21). Rather than assigning characteristics to a group and the individuals from that group on the basis of membership, Gutiérrez and Rogoff propose looking for and responding to patterns in the ways in which people participate in cultural communities. Thus, learning cultures are understood in terms the individual's or group's familiar ways of learning or participating in an activity, and educational activity can then be based on the person's familiarity, experience, initiatives with an activity.

Drawing on repertoires of practice would require careful investigation of the dynamic ways in which communities and their learning activities are constituted and changed across time and circumstances. Gutiérrez and Rogoff (2003) therefore suggest a cultural historical approach for building an understanding of the regular and varying forms of activity, cultural artifacts, social relations, rules, and historical developments that constitute learning activity within a particular community.

Thus far we have contextualized some of the theoretical and historical lenses through which we view the Chilean and South African initiatives in the area of indigenous knowledges. We hope that these critical perspectives will raise questions about the relations between the hegemonic and marginalized knowledge communities in these contexts as we look at how South Africa is realizing its Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) policy through a range of institutional structures distributed across several government departments, and also when outlining EIB as a Chilean response to calls for the recognition of its indigenous heritage.

Indigenous Knowledges and South Africa

The graph below depicts results from a South African Social Attitudes Survey (SASAS) on South African's perceptions and attitudes towards indigenous knowledges. It indicates that people here are confident about the potential of indigenous knowledges for contributing to their well-being. Interestingly enough, the survey also found that the majority of the participants expressed more positive attitudes toward indigenous knowledges than modern science.

According to Moos et al. (2010): "Results from this survey clearly mandate government to implement policies that promote and protect IKS, and show that there is a place for a culture-derived and culture-driven development framework based on local knowledges of people and communities" (see Fig. 16.1).
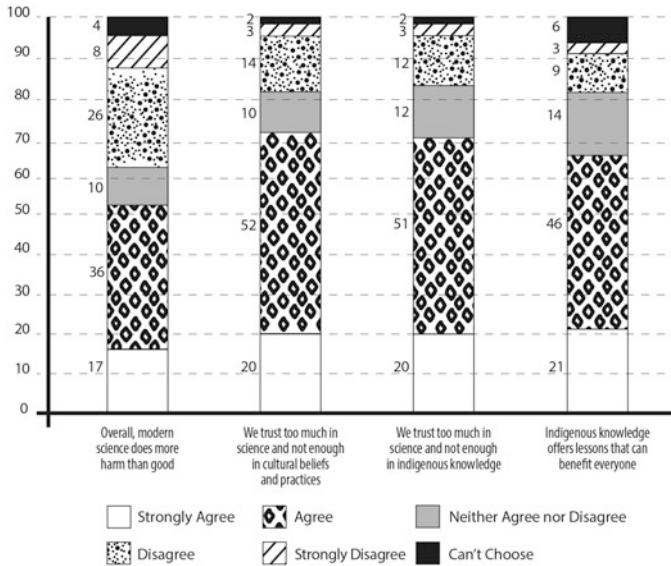
Fig. 16.1 Perceptions of science versus indigenous knowledge systems (*Source*: Moos et al. (2010))

It seems that the South African government has interpreted this as supporting their IK initiatives which have their root in their Indigenous Knowledge Systems Programme which was started in 1996 by the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee of Arts, Cultures, Science and Technology and the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). The initial research program collaborated with various universities to conduct audits of and workshops on indigenous technologies. Various committees were set up, of which Mosimege in his paper states, somewhat euphemistically: "Their composition, although at times not inclusive of all the necessary stakeholders, has made it possible for many stakeholders to make a contribution to a variety of matters in IKS" (Mosimege 2001, p. 77). This work in turn led to the drafting of a policy document on IKS which culminated in the Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) Policy of 2004. According to the Department of Science and Technology (DST), this policy acknowledges "local and indigenous communities silenced by the impact of colonialism and apartheid" and expresses the aims of the IKS policy as being "to recognize, promote, protect and develop IKS on its very own terms" (NIKSO 2010). These critical, indigenous-centered aims seem to be out of step with the historical development and structure of the actual spaces which have been set out for empowering indigenous people and their knowledges.

For example, IKS initiatives are implemented through four policy drivers that are managed by four national departments: the driver "Affirmation of African cultural values" is the responsibility of the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC); the "Development of IK based services" is driven by the Department of Health (DoH); the third driver is the "Interface with other knowledge systems" and is the responsibility of the Department of Science and Technology (DST); while the

"Contribution to economy" is led by the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) (PMG 2010). These programmes within the departments are coordinated by the National Indigenous Knowledge Systems Office (NIKSO) and relate to the mainstreaming of traditional health care, intellectual property rights legislation, bio-prospecting in the areas of traditional medicines, cosmoceuticals and nutriceuticals, to mention but a few. They have the intention of utilizing indigenous knowledges for national development through "interdisciplinary and multidimensional" approaches from the scientific and academic community. According to the NIKSO website:

> These initiatives aim at fostering better understanding of the interface of IKS with culture and science, culture and technology in a manner that gives recognition to traditional customs and practices. In essence, it will provide the bedrock for the generation of new knowledge and new consciousness. (NIKSO 2010)

However, further perusal of the NIKSO webpages reveals little further evidence of the prioritizing or even cognizance of a culture or consciousness that can be understood as indigenous, certainly not in the way in which we have defined it here. Its Knowledge Development Directorate, for instance, have objectives such as:

> Facilitation of the positioning of IKS within the NSI; Coordination of IKS Research Agenda; Establishment of IKS Chairs; Establishment of IKS Centres of Excellence; Establishment of IKS Laboratories; Bio prospecting and product development programmes. (NIKSO 2010)

It is difficult to see how indigenous worldviews, institutions, culture and practices can be effectively represented within the above objectives and the structures through which they are being realized.

Such an extractionist approach to IK, which imports it wholesale into a western system of categorizing and commodifying knowledges, is not confined to NIKSO and the above-mentioned departments.. Also within the field of education indigenous knowledges are approached from a primarily western perspective. Incredibly, as with the DST's IK initiatives, the education department's Curriculum 2005 approached the inclusion of indigenous knowledges from a global, western orientation that ignored the people and the philosophical basis which constitute these knowledges, as Shizha (2010) also contends. Pointing to the curriculum's origins in Australia, New Zealand, Scotland, Canada and the United States of America, he concludes:

> Hence, the curriculum has been criticized for creating a solution to skills and job concerns without addressing the cultural cognitions of students and indigenous people's input to knowledge thus, imposing a Western perspective and cultural imperialism. (Shizha 2010, p. 30)

This is confusing in light of the fact that one of the reasons for wanting to include indigenous knowledges the South African curricula was the focus on learner-centred approaches and the idea that more contextualized content would make the knowledges more accessible, thereby also improving student's ability to develop concepts (Keane 2010). However, it should not be forgotten that those currently governing South Africa are, after all, products of a colonizing education from which they draw benefit as the new elite. Despite her essentially optimistic position on the country's potential for socially just change, also Swanson (2012,

pp. 37–38) concedes that "the new elite's preoccupation with self-enrichment and aggrandizement rather than the pursuit of democratic ideals as espoused in much of the discourse of the anti-apartheid movement . . . threatens the unity and commitment of Ubuntu among indigenous peoples." Thus, while the humanist and spiritual philosophy of Ubuntu with its communitarian ideals may form part of the repertoires of the political leadership, so too do the "marks of oppression" (Freire 1970) scar their practice.

Sadly, the result is often a lack of consultation on the part of the South African education authorities, and this, coupled with the colonized mindsets of teachers who view that which is indigenous to be inferior (Shizha 2010), has led to a reluctance on the part of teachers to seriously attempt to incorporate indigenous knowledges into their education practice (Keane and Moyo 2010). Keane and Moyo claim, on the other hand, that more participatory approaches, such as those which they undertook in their research and seminars that engaged with teachers on these issues, led to a change of attitude from the teachers. Once the teachers, in this case as a community of science education practitioners from a variety of backgrounds, started to collaboratively define what indigenous knowledges were and how they could be included into their classroom practice, they became more positive about including these kinds of knowledges. Keane and Moyo conclude that it may be the participative process more than the content which is most significant in defining IK initiatives, pointing again to the exclusively hegemonic voices and spaces through which the incorporation of indigenous knowledges are being implemented.

Yet marginalized people have little choice but to engage with these voices and in these spaces. Education has become, for some, a necessary evil. The reluctant relationship that some African academics have within the academy is succinctly captured by Wright and Abdi (2012) when they describe it as "biting the hand that (force) feeds us; acknowledging the efficacy of progressive Western discourses but resentful of the absolute need to employ them in order to be understood." (2012, p. 3) The authors thus identify three position: *appropriation*- the utilization of pertinent academic tools; *ambivalence*—when the available discursive tools are somehow incongruous with the convictions of the Africans who use them; and *alternatives*—these are surrogate discourses that are centred around African perspectives.

At the same time, it would seem that the education authorities in South Africa to some, albeit limited extent share these ambiguous attitudes. Steeped in the history and ideology of colonialism, and pulled along by the currents of globalization, they seem to grapple, as their scholarly compatriots do, with broadening their repertoire.

Indigenous Knowledges and Chile

The dangers for indigenous people of globalization and its attendant universalization of educational practices and standards of assessment—i.e., the global architecture of education (Jones 2007)—are also evident in the case of Chile. The Chilean constitution's lack of recognition of that country as a multi-ethnic and multicultural

society is reflected in the hegemonic, mono-cultural bias of the education system (Marco Curricular). Undoubtedly the school has played a crucial role in the national policy of mono-culturality by means of, as Benjamín Maldonado Alvarado states, an interventionist army of "teachers and curricula" (Alvarado 2010, p. 375).

The Marco Curricular does little more than pay lip service to the history and situation of the indigenous peoples. It is worth noting that until recently the textbooks on Chilean history discussed the war of extermination against the Mapuche (Pacíficacón) as a victory of civilization over the uncivilized and barbarous (Bengoa 1985).

While indigenous traditions are mentioned in various ways in Marco Curricular they are primarily referred to in a superficial and folkloristic manner and the western, hegemonic discourse of Marco Curricular is never questioned in a comprehensive and fundamental way. More often the indigenous knowledges are rubbished in the classroom context and viewed as irrational and backwards, thus creating, like in South Africa, alienation and cultural and epistemological disillusionment among the children of indigenous communities. The marginalization of the language, the cultures, and the worldviews of the indigenous population in Marco Curricular thus does something to the self-confidence and self-esteem of the indigenous people in addition to the potential learning challenges it creates in schools.

The Mapuche activists therefore argue that the contents of the curriculum must be changed. They demand a Marco Curricular for all students with a content that encompasses indigenous epistemologies and cultures and that accommodates cultural difference. It has been argued that this lack of indigenous recognition and referencing in the Marco Curricular has to some extent been acknowledged by the Chilean government since the educational reform in the 1990s when the EIB (Educación Intercultural Bilingüe) was introduced to selected primary schools. While the introduction of EIB was a significant educational step in Chilean educational history, it must be noted that EIB is a supplementary curriculum to the national curriculum, Marco Curricular. As noted earlier, this subordinating of the teaching of indigenous knowledges in schools reflects the broader domination of the indigenous people by the state. This relationship is also alluded to by the earlier quote by the first director of the EIB, suggesting that it was the cognitive violence against indigenous epistemologies that a new curriculum wanted to address. According to this view, securing the basic property rights of the indigenous people was inadequate as long as the knowledge base is not protected. However, as with South Africa, such radical reform tends to become distorted when approached in a top-down manner. The potential for EIB to offer significantly different options is limited by the ability of these newly democratized states to break free from the models of colonial control. Contrasting the state-driven EIB programs of Mexico and Peru with the bottom-up evolution of EIB in Bolivia and Ecuador, (López 2010, p. 208) has this to say about such divergent developmental paths:

> This fact definitely marks their histories and makes the educational project in these countries an integral component of a much more comprehensive effort to reinforce and redefine democracy and, simultaneously, to critically review the current model of liberal democracy, in order to construct viable and useful alternative models of multi-ethnic, pluricultural, and multicultural societies.

What the imposition of EIB therefore denies is the dignity of indigenous people. Not only did the state limit indigenous people's participation in the construction of EIB, and consequently its scope, they also have presented it as having limited significance for the nation as a whole.

The biggest problem with the EIB program is that it is confined to a relatively small selection of schools (in the indigenous areas) and that EIB is not a completely new curriculum but a supplement to the national curriculum to address issues of cultures, cosmologies, histories, and worldviews among the indigenous peoples.

It means that EIB is not part of the mandatory curriculum, does not have the credits of a regular course, and generally does not have grades or evaluations. Moreover the medium of instruction in EIB is in Spanish, not the indigenous language. While the content of the EIB program is primarily addressing issues that seek to promote indigenous identity the question that begs itself is, however, to what extent indigenous identity construction is possible when the major thrust of the Macro Curricular, the focus at school every day, is assimilationist in nature and consolidates the ideologically determined objective of the hegemonic epistemology. Even though the intention behind the EIB is clearly to provide more relevant knowledges about indigenous culture, the question is whether such a supplementary educational track really is a good tool, not only to preserve, but to develop the indigenous identity and culture, to foster intercultural understanding and to improve the indigenous status as ordinary, not second class, citizens. During fieldwork in Araucanía Breidlid found that teachers and students perceived the role of EIB somewhat differently, to some extent dependent on how well and systematically EIB is run, and the multicultural climate in the school. Some students expressed pride in their Mapuche heritage and were eager to learn Mapudungun whereas other students did not want to expose their Mapuche origin in a school context, ashamed as they were of their ethnic background.

These differences of opinion notwithstanding the marginal nature of the EIB cannot, except in rare cases, give the indigenous people the cultural and epistemological substance needed for self-recognition and for indigenous identity construction. This was confirmed by one representative from the Ministry of Education who admitted that the EIB's exclusive focus on indigenous schools means that the necessary interaction with the majority society is precluded. It was, according to the representative from the Ministry, necessary to integrate indigenous cultures and epistemologies more comprehensively in the Marco Curricular.

The Chilean government's ambiguous attitude towards the indigenous population is due to the fact that acknowledging epistemologies that transcend or contradict the Western hegemony might have unforeseen political and cultural consequences. It would mean a translation of the government's rhetorical multiculturalism into praxis and invoke political controversy and strife.

The educational conflict between the majority society and the indigenous groups is clearly a social struggle that transcends the classroom walls. School can therefore not play the role as a redeemer in a system that promotes inequality since a

multicultural perspective in the education system must interrogate the asymmetrical power relations in the Chilean society. There is a sense that such a discourse is too much of a challenge for the very power structure on which the Chilean government is built. This is why the struggle for epistemic justice is not only a struggle for conscientization by those who are marginalized (Freire 1970); it is a struggle to deconstruct the current power structures in education and the society at large.

What makes the situation of the EIB even more problematic for the indigenous activists, and easier for the reluctant authorities, is that the indigenous people themselves are split on the question of EIB as well as on other issues, a reflection of the division among the indigenous people on the question of identity and re-ethnification.

There are obviously complex socio-political reasons why many indigenous communities have not supported re-ethnification projects including the EIB programs. The low estimation that many indigenous people hold of their own language and culture can be traced back to the historical context of colonialism and the very long story of oppression to which the indigenous people have been subjected. Many indigenous people have assumed that the only way to succeed in the Chilean society is to discard their indigenous identity. The various governments' divide and rule strategy on indigenous issues (embracing and supporting the integrationists and assimilationists and marginalizing the indigenous people who insist on redistributive, territorial, and cognitive justice) has made the terrain difficult for resistance politics.

Indigenous Consciousness

In the pervasive neo-liberal climate fostered by globalization processes even such areas of innovative expression as offered by indigenous worldviews have fallen prey to the lack of imagination and political will on the part of those who profess to be our leaders. This is amply demonstrated by the examples from South Africa and Chile where the governments showed themselves to be incapable of transcending the homogenizing hegemonic frameworks when dealing with initiatives in the field of indigenous knowledges. Nevertheless we do not want to end on such a negative note, and therefore offer the concept of indigenous consciousness as an alternative way of viewing indigenous knowledges as a resource.

Indigenous consciousness is "a way of knowing that incorporates the political and metaphysical elements of indigenous identities" (Botha 2011, p. 88). It refers to several forms of awareness, one of which has the nature of political attitudes and beliefs that construct a collective identity such as Black consciousness. Another element, as indicated above, is the spiritual, intuitive ways of knowing that form part of indigenous knowledges. From this concientized position, indigenous people would dictate their relationship with other cultures, including majority cultures, and be in a position to centre their interests, concerns and ways of relating to the world.

> An indigenous consciousness would therefore serve as the guiding principle for how indigenous knowledges should be incorporated into the mainstream knowledge community. It explains that the reason for including indigenous knowledges is to affirm indigenous people's identities as positive and valuable and not primarily for narrow economic motivations. (Botha 2011, p. 90)

Thus, rather than exploit indigenous knowledges primarily as a knowledge resource for economic gain, we advocate that it be considered as a cultural resource with the potential for broader, deeper social-cultural development.

Conclusion

While dominating perspectives of education and research are increasingly being challenged by a variety of postcolonial approaches, there seems to be an epistemological "glass ceiling" beyond which the mainstream discussions and practices of knowledge making do not go. Even as various Marxist, feminist and postmodernist intellectuals alert us to the multiple ways in which individuals and groups are being marginalized, their indebtedness to the knowledge traditions which they question leave us wondering if even these critical voices are capable of more than, albeit progressive, rhetorical and ideological re-positioning. How far can those of us working from inside a privileged cultural-epistemological space go to undermine the exclusivity of that position and the benefits it affords us?

The briefly outlined examples of the inclusion of indigenous knowledges in the national curriculums of Chile and South Africa demonstrate just how implicated our intellectuals and political leaders are in a global system that traces its roots to colonial relations which continue to shape inequalities in our social institutions. Perhaps they are more well-intentioned than we portray them here. Nevertheless, whether opportunistic or ambivalent they have failed to transcend colonial modes of conceiving education. Rather than draw on indigenous ways of knowing to expand our learning repertoires, the intellectual and political elite have been complicit in silencing or distorting these rich sources so that they may conform to the limited spectrum of the dominant epistemology. Often a globalised knowledge economy is cited as the reason for ignoring or undermining calls for educational initiatives that respond to a heterogeneous ontological and ideological landscape. In Chile the indigenous people, like many indigenous and marginalized groups globally, have become vocal opponents of the global architecture of education, exposing "dominant practices that negate the power of spirituality and local indigenousness ..." (Dei 2006, p. 15). Their calls have been met with little more than posturing and violence. In South Africa, the governing elite now represents the majority, indigenous population in the country, but seem unable or unwilling to embark on an educational course which takes the worldviews and epistemologies of the indigenous population seriously. The dire epistemological and educational consequences of such a course are not sufficiently understood, but are reflected in the poor performance of Black children in the education system from the primary school to higher education.

This is not to say that the indigenous people are not implicated in these processes of subjugation. As Breidlid's (2009) research in South Africa shows, the Black people themselves prefer to learn in English and according to a Western epistemological tradition rather than their own indigenous languages and epistemologies. The same applies in Chile where Ortiz (2007, p. 13) notes that: "Some parents have said: 'the Mapuche language and culture have no future. They are agonizing. It is already too late.' " Such positions are, on the one hand, the result of a powerful internalization of negative images of indigeneity projected by the dominating cultures. On the other hand, these subjugated communities can be seen as being pragmatic and strategic in placing their faith in globally dominant languages and ways of knowing (Breidlid 2013).

It is for these reasons that we believe the primary value of indigenous knowledges is its capacity to politicize and mobilize counter-hegemonic indigenous ideas and practices. As suggested above, such a liberatory practice could be driven by an indigenous consciousness, especially when it comes to interrogating conventional approaches to education. As a critical consciousness developed expressly for the purposes of contesting colonizing tendencies within mainstream knowledge making, an indigenous consciousness would expand the space for innovating learning praxis while centering such cultural activity according to knowledge criteria identified by indigenous people.

These are, however, just the possibilities we envision for indigenous knowledges, but we are convinced that it is to the indigenous people to whom we ultimately should look to take up the gauntlet, as many have done, and explore what a counterhegemonic indigenous consciousness could mean for extending the boundaries of anticolonial education. Even though it is ultimately the indigenous communities themselves who are most capable of leading us towards new ways of being in the world there is a recognition of the need to strike alliances between both indigenous and non-indigenous groups across localities, nations and continents in order to successfully reassert indigenous epistemologies and knowledges that were drowned in the wake of colonialism.

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Chapter 17
The Role of Schools in Native American Language and Culture Revitalization: A Vision of Linguistic and Educational Sovereignty[1]

Teresa L. McCarty and Tiffany S. Lee

> *We're trying to keep the things that our grandfathers have left for us in the best way we know how and the best way possible. Keeping it for the future, for the children … And language is key.*

> —Mr. Awanyanke
> Native American Community Academy Lakota language mentor[2]

Abstract This chapter takes as its starting point the status of Indigenous peoples as sovereigns and tribal sovereignty as the bedrock of self-government, self-education, and self-determination. We explore the implications of tribal sovereignty for policy and practice in Indigenous schooling, focusing on school-based language reclamation and maintenance. This is illustrated first through a historical discussion of Navajo- and Hawaiian-medium schooling, and then through two in-depth contemporary case studies of bi/multilingual education in the Southwestern United States: the Native American Community Academy and Puente de Hózhǫ́ Trilingual Public Magnet School. By creating new opportunities for children to learn in and through their heritage language and culture, these schools are elevating the scale or status of Indigenous languages in contemporary contexts and demonstrably

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[1]Parts of this chapter are adapted from Lee (2015), McCarty (2012, 2013a, b), McCarty and Lee (2014), and McCarty and Nicholas (2014).

[2]All names of research participants cited in this chapter are pseudonyms. Some names given represent terms in the Native language that exemplify the character of the individual. For example, at NACA, Mr. Awanyanke can simplistically be translated to Mr. Protector, and Mr. Yuonihan to Mr. Respectful.

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changing expectations for Indigenous languages as vital, dynamic carriers of distinct Indigenous knowledge systems. The chapter concludes with a vision of Indigenous linguistic and educational sovereignty as a tool for and expression of self-determination and cultural continuance and survival.

Keywords Native American Education • Indigenous language revitalization • Indigenous educational and linguistic sovereignty

We begin with the premise that understanding educational issues for Native American peoples must be coupled with understanding their unique legal and political status as tribal sovereigns. Unlike other ethnolinguistic groups in the United States, and in distinction from some Indigenous peoples in other parts of the world, Native Americans have a singular nation-to-nation relationship with the US government. Tribal sovereignty—the "right of a people to self-government, self-determination, and self-education" (Lomawaima and McCarty 2006, p. 10)—is inherent and predates the European invasion. Tribal sovereignty is also recognized in treaties, case law, and the U.S. Constitution. As we will argue, tribal sovereignty entails rights to language and culture. Nowhere have these rights been more contested than in the arena of schooling (McCarty and Nicholas 2014).

Between 1779 and 1871, the US government signed more than 400 treaties with American Indian tribes, of which 120 had education stipulations. Through treaty-making, Native peoples relinquished certain rights and possessions—most notably, land—in exchange for federal guarantees such as education and other social services. This is the basis of a legally and morally codified relationship of binding trust responsibility on the part of the federal government that entails federal assurances "to *protect or enhance* tribal assets—including fiscal, natural, human, and cultural resources" (Wilkins and Lomawaima 2001, p. 65; emphasis in original). The tribal-federal relationship has often been one of colliding interests, particularly in education, but this does not invalidate its binding legality and morality, nor does it vitiate the principle of tribal sovereignty. As our analysis shows, Native American peoples have in the past, and continue to vigorously exercise their inherent sovereign rights.

In this chapter, we underscore and extend the lessons of tribal sovereignty, exploring its implications for policy and practice in Indigenous schooling. Our concern is with the ways in which sovereignty is being enacted to reclaim and sustain Native American languages and cultural systems. We begin with a brief demographic and linguistic overview, and then contextualize the present situation of language endangerment and revitalization within historical and contemporary education experiences. We illustrate those experiences first with brief discussions of Navajo- and Hawaiian-medium schooling. Drawing on our collaborative and ethnographic work with Indigenous communities and schools in the southwestern United States, we follow this discussion by examining two case studies in depth. We conclude with a vision for Indigenous linguistic and educational sovereignty as both a tool for and an expression of self-determination and cultural survival.

Demographic and Sociolinguistic Background

In 2012, the U.S. Census Bureau reported 5.2 million American Indian and Alaska Native people (1.7 % of the total population), and 1.2 million Native Hawaiians and "Other Pacific Islanders" (0.4 % of the total population) (Hixson et al. 2012; Norris et al. 2012). Native Americans represent 566 federally recognized tribes and 617 reservations and Alaska Native villages. However, the 2010 Census also showed that 67–92 % of the American Indian and Alaska Native population resides outside of tribally held lands (Norris et al. 2012, pp. 12–13). Importantly for considerations of language, culture, and education, the median age of this population (31.9) is significantly younger than that of the non-Hispanic White population (40.1) (U.S. Census Bureau 2007, p. 7).

Approximately 700,000 American Indian and Alaska Native students attend K-12 schools. In addition, there are approximately 71,000 schoolage Native Hawaiians (age 5–18) in Hawai'i and approximately 136,268 nationally (Ng-Osorio and Tibbetts 2010; Nielson 2011). Native students are served by schools operated by the federal Bureau of Indian Education (BIE), tribal or community controlled schools under BIE purview but operated by local Native school boards, state-supervised public schools, private schools, and parochial schools. Nearly 90 % of Native American students attend public schools (Moran and Rampey 2008; Brayboy et al. 2015). While many of these schools are located within reservation lands or Alaska Native villages and have a majority Native enrollment, more than half of all Native American students attend schools in which they comprise less than 25 % of the student body (Moran and Rampey 2008). These schools are much less likely to have Native American teachers or teachers with Indigenous cultural competency.

This complicates the possibilities for incorporating Native American languages and cultural knowledge in school curricula, and represents one of the key challenges in Native American schooling today. Adding to this complexity is the fact that virtually all Native American languages are highly endangered. Recent assessments report 169 Native American languages spoken in the United States, excluding Hawaiian and languages spoken by peoples indigenous to Latin America and to American-affiliated Pacific Island territories (Siebens and Julian 2011, p. 1). The 2010 Census reported more than 372,000 speakers of Native American languages, almost half of whom are speakers of Navajo. Most Native American language users, however, are beyond childbearing age; in 2010 only one in ten young people age 5–17 reported speaking a Native American language (Siebens and Julian 2011, p. 3).

While helpful in providing a sense of the numbers and locations of Native American speech communities, "counting languages" is problematic not only because the census data are suspect (under-reporting and over-reporting may occur), but also because the project of enumeration is power-linked (Hill 2002). That is, we must ask who is doing the counting, of whom, by what criteria, and who benefits? Moreover, the census data do not account for "new speakers" who are learning and using their heritage language for a variety of everyday purposes, but who are

not first-language Native speakers—precisely the speakers language and culture revitalization projects aim to cultivate. As we will see, these new language users and uses constitute critical resources for language and culture reclamation.

The Sociohistorical and Contemporary Context for Native American Schooling

How did the present sociolinguistic situation come about? The causes of language loss are complex, but linguicidal education policies and practices have played a prominent role. Beginning in the early nineteenth century, Native students were subjected to a federal policy that forcibly removed them from their homes and communities to distant boarding schools where they endured "the continual verbal assault and denigration" of their home languages and cultures (Benally and Viri 2005, p. 90). "While trust responsibility and sovereignty were supposed to be the guiding principles of Indian education," Brayboy notes, "'appropriate' education was . . . that which eradicated Indianness or promoted Anglo values and ways of communicating" (2005, p. 437; for more on colonial schooling and language loss, see Reyhner and Eder 2004; Lomawaima and McCarty 2006).

This began to change in the mid-twentieth century, when, despite federal efforts to unilaterally terminate the trust relationship, Native people began flexing the political acumen acquired over decades of resistance to colonial policies, pushing for "self-government, self-determination, and self-education" (Lomawaima and McCarty 2006, p. 116). Educational sovereignty is an act of community building and change to reflect community needs, resources, and goals (Blum Martinez 2000; Manuelito 2006; Brayboy et al. 2015). Enactments of these processes within the Navajo Nation and the Hawaiian public school system exemplify these processes. The commonality of their success and achievements has been their ability to exercise educational sovereignty.

Navajo-Medium Schooling, 1970–2014

Despite the fact that the Navajo language has a large population of speakers (more than 169,000, according to the 2010 Census), the shift from Navajo to English among younger generations over the last several decades has been well documented (Spolsky 2002; Lee and McLaughlin 2001; Platero 2001; Holm 2006). School-based efforts to teach Navajo-speaking children through their language and later, to teach Navajo as a second language, have also been well documented (Roessel 1979; Holm and Holm 1995; Arviso and Holm 2001; McCarty 2002). Rock Point Community School and Tséhootsooí Diné Bi'ólta' (The Navajo School at the Meadow Between the Rocks, hereafter TDB), both located in northern Arizona, offer a long-range

view of how changing politics, policies, and attitudes of Navajo people themselves have affected Navajo self-determination in language education.

Rock Point was one of the first schools to move from being a federally controlled Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) school to contracting with the BIA to control the school's funding and academic focus. Rock Point "did have a good school," write Agnes and Wayne Holm, who led the school's early bilingual-bicultural efforts, "but, to do the things they now wanted to do, they had to leave that [BIA] system" (1990, p. 175). What Rock Point wanted to achieve was Navajo as the medium of instruction and the cornerstone of learning across all academic subject areas. Community control allowed Rock Point to shape the curriculum and pedagogy toward a Navajo-centered one. Over its first 25 years of contracting (1970–1995), the success of these efforts was demonstrated in students who performed on par with or better than their peers in nearby English-centered schools; this was achieved by re-envisioning Navajo language and culture as *resources* for learning (rather than as deficits, a defining characteristic of colonial schooling). As Holm and Holm remark, "Rock Point graduates came to value their Navajo-ness and to see themselves as capable of succeeding because of, not despite, that Navajo- ness" (1990, p. 184).

Rock Point is a reservation-interior community, and during the school's formative years, the community's geographic location served as a buffer against language shift. In urbanizing reservation border areas, language attrition is accelerated by greater access to and intrusions by English (-only)-speaking communities. The efforts at TDB, a Navajo-medium school located in a more populated area of the Navajo Nation, exemplify the ways in which Native communities are addressing this challenge by teaching the Indigenous language as a second language.

TDB began as a Navajo-language program within a K-3 English-medium school. School reform requirements provided the means, in 2004, for establishing the program as a school; subsequent expansions have enabled the school to serve Grades K through 8. As a separate school within a public school system, TDB has created a language-rich environment throughout the day, in and out of class time. Parents have been highly involved in the school and have received training for supporting the Navajo language development of their children. Technological tools were incorporated to support students and teachers, such as the use of laptops by students and parents at home to access online Navajo-medium lessons in reading, writing, and math. Teachers underwent training for teaching all content through Navajo; they adapted or created their own texts and curriculum, devised Navajo language and culture assessment systems, and designed measures to assess reading, writing, and math in and through Navajo (Arviso and Holm 2001; Johnson and Legatz 2006). These aspects of the school, which focused on high academic expectations within a Navajo-rich learning environment, have enabled students to perform well on English standardized tests (Arviso and Holm 2001; Holm 2006). In recent years, TDB has been the only school in the district to make "adequate yearly progress" (AYP) according to the requirements of the *No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act* of 2001.

Hawaiian-Medium Schooling, 1970–2014

The progress of schools and programs in Hawai'i has also shown great success with regard to language and culture revitalization. Hawaiian efforts represent the most broadly developed initiatives in Indigenous-language schooling across the United States (Hinton and Hale 2001). Due to bans on the Hawaiian language that followed the US military's illegal takeover of the Hawaiian Kingdom at the end of the nineteenth century, the number of Hawaiian speakers declined to a low of 500–1,000 by the 1970s (Warner 2001; Wilson and Kamanā 2001). Most of these speakers were elderly. Language reclamation efforts began in the 1970s, inspired by a more general Hawaiian cultural revolution or renaissance (Wilson 1999, 2014). Of note was the 1978 establishment, by a popular statewide vote, of Hawaiian as co-official with English. "By then," Wilson notes, "there were fewer than 50 children under age 18 who were fluent in the [Hawaiian] language" (2014, p. 221).

The Hawaiian renaissance precipitated a series of crucial developments in Hawaiian language education, beginning with parent-led 'Aha Pūnana Leo ("language nest") preschools, and evolving into Hawaiian-medium tracks within English-medium public schools and whole-school Hawaiian immersion programs. Hawaiian revitalization efforts extend into the university system as well, where students can obtain a PhD *in* Hawaiian *through* the Hawaiian language (Wilson 1999, 2014; Wong 2011). Linguists and language educators have declared the Hawaiian efforts as among the major revitalization success stories of the world because of the tremendous evolution and growth in the number of speakers and the comprehensive support available for the Hawaiian language and culture (Hinton and Hale 2001; Hinton 2010). This language environment includes individual, family, community, and broader institutional support, and control of the programs and educational approach remain firmly in the hands of Native Hawaiians themselves (for more on this, see Warner 1999; Wilson and Kamanā 2006; Wilson and Kawai'ae'a 2007; Wong 2011). While some scholar-practitioners have rightly noted that the unique cultural and infrastructure support for Hawaiian language revitalization is not present in most mainland Native communities, making parts of the Hawaiian model difficult to "transport" (Cowell 2012), the Hawaiian renaissance and components of the Hawaiian model have nevertheless provided inspiration and concrete strategies for adaptation in Indigenous language and culture reclamation projects throughout Native America (see, for example, McCarty 2013a, Chap. 5; Montgomery-Anderson 2013).

Advancing Indigenous Education by and for Indigenous People

Each example above provides a snapshot of the possibilities when Indigenous communities are able to exercise control and authority over the education of their children. We emphasize that these are but a few examples of many; Native American

language and culture programs operate in and out of school in every state and US territory (for examples, see Hinton and Hale 2001; McCarty 2013a). In every case, these initiatives are embedded in the cultural context of local communities, highlighting the significance of context and place for creating socially, linguistically, and culturally sustaining and revitalizing learning environments (McCarty and Lee 2014). Thus, Indigenous experiences with language and cultural renewal are not homogeneous; while similarities and parallels can be drawn, what is appropriate in one context cannot be simply transported or translated to another. Even in the two Navajo examples above, the needs, goals, and resources for language- and culture-based schooling are markedly different.

Instead, it is important to recognize that the approaches that diverse Native American communities and schools utilize in their language and culture reclamation efforts draw upon the lived experiences and everyday realities of community members as the basis for teaching and learning. In particular they use local Native languages to shape and strengthen the cultural identity and cognitive and affective growth of young language learners. This would be much more difficult (if not impossible) to accomplish without Indigenous community-based autonomy in implementing pedagogic practices rooted in the community's values, knowledge, and goals. To explore these issues in greater depth, we turn now to our case studies.[3]

The Native American Community Academy Case Study

> *We have two enrichment courses: Navajo and Lakota. Both are teaching us to take back our culture, which is like really excellent!*
>
> —Julie, Native American Community Academy middle school student

The overarching goal of the Native American Community Academy (NACA) is to inspire "a commitment to community and service" (NACA 2012a). NACA is a public charter school serving middle and high school students in Albuquerque, New Mexico, a city of approximately 500,000 in a state that is home to 22

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[3]The two case studies examined here are adapted from McCarty and Lee (2014). Each of the case studies was developed by one of the chapter authors based on our individual research at these study sites. Since 2005, Tiffany Lee has been a researcher, coordinator, parent, and governing council member at the first case study site, the Native American Community Academy (NACA). In this capacity she has observed and been involved in the successes and challenges of NACA to fulfill its mission while adhering to state mandates and regulations for operations. The research reported in this chapter took place between 2008 and 2010 and was conducted in one study by Lee and in another by Lee and her colleagues (Jojola et al. 2010). Between 2009 and 2011, Teresa McCarty conducted ethnographic research at the second case study site, Puente de Hózhǫ́ Trilingual Magnet School. Part of a larger national study headed by Bryan Brayboy of Arizona State University, the Puente de Hózhǫ́ study investigated the role of Native American languages and cultures in Native students' academic achievement (McCarty 2012; McCarty and Lee 2014). Both study sites gave permission to use the schools' actual names.

sovereign Native American nations. Approximately 5,500 Native American students are served by the Albuquerque public schools. As more Native people move outside their Native nation's boundaries, this population of school-aged children continues to grow, making schools such as NACA particularly important examples of how Native American educational and linguistic sovereignty is exercised in practice.

NACA opened in the fall of 2006 to approximately 60 students in sixth and seventh grades. It currently serves more than 400 students in Grades 6 through 12. With the goals of serving the local Native community and offering a unique approach to Indigenous education, the school integrates an academic curriculum, a wellness philosophy, and Native culture and language. NACA's mission is to provide a holistic education focused on "strengthening communities by developing strong leaders who are academically prepared, secure in their identity and healthy" (NACA 2012a). The wellness emphasis follows Indigenous educational philosophies of holistic attention to students' intellectual, physical, emotional, and social development within a community and cultural context.

At NACA, rigorous academic curriculum integrated with Native perspectives and values has resulted in greatly improved test scores in reading, and gains in math. For example, in 2011–2012, eighth graders demonstrated a 21 % increase in their math scores, a 20 % increase in reading scores, and a 9 % increase in their writing scores from the previous year (NACA 2012b). The student retention rate is above 95 % (personal communication with NACA school principal, 29 July 2012), and students in the first graduating class were admitted into a multitude of Ivy League, private, and public universities (NACA 2012c).

As a charter school, NACA is afforded more autonomy and flexibility than a typical public school, enabling it to provide an academic focus tailored to community needs and interests. In an effort to gain more control over the education of Indigenous students, Indigenous people have moved beyond the realm of influencing change within established public schools. Charter schools have played a growing role in Indigenous efforts to gain control over their children's education (see, for example, Kana'iaupuni 2008; Fenimore-Smith 2009; Ewing and Ferrick 2012).

While NACA is not completely bound to the policies and practices of established public schools, it must meet or surpass state standards determined by English standardized tests. The school is also required to offer state-mandated courses, including three years of math and two years of language. Teachers must be state certified. For many public schools, state standards and other requirements drive the pedagogical and curricular approach. The challenge for charter schools such as NACA, whose mission is connected to community, culture, and wellness, is to implement an educational approach that simultaneously meets their own goals and the requirements of the state.

NACA exemplifies a school that manages to exercise educational sovereignty within a state-controlled system. While charter schools have been criticized for fostering disinvestment in established public schools, equity in access and opportunity, and for variance in the quality of education they provide (Lakes and Carter 2009), they offer unique possibilities for Native communities to control the education of their children. NACA's wellness philosophy is one example of that unique

focus. The school promotes becoming a complete human being by emphasizing students' academic, physical, social, and emotional development (NACA 2012a). For example, in recent ethnographic observations by Lee, students discussed use of a "wellness wheel" that includes all those components to identify their development in each area. This is integral to NACA's overall wellness philosophy, which is based on Indigenous understandings of wellness and the contemporary social and economic conditions under which NACA students live, and aims to promote healthy development and lifestyles among students. Additionally, students are required to take a wellness class that incorporates experiential and physical learning activities, including yoga, running, and hiking. Students also learn conflict resolution and personal reflection techniques (Jojola et al. 2010).

Related to the wellness focus, NACA's curriculum integrates the protocols, morals, and values common to Indigenous communities represented at the school. This is intended to instill a foundation for students' cultural identity. One community member, Carrie, discussed a weekly morning ritual that draws on Native songs and communal gathering practices to incorporate this custom into the school:

> They gather students in a circle on Monday mornings, and they begin with the drum. They actually sing together. So that's something that's a part of their ritual for the school. And that's so important to have and so I think that that makes it feel like it's a community and it's unified. (Interview, 6 March 2008)

In addition to creating new traditions for the school, some teachers utilize assessment practices that respond to a holistic view. Lakota language teacher Mr. Yuonihan does not assess students for content knowledge alone; he also evaluates students based on their development as caring and empathetic human beings and on the quality of relationships they have with one another. Mr. Yuonihan said, "Another way that I evaluate if they're receiving some of the things that I'm teaching them is how they treat each other out here when they're not in class" (Interview, 16 April 2008). He looks for his students to demonstrate respect, compassion, and helpful behavior with others, as these are also attributes associated with the way the Native language is used and how Native people treat one another. Likewise, he creates a reciprocal and respectful relationship with his students. He paraphrased how he explains this to his students:

> The relationship that we're gonna have in this classroom, I'm gonna treat you like one of my nieces or nephews—so that it does not end once we are out of this class. It does not end once you've graduated from NACA. We're always gonna have that relationship and I expect you guys to acknowledge me and I will acknowledge you like that. (Interview, 16 April 2008)

This holistic approach to student, family, and community wellness serves as an important illustration of the exercise of Indigenous educational sovereignty in this contemporary public school setting.

Indigenous languages are inseparable from this educational approach. Language is vital to cultural continuity and community sustainability because it embodies both everyday and sacred knowledge, and is essential to ceremonial practices. Language is also significant for maintaining Indigenous knowledge systems, cultural identity,

spirituality, and connections to land (Benjamin et al. 1996; Wilson 1999; Benally and Viri 2005; Morell 2007). Additionally, as we have seen with the Rock Point, TDB, and Hawaiian examples discussed earlier (and as we see in both case studies examined here), strong Native language and culture programs are highly associated with ameliorating persistent educational inequities between Native students and their non-Native peers by enhancing education relevancy, family and community involvement, and cultural identity (Arviso and Holm 2001; McCarty 2009, 2012; Brayboy et al. 2015).

In 2008, NACA offered two languages for middle and high school students: Navajo and Lakota. Both language teachers were new to teaching and neither had attended a traditional teacher education program. The Navajo teacher, Ms. Tsosie, obtained her license through the Navajo Nation's language endorsement program. New Mexico has a memorandum of agreement with New Mexico tribal communities to certify language teachers endorsed by the tribes (New Mexico State Legislature 2002). This agreement does not apply to languages not tied to New Mexico historically, such as Lakota, so the Lakota teacher, Mr. Yuonihan, received an emergency alternative license through the state public education department. This highlights the need for recognizing other Native language populations in the state.

The teachers expressed interest in learning language immersion teaching methods, and a language immersion training program and immersion camp for students were implemented in the summer of 2008. The teachers selected mentors to assist in their learning and the implementation of the camp. Both teachers and mentors spent 1 week training with experts in Native-language immersion. The teachers then applied what they learned in a 1-week camp for NACA students attended by six Navajo and ten Lakota language students.

In interviews and observations conducted by Lee prior to and following these activities, the teachers and mentors made clear the importance of having autonomy and flexibility for teaching cultural values that instill cultural identity through language-based methods. For each teacher and mentor, teaching their Native language to students was one way to contribute to cultural continuity and "to set a spark inside of them to have them want to learn more" (Interview with Mr. Awanyanke, 20 June 2008). Teaching the language was associated with creating a sense of belonging for students. It was a way to strengthen their cultural identities, pride, and knowledge of the cultural protocols associated with being Navajo or Lakota. Standard language programs typical of most public schools focus solely on language mechanics, not cultural ties and values. As Navajo mentor teacher Ms. Begay noted, they were able to teach students

> the etiquette of when someone comes to visit you, how you tell them come in, *wóshdéé'*, and they shake your hands, and you also address them by who they are to you. If it's an aunt, uncle, grandma, grandpa, then you always ask them to have a seat and offer them a drink and something to eat. (Interview, 22 July 2008)

This aspect of teaching Native languages is deeply connected to the cultural community, and the teachers believed it was their responsibility to pass on the language. Schools must be able to accommodate, respect, and value this high level of

community-oriented education. Ms. Tsosie discussed the value of using immersion as a community-oriented and more natural process for learning Navajo:

[W]hen you say immersion, it ties back to your homeland, your environment. And it makes more sense when you do it in that type of a setting/environment, than, like, in a classroom. (Interview, 22 July 2008)

NACA teachers also noted the importance of including parents and other family members in the process of language revitalization. A family day incorporated into the camp provided that opportunity. The teachers acknowledged the risk students took to involve themselves in the camp, meaning their willingness to learn their language during their free summer time and regardless or their level of linguistic ability. When the families came for family day, teachers expressed a great sense of accomplishment by raising parents' awareness of community-wide language shift and by involving them in the process of language education.

Language revitalization also requires schools to adapt to non-traditional teaching methods and practices. In particular, NACA teachers found the teacher/mentor pairing extremely helpful for delivering their lessons effectively. As Ms. Tsosie commented,

I think it's nice if you co-teach with another teacher; it's so much easier just to stay in the language. But if it's just you, you feel like . . . I mean sometimes I feel like I'm talking to myself. (Interview, 22 July 2008)

Similarly, Ms. Begay believed collaborative language immersion teaching strengthened teachers' language abilities. She said,

I think we can get frustrated easily, staying in the languages if you're all by yourself. But if you co-teach with someone, I think it's a little easier. At least you can bounce ideas off of one another, or if you're only trying to explain one thing one way, the other person can help explain it a different way—where the kids can better understand. (Interview, 22 July 2008)

The summer program offered teachers opportunities to create experiential learning activities outside the classroom, which proved to be highly beneficial to student learning. Those activities were culturally based, strengthening ties between language and culture. This is a method Hermes (2007) has asserted will authentically connect to cultural understandings for students. For example, the Lakota teachers involved students in the Lakota tradition of setting up a tipi and participating in a sweat lodge ceremony, using language immersion throughout the activity. This was a challenge for the teachers as well as students, but they all felt an enormous sense of accomplishment and pride when it was done. Cultural connections through language were also significantly strengthened. Mr. Awanyanke discussed the complexity of the process, demonstrating the high expectations and high engagement experiential learning opportunities create:

The two major activities are going to be putting up a tipi and preparing for a sweat lodge. So it all sounds simple, but in putting up a tipi, you have to clear the grounds. Then you have to get those three poles and you tie those together, but there's a prayer and it's smudged off first. There's a certain way you tie it. There's a feather that's tied. There's a rising of those three poles . . . .We can talk to them about the importance of that, where that comes from, why that is the way it is. (Interview, 21 July 2008)

This process in the language portrays the broad and significant use of Lakota that is required. When students achieved the goals of these activities, Mr. Awanyanke recognized the effect it had—

> That day more than anything we stayed entirely in the language . . . without using any English. I think they felt really accomplished by doing that because they understood, and of course the sign language and everything helped . . . . all we did in the sweat was we spoke in Lakota and they were really respectful. It was almost surprising how respectful it was. So I think [we achieved] like a sense of belonging and a sense of pride in who they are and what they're doing. (Interview, 21 July 2008)

The teachers' use of immersion combined with non-verbal cues (e.g., sign language) in a cultural context enabled students not only to learn the language, but to connect it to their identities and communities. This was a very powerful outcome accomplished because of the teachers' knowledge, skills, and determination to create culturally driven lessons and activities. In short, the structure of the summer program enabled the exercise of educational sovereignty in practice.

Charter school systems can facilitate an immersion focus in language courses or throughout the entire school. They also allow greater flexibility for experiential learning and collaborative teaching. By broadening teacher autonomy, the pedagogical possibilities are widened. At NACA, for example, teachers have utilized their language immersion training to create partial immersion experiences in their courses. One crucial outcome has been the self-empowerment of teachers and mentors; they have witnessed the ways in which they are making a difference in revitalizing their languages and have been excited to apply what they learned to their courses in ways that made sense during the academic year. However, the significant factor here is that they believe their school will honor their ideas and support their plans that might fall outside of mainstream schooling practices.

The Puente de Hózhǫ́ Case Study

> *It's cool for us to learn Navajo, because . . . a lot of kids that are, like, Navajo – they don't get to learn.*

> — Dacey, Puente de Hózhǫ́ graduate, 8 June 2011

Nestled against a mountain sacred to Native peoples in northern Arizona, Puente de Hózhǫ́ Trilingual Magnet School serves Native and non-Native students in Grades K through 5. The school gets its name from the Spanish words *puente de* (bridge of) and the Navajo word *hózhǫ́* (beauty or harmony); it is Bridge of Beauty School. According to school founder Michael Fillerup, the name mirrors the vision of a "school striving to connect and celebrate the three predominant languages and cultures" of the local community—Spanish and Mexican American traditions, Navajo (Diné) language and culture, and English and Anglo American traditions (2011, p. 150). In a school district in which 26 % of students are American Indian (mostly Navajo) and 21 % are Latino/a, "local educators were

searching for innovative ways to bridge the seemingly unbridgeable gap between the academic achievement of language minority and language majority children," Fillerup explains (2005, p. 15). The goal is to create an environment in which children from diverse language and culture backgrounds can "learn harmoniously together" while acquiring the ability to speak, read, and write proficiently in two languages (Fillerup 2011, p. 164). Academic rigor, bilingualism, and cultural enrichment represent the school's tripartite aims (Fillerup 2011, pp. 149–150).

To achieve these goals, Puente de Hózhǫ́ (hereafter PdH) offers a two-way immersion program in Spanish and English, and one-way Navajo immersion for English-dominant Native American students. While the two programs enroll different groups of students, each program enriches and interacts with the other, and both are part of an overall multilingual, multicultural school emphasis designed to develop "cultural competence" among all students. This emphasis is defined by PdH educators as:

> You know and are comfortable with people of different races, ethnic backgrounds, and cultures. You're also comfortable with your own cultural identity. (Field Notes, 12 January 2010)

All required state standards are taught in either Navajo and English or Spanish and English.

Most of the school's 122 Native American students (about 28 % of total school enrollment) are Navajo, although many come from racially and ethnically mixed family backgrounds. Virtually all the Native students speak English as a primary language. While many Navajo students come from the local urban area and reservation border areas, Navajo teachers state that some come from the "heart of the [Navajo] reservation" to experience the "language rich, Navajo-English instruction" the school provides (Interview, 3 November 2009).

Like other Native American language and culture revitalization efforts, PdH grows out of a larger Indigenous self-determination movement reflected in Māori-medium schooling in Aotearoa/New Zealand and Hawaiian-medium schooling in Hawai'i. The goal at PdH has been to develop an instructional program that "harmonizes without homogenizing"—a school, in Fillerup's words, "where each child's language and culture [are] regarded not as a problem to be solved but as an indispensable resource, the very heart and soul of the school itself" (2012, para 3). With the motto of "the Power of Two" (a reference to the school's promotion of bilingualism and bi/multiculturalism), PdH has received an overwhelmingly positive response from parents and community members. In fact, says Fillerup, "We quickly realized that one of our biggest challenges would be turning students away because we could not accommodate all who were interested" (Fillerup 2011, p. 152).

Begun in 2001 as a kindergarten program housed in three vacant high school classrooms, PdH grew into a separate public elementary school serving about 450 students. As the epigraph that begins this section suggests, PdH educators view their mission as fulfilling the inherent sovereign right of Native American children to learn their heritage language and culture. Like the approach taken by NACA, this is accomplished through small and large acts of educational and linguistic

self-determination. At PdH, those acts begin with a stunning visual statement that greets all who enter the school: expansive exterior wall murals created by the "artists of Puente de Hózhǫ́"—students working under the mentorship of renowned Navajo artist Shonto Begay—depicting the Navajo girls' puberty ceremony (*Kinaaldá*) and the multihued topography of *Diné Bikeyah* (Navajo Country or Navajoland). Throughout the school, the print environment displays vivid images of academic content in Navajo, Spanish, English, and often other languages reflected in students' multicultural studies.

In the Navajo-medium program, kindergartners receive approximately 80 % of their instruction in Navajo, with English instructional time increased until a 50/50 balance is attained in Grades 4 and 5. Navajo knowledge is integrated throughout the curriculum in a Navajo-specific design. "At Puente," an administrator notes, "culture is just a daily experience integrated throughout the day" (Interview, 18 May 2010). Four overarching themes organize curriculum content: earth and sky, health, living things, and family and community (Fillerup 2011, p. 152). A Navajo teacher described how this works in her classroom:

> [We] have monthly themes, we incorporate science, . . . social studies, . . . math . . . .So our first month will be about . . . self-esteem—it is more of your clanship, your kinship, who you are, where you come from . . . ."You are of the Diné [Navajo] people, you should be proud of who you are and how you present yourself as a Navajo person." [T]hat's all intertwined with some [cultural] stories as well. (Interview, 3 November 2009)

Everything, another teacher remarked, takes place in the Navajo language; students learn Navajo terms for gender by lining up in gender-defined groups for bathroom breaks; they learn color terms by lining up according to the color of their shirts— "you know, whatever is on the agenda for that day, [those subjects] are taught in Navajo" (Interview, 12 January 2010).

PdH educators explicitly reject the remedial labels historically associated with bilingual and Indigenous education in the United States. "This school is predicated on [the assumption] that learning more than one language is a *good* thing," says one school administrator (Field Notes, 12 January 2010). According to PdH educators, the way to ameliorate long-standing academic disparities is to create a school culture in which "diverse languages and cultures [are] regarded as assets rather than deficits, as things to be desired and augmented rather than eliminated or suppressed" (Fillerup 2011, p. 149). Instruction in Navajo language and culture therefore shares equal status with English and academic content in English. "We have to tell the parents, this is not what they were used to in their own schooling," a Navajo teacher states (Field Notes, 12 January 2010). Teachers speak of their work as a reversal of past pedagogic practices, including their own. As one Navajo teacher acknowledged when asked if her children spoke Navajo:

> When I was a young parent, I really didn't know what it meant . . . to value the language that you were raised in . . . we were just barely getting over the shame of being Native American . . . that we were minorities and we were not of value . . . .I think working as a bilingual teacher here at Puente de Hózhǫ́ really opened my eyes to how important my language and culture are. (Interview, 12 January 2010)

As this statement suggests, this is a school community that, in its everyday practice, aims to conquer what López (2008) has called the "subaltern condition" of bilingualism, indigeneity, and difference.

How well have students done in PdH's Navajo language and culture program? In terms of their academic development in English, with the exception of 1 year early in the program, students have consistently met or exceeded federal and state benchmarks for AYP. In 2008, Native students at PdH surpassed their Native American peers in English-only programs by 14 % and 21 % in Grades 3 and 4, respectively. In 2009, fifth grade Native students outperformed their English-only peers in reading by 11 %, and in mathematics by 12 %. In math, sixth grade Native students outperformed their English-only peers by 17 %, and PdH students "outperformed their English-only peers across all grade levels in writing" (Fillerup 2011, p. 163). In recent years PdH has ranked among the top-performing schools in the district. Importantly, and reflective of international research on bilingual education, the students who performed the best on English assessments have tended to have the longest experience in the Navajo language and culture program. And, of course, they are also becoming fluent and literate in a second language—Navajo.

The program's impacts, however, extend beyond the scores on English-language tests. As one teacher noted, "[H]earing parents comment on how much their kids have learned, or that their child may be the only one of all the cousins that [is] speaking to their grandparents—this tells us that we are doing something [worthwhile]" (Interview, 3 November 2009). These are the unquantifiable but highly consequential outcomes of immersion programs such as PdH. As Fillerup (2011, pp. 163–164) describes PdH's multilingual, multicultural school culture:

> If you walk down the halls, you will hear students and teachers speaking in Spanish, Diné [Navajo], or English, depending on the classroom. You will see student work featured on the walls in three languages. You may see students learning a traditional dance in the gym or [creating] a cultural mural . . . . You may see students giving PowerPoint presentations . . . in Spanish, English, or Diné. You will see a lot of smiles . . . , and not just on the faces of the students. You will see living proof that children of diverse language and cultural backgrounds can learn harmoniously together.

Toward a Vision of Indigenous Educational and Linguistic Sovereignty

The cases and examples we have examined here illustrate the exercise of linguistic and educational sovereignty in response to particular sociohistorical and contemporary cultural conditions. These are just a few of many in- and out-of-school Indigenous language and culture reclamation projects operating throughout Native North America. By creating new opportunities for Native language and culture in and out of school, these initiatives are elevating the scale or status of community languages (Blommaert 2010). This cultural, linguistic, and pedagogic work undergirds and is reinforced by a more widespread language rights movement that has found

expression in official policies such as the 1990/1992 Native American Languages Act and the 2006 Esther Martinez Native American Languages Preservation Act, and in such organizations as the American Indian Language Development Institute, the Indigenous Language Institute, the Breath of Life Workshops and Institutes, and annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposia. All are examples of linguistic and educational sovereignty in action.

In the same way that tribal sovereignty, as a legal-political status, is not without limits, so does Indigenous linguistic and educational sovereignty operate in constant interaction with—and often in tension with—overlapping sovereignties and interests. That Native American nations and educators recognize this is evident in their sustained efforts to develop parallel educational standards such as those created by the schools serving Navajo, Lakota, and Native Hawaiian students described here. This complicates but does not contradict the right to and the exercise of linguistic and educational sovereignty. Control of language and culture in Indigenous education "doesn't have to be a one-way choice," states Navajo educator Monty Roessel; "done correctly, it is a BOTH-AND" (2011, p. 23; emphasis in original).

Language and culture revitalization and maintenance have been argued by scholars to be fundamental human rights (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000; McCarty 2003; Skutnabb-Kangas and Dunbar 2010; Brayboy et al. 2015; May 2012). This becomes all the more significant with the detrimental impacts of globalization in that Indigenous languages represent communities with limited land bases and financial capital in the global "linguistic market" (Bourdieu 1999). Historical and contemporary hegemonic conditions that suppress the linguistic rights of Indigenous peoples have contributed to community change and assimilation into Western ideologies that position Indigenous languages, peoples, and cultures as inferior. Thus, framing language and culture revitalization efforts within Indigenous epistemologies is essential for confronting those Western ideologies and driving self-determined approaches. Language and culture revitalization is not simply a matter of equity in education; it is a matter of cultural continuity, self-determination, and survival.

Unfortunately, current US education policy, represented in the *No Child Left Behind Act* of 2001, attempts to force a "one-way choice," pitting academic achievement in English against the goals of language and culture revitalization and maintenance. In some US states, this either-or dichotomy is exacerbated by harsh English-only policies such as those currently operating in California and Arizona public schools (Gándara and Hopkins 2010; Arias and Faltis 2012; Moore 2014). Yet, as evidenced in the cases presented here, these are false and ultimately profitless dichotomies. "Native American parents want their children to do well in school" by dominant-society standards, Blum Martinez points out in an analysis of language and tribal sovereignty among the Pueblos of New Mexico (2000, p. 217). This does not negate the fact that parents "also recognize that their children will need to lead their communities" in the future (Blum Martinez 2000, p. 217). Preparing children for full participation in their communities requires that they have access to local Indigenous knowledge, including the community language through which that knowledge is acquired.

This vision of Indigenous linguistic and educational sovereignty—and the challenges and possibilities it represents—is well understood by the Native American educators who negotiate its parameters each day. We close with the reflections of one such educator—a Navajo teacher at Puente de Hózhǫ́ School. Asked to reflect on her aspirations for her students, she replied that she hoped they would leave school prepared for the "real world"—a world of multiple languages, cultures, and citizenships (Interview, 12 January 2010). This is also the vision of Indigenous linguistic and educational sovereignty outlined here—a pedagogic positioning firmly rooted in its own self-determined linguistic and cultural identifications, yet expansive enough to respect and reciprocate the linguistic and cultural traditions of others.

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Chapter 18
Between the Community and the Individual: Identity in Intercultural Education in Mexico

Rocío Fuentes

Abstract Intercultural education is among the latest education paradigm shifts in Mexico. After decades of linguistic and cultural policies that attempted the acculturation of indigenous minorities, the intercultural model arose to acknowledge the diversity that exists throughout the country. This chapter examines how intercultural education has helped improve the quality of instruction and create an ethical change that leads to a more egalitarian coexistence between the mestizo majority and the indigenous communities in Mexico. The implementation of intercultural education has been criticized by some because of concerns about its theoretical foundations, lack of curricular support, and imprecise political objectives. However, it has given grass roots organizations the opportunity of developing their own educational projects. This study explores how the role of culture and identity are conceptualized in officially-sanctioned documents and the way in which an indigenous school and community organization interpret it. A critical discourse analysis of policy papers, teacher training materials, and interviews with indigenous teachers, community leaders, and policy brokers reveals key differences between the official model and the opinions of the indigenous actors. Intercultural education is appropriated and redefined by the indigenous organizations and in the process emerges a community-based identity that goes beyond traditional linguistic boundaries.

Keywords Intercultural education • Mexico • Indigenous population • Identity • Discourse analysis

Background and Objectives

Mexico was born as a country in the nineteenth century. Product of an uneasy mixture of indigenous and Spanish legacies, its history is a continuous search for its identity and the place that the indigenous groups should have in the national life.

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According to INEGI (2011), about 15.7 million people are classified as indigenous. This number makes Mexico the country with the third largest native population in the Americas. Although the indigenous groups are a significant percentage of the general population, they suffer from chronic poverty and low levels of education. About one third of the children between 6 and 14 years of age do not attend school; of those who went to school only 50 % completed sixth grade, and 26.6 % are illiterate versus 5.1 % of the general population. The linguistic diversity of the indigenous groups further complicate the educational landscape, since there are 11 language families, 67 linguistic groups and 364 language variants with different levels of vitality (INLI 2008). But despite its marginalized status, the indigenous population represents an untapped economic resource that the Mexican government has tried to incorporate into the national project for decades, if not centuries.

Since the foundation of the country, education has been a tool for both managing linguistic diversity and creating a national identity (see Staples 1998), especially after the Revolution of 1910, when the objective was the cultural and linguistic unification of the country under the idea of *mestizaje*; that is, the mixture of the Spanish and indigenous heritage (Vaughan 1982). Despite its attempts to create an identity that would encompass all Mexicans, the governmental policies (including educational ones) showed their failure during the *Zapatista* indigenous uprising of 1994. Among other demands, the indigenous groups requested an education that was respectful to their linguistic and cultural characteristics.

Intercultural education was officially implemented in 2001.[1] In addition to addressing the educational deficiencies that affect the indigenous population, intercultural education promotes the acceptance of diversity (ethnic and otherwise), and focuses on creating a new identity that goes beyond the traditional monolingual monocultural *mestizo*. Although both the indigenous groups and the educational authority agree on the importance of fostering a strong identity in order to combat the effects of racism, the type of identity that indigenous groups and the educational authority attempt to achieve is essentially different. This new identity implies a type of citizen whose functions in the globalized world and loyalty to the State is in opposition to the values and aspirations of the indigenous communities.

This study will explore the tensions and overlaps in the discursive construction of identity in intercultural education through a critical discourse analysis (van Dijk 2003) of official policy documents, interviews with policy brokers, indigenous leaders and educators. The analysis shows that although there are some agreements between the official and indigenous discourses, there are discontinuities in the degree and direction of the expected effects of intercultural education at the community and the individual levels.

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[1]The term "intercultural education" had been used in South America since the late 1980s. Hamel (2008) argues that the model was adopted in Mexico without any discussions or adaptations. This is part of a common trend in indigenous education in Mexico which Gigante (1994) calls "change of gear." That is, models are switched without allowing the previous one to be fully implemented.

Intercultural Education

The history of indigenous education in Mexico dates back to Colonial times (see Brice-Heath 1992); however, it is in the twentieth century where the most systematic attempts to educate the indigenous masses were taken. In this respect, Hamel (2000) identifies two main tendencies in the education of indigenous groups. The first one, which extended from the 1920s to the 1970s, focused on the linguistic and cultural assimilation of the ethnic minorities. In the educational policies steaming from this monocultural model, the goal was the *Castilianization* of the students, and the cultural homogenization of the population. Ethnic and linguistic diversity was seen as a problem that needed to be solved in order to preserve the integrity of the country. The second one, based on a multiculturalist model, promoted the maintenance of the students' native tongues. In addition to bilingualism, it also aimed at the development of a bicultural identity, which was the main shortcoming of the model. As (Hernández 2001) has pointed out, only the indigenous children were supposed to become bilingual and bicultural, while the mainstream students did not have any responsibility. Thus, even though the importance of the native languages and cultures in the education process was acknowledged, the model still implied social inequalities. In addition, the actual implementation of the languages and cultures in the curriculum failed because of lack of pedagogical support, materials, teacher training, and overall political interest.

After the Zapatista uprising of 1994, it was evident that the indigenous as well as the mainstream educational systems needed to be reformed. Intercultural education was officially adopted with linguistic, cultural and pedagogical objectives: it attempt to preserve and develop the native languages and cultures; to rethink the role of indigenous knowledge in the educational process; to promote cultural understanding and tolerance; to create new ways of coexistence between the indigenous and mestizo populations; and to change pedagogical practices that created deficiencies in indigenous schools. The need to create citizens who could face the demands of the globalized world and be able to coexist in a diverse society was also a reason for adopting intercultural education (Schmelkes 2004).

In 2001, the second chapter of the Mexican Constitution was amended to decree intercultural education as the type of instruction that indigenous groups should receive; however, Muñoz Cruz (1998), in his review of the legal basis and political objectives of intercultural education, has pointed out that although the indigenous communities demanded a culturally responsive type of instruction, the intercultural model was designed and implemented in a top-down fashion. The National Program of Education (2001–2006) officially adopted intercultural education as national policy, and in January of 2001, the General Coordination of Intercultural Bilingual Education (CGEIB) was created and appointed as the institution in charge of developing and evaluating interculturally-based educational programs.

CGEIB (n.d., Objetivos) established the following objectives:

1. To improve the quality of education directed at indigenous populations;
2. To promote intercultural education directed at the indigenous population at all levels; and
3. To develop intercultural education for all Mexicans.

Even though intercultural education has been deemed necessary for all the population as a way to create a "transition to a reality in which different cultures can relate to each other as peers" (SEP 2001, p. 45), the objectives outlined above mainly refer to the indigenous groups. As Millán (2006) argues, despite the official discourse, intercultural education is still seen as another form of indigenous instruction, which has created ambiguities in its implementation and definition.

According to Schmelkes (2004) intercultural education should help resolve two main types of asymmetries that developed as a consequence of the power inequalities between the mestizo and the indigenous groups. The first one, educational asymmetry, has as a consequence the regrettable state of indigenous education, and its problems of high drop-out rates, access to school, and illiteracy. Intercultural education focuses on the development of the *quality* of education for indigenous children and makes it responsive to their linguistic and cultural needs. The second kind of asymmetry is the one that has its roots in the values—and ideologies—of the population. Ever since the Spanish conquest and subsequent colonization, the indigenous groups have been subjugated. The majority's culture, *mestizaje,* became the standard of what it means to be Mexican.

Even though the *mestizo* appeared as a fundamental part of the nation in the discourse of nineteenth century intellectuals, it was not until after the Revolution of 1910, when it became the centerpiece of the State ideology that guided educational policies from the 1920s on. After the Revolution, it was necessary to unify the country, especially along ethnic and economic lines that had created the uprising. Being a *mestizo* meant being a Mexican; in this sense, *mestizaje* can be understood as an ideological matrix that unifies and erases social and racial inequalities as they are translated into a realm of harmony and acknowledgement with the State functioning as a mediator between the masses and the elites, and a provider for the former.

In 1921, the Secretariat of Education was founded with José Vasconcelos at the helm. Vasconcelos, a writer and philosopher, believed that the indigenous groups should be assimilated to the national project. He refused to create bilingual education programs arguing that the levels of monolingualism were low, and that the students' native languages were not suitable for instruction since they could not be written. Furthermore, he claimed that even indigenous leaders spoke in Spanish to their peers in order to be understood; therefore, it was Spanish what should be taught. Vasconcelos' nation was anchored on an identity that was rooted in the Spanish language and guaranteed by an educational system that Castilianized and assimilated the indigenous groups into mexicaness—understood as *mestizaje* (see Fuentes 2014).

Despite the acknowledgement that the Mexican identity was comprised by both indigenous and Spanish heritage, as Marentes (2000) has pointed out, this mixture is not equal, as the indigenous part has been belittled or denied. For instance, in her analysis of official textbooks used in elementary schools, Alvarez (1992) concludes that they present information that is both incorrect and incomplete about the indigenous cultures. The books also relegate the indigenous groups as mythical founders—not actual, real life individuals. Furthermore, not all of the indigenous groups are considered to be worthy of being included into the cultural and racial mixture of *mestizaje*. The privilege is reserved for groups that developed advanced civilizations, such as the Aztecs or Mayans. This rejection has created discrimination against the native peoples and their way of life, not only among the majority, but also the indigenous groups themselves. Schmelkes (2009) identifies this internalized discrimination as an obstacle to achieving interculturality, because it prevents interaction on equal levels and mutual respect. Thus, intercultural education implies a change in pedagogical practices in order to improve the quality of indigenous education, but it also attempts to create ethical changes that result in political transformations that lead to a more egalitarian society and a new relationship between the State and the individual. At the core of this transformation is the idea of diversity as a fact. The new citizen-workers created by intercultural education seek to acknowledge, accept, and benefit from a multiplicity of realities *without* changing their own cultural identities. The State also moves away from homogenizing policies and guarantees the rights of minorities to preserve their cultural specificity.

Methodology

This study focuses on exploring the tensions in the discursive construction of indigenous identity under intercultural education. This exploration has as its ultimate objective to analyze whether or not the tenets of *mestizaje* have been surpassed or if the status quo continues to be reproduced in the intercultural model.

I will approach the problem from a critical discourse analysis perspective. Critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) is a branch of linguistics that explores the connections between language and society with the goal to uncover how language structures re(create) social and power differences (Fairclough and Wodak 1997; van Dijk 2003). Discourse can be understood as a form of social practice (van Dijk 1997) in which ways of talking reproduce ways of thinking (Foucault 1980; Johnstone 2002). Discourse is also a site of ideological (re)production and transformation (Fairclough 1992), since ideologies naturalize discourses associated with dominant groups. Van Dijk (2000; 2003) defines ideologies as a system of socially shared beliefs whose main functions are the definitions of membership in a group (i.e., "us" vs. "them"), the coordination of intra and intergroup interactions, and access to resources (be it economic, symbolic, cultural, etc.).

Since CDA emphasizes the role of language use and structure in the reproduction of power differences, it is necessary to analyze how meaning is created in written policy documents and interviews with key social actors in the field of intercultural education. By exploring the connections, tensions and discontinuities in the way they conceptualize the role of intercultural education in the construction of the students' identity, I will be able to link the educational and linguistic tenets at the core of intercultural education with broader ethnic and social concerns in Mexican society.

For the purposes of this chapter, I interviewed a group of indigenous teachers from the western state of Michoacán in México. These educators founded one of the few grass-roots bilingual (P'hurépecha-Spanish) education programs in the country. The San Isidro-Uringuitiro program evolved as a community effort to address the high illiteracy and drop-out rates that affected the students as a result of the official instruction delivered in Spanish. The children receive instruction in their native tongue and classes of Spanish as a foreign language, which allows them to learn the national curriculum but adapted to their particular cultural and linguistic context. The program is also based on what the teachers and the community have identified as cardinal values of the P'urhépecha culture, and the official lines of curricular formation; these are: identity, solidarity, democracy, science, ecology, aesthetics, democracy, technology and health (Alonso and Nieto 2006). Although this educational program has been a community effort, they have used the discourse of intercultural education to develop and maintain their own linguistic and cultural contents, since the intercultural program grants the indigenous groups participation in their educational projects, and the State has been unable to develop a curriculum that is adequate for indigenous groups (Hamel 2008). For the indigenous teachers of San Isidro-Uringuitiro, intercultural education should emphasize instruction in the native language; bilingualism P'urhépecha-Spanish; cultural contents as part of the curriculum, and the values of the community. Although the need to develop intercultural skills is acknowledged, they are not a priority (see Fuentes 2008; Fuentes and Nieto 2011). In this sense, the indigenous teachers have appropriated and transformed the intercultural model to fit their educational goals.

I also interviewed a group of indigenous leaders who direct a community center in Mexico City, which has the largest indigenous population in the country. The *Asamblea de Migrantes Indígenas* is a place that reunites individuals from different ethnic groups and languages. It provides support for the community and sponsors different academic (e.g., workshops, courses) and media events (e.g., news programs). It also publishes different materials dealing with indigenous issues. Finally, representatives from the General Coordination of Intercultural Bilingual Education were consulted. All the interviewees were assigned a pseudonym in order to protect their identities.

The documents that I analyzed were *Programa Nacional de Educación* (2001); *Lineamientos Generales para la Educación Intercultural Bilingüe para las Niñas y los Niños indígenas* (DGEI 1999); *El enfoque intercultural en la educación. Orientaciones para maestros de primaria* (CGEIB 2006); and *Educar en y para la diversidad* (CGEIB 2004). The first document was produced by the formal office of

the Secretariat of Education in charge of indigenous education in the country. The second text was published by the CGEIB and explains the basics of intercultural education and policy to school teachers; proposes some ways of developing lesson plans and of using textbooks, and assessing students. The last text was used to train teachers under the intercultural perspective. Thus, I analyzed a broad range of documents that cover policy, theory and pedagogy. Both the interviews and the texts were analyzed for themes and organized according to emergent discourses.

Analysis

Cultural diversity is one of the most important concepts in intercultural education. The monoculturalist policies that sought the assimilation of ethnic minorities through the State ideology of *mestizaje* have shifted towards a pluricultural discourse. The concept of culture has also changed from a static, monolithic entity to a historic and social process that is in constant flux as a result of contact among groups; however, such contact is not conflict free

> This constant cultural contact is tinged by different strategies that cultures utilize to maintain this game of *construction-recreation*: loan, *mestizaje*, adaptation, and etcetera. Therefore, it is inadmissible that a culture be taken as a universal referent and even less [admissible] that other cultures get subordinated to the former. However, it is a reality that relations among cultures have been historically established upon this superiority, which has lead in diverse moments and places—like in the case of Mexico—to the disappearance of the cultures of minority groups with the intent of culturally homogenizing the population. (CGEIB 2006, p. 17, my translation. Emphasis in the original)

By making *mestizaje* appear as a "strategy" in which cultures engage, the effects of power inequality and oppression are deflected away. Furthermore, cultural domination is seen as a historical fact in which Mexico is just one more example of a generalized and natural phenomenon. In the text do not appear any agents of domination (i.e., *mestizo* majority), so complex social and economic processes that have had very negative effects in the native populations are described as facts devoid of actors. Rather, intercultural education looks for solutions in education in values and intercultural dialogue. The National Program of Education (*Programa Nacional de Educación)* acknowledges that Mexico needs to "transition to a reality in which different cultures can relate to each other as peers" (SEP 2001 p. 45). Therefore, the educational system should

> Take the step from multiculturalism to interculturalism through the elimination of all form[s] of discrimination, prejudice and racism against the members of different and minority cultures that share the territory. [It] implies the egalitarian participation of all ethnic groups in the economic, social, cultural and political processes of the nation. (SEP 2001, p. 45, my translation)

The eradication of discrimination, according to the CGEIB should be achieved through epistemic changes (i.e., knowledge about other cultures) that lead to ethical changes (i.e., acquisition of democratic values, critical thinking, autonomy, etc.).

Intercultural education should help create these changes by developing the students' intercultural competence, which will gradually induce transformations at the social level. Although there is mention of the involvement of ethnic groups in all aspects of the life of the country (including economic and political ones), the changes to be achieved are mostly driven by personal identity and empathy

> The life experience of each person is what shapes his identity, knowledge about the others implies achieving empathy, that is, to place oneself in the place of the other and understand him in relation to his reasons and values. Empathy allows subjects to increase their appreciation of the rest [of the people] and internalize values such as cooperation and solidarity. Hence the acknowledgement of otherness is considered as the first step for the construction of identity for all Mexicans. (CGEIB 2004, p. 46)

The official approach to managing diversity, social and political inequalities goes through the path of harmony by creating empathy. If in the past *mestizaje* worked as an ideological factor that deflected away tensions caused by real racial and economic differences, the intercultural discourse advocates for tolerance and the appreciation of difference in the construction of a new collective identity. The extent to which a type of education addressing cultural values can modify political and economic structures remains to be seen, as Diez (2004, p. 193) points out, there is a great optimism about education being able to solve the problems of interculturality; however, there is a clear understanding that there is a need to create a new citizen. The form that this individual should take and how to achieve it is an area in which the official and the indigenous discourses do not agree 100 %.

CGEIB (2006, p. 19) distinguishes two types of identity: Personal and collective. The function of the latter is to anchor the identity of the individuals and give them a sense of place and belonging. Ethnicity is seen as a collective identity that develops in opposition to other groups (i.e., "us" vs. "them"). Each group has different degrees of power, which in turn creates privileged positions for the majority and subjugation for the minority. Both identities are thought to be the result of individual, social, and historical factors that change depending on cultural referents. This definition is rather traditional and does not acknowledges that speakers manipulate their identity displays based on their goals during interaction (see Bucholz and Hall 2005); however, it recognizes that the students' culture shape who they are, so it is necessary that they feel comfortable with their identities. This is one of the purposes of intercultural education: "EIB aims to help all subjects [of education] strengthen the knowledge and pride for [one's] own culture as elements to reinforce identity" (CGEIB 2006, p. 30, my translation).

Bertely (2005) has emphasized the importance of reinforcing the ethnic identity of the indigenous individuals, who after undergoing an acculturation process in their own education need to go back to their community roots as the basis of their identity. This is one of the areas in which the indigenous teachers and leaders agree, but the process is not free of controversy as the decision of returning to the indigenous identity seems to be promoted from the top-down. In any case, what is at the core of this discussion is the type of citizen that should be constructed trough intercultural education. For the indigenous interviewees, the goal is to create individuals who identify themselves as indigenous; be an *active* part of the community, and at the

same time, be participants in the broader Mexican society and the globalized world. In the following excerpt, Pablo (National Assembly of Indigenous Immigrants) describes the work of the organization and the way they use technology in order to facilitate communication, but also to strengthen their identity and to launch them into the globalized world:

01 P: this is where the indigenous brothers can, [we] can utilize this modern technology to appropriate it and strengthen our community life/
02 but also to utilize it as a tool to launch our life through the internet, our thoughts to the whole world/
03 towards globalization/
04 then ah: the question is to see ah: this polarity let's say/
05 or these extremes, in terms of the indigenous [people] it is a need to strengthen it, it is a need to position in/
06 we define ourselves as indigenous of the twenty first century/
07 no longer that idea of the isolated, cornered indigene/
08 like anthropologists defined it/
09 we are living the good and the inequalities of this twenty first century/
10 we are suffering or seeing everything that happens in political, social, economic, etcetera, etcetera terms/
11 R: just like the rest of the world/
12 P: just like the rest of the world/
13 exactly/
14 just like the rest of the world/
15 and where we are also utilizing this technology that is utilized/
16 that is let's say universal and in this sense we ah: we utilize the internet page as an appropriation/
17 that contributes to us, we are even seeing that/
18 it strengthens our identity/
19 that's an important element

Pablo describes a modern collective that is technologically savvy. This knowledge allows them to interact and make themselves known to the rest of the world. He rejects the idea of indigenous groups as "isolated and cornered" and describes an indigenous identity that is part of the twenty-first century, suffering the same problems as the rest of the world; however, Pablo recognizes that being part of the globalized work creates tensions with the preservation of their collective way of life. Pablo's discourse also gives agency to the indigenous peoples; they appear as actors ("we define ourselves as indigenous of the twenty-first century") who exert power through the use of technology and by offering their views to the world.

There is agreement between the CGEIB and the indigenous actors as to the need to have a strong identity in order to coexist with the globalized world. In my interview with Jorge (policy broker) he reflects about how commodities such as technology (or even clothes) can affect the individual's identification as indigenous if his "primitive" (i.e., ethnic) identity is not well established

01 J: if one is not strengthened in his primitive identity . . . everything may come, we are like a fragile tree and we fall down, but if we are strengthened, this coat, these eye glasses are not going to stop who I am, I am who I am, but I use these glasses because I need them, <u>period</u>, I need technology, a computer and that does not make me stop being indigenous, <u>right?</u>

So who is this new indigenous individual? The definition of intercultural education does focuses on the skills that a person (be it indigenous or mestizo) living in a diverse society should have. Along these lines, intercultural education is understood as

> . . . the group of intended pedagogical processes oriented to the formation of persons [who are] able to comprehend the realities of diverse cultural viewpoints and to intervene in processes of social transformation which respect and benefit from cultural diversity. (CGEIB 2006, p. 25, my translation)

Conspicuously absent from the definition is a reference to the community and the nation; rather, there is an emphasis on individuals developing intercultural skills that will allow them to interact with the rest of the society. Intercultural education questions "Otherness" in relation to national identity, which allows a reflection about the social structures that reproduce inequalities and the *status quo*. However, intercultural education is embedded in a neoliberal discourse that emphasizes individual freedom within the globalization process. The role of the State as protector/provider fades away before the presence of the market, with the subsequent increase of economic inequalities. Within this context of greater individual responsibility, the national mestizo identity is replaced by one that recognizes cultural and linguistic diversity. Therefore, the skills that the new citizen-workers need are those that allow them to acknowledge, value and appreciate diversity in Mexico and the world. CGEIB identifies the following socio-moral values as important aspects of intercultural education: (1) Self-concept, self-knowledge, and self-esteem; (2) knowledge about the others and empathy which allows the students to appreciate different points of view; (3) moral reasoning or the capacity to think in a fair and solidary way; (4) communication and dialogue skills to be able to negotiate in complex moral situations; (5) critical comprehension; and (6) autonomy to make decisions in an independent, informed and responsible way (2006, pp. 49–52). For the indigenous teachers, the values that should be taught in school should be those identified by the P'urhépecha culture as fundamental because they reinforce the community. These values have also been incorporated into the schools' curriculum both as framework and content knowledge (see Alonso and Nieto 2006). In the following excerpt, Gilberto (indigenous teacher) responds to my question about specifically teaching values in the classroom

01 G: Yes: for example/
02 speaking of values, it should be specified <u>what</u>/
03 I could tell you, well the values that the P'urhépecha tongue has/
04 ah: I identify four great areas of values/
05 one is what in Spanish terms is called solidarity/
06 one is respect/

07 one is tolerance/

08 one is the other famous one, how is it called?

09 loyalty, it can be said in that terms/

10 why?/

11 because in that social context the relations of indigenous peoples move and organize/

12 let's say, in the indigenous peoples does not exist: the acceptance and application of written law, right?/

13 their own rules are the basis for tolerance to exist, with basis on the valuing of the word of the people [that is] how things are fixed/

14 not precisely at court or with a lawyer/

15 but in that way, I don't know what other types of matters exist to solve the problems of the communities/

16 then, there are some of the values/

17 that are being lost/

18 why?

19 because at no moment we treat them in school/

20 it is a matter of solidarity/

21 it is a form of organization that has kept us together for more than five hundred years with the constant bombings or invasions or stepping on the indigenous cultures/

22 that form of organization has kept us/

23 what does that mean?/

24 well, that here in the communities individualism was really kept aside/

25 we are all the community/

26 and that, for instance, the one who did not harvest anything we have the obligation to give him, to give him some corn so he has equal conditions let's say of survival as us, no?/

27 but he is also obliged although he does not have: a corn field/

28 he is obliged to lend his work at the corn field of a neighbor, of a community member so he has the right/

29 then all these types of matters, when a house was made/

30 all the community intervened/

31 in one way or the other/

32 well, and in the same dynamics/

33 a person who was receiving help had the obligation to return such help to another community member who also had the need at a later time/

The values described by Gilberto stress the importance of community over the individual. On the contrary, in CGEIB's view of socio-moral values, the child should first develop their sense of self to then advance to an awareness of the community, and finally the human kind (CGEIB 2006, p. 50). For the indigenous teachers, it is the community what has made possible the survival of their way of life for centuries. Solidarity and reciprocity is what structures the relationships among the members of the group and provides care for all (lines 20–33). Therefore, it is the community

what constitutes the foundation of the indigenous individual. In an interview, Pablo (National Assembly of indigenous migrants) reflects about what it means to be a part of a community, and how this will to be part of a group is what defines the thoughts and actions of an indigenous person (lines 4–7)

01 P: for example what we could translate/
02 an important element is the communality/
03 It is an element that defines and mister Bul already characterized it/
04 it is a conception e: of e: living in community and communal practice/
05 that way of life that includes the systems of charges, the tequio work/
06 ah: participation in celebrations/
07 this collective construction, mentally speaking as well/
08 it is what I think one of the/
09 it is the main axis through which we should define ourselves as indigenous peoples/
10 the rest are elements that may favor the construction of communality/
11 it is the tongue/
12 it is dress/
13 it is music/
14 it is solidarity, no not solidarity/
15 ah: e: etcetera, etcetera/
16 these elements that ah can [be] the same things in practical terms/
17 the same charge systems/
18 the same mayordomías/
19 the same, these different forms are elements for constructing our communality/
20 but at the moment in which there is this perception of this intrinsic attitude of being communitarian/
21 of being solidary/
22 of being participative in the community/
23 at that moment/
24 that is to say, of assuming charges without big problems of not wanting to attend, of not wanting to go, of participating in the celebration or the tequio/
25 people already knows what their communitarian responsibilities are and they assume it/
26 as long as ah:/
27 in this sense it consolidates or has consolidated the communality/
28 and those are the main elements to define themselves as indigenous/
29 we think/
30 it is not a matter of dressing in a certain way/
31 and we can refer a little to the so-called self-adscription/

Interestingly, traditional language and dress are only supporting elements that help construct the community. Participation in celebrations, collective work (*tequio)* and in rotating duties in the towns and villages (*mayordomías)* constitutes the communal spirit. The P'urhépecha indigenous teachers may not agree with the idea that language is not an essential part of the cultural identity, since it is

precisely the loss of the native languages that has favored the acculturation of indigenous communities. For indigenous individuals living in a multilingual and multiethnic mega city (such as Mexico City), language might play a smaller role. However, I believe there is an agreement about education creating individualism, and the subsequent weakening of the group. Schools do not teach the values of the P'urhépecha culture, which has created a lack of cooperation, not only with material things but also with knowledge. Gilberto's concern about individualism in schools is related to the loss of cultural ways of learning that are affected by school practices

01 for instance what happens in school, no?/
02 "do not lend your pencil"/
03 from the family it begins [the problem] in school/
04 "no, don't tell [him]" we don't let, well, the child to share knowledge with
   another child/
05 and that is called in precise terms individualism/
06 we foster individualism/
07 against cooperation, no?/

The inclusion of the key values of the P'urhépecha culture in the school curriculum works to foster the communal sense and counteract individualism. Thus, an educational approach that focuses on strengthening the person's self-identity may not be enough to sustain the community. Intercultural education focuses on developing the students' intercultural skills as a way to facilitate interaction in a diverse society; although the community is supposed to be an integral part of intercultural education, the effects of it are supposed to flow from the individual, to the community, to the country and finally, the world. In this sense, there is a difference between the official and the indigenous discourses in degree and direction about the expected effects of intercultural education. Figures 18.1 and 18.2 explain this difference.
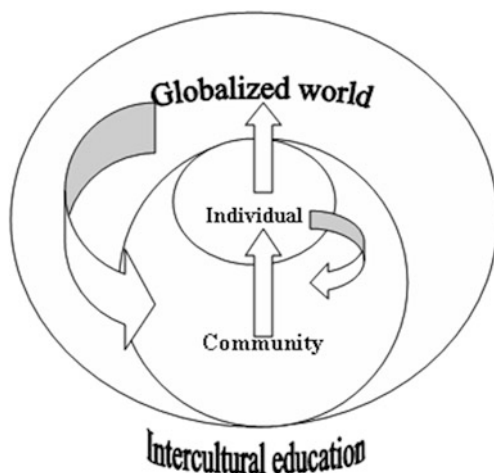
Fig. 18.1 Indigenous discourse in degree and direction about the expected effects of intercultural education

Fig. 18.2 Official discourse in degree and direction about the expected effects of intercultural education

In the indigenous perspective, it is the community that supports the individual, who in turn, feeds the community and from there, interacts with the globalized world.

In the official discourse, the effects of intercultural education go from the individual, to the community and then the external world.

Conclusion

This work emerged as an exploration of the types of cultural identity that intercultural education in Mexico attempted to create. For decades, the State ideology of *mestizaje* embodied in educational policies aimed at the cultural and linguistic homogenization of the indigenous peoples in order to create a unified country. The globalized world, joined with the growing presence of the indigenous population in the national life, showed the need to recognize diversity and create a new citizen worker. Although there are agreements between the indigenous actors of this study and the educational authorities, there are strong differences as to how such citizen-worker should be shaped. In CGEIB's definition of intercultural education, the student should be able to interact in a diverse society; be empathic, accept different points of view, and participate in social change. These skills respond not only to the recognition of diversity in Mexican society and in the world in general, but also provide an answer to the changes produced by globalization. As Ginsburg et al. (2003) has noted, the weakening of the State and the influence of the free market has created the need to prepare students who can face the economic, social and cultural changes that globalizations brings to the communities. This implies that students be able to work under the direction of transnational enterprises. The intercultural skills proposed by the intercultural model, make sure that the student not only has a strong personal identity, but also the skills to empathize and dialogue with the other.

Paradoxically, the pressures imposed by globalization and the weakening of the State have also opened the door for grass roots organizations to demand governments to enter in a discourse of tolerance and respect for human rights (Stromquist and Monkman 2000). The educational project developed by the indigenous teachers hinges on this principle, and they attempt to create a citizen who has a strong personal identity, but whose loyalty belongs to the community. The cultural values that structure the curriculum of the P'urhépecha project and that appear in the interviews illustrate the debate about individual versus communal values and rights (see Kymlicka 1999; Taylor 1994). That is not to say that the teachers would reject the ideas proposed by CGEIB (i.e., having a strong personal identity, self-esteem, empathy, communication skills, etc.); however, belonging to a community has prevalence over other factors. By affirming their communal identity, they also exert agency and affirm their contemporaneity as Mexican citizens, not as remnants of the past.

So does intercultural education really depart from the ideas of *mestizaje*? There is clearly a recognition of diversity and the need to teach the students the skills to deal with it; however, as I have showed someplace else, the recognition of diversity does not necessarily mean recognition to the specific rights of indigenous peoples (Fuentes and Nieto 2011). Rather, by subsuming ethnic difference under the umbrella term of diversity renders indigenous groups as one more type of minority without specific political rights emanating from their history as native peoples. By emphasizing the individual over the community, the bonds that create the latter can be weakened and the factor that has allowed the survival of indigenous peoples is threatened. Indigenous teachers have been able to use the discourse of respect for diversity to include their cultural values in the curriculum, in an attempt to reinforce communality over individuality in order to educate indigenous citizens of the twenty-first century.

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Part IV
Identity

Chapter 19
Beyond the Cultural Turn: Indigenous Identity and Mainstream Identity

Sheng Yao Cheng

Abstract Stuart Hall, a prominent scholar of cultural studies, has noted that the discussion of the *cultural turn* tends to emphasize the importance of the definition of culture. To indigenous people all over the world, facing the globalized new world order means to reflect their own complex whole. Under the severe impacts of both the globalization and the neoliberal movement, indigenous people still struggle to deal with the controversy between their indigenous and mainstream identities. In this article, I first review the current research related to identity issues. Second, I interpret the current findings of indigenous identity. Third, I review the existing literature related to the issues of the life stage of identification in order to discuss the dialectic between tribal and mainstream identities. Finally, I conclude with possible ways to revisit the dual problem beyond the cultural turn.

Keywords Culture • Cultural turn • Mainstream identity • Indigenous identity

Introduction

One of the oldest definitions of the term *culture*, given by the British Anthropologist, Edward Tylor, is the "complex whole." The complex whole includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs, and other capabilities and habits acquired by human beings as members of certain societies (Tylor 1871, p. 4). Furthermore, Margaret Mead (1978) indicates that culture is the learned behavior of a society or a subgroup, and Clifford Geertz (1974) points out that culture is simply the ensemble of stories we tell ourselves about ourselves.

From the perspectives of anthropology, culture is also a well organized unity divided into two fundamental aspects: a body of artifacts and a system of customs (Malinowski 1962). Moreover, culture embraces all the manifestations of social habits of a community, the reactions of the individual as affected by the habits of the group in which he lives, and the product of human activities as determined by these habits (Boas 1966).

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Juxtaposing the diversified meanings of culture (Williams 1958), the leading scholar of *Cultural Studies* in the England, observes that culture might be one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language (Williams 1976). He continues that a culture has two aspects: the known meanings and directions, which its members are trained to; and the new observations and meanings, which are offered and tested. Furthermore, Williams stresses that we use the word culture in these two senses: to mean a whole way of life—the common meanings; and to mean the arts and learning—the special processes of discovery and creative effort (Williams 1958).

Following these veins, Stuart Hall (1997, p. 2), another crucial scholar of Cultural Studies, notes that the "**cultural turn**" in the social and human sciences has tended to emphasize the importance of *meaning* to the definition of culture. Culture is not so much a set of *things* as a process or a set of *practices*. Primarily, culture is concerned with the production and exchange of meanings, **the giving and taking of meaning**, between the members of a society or group. To say that two people belong to the same culture is to say that they interpret the world in roughly the same ways and can express their ideas, their thoughts and feelings about the world, in ways which will be understood by each other. Thus culture depends on its participants interpreting meaningfully what is happening around them, and **making sense** of the world, in a broadly similar way (Hall and Open University 1997).

The cultural turn refers to a significant change for people to view culture differently (During 1993). Unlike the economic drives by Marxism, the cultural turn refers to the cultural awareness to interpret social and educational phenomenon. For instance, when you are asked a question like "Who are you?," you need to clarify your own cultural background like ethnicity, gender, class, and sexual orientation. To indigenous people all over the world, facing the globalized new world order means to reflect their own complex whole. Under the severe impact of globalization and neoliberal movement, the indigenous people still have the same struggle to deal with the controversy between their indigenous identity and mainstream identity (Forte 2006; Friedman 1994; Keeble 1994; Logan and Askew 1994; McLaughlin and Coleman 2005; Mody 2005; Pedersen and Carey 2003).

In this article, the principal investigator will review the current research related to Identity issues first. Secondly, the author will interpret the current findings of Indigenous Identity. Thirdly, the principal investigator will review the existed literature related to the issues of life stage of identification in order to discuss the dialect between tribal identity and mainstream identity. Finally, the researcher will try to propose a possible way to revisit the dual problem beyond the cultural turn.

Identity

Like the definition of culture, the term of identity is another complex concept. It includes the debates concerning class, gender, race, youth, sexuality, and other categories which can divide human beings into two or more subgroups. It has

been found, however, that the borderlines between different groups are not always permanent; sometimes social groups will switch identities or experience cross-bordering (Giroux and McLaren 1994).

Stuart Hall (1996) mentions that identity is a combination of self-identification and the perceptions of others, and is always based on power and exclusion; someone must be excluded from a particular identity in order for it to be meaningful. Furthermore, he stresses that identities are always fragmented, multiple constructed, and intersected in a constantly changing, sometimes conflicting manner (Hall 1997).

Following the same token, Michael W. Apple (1993, p. vii) proclaims that the complex issue surrounding race, identity, and representation cannot be understood through the lens of only one discursive tradition. Rather, our approach must be multidisciplinary. It needs to draw from studies of popular culture, literature, the role of the state in struggles over race, class, and gender relations, national and international economic structures, and the cultural politics of imperialism. Furthermore, Apple (2001) points out that identification is based on the recognition of a common origin or upon shared characteristics with another person, group, or ideal leading to solidarity and allegiance. Beyond this, the discursive approach sees identification as an ongoing process that is never complete.

Similarly, Charles Taylor (1994) emphasizes that most theorists agree that identity exists, not solely within an individual or category of individuals but through differences in relationships with others. Identity is shaped, in part, by the recognition, absence of recognition, or misrecognition of selfhood by others. Dilg (1999, p. 22) adds that identities that emerge from self-affiliation with a specific cultural group, and, for the same individual, identities that are national and universal.

According to the literature we mentioned above, the author concludes that identity is an ongoing process to identify selfhood and exclude others. Moreover, identity is dynamic and multiple constructed rather than permanent and individual. Finally, the process of recognition and misrecognition is based on power and exclusion.

Indigenous Identity

Indigenous identity can be interpreted by identification to be indigenous people. To explore this issue, we need to analyze the terms of race, ethnicity, ethnic identity, cultural identity, and racial identity first. Michael Apple reminds us that race is not a stable category and that race is a set of fully social relations. It is not necessarily a stable, permanent, united center that gives consistent meaning to our lives. It is socially and historically constructed, and subject to political tensions and contradictions (Apple 1993, p. vii). In the same way, Dilg (1999, p. 18) believes that although some contend that race is a purely artificial construct or even an illusion, it continues to occupy discussions of the past and the present. Furthermore, he mentions that racism is not an incident, but an attitude. Omi and Winant (1986) parallels that race is a social-political concept.

Racial or cultural identities, where provided, are used not to construct artificial divisions among the students, but because those identities are often a significant factor in observations, discussions, or group dynamics related to racial or cultural issues (Dilg 1999, p. 2). Racial identity is the biological race one claims and reflects the cultural standards of a society to which one subscribes (Mihesuah 1999, p. 14). Moreover, Michael K. Green describes cultural identity as an identity that "gives the individual a sense of a common past and of a shared destiny" (Green 1995, p. 7).

Ethnic identity is described as "that part of an individual's self-concept that derives from his or her knowledge of membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Phinney 1992, p. 156). Some of the components of ethnic identity include self-identification, language, social networks, religious affiliation, and cultural traditions and practices (Steward and Baden 1994, p. 8).

Regarding cultural identity, Hilary N. Weaver (2001) claims that cultural identity may actually be a composite of many things such as race, class, education, region, religion, and gender. Thus, indigenous identity is a kind of cultural identity and would be reflected in the values, beliefs, and worldviews of indigenous people (Adefuin 2001). This would be so because he believes that those who belong to the same culture share a broadly similar conceptual map and way of interpreting language.

In some Western countries like the Unites States, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which since the 1880s has controlled much of American Indian reservation life, generally provided services for all those American Indians who had 25 % or more American Indian blood. Since the 1960s, through political action and court cases, tribal communities have increasingly won the right to determine their own tribal membership and have adopted a variety of modes of doing so in the context of changing cultural, economic, and demographic circumstances (Champagne 1999, p. 11).

In some Asian Countries like Taiwan, according to the *Aborigine Education Act* (LegislationYuan 1998), the term "aborigine" or "aboriginal people" is defined according to the relevant regulation of the central aboriginal affairs authority. Furthermore, following the *Status Act for Indigenous People* (LegislationYuan 2001), the term "indigenous people" in Taiwan includes indigenous peoples of the mountain[1] and plain-land regions.[2] At least one of the person's parents should be indigenous and the person will be recognized as an indigenous person.[3]

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[1]Mountain indigenous peoples: permanent residents of the mountain administrative zone before the recovery of Taiwan, moreover census registration records show individual or an immediate kin of individual is of indigenous people's descent.

[2]Plain-land indigenous peoples: permanent residents of the plain-land administrative zone before the recovery of Taiwan, moreover census registration records show individual or an immediate kin of individual is of indigenous people's descent. Individual is registered as a plain-land indigenous people in the village (town, city, and district) administration office.

[3]Indigenous people who marry a non-indigenous individual do not forfeit indigenous people's status. However, the non-indigenous peoples do not acquire the indigenous people's status.
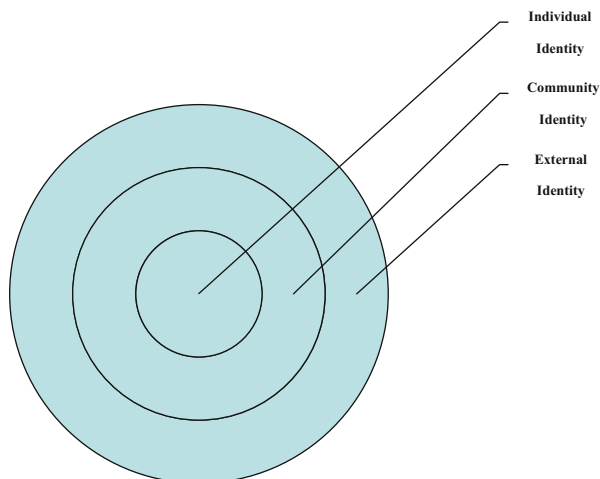
Fig. 19.1 The formation of indigenous identity

What is more, indigenous identity could be analyzed into three subcategories through identification borders: individual identity, community identity, and external identity (see Fig. 19.1).

Individual Identity

Individual identity indicates the conception of a personalized selfhood, and stresses how an individual may perceive and identify him/herself via community and social external factors such as race, class, gender, and youth. Weaver (2001) regards self-perception as a key component of identity—how one manifests self-awareness may be impacted by one's own life experiences and educational background. Zimmerman and colleagues (1996) also remind us that developing an individual identity is a lifelong learning process of cultural awareness and understanding. In this regard, Dukes and Martinez (1997) urge us to rethink the development of individual identity. Because the formation of identity takes place over time, they argue, a strong cultural identity may increase with age. In addition to a growing cultural attachment as individuals get older, there seems to be revitalization in indigenous cultures and communities across the country. Indeed, individual cultural renewal and collective cultural renewal are intertwined (Nagel 1996).

Community Identity

For aboriginal people, community identity is often equal to tribal identity. Who are considered American Indians? This is a very contemporary issue, negotiated in

the context of current cultural, economic, and institutional relation. For many tribal communities of previous centuries, the answer of this question was much clearer and definite than it is today. A large majority of Native America communities were matrilineal: one was born into the clan or family of one's mother (Champagne 1999, p. 11).

At the convention of the National Congress of American Indian (NCAI), each American Indian nation, regardless of population or land size, has a single vote. This method preserves the cultural and political autonomy of each tribal community. Working with tribes as the unit of political representation, the NCAI is reluctant to represent urban American Indians directly; rather it suggests that urban American Indians gain representation through tribal communities (Champagne 1999, p. 8). There are many reasons for this. First, tribes are not alike. They have different languages, religions, histories, and methods of dealing with non-American Indians. Full-blood members also retain a notable degree of physiological distinctiveness. Second, many tribes incorporate members with minimal to no knowledge of tribal culture, giving the impression to some that all one needs in order to be an American Indian is to prove that one has a distant Indian ancestor. Third, many tribal members look phenotypically Caucasian. Fourth, many people with little knowledge of American Indians want to identify as and to be identified as American Indians. Fifth, the historical time period of the person's life must be taken into account. Sixth, even within the group, the personal needs, physiology, and environmental influences of each individual is different (Mihesuah 1999, p. 16).

According to Peroff (1997), community identity is connected to a sense of peoplehood inseparably linked to sacred traditions, traditional homelands, and a shared history as indigenous people. Furthermore, Durham (1993) presents that a person must be thought of as integrated into a society—not simply as standing alone as an individual—in order to be considered fully human. The sense of membership in a community is so integrally linked to a sense of identity that native people often identify themselves by their reservations or tribal communities. Nagel (1997) points out that sometimes identity boundaries are defined by policy and law as well as convention. Tribes should have the right to determine criteria for membership and this regulation of membership is in some ways a form of regulating identity and has implications for political access and resource allocation.

In the United States, the rationale for the method of selecting tribal members is based in part on Cherokee nationalism, which holds that a Nation has the right to decide the rules of membership. For the United States government, a primary means of identifying Native American is by enrollment within a federally recognized tribe. Members of nonrecognized tribes frequently have difficulty asserting their identities in legal realms but are sometimes recognized for benefits or identified as American Indians for powwows and other American Indian community events (Champagne 1999, p. 12).

In Texas, at least, individuals who wish to use peyote legally in Native American Church ceremonies must prove that they are at least one-quarter American Indian blood, which also means they must be tribally enrolled (News 1997). In addition, the BIA and the U.S. Department of Education recognize as American Indians only

those who are recognized as such by a tribe. Because it is assumed that light-skinned American Indians have a choice as to which world they inhabit, their dedication to fighting the various social, political, religious, and economic oppressions faced by "real" American Indians is questioned (Mihesuah 1999, p. 27).

External Identity

External identity includes racial identity, gender identity, and class identity, and it also serves to classify national identity, cultural identity, and indigenous identity. The way indigenous peoples choose to define themselves is often not the way that others define them (Bowd and Brady 1998). Furthermore, Durham (1993) affirms that native identity has often been defined from a non-native perspective. This raises critical questions about authenticity: Do natives or non-natives decide who is an indigenous person?

Ethnic or group identities are terms often interchangeable with cultural identity. Borrowing form Rose, ethnicity is a "group classification in which the members share a unique social and cultural heritage passed on from one generation to the next" (Rose 1964, p. 7). It does not have a biological basis. Traditional Indians adhere to the culture of their tribe by speaking the language, practicing religious ceremonies, and living among their tribal people. They might use the term ethnic to mean that both their racial background and cultural adherence are as American Indians. Other individuals who claim to be American Indian but who have no cultural connection to their tribe may also refer to themselves as ethnically American Indian (Mihesuah 1999, p. 15).

A similar issue of authenticity exists for individuals who are not enrolled in their nations for whatever reason. Clifford (1988) declares that although tribal status and American Indian identity has long been vague, politically constituted, and thus changing. Even so, American Indian identity isn't simply determined by a person with some measure of native blood or with a claim to the adoption of a shared native tradition. Likewise, not every Native American group can purport to be considered a tribe and sue for lost lands.

In the United States, Duane Champagne mentions that very subtle forms of spirituality, political culture, holistic health, and community and individual identity remain in most American Indian communities, although their expression is often hidden from non-American Indian view (Champagne 1999, p. 7). In Taiwan, a lot of indigenous people possess both pan-Taiwan Aboriginal identities and their own tribal identities.

To sum up, indigenous identity is a kind of cultural identity and is reflected in the values, beliefs, and worldviews of indigenous people. It can be divided into three sub-identities: individual, community, and external (see Fig. 19.1). Individual identity is to identify selfhood, community is to identify peoplehood, and external identity is to exclude non-natives. Furthermore, indigenous identity is a lifelong learning process of cultural awareness and understanding.

Indigenous Identity Crisis: Indigenous Identity vs. Mainstream Identity

After mentioning three kinds of indigenous identities, we should point out the struggles of identity crisis. Erik H. Erickson (1963, 1980) believes that one of the essential psycho-social tasks of adolescence is the formation of a stable identity. He continues that the formation of a mature identity is more difficult in a democratic society such as ours which demands a "self-made" identity and is characterized by changing conditions. Moreover, Erickson notes that natural and essential defenses against role confusion prompt adolescents to form cliques with those similar to themselves and to engage in stereotyping, intolerance, and exclusion of those who are different, including differences in skin color and culture (Erickson 1980).

In a similar way, Frantz Fanon's (1967, p. 63) remark about the destiny of men of color and White women is a statement that could also be true for some American Indian men and women who marry White men or women: "I wish to be acknowledged not as Black but as white ... who but a white woman can do this for me? By loving me, she proves that I am worthy of white love. I am loved like a white man." But this aspect requires further, sensitive inquiry.

As Nicholas Appleton (1983) explains, in a pluralistic society, inner conflict can be expected to emerge as students opt to be alone; to affiliate with like individuals, which produces minimum conflict; or to choose interactions that produce cultural conflict. The family identifies as American Indian but they see little hope for advancement, so they do not try (Mihesuah 1999, p. 19).

The parents may possess only a White world view and are American Indians by merit of blood, not by cultural connection. If they do pursue their American Indianness, it is usually during adulthood (Stein and Hill 1977, p. 22). Many multiple heritage people will encounter discrimination within their family from the group with higher social status (Root 1990, pp. 191–193).

A multi-heritage child with a white mother and American Indian father who is never allowed to visit her father's family may begin to believe that her white blood is superior to American Indian blood (Mihesuah 1999, p. 18). As Cross (1991, p. 119) discusses, despite the reality that we live in a complex, pluralistic society, most white children usually "see the world in mono-racial terms" and perceive no need to learn how to interact with other racial and/or cultural groups. Similarly, many American Indian parents who appear to reject American Indian culture do not want their children to "become White." They simply want them to have equal access to socioeconomic privileges that Whites have.

Lavera Rose (1994, p. 100) writes in her thesis on biracial Lakota women that many biracial Lakota females try to hide their American Indian racial heritage when moving to non-American Indian society because they perceive that non-American Indians view all American Indians as inferior to Euro-Americans. As Brewton Berry (1963, p. 160) describes the mindset of many Nanicokes, Chickahominys, and Lumbees, "most of them would doubtless prefer to be white. But, since that goal is beyond their reach, they will settle for American Indian. It is better to be Red

than Black—even an off-shade of red." The overriding premise, however, was the one drop rule: A person with any amount of "Negroid blood" could be considered Black for purpose of law, even if computation of their quantum revealed them to be 127/128 White (Churill 1999, p. 46). Half of mixed bloods of the Chippewas residing with them [should simply] be considered Chippewas (Churill 1999, p. 48).

Because of assimilation, acculturation, and intermarriage with non-American Indians, American Indians have a variety of references to describe themselves: full-blood, traditional, mixed-blood, cross-blood, half-breed, progressive, enrolled, unenrolled, re-Indianized, multiple heritage, bicultural, post-Indian, or simply, I am____(tribal affiliation) (Steiner 1968, pp. 305–307).

Mihesuah argues that on television everyday are classic westerns that portray Indians as violent antagonists who were impediments to western civilization, and sports teams such as the Washington Redskins and Atlanta Braves feature mascots that are warlike and fearsome (Mihesuah 1996). In addition to home values, children are influenced by teachers, television, radio, books, sports, and people on the street (Mihesuah 1999, pp. 19–20).

Foster (1991) describes several identity conflicts that American Indians face today:

1. Identity conflicts among American Indians are critical and ongoing psychological problems;
2. Definitions of American Indians differ not only among non-American Indians but also among American Indians;
3. An American Indian may have several identities (Individual, occupational, religious, social, etc.) that correspond to their allegiances (such as family, tribe, community, state, and country);
4. American Indian identity constantly develops in response to the person's social, political, and economic environments;
5. The United States government has recently agreed to allow citizens to check more than one racial category on the next census, thus giving mixed-heritage people an opportunity to proclaim their mixed parentage;
6. Health care and social workers, educators, and politicians, need to understand that there are cultural differences among tribes and individual American Indians;
7. Physical appearance does not always coincide with an individual's chosen identity;
8. Census survey data regarding American Indian race, heritage, and ethnicity are often interpreted incorrectly;
9. The number of individuals self-identifying as American Indians is growing; and
10. The escalating incidences of ethnic fraud demonstrate the need for definitive guidelines for determining who is and is not Indian.

Similarly, Dilg (1999, p. 7) notes that students' racial or cultural identities affect what they bring to the texts and how they are affected by them. As students leave the relatively less racially and ethnically conscious years of childhood, they enter into a period in which issues of identity become paramount. Finally, the author uses Devon

Mihesuah's personal experience and Early's opinion as the summary of this section. Mihesuah (1999, p. 30) remembers distinctly that after passing her comprehensive PhD exams in 1988, a professor asked her, "Have you considered that it is your white blood that makes you successful?"

> [The Negro] ever feels his twoness-an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. The history of the American Negro is the history of his strife-this longing . . . to merge his double self . . . . (Early 1993, p. xviii)

Life Stage of Identification

One of the most thoughtful is the "life stages" paradigm for African American proposed by William Cross (1991, pp. 189–233) and extended by Thomas Parham (1989), termed "Circle of Nigrescence" (the process of becoming Black). I tried to use the model to portray the development of American Indian identity (see Fig. 19.2). One assumption of this discussion is that indigenous people, like Blacks, live in a White world.

As applied to Blacks, those in Cross's first stage, pre-encounter, know they are black, but they give little thought to racial issues. Some see their blackness as an imposition on their lives. Exposure to racial stereotypes and mis-education may lead them to perceive blackness as negative, and some individuals may adopt a white world view, using white/mainstream standards to judge themselves and everyone else. They may devalue black culture (everything from their skin color and hair texture to African art and religion) and glorify white/mainstream culture (Cross 1991, pp. 190–198). In the first stage, indigenous students may disvalue their heritage and just adopt mainstream values.

Cross's second stage, encounter, is when such persons experience a shocking event that jolts them into considering that their frame of reference for forming their identity is inadequate. The second part of the encounter stage is when the person decides to develop his/her black identity (Cross 1991, pp. 198–201). In this stage, there will be three possibilities for American Indian students: becoming American Indians, becoming more American Indian/rediscovering American Indianness, and becoming less American Indian.
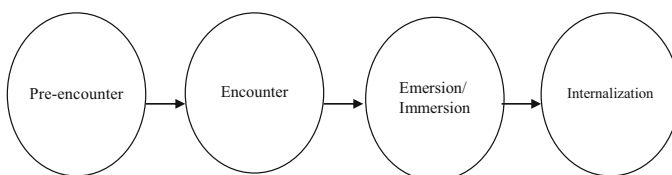
Fig. 19.2 Life Stages Model (*Source*: Cross (1991, pp. 189–233))

The third stage, immersion-emersion, is marked by an intense interest in all that is Black, and everything pertaining to blackness (hairstyle, clothing, mannerism, and speech) is enthusiastically incorporated into this person's life (Cross 1991, pp. 201–209). In this stage, indigenous students want to rediscover their "American Indianness."

The fourth stage, internalization, comes when the person attains a sense of inner security and self-confidence about his black identity. Defensiveness, stress, and anti-white behavior regress in favor of "ideological flexibility, psychological openness, and self-confidence. The person is at peace with himself and is able to express feelings of dissatisfaction about racism and inequality through constructive, nonviolent means" (Cross 1991, pp. 209–216). In the final stage, indigenous students will show their resistance to the mainstream culture and world view and want their voices to be heard and emphasized.

In regard to American Indians, Devon A. Mihesuah (1999, p. 16) asserts that: (1) some Indians go through stages on their way to becoming like Whites; (2) some White, Black, and Hispanic individuals and mixed heritage people of minimal American Indian heritage who desire to become American Indian also progress through stages on their quest for an American Indian identity; and (3) multiple heritage individuals, especially those who do not have cultural knowledge of the group they aspire to become a member of and/or do not physically resemble other members of that group, will have more difficulty in establishing a comfortable identity.

Some American Indians in the pre-encounter stage are well aware of themselves as American Indians yet they know little about their tribal history and culture, much less about other Indians or the political, economic, and social state of tribes in general. Of course, many American Indians have no feeling of inferiority. They are fulfilled, satisfied with their place in the world, and never seek an identity change (Mihesuah 1999, p. 17).

Conclusion

Following the veins of Cultural Studies, Williams (1958) mentions that every human society has its own shape, its own purposes, its own meanings. Every human society expresses these in institutions and in arts and learning. Culture could be regarded as the social process whereby people communicate meanings, make sense of their world, construct their identities, and define their beliefs and values. The way that indigenous people communicate their meaning, make sense of the world, construct their identity, and define their beliefs was one time seen as the negative force for indigenous students to face the modern and competitive society. Along with the advent of multiculturalism, the indigenous culture has the chance to represent the unique and meaningful life style comparing to other cultures. The cultural turn refers to a significant change for people to look at the culture differently. However, under the severe impact of globalization and neoliberal movement, the indigenous people

Table 19.1 Two-way cultural identity table

	Tribal identity	Mainstream identity	Bicultural identity	Cultural marginalized identity
Tribal culture	+	−	+	−
Mainstream culture	−	+	+	−

Source: Cheng and Jacob (2008)

Fig. 19.3 The Cultural Identity Axis (*Source*: Cheng and Jacob (2008))
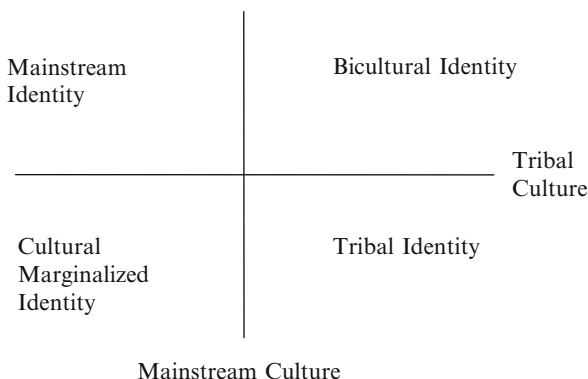
Mainstream Identity

Bicultural Identity

Tribal Culture

Cultural Marginalized Identity

Tribal Identity

Mainstream Culture

still have the same struggle to deal with the controversy between their indigenous and mainstream identity.

In this article, the author concludes that identity is an ongoing process to identify selfhood and exclude others, and is dynamic and multiple constructed rather than permanent and individual. Furthermore, the process of recognition and misrecognition is based on power and exclusion. To deal with the issue of Indigenous identity, the principal investigator clarifies individual identity, community identity, and external identity. Beyond the cultural turn, the cultural identity could be divided into two categories: tribal culture and mainstream culture. When the indigenous people have stronger identity within their trial culture, and weaker identity within the mainstream culture, we name it as the Tribal Identity. When the indigenous people have stronger identity on the mainstream culture, and weaker identity on their tribal culture, we name it as the Mainstream Identity. If they maintain both cultures, we name it the Bicultural Identity. If they don't prefer any of these two cultures, we name it Culturally Marginalized Identity (see Table 19.1 and Fig. 19.3).

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Chapter 20
Indigeneity and Global Citizenship

Jerome M. Levi and Elizabeth Durham

Abstract This chapter examines the extent to which indigenous identity can be considered a form of global citizenship. We begin with an overview of the contemporary international indigenous movement, arguing that modern indigenous identity is characterized not only by experiences of "homeland," but of "diaspora" as well. Drawing on fieldwork in Africa and the Middle East, we then expand these two experiences to distinguish between two themes in contemporary indigenous discourse: that of "globalizing indigenous peoples," as illustrated by the Hadza in Tanzania; and that of "indigenizing global peoples," as represented by the Jews in Israel. Having established that indigeneity and globality are not necessarily antithetical, we then explore how these concepts intersect with notions of citizenship. Using the four discourses of citizenship proposed by Linda Bosniak (Indiana J Global Law Stud 7:447–508, 2000)—citizenship-as-political activity, as-collective identity and sentiment, as-legal status, and as-rights—we argue that indigenous identity is a legitimate form of global citizenship with regard to the first two of these discourses, yet is less so with regard to the last two. Ultimately, the validity of the notion of indigeneity-as-global citizenship is heteroglossic: it varies significantly according to which "dialect" of the language of citizenship is spoken.

Keywords Indigeneity • Global citizenship • Hadza • Israel • Diaspora

Introduction

At first glance, indigenous identity and global citizenship appear to be two diametrically opposed phenomena. While no universally accepted definition exists for either concept, the former often conjures up ideas of rootedness and primordialism, whereas the latter tends to invoke notions of cosmopolitanism and disappearing

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boundaries, a willingness to privilege an allegiance to humanity above all other attachments. Yet by uniting groups around the world—people as culturally diverse as Saami reindeer herders, Andean peasants, Australian Aborigines, and native Hawaiians—today's international indigenous rights movement calls these familiar connotations into question and presents an intriguing idea: is indigenous identity actually a manifestation, rather than the antithesis, of global citizenship?

In order to answer this question, however, we first need to investigate three ideas with which this topic is centrally concerned: namely, globality, indigeneity, and citizenship, and the complex and sometimes unexpected ways in which these concepts come together.

Globality and Indigeneity: Dialectic Dimensions of Identity

Identity, both personal and collective, exists only in and through the ontological conditions that create it. It is therefore useful to clarify several relevant dimensions of identity at the outset. Discussions of globalization often fail to make analytic distinctions between social processes and social conditions. Manfred Steger suggests that a useful distinction can be made between *globality* and *globalization*. Steger uses the term "*globality* to signify a social condition characterized by tight global economic, political, cultural, and environmental interconnections and flows that make most of the currently existing borders and boundaries irrelevant" (2009, p. 8). As such, it is a social condition somewhat more characteristic of a proximate future than a currently existing state of affairs. Steger distinguishes this concept from *globalization*, which, in his usage, "applies to a set of social processes that appear to transform our present social condition of weakening nationality into one of globality" (2009, p. 9).

In indigenous circles, a similar distinction is sometimes drawn between two other neologisms: the new global phenomena known as *indigeneity* and *indigenism*. We follow Jeremy Waldron in defining indigeneity as "a term of art in the politics and philosophy of cultural rights and the rights of First Peoples" (2007, p. 23) or what we more generally comprehend here as a fresh conceptualization of indigenous identity under recent conditions of globalization. Indigeneity is relational and political. It emerges in the widest possible field of socio-political relations—international contexts of conquest and empire—as well as in local contexts within nation-states. It also typically designates the pre-conquest, non-dominant, marginalized sectors within these political arenas.

Indigeneity cannot be reduced to a cultural type: the term encompasses hunter-gatherers, pastoralists, shifting cultivators, and peasants; egalitarian and hierarchical societies; nomads as well as sedentary peoples; and indeed many other kinds of social variation. Rather than being a specific *type* of society, indigenous peoples instead define a specific politico-economic position or subjectivity vis-à-vis fields of power. Some distinguish *indigeneity*, as a notion relating to emergent forms of indigenous identity construction and mobilization taking shape across boundaries of

all sorts, from *indigenism*, which connotes specifically the global social movement that brings indigeneity into being. Ronald Niezen, for example, defines indigenism as "the international movement that aspires to promote and protect the rights of the world's 'first peoples'" (2003, p. 4). In practice, however, indigeneity and indigenism, like globality and globalization, are often used interchangeably.

We argue that globalization and indigenous identity can no longer be viewed as opposed social formations because in the twenty-first century, indigeneity increasingly exists through the conditions of emerging globality. Yes, indigenous identity does conjure up images of that which is "aboriginal," and therefore also of notions concerned with origins, history, and connectedness to place, but this neither precludes openness to the future nor participation in a world of differences, flows, communication, and mobility transcending geographical, political, and cultural boundaries (Deluga 2010; Goodale 2006). So we need to see indigeneity stretching beyond traditional contexts. Given the push of rural out-migration and the pull of urban centers, "diaspora" as well as "homeland" are equally descriptive of indigenous experience today (Clifford 2007). Indeed, contrary to romantic stereotypes, nowadays more Native Americans in the United States live in cities than on reservations in the rural west (Ramirez 2007, p. 1), just as Australian Aborigines are today more likely to be found in Sydney, Perth, or Darwin than in the "outback" (Merlan 2007). As shown by many of the essays in Maximilian Forte's book, *Indigenous Cosmopolitans: Transnational and Transcultural Indigeneity in the Twenty-First Century*, indigeneity today is "both rooted in and routed through particular settings" (2010, p. 8).

In order to speak not just in abstractions but to consider ethnographically a few of the "particular settings" wherein both indigeneity and globality come together to define a contemporary dialectic of social identity, we briefly consider two starkly contrasting cases. The first, represented by the Hadza, a foraging people of Tanzania, exemplifies the situation of a *globalizing indigenous people*. The second, represented by the Jews in Israel, illustrates the case of an *indigenizing global people*. Taken together, the two situations represent polar ends of the local/global, indigenous/cosmopolitan spectrum. As such, they illustrate divergent ways that peoples can be "rooted in," while still being "routed through," indigeneity and globality. Moreover, the two examples show not only that indigeneity and globality are complementary rather than contradictory conditions of being, but also that both are powerful strategies of modernity deployed in the politics of identity and representation—and in the mobilization of interests within and between economic, political, and socio-cultural categories.

A Globalizing Indigenous People: The Hadza of Tanzania

The Hadza, a group of roughly 1,000–1,500 individuals who live in the arid environs around Lake Eyasi in northern Tanzania, are one of the last societies in Africa, and indeed the world, to live substantially by hunting and gathering (Marlowe 2010;

Marlowe 2010). How does a society such as this, a people who sometimes have erroneously been misconstrued as "living fossils," come to engage the pressures, opportunities, and representatives of globalization in the twenty-first century? To answer this question, the senior author, along with political scientist and colleague Biorn Maybury-Lewis, undertook a month-long fact-finding mission among select indigenous peoples and organizations in South and East Africa in March 2009 for a World Bank project on indigenous peoples, poverty, and development (Levi and Maybury-Lewis 2012). One of the groups with whom we stayed was the Hadza. Most of our time was spent with traditional Hadza who lived in the foraging camps of the Sengeli area, although we also visited Hadza who had taken up permanent residence in the settlements of Yaeda, Mangola, and Mongo Wa Mono. These latter Hadza subsisted on a combination of government handouts, money from tourism, wage labor, and some farming and beekeeping. Below is a synopsis of our findings relevant to the present essay.

There are six major forces linking the Hadza inexorably with globalization. Richard Lee and Richard Daly identify loss of land, the involuntary removal of children for schooling, and government-issued hunting leases as three of them, to which we would add three more: international tourism, environmental change, and participation in indigenous rights networks (2000, p. 203). The greatest threat by far to the Hadza is loss of land. When we asked Bagosh, head of the family group with whom we stayed in the Sengeli area, what was the most important message we should take back to the World Bank, he unhesitatingly said: "Put this as our cry. Because the world has changed, politics has changed. We therefore cry for our land. We want this message to go out loud and clear. We do not want our land to be taken away."

The traditional territory of the Hadza encompassed three modern administrative districts in northern Tanzania, but in the last 40 years most of it has been expropriated. Andrew Madsen offers a useful summary:

> The causes for this loss are ancient but also all too modern: population pressures of neighboring peoples, land degradation in surrounding areas, discriminatory attitudes on the part of majority populations, government inattention and/or even worse, government attention. Misguided and destructive government policies and the uninformed interventions of foreign aid agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have had a significant impact on this community through forced relocations on the part of the government and dependence forming by NGOs and aid organizations. (2010, pp. 9–10)

Historically, Hadza hunting territories have been viewed as unoccupied; when colonial and postcolonial governments instituted programs intended to permanently settle Hadza in nucleated villages, with some coercive relocation schemes occurring as recently as 1990, it opened up even more land as well as created new problems. Hadza we spoke with remembered the resettlement and villagization programs as times when death and infectious disease spread through their community. Not surprisingly, most Hadza drifted back into the bush. But now other peoples, both pastoralists and agriculturalists, had invaded Hadza land, with the government's tacit approval. During our stay, it was pointed out how Iraqw farmers and Barabaig (Datoga) herders were occupying Hadza territory, as well as how people from all over Tanzania had moved onto land around Mangola, making it the largest

onion-producing region in East Africa. In the process, Hadza increasingly find themselves labeled by others as trespassers in their own homeland. Nevertheless, there are also signs of hope: in 1994, Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO), a land rights organization, assisted the Hadza in obtaining title to Mongo Wa Mono, one of the permanent settlements in which they constitute a majority (Madsen 2000, p. 56). Furthermore, as the global indigenous advocacy network Survival International recently reported, the Tanzanian government resolved in November 2011 "that the Hadza should be given official title deeds to ensure that the country's last hunter-gatherers are not troubled by land-hungry invaders, particularly in the wake of scramble for land."

The predicament of the Hadza connects with the global history of indigenous peoples in other ways as well. Significantly, Hadza are learning from the situation of other indigenous peoples who are helping them think creatively about alternatives. Just as Native Americans in the United States were forcibly removed from their homes and sent away to boarding schools in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with attendant loss of indigenous language, culture, and subsistence skills, so Hadza in recent decades likewise have suffered the same fate for the same rationale: the government's desire to "civilize" a group of people it views as "wild." Hadza children as young as six have been taken away and shipped to primary schools outside of Hadza territory. Not surprisingly, we learned from Hadza in the Sengeli area that they have sometimes hidden away their children when they heard vehicles approaching. However, they *do* want their children to be educated, they said, not only to better defend their rights, but (given the steady decrease in game resulting from the encroachment of other peoples on their land) because they feared there simply would be no more animals for them to hunt in the future. Thus, parents told us they wanted their children to know how to read and write in order to support themselves, but they no longer wanted their children to be forcibly removed. Consequently, based on initial success with experimental programs, and in consultation with Hadza, the Copenhagen-based International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs proposed a comprehensive plan: "mobile services for a mobile people." These would provide for the Hadza mobile medical assistance and mobile primary schools to children living far from population centers (Madsen 2000, pp. 92–94).

Another threat involving a transnational component that directly impacts Hadza life and livelihood is the granting of licenses and leases enabling foreigners to hunt on Hadza land. Meanwhile, Hadza are not only restricted from hunting in these private preserves (such as now exists among the western Hadza) but prosecuted as poachers if they do. The most famous of these incidents took place in 2007 when the Al Nahyan Royal Family of the United Arab Emirates acquired a concession of 65,000 km^2 in the Yaeda Valley to be used as a "personal safari playground" (McCrummen 2007), with Hadza and Barabaig residents being evicted in the process and the Hadza activist and spokesman Richard Baalow being imprisoned. Eventually the deal was rescinded after the South Africa-based Indigenous Peoples of Africa Coordinating Committee (IPACC) and other human rights agencies intervened and news of the abuse of Hadza rights was carried in the international press.

International tourism is another global force with which the Hadza, or at least some of them, must now contend. As the world has become aware that the Hadza are one of the last foraging societies on earth, this phenomenon has increased significantly. In 2001, both the American Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) aired documentaries on the Hadza; in December 2009, the Hadza were the cover story of National Geographic Magazine. This media coverage has stimulated tourist demand to visit the Hadza on trips to northern Tanzania, a region that already draws international visitors to well-known game parks in the area. One of the negative consequences of tourism is that as Hadza leave the bush and come to live more permanently in the villages—which makes it easier for the tour companies to access them than if they resided in their scattered hunting camps—this has brought a noticeable increase in tuberculosis and alcoholism. Tourism brings money to the Hadza, and this money is frequently used to buy alcohol, with disastrous results. According to Frank Marlowe, "I have seen a few Hadza in Mangola die from drinking every day over a few years. Drinking leads to arguments and fights and injuries and murder. A few recent alcohol-related murders have caused the murder rate to soar" (2010, p. 287). Moreover, whereas earlier development programs were meant to change the Hadza, some agencies now discourage the Hadza from altering their foraging, since this is what the tourists come to see. It should be stated that there are also some positive aspects to tourism: the increased international awareness has given the Hadza a modicum of influence in local and national affairs, and some tour companies, it is claimed, have been conscientious in assisting the Hadza in reaching their goals of self-determination.

Environmental change is yet another global issue faced by contemporary Hadza. In tropical scrub forests of the type where Hadza live, global warming is having a noticeable effect. For example, due to the ever-dryer conditions in the borderlands between Kenya and Tanzania, some pastoralists have switched from herding cattle, their traditional livestock, to camels, which are hardier and can better survive in the increasingly arid environment. Climate change is also pronounced in Hadza territory. Hadza in the Sengeli area specified six species of trees which are no longer flowering on time due to the dryer conditions, and listed by name five year-round springs upon which they formerly depended for drinking water that are now going dry. Rising population and environmental pressures on the valley floor are causing Barabaig pastoralists to move up into Hadza country, placing further pressure on the dwindling water supply. The pastoralists enlarge the water catchments from the small springs so their cattle can drink, consequently robbing both the Hadza and local game of water. The result is that as pastoralists move into Hadza territory, game moves away. Gone are the zebra, giraffe, eland, ostrich, and buffalo upon which the Hadza once relied. As we witnessed in March 2009, many Hadza hunters are now reduced to surviving on birds and the occasional dik-dik, a diminutive antelope.

The last globalizing force we mention here among the Hadza is their involvement with national, regional, and international indigenous rights organizations. As Richard Lee and Richard Daly note, "Hadza have attended indigenous rights meetings organized by the United Nations in Geneva. However, they have not found it easy to organize themselves and present a common viewpoint" (2000, p. 203).

Nevertheless, it is through their involvement with these networks that Hadza political consciousness and social horizons are changing, albeit gradually. Now, rather than simply identifying as "Hadza" and avoiding confrontation with outsiders as they traditionally have, many are now learning how to organize, communicate, and identify with a new global social movement. Indeed, manifesting indigeneity in the face of emerging globality, they are "becoming indigenous" in the sense that they are self-consciously assuming the indigenous label as a new transnational identity category in order to join with others who are similarly identified in an emerging international rights movement (Igoe 2006; Levi and Maybury-Lewis 2012).

We met Hadza working in the district government offices in Mbulu helping to ensure that the rights and services afforded to all Tanzanian citizens are also extended to the Hadza. Hadza representatives are also present in the Pastoral and Indigenous Non-Governmental Organization (PINGO)'s Forum, an umbrella NGO based in Arusha composed of nearly 50 member organizations intended to advocate for the rights of indigenous pastoralists and hunter-gatherers. Even though one of the Hadza's greatest problems is encroachment on their land and resources by pastoralists, and despite the fact that their presence in the organization is minimal at best, Hadza participation here does give them some voice whereas previously they had none. Hadza insist that even as they learn new modalities it does not undermine their underlying cultural identity. Hadza activist Richard Baalow stresses that even though he uses a cell phone, rides a motor scooter, wears long pants, and sometimes lives in town, none of these make him any less Hadza. Similarly, Naftali Kitandu, another Hadza spokesman who is often away in the capital (and who opened the way for us in Hadza country), told the people with whom we spoke that they should no longer be scared but have the courage to speak up and communicate their grievances. He added: "This is the only way things will change." Naftali said the best way to advocate for the rights of the Hadza is for the Hadza themselves to learn *pole*, *pole* ("slowly, slowly") how to organize and build alliances with others. Also part of our research team was Kanyinke Sena, an East Africa representative of IPACC, a network of 155 indigenous peoples' organizations in 22 African countries. Kanyinke, born in Kenya and a lawyer by training, had also been on a previous mission to the Hadza: he was interested in ensuring that the Hadza's fate would differ from that of his own people, the Ogiek, a former hunter-gatherer society who, due to a variety of pressures, had lost much of their land, language, and culture. It is through participating in these cross-cultural conversations and learning new strategies, skills, and ideas that Hadza, one of the world's last foraging societies, are confidently meeting—albeit *pole*, *pole*—the pressures, opportunities, and representatives of globalization.

An Indigenizing Global People: The Jews of Israel

If the Hadza of Tanzania can be seen as a globalizing indigenous people, then the Jews of Israel might be thought to represent the inverse: namely, an indigenizing global people. True, Jews are normally not discussed in volumes on indigeneity,

but we are not the first to do so. James Weiner (2002), for example, creatively draws on the Jewish experience of diaspora in making the case for land rights for displaced Australian Aborigines, just as Nigel Rapport (2010) uses the diverse "postnational" identities of Jews in Newfoundland as case material upon which to base his concluding remarks in a book on transnational indigeneity. Perhaps it was only a matter of time before the Jews of Israel would themselves begin declaring their belonging to the land in terms of indigeneity, considering that Palestinians and their allies, many of whom contest the Jews' territorial rights to Israel, have in recent years become increasingly active in voicing their objections to Israeli policies in terms of the global indigenous framework (Abu-Saad 2006; Collins 2011; Jamal 2011; Yiftachel 2003). Indeed, although Zionism is usually conceptualized as a national liberation movement for the Jewish people, if it were articulated today, rather than in the 1890s during the age of nationalism, it might very well be expressed in terms of an indigenous rights movement, as evidenced by the fact that some actors in Israel now explicitly relate their experiences to this movement. We discuss these actors shortly.

It is often taken as a truism that indigenous identity is a consequence of colonialism; as they say, were there no invaders there would be no natives. But while we would not discount this, we would add that it does not exhaust all the circumstances under which the consciousness of indigeneity may arise. We suggest, therefore, that in addition to conquest and colonialism, the phenomena of exile and diaspora are experiences that likewise may produce an awareness of indigeneity. That is, an awareness of deep belonging to a place other than where one is, predicated on ties of kinship, language, and culture, and nourished by origin stories and historic connections to sacred places in a distant, long-cherished, land. This, we suggest, is as true for Navajos in Los Angeles and Australian Aborigines relocated from Flinders Island as it is for displaced Palestinian refugees and their descendants as well as for a great many Jews, who in the course of their global wanderings over the last 2,000 years, have expressed, in both word and deed, a similar longing to return to their homeland. Why else would the end of every Passover feast conclude with the prayer: "Next year in Jerusalem!"? This theme is picked up by James Clifford, who writes, from the vantage point of the Lakota exiled from their sacred mountains, "'Next year in the Black Hills'" (2007, p. 205).

If the indigene can say to the colonial: "*you* do not really belong here because *my* people were here first," then the immigrant, the wanderer, the refugee may likewise have the feeling: "*I* do not really belong here because *your* people were here first." Historical anteriority is not the only existential thread that produces indigeneity (cultural distinctiveness, non-dominance, and self-identification as indigenous are usually counted as others), but the argument from first occupancy is perhaps the most prevalent one. Just as a person becomes indigenous in the presence of invasion or conquest by foreigners, so the indigene's absence from the homeland is frequently caused by the gradual "squeezing out" of the native population on the part of the invaders, using techniques ranging from forced military expulsion to economic enticements to relocate. The point is that the production of indigeneity via diaspora is every bit as valid and in every way as much a function of

global trajectories, subject status, and world historical processes often associated with violence, mass migration, and political-economic dislocations as is the more usual type of indigeneity produced via colonialism (Deluga 2010). One is but the inverse image of the other. Whether the natives stay put after the conquest, suffering the blows of the conquerors in their homeland, or whether they are forced (or lured) into the world beyond their traditional borders and endure the indignity of being strangers in a strange land, both scenarios hold the potential of producing the consciousness of indigeneity. As Clifford notes, "the varieties of indigenous experience proliferate between the poles of autochthony (we are here and have been here forever) and diaspora (we yearn for a homeland)... seeing an articulated continuum, a complex range of affiliations, offers a fresh perspective on both ends of the spectrum" (2007, p. 205; parentheses original).

With this model in mind, we suggest that the Jews in Israel, especially since the birth of Zionism in the late 1800s, may be seen an indigenizing global people. Since it is possible to speak of "indigenous diasporas"—noting that Yup'ik identity now regularly encompasses life in Alaskan cities (Clifford 2007, pp. 206–212); and that of prime importance to modern Cherokee and Navajo peoples is, respectively, the "Trail of Tears" and the "Long Walk"—the Jewish experience of Exile since 70 A.D., when Jerusalem fell at the hands of the Romans, may be considered another such diaspora. Having dispersed to every corner of the earth, the Jews—whose name derives from the Biblical Hebrew term *Yehudi*, and therefore *Judio* in Spanish or *Jude* in German, indicating someone who comes from the Kingdom of Judah or Judea—may thus be seen as perhaps the world's first transnational indigenous group, inexorably moving toward the possession of a global identity, which of course also has its liabilities. Indeed, as Rapport notes: "One of the chief crimes with which 'Jews' have commonly been charged by nationalist regimes (by both the Nazis and the Soviets, for instance) is cosmopolitanism—conceiving of themselves as operating in a global space—they will play host to little attachment or loyalty, it is said, to any particular local space" (2010, p. 190). This is obviously a "double-bind" with deadly consequences. Yet as Forte argues in his discussion of indigenous cosmopolitans and transnational indigeneity, drawing intellectual capital from Homi Bhabha's notion of "vernacular cosmopolitanism" (1996) and Kwame Appiah's concept of "cosmopolitan patriots" (1997), just because a people are "routed through" some places does not mean they are not "rooted in" others. For the Jews, at least in terms of religious consciousness, they have always been rooted in Israel.

Indeed, it was this condition precisely that gave birth to both the call for, and response to, Zionism. In the late nineteenth century, after the Dreyfus Affair in France and the pogroms in Russia, many Jews concluded that regardless of whether they tried to assimilate, as in Western Europe, or remain separate, as in Eastern Europe, they would never be safe enough to consider themselves truly "at home" in Europe. After the brutal fact of the Holocaust, they were proved right. The solution—a proverbial "ingathering of the exiles" of which the old Hebrew prophets spoke—was the promulgation of an international social movement calling for the return of the Jews to their ancient homeland, a place that had never left the lips of

the observant Jew. Three times a day he turned toward Jerusalem in prayer and sang the praises of Zion in the grace after every meal. So it was that ancient religion, collective memory, and cultural practice, combined with the precarious situation of the Jews in Europe, provided the foundation upon which Zionism, as a modern social and political movement, was built.

But it was not enough simply to return to the Land. Instead, there was an active effort from the beginning to indigenize the renewed Jewish presence in it. The goal was to establish a land-based identity that would recover the roots of the ancient Hebrew nation. This took many forms, all of which were based on the idea of creating "New Hebrews," thus reversing the process by which Jews, during their long Exile, had supposedly degenerated physically, culturally, and spiritually on account of their separation from the ancient *moledet* or "homeland." There was, for instance, the decision to make Hebrew, the Semitic language indigenous to ancient Israel, the national language of modern Israel, rather than Yiddish, a hybrid Germanic language with Hebrew and Slavic elements. Another indigenizing program was that of *yediat ha-aretz* (knowing the land) intended to literally "ground" people's knowledge of Israel in an embodied experience connected to nature so that the New Hebrews would not see the land as foreign but rather have a feel for the place as natives. As Yael Zerubavel writes, "*Yediat ha-aretz* (knowing the Land) did not simply mean the recital of facts in the classroom, but rather an intimate knowledge of the land that can only be achieved through a direct contact with it . . . trekking on foot throughout the land was particularly considered as a major educational experience, essential for the development of the New Hebrews" (1994, p. 28). Similarly, archaeology early on became a national pastime in Israel because it was a critical method of "scientifically" legitimizing the Jewish people's historic connection to the place by excavating their deep past, pulling from the earth the material remains corresponding to Biblical narratives and the histories of Josephus (cf. Abu El-Haj 2001). So too, in Israel's pre-state period, several secular Zionist youth movements and paramilitary defense organizations (such as the Hashomer and Palmach) pursued indigenizing strategies by consciously modeling their dress, speech, and manners on that of local Arabs, and the Bedouin in particular, since both populations represented for the newcomers the paragon of the native. Hence, these New Hebrews stressed not only equestrian skills—Arab horsemanship being world renown—but also took to wearing "Biblical sandals" and the *keffiyeh*, the distinctive headgear so symbolic of Arab identity, sometimes also including the loose robe or over garment known as the *abbaya* (Zerubavel 2008).

Perhaps the most interesting, and radical, of Israel's indigenizing efforts was Canaanism, an ideological movement of the 1940s and 1950s that, though small in actual membership, had a significant impact on Israeli culture (Diamond 1986). Named for the indigenous inhabitants of the land before the coming of the Israelites in antiquity, the Canaanite movement sought to decouple the emerging culture of Israel from Judaism and Jewish history and instead aimed to connect it back with the cultures of the ancient Fertile Crescent of which, according to them, it was naturally a part. It stressed how the *sabra* (native-born Israeli)—envisioned as tall, tan, strong, healthy, down to earth, and speaking Hebrew as his or her mother

tongue—was the opposite of the New Hebrew's parents, the diasporic Jews. The latter were depicted as rootless, weak, pale, a refugee from the shtetl and the ghetto, a stranger to manual labor and the land itself. If diasporic Jews learned Hebrew in exile, it was only as the language of prayer and scholarship but never the natural one of ordinary conversation. Worse, the diasporic Jews' constant wandering and marginalized status had made them into pariahs and scapegoats. The indigenizing strategies explicit in the Canaanite movement were envisioned to be forces capable of reversing the degenerative experience of diaspora. The point is that indigeneity, not Jewishness, was held to be the basis for the new state of Israel. In fact, Yonatan Ratosh, founder of the Canaanite movement, asked "not a state for the Jews but the legitimation through statehood of the indigenous Hebrew nation that was beginning life anew in Palestine" (quoted in Diamond 1986, p. 37).

However, expression of the Jewish claim to Israel in terms of indigeneity is not merely an artifact of history or a passing phase of young Israeli nationalism, as was learned when the senior author conducted research in Israel and the West Bank from March to September 2012. On the contrary, some contemporary Jewish and Israeli activists, leaders, and scholars have also begun to articulate Jewish connections to the Holy Land specifically in the language of indigenous rights, and especially in the wake of the 2007 UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Recognizing the unprecedented moral authority of indigeneity in the twenty-first century, they claim Native Title to Israel based on the argument that Jews are not occupiers in the Land of Israel, as is often asserted, but rather are indigenous to it (Cotler 2008; Hertz 2009; Reinhardt 2010; Rouhana and Bar-Tal 1998). For instance, Irwin Cotler, the former Canadian Attorney General and Minister of Justice, and an expert on human rights and the Middle East, authored an influential 2008 op-ed piece in the *Jerusalem Post* asserting that the Jewish claim to Israel derives from the fact that it is the "aboriginal homeland of the Jewish people" whose "birth certificate originates in its inception as a First Nation, and not simply, however important, in its United Nations international birth certificate." He continues:

> Israel, rooted in the Jewish people, as an Abrahamic people, is a prototypical First Nation or aboriginal people, just as the Jewish religion is a prototypical aboriginal religion, the first of the Abrahamic religions. In a word, the Jewish people is the only people that still inhabits the same land, embraces the same religion, studies the same Torah, harkens to the same prophets, speaks the same aboriginal language—Hebrew—and bears the same aboriginal name, Israel, as it did 3,500 years ago. (Cotler 2008)

Equally impressive in its organizing of Jewish interests in Israel specifically in terms of the international indigenous rights framework has been the Office for Israeli Constitutional Law (OFICL), an Israeli NGO which "advocates for Israeli/Jewish rights under international law." The OFICL registered as an Indigenous Peoples Organization (IPO) with the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) and sent a delegation of twelve persons (representing the twelve tribes of Israel) to the United Nations for the Ninth Session of the UNPFII in 2010. Three months later they had prepared and posted on their website an official "Statement on Jewish Indigenous Status in the Land of Israel/Palestine" (OFICL 2010).

Similarly, Alternative Action, a grassroots organization made of Jewish settlers in the West Bank and others in Israel forwarding perspectives that seek to challenge the status quo, states on its website that it aims to "promote fresh alternatives based on justice, *indigenous rights* and the possibility of a brighter future for all peoples of the Middle East" (Alternative Action 2012, authors' italics). The notion of indigenous identity and indigenous rights, specifically as it pertains to the Jewish people's claim to the Holy Land, is central to their mission, as was learned when the senior author interviewed Yehuda HaKohen, a spokesman for the organization. He explained that a major factor accounting for the lack of acceptance of Israel by its neighbors is that the country suffers from an acute identity crisis: whereas Israel is geographically part of the Middle East and Jews are Middle Eastern in origin, in recent centuries many Jews began to culturally identify with the West, which led Israel in turn to have an artificial Western identity. As stated on the organization's trilingual website (written in Hebrew, Arabic, and English): "Alternative Action views Israel's contrived Western identity as a major contributor to hostilities between Jews and other natives of the region as it strengthens core anti-Zionist accusations and fosters within Israeli society a chauvinistic attitude toward the Arab peoples. In order for Israel to arrive at a situation of peace—both internally and externally—the Jewish people must come to terms with, accept and proudly display our unique and authentic Semitic identity" (Alternative Action 2012).

This ideological stance encouraging Jews in general, and Israelis in particular, to embrace their Semitic identity is remarkably similar to the earlier Canaanite movement discussed above. Yet whereas the Canaanite movement of the 1940s had only archaeology, cultural memory, and the Hebrew language, if not the Jewish religion, to cite as evidence of their Middle Eastern roots, HaKohen and Alternative Action also routinely marshal as proof over a decade of recent genetic studies demonstrating that Jews throughout the world have DNA linking them, especially in terms of paternal lineages, back to a common, ancestral Middle Eastern gene pool (e.g. Skorecki et al. 1997; Hammer et al. 2000; Nebel et al. 2001; Ostrer 2012).

Correspondingly, just as early paramilitary groups and youth organizations in Israel sometimes adopted articles of Biblical or Arab clothing to signal their native belonging (Zerubavel 2008), so too members of Alternative Action and others on both the Israeli left and right are now sometimes sporting a Jewish *keffiyeh*. Yet whereas the white garment worn by Palestinians and Jordanians is decorated in black or red diamonds, the new Israeli head cloth has light blue Stars of David set against a white background, conveniently echoing the motif of Israel's national flag. As a new multivocal symbol, it supposedly appeals to those on the left as a political and artistic statement of peace and solidarity with Palestinians and other Arabs, while those on the right wear it to signify that Jewish identity is an authentically Middle Eastern one and also as a statement of support about the right to continued Jewish sovereignty in the Jewish homeland.

Against those angered by this new Israeli headgear—such as Siham Bargouthi, Palestinian Authority Minister of Culture—who perceive it as yet another example of Israel's theft of Palestinian heritage (Yellin 2010), activists and advocates for the headdress point out that fabric head coverings have been used by Jews and other Semitic peoples in the Middle East since ancient times. They note that, besides the

Arabic term *keffiyeh* being linguistically cognate to Hebrew *kippah* (i.e. the skull cap, called a *yarmulke* in Yiddish, worn by observant Jewish men), the wearing of large head wraps and turbans among Mizrahi Jewish men (i.e. those from North Africa and the Middle East) was commonplace until modern times, as can be seen in depictions of the Medieval Jewish philosopher Maimonides and old photographs of Moroccan and Yemenite Jews. To further substantiate the view that the "new" Israeli *keffiyeh* represents not an appropriation of Palestinian culture but rather a revival of ancient Hebrew custom, HaKohen stated that the headgear is even referred to in Biblical and Talmudic accounts by a special term, where it is called a *sudra* or *sudar*, described by the eminent Talmuduc scholar Marcus Jastrow as a "scarf wound around the head and hanging down over the neck" (1903, p. 962), a garment unmistakably resembling, if not identical to, the Arab *keffiyeh*. The significance all this has for our purposes has less to do with questions of fashion than with the thornier issues of history, political symbolism, and ultimately, indigenous rights. What is at stake here is whether contemporary Jews, in the context of the current Israeli-Palestinian conflict, are within their cultural rights not only to wear headgear that has become a universal signifier of Arab identity, but to imprint upon it essentially the flag of Israel.

The conviction that Jews are indigenous to the Holy Land is not simply a preoccupation of some Middle Eastern fashionistas and a handful of small Israeli NGOs peripheral to the main arena of national politics. On the contrary, the case for Jewish indigeneity is also being articulated at the highest levels of the Israeli government. Michael Oren, former Israeli Ambassador to the United States, recently claimed in a *New York Times* op-ed piece that acceptance of Jewish indigeneity to Israel was key to bringing peace in the region. Summarizing his position in a single sentence, he wrote in the concluding paragraph that "the core of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been the refusal to recognize Jews as a people, indigenous to the region and endowed with the right to self-government" (Oren 2010). Rather than being a subject of interest only to folklore or anthropology, here we see the highest-ranking officer of Israel to the United States placing the matter of Jewish indigeneity and the sovereignty it entails squarely front and center in terms of regional political significance.

When the senior author interviewed Sallai Meridor, former Israeli Ambassador to the United States (2006–2009), in the West Bank settlement of Kfar Adumim where he lives, he asked him whether he thought that Jews, Palestinians, both, or neither were indigenous to the land. Meridor answered by saying: "Look, this is how it is with me. I was born in this land four thousand years ago. I was born in Jerusalem, but I was also born in Auschwitz. We belong to this land. And it belongs to us." Later in the interview he stated: "I will tell you something else relevant to your question. When [Israeli Prime Minister Menachem] Begin used to talk with his father, when he was a boy in Lithuania, they would speak about the time when they would *return* to Zion, not *emigrate* to Zion. Along these same lines, the Soviets did not allow people to emigrate, but they could be *repatriated* to their original homes. So, when Soviet Jewry was finally given permission to leave, according to Soviet laws they were given the right not to 'emigrate to Israel' but to 'be repatriated to Israel.'"

Perhaps the most poignant example of the Jewish indigeneity argument in contemporary Israeli politics came during the summer of 2010, when Nissim Ze'ev, one of the founders of the Orthodox Sephardic Shas Party and an Israeli Knesset Member since 1999, launched a campaign claiming "Jews, not Palestinians, are Israel's Indigenous People" (Lehman 2010). Basing his strategy explicitly on the wording in Israel's Declaration of Independence, which states that the "Land of Israel was the birthplace of the Jewish people," and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, he is attempting to get universal recognition of the Jews as the indigenous people of Israel, a proposal that was first advanced in Jerusalem at the World Zionist Congress in June 2010 and has now been presented to the United States Congress, the United Nations, the European Union Parliament Committee on Foreign Affairs, and various leaders of Jewish and international organizations. Among other reasons why he is interested in having Jews recognized as indigenous to the Holy Land is so that Jewish settlers will not be expelled from East Jerusalem and the West Bank, or what he refers to as Judea and Samaria, citing Section 10 of the U.N. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as proof of their right to remain: "Indigenous peoples shall not be forcibly removed from their lands or territories."

However, when the senior author met with M. K. Ze'ev at his Knesset office in June 2012, he said that some reporters had misrepresented his position. His view is not that Jews alone are indigenous to Israel/Palestine, but rather that Jews have a right to be recognized as one of the many peoples indigenous to this region, along with Palestinians, Druze, Samaritans and others. To prove his position asserting that the Jewish claim to indigeneity is not exclusive, but rather that it needs to be used as a stepping-stone on the path to peace that builds on common regional roots, he explained that he had recently been meeting with traditional Arab leaders, such as Sheik Abdel-Khader Ja'abari of Hebron, to work on this plan. While it is true that some on the far right hold the reactionary view that Jews alone are the only people indigenous to Israel, this is a minority position. More commonly encountered in Israel is the view of historian Benny Morris, who writes of the need for a solution "...in the Land of Israel or historic Palestine between its *two indigenous peoples*, the Jews and the Palestine Arabs" (2009, p. 26, authors' italics).

Jewish claims to indigeneity in Israel rely on a number of bases, variously invoking religious practice, cultural memory, the Hebrew language, archaeology, genetic links between the Jewish people and other Middle Eastern populations, and anti-colonial political struggle against the British in the pre-state period. Our interest here, however, is apolitical: we do not seek to interrogate either the logic of these arguments or the soundness of the evidence upon which they are based. Indeed, they have all been contested and each of them has served as a focus of academic debate (e.g., Atran 1989; Abu El-Haj 2001; Sand 2009; Ra'ad 2010; Abu El-Haj 2012; Pappé 2012; Elhaik 2013). Instead, our purpose here has merely been to note the existence of both past and present Jewish claims to Israel/Palestine in terms of indigeneity; and to consider those claims in light of the global discourse on indigenous rights of which they are now part.

Discourses of Global Citizenship

Given that we have shown how an indigenous people can globalize (represented by the Hadza of Tanzania) and a global people can indigenize (exemplified by the Jews in Israel), thus demonstrating that indigeneity and globality do not always exist in opposition, the question arises: how do indigeneity and globality intersect with citizenship? In order to examine this, we next analyze the four discourses of citizenship identified by Linda Bosniak (2000) in her discussion of "citizenship denationalized" in reference to contemporary manifestations of indigenous identity and the struggle for indigenous rights.[1] We contend that in light of the first of Bosniak's four discourses, which equates citizenship with political activity, the international struggle for indigenous rights is indeed a form of global citizenship, one significantly fostered by modern telecommunications and electronic media. This conceptualization of indigeneity as global citizenship also remains valid when the second category of citizenship, which centers on collective identity and sentiment, is taken into account. As the indigenous movement spreads to new regions and contexts, it enables a great variety of peoples to "become indigenous" (Igoe 2006; Levi and Maybury-Lewis 2012) and thus, to join a transnational, transcultural community.

Bosniak's third discourse of citizenship, however, renders the association between indigeneity and global citizenship more problematic in that it defines citizenship as legal status. When citizenship is conceived of in this way, an important question arises, one for which the indigenous movement offers no easy answer: if indigenous identity is a form of global citizenship, then who or what decides which peoples are eligible for the status of "indigenous," and which are not? The United Nations is the closest approximation to global government that currently exists, yet the open nature of its Working Group on Indigenous Populations (UNWGIP) means that "minority groups 'not traditionally conceived' as indigenous are likely to claim indigenous identity" (Corntassel and Primeau 1998, p. 140). Furthermore, it appears that the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) can only address this "free-rider problem" in a way that is relatively informal and only partially effective: while groups whose claims to indigenous status are controversial can be shunned socially at the UN, it seems that they can only be removed from the UNPFII if their behavior is disruptive (Kuper 2003, p. 389). Given the seemingly unbounded character of the indigenous movement, which is driven in large part by its polythetic nature and emphasis on self-identification, it is therefore currently difficult to justify labeling indigenous identity a form of global citizenship.

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[1]For the sake of a more coherent and linear argument, we do not discuss these discourses in the order that Bosniak does (she writes first of citizenship as legal status, then as rights, then as political activity, and then, finally, as a form of collective identity). Just as Bosniak's ordering of the four concepts of citizenship is "analytically useful" for her discussion (2000, p. 455), so the order in which her four discourses are presented here is analytically useful for our presentation.

The fourth and final conceptualization of citizenship put forth by Bosniak, which deals with citizenship as rights,[2] presents the most complicated approach to indigeneity as global citizenship. On one hand, the demand for rights is central to the indigenous movement, and after decades of debate, the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was adopted in September of 2007. On the other hand, however, the rights to which indigenous peoples claim to be entitled are often difficult to enforce: while the source of these rights is ostensibly international law, as well as an international human rights regime that accommodates both collective and individual rights, states are usually the entities that end up handling issues of indigenous rights (and are often the abusers rather than guarantors of those rights). In the context of this last discourse, then, the idea of indigeneity as global citizenship carries more weight in theory than in reality. Ultimately, we suggest that the question of indigenous identity as global citizenship is inherently heteroglossic (Bakhtin 1981) in nature: the legitimacy of the indigenous movement's status as a form of global citizenship varies significantly according to which language of citizenship is being spoken.

What Is Global Citizenship?

The concept of global citizenship has gained considerable attention in recent years, though its roots can be traced to the Greek Stoics as well as to a variety of non-Western sources, including, for example, ancient Bengali traditions (Nussbaum 2007, p. 38; McGill 2003, p. 4; Knight and Harnish 2006, p. 676; Nussbaum 1997, p. 53). Nowhere is interest in this idea more evident than in the classroom: education is often considered to be both a vehicle for the acquisition of global citizenship as well as a forum in which that notion can be defined, negotiated, redefined, and renegotiated. The University of Alberta, for example, hopes that students in its course Global Citizenship: Contemporary Issues and Perspectives will "engage with multiple perspectives and knowledges in order to critique and understand the 'difficulties' of current citizenship projects . . . [as well as] acquire an informed, and, by extension, active role as global citizens whose education and work will benefit humanity as a whole" (2011, p. 2). Along the same lines, Carleton College requires its students to fulfill a Global Citizenship requirement that consists of acquiring "a useable level of competence in a second language" as well as taking one class in international studies and one in intercultural domestic studies (Lasley 2011). It is not clear, however, if the concept of global citizenship is ever debated in any of these mandatory classes. This association between education and global

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[2]Bosniak's discussion of citizenship as rights does not take into account the often related (University of Alberta 2011, p. 1) idea of citizenship as responsibilities. We contend that rights and responsibilities are two sides of the same coin, and thus, include the notion of indigenous responsibilities in our discussion of this fourth discourse of citizenship.

citizenship is perhaps best exemplified by the position of Martha Nussbaum (1997, 2007, pp. 50–84), who believes that "the capacity for Socratic self-criticism and critical thought about one's own traditions" (2007, p. 38); "the ability to see oneself as a member of a heterogeneous nation and world" (2007, p. 38); and "the ability to sympathetically imagine the lives of people different from oneself" (2007, p. 39) are key traits of global citizens, and that the humanities and the arts are the best vehicles for the inculcation of these traits (1997, 2007, pp. 50–84). "It is up to us, as educators," she writes, "to show our students the beauty and interest of a life that is open to the whole world . . . we had better show them this, or the future of democracy in this nation and in the world is bleak" (Nussbaum 1997, p. 84).

As the above demonstrates, global citizenship is often championed as a desirable and attainable status; this assessment often holds when the notion of such citizenship is removed from the context of education. Doug McGill (2003), for example, postulates that there are nine "paths" to global citizenship—the paths of reason, faith, democracy, humanitarianism, ecologicalism, free trade, feminism, business, and perennialism—and that each helps humans remember and act upon "the vital life connection we know exists between ourselves and the other inhabitants of the planet . . . we had better soon become global thinkers or all die as local ones" (4–5). Almost as common as this idea are arguments such as that put forth by Barry Gills (2002), who does not deny the attractiveness of global citizenship, but does not believe that it is currently possible for humans to be global citizens. Gills contends that in order for this idea to become reality—and he firmly believes that it should— humans need to continue the process of uncovering common values, a process well exemplified on September 11, 2001, when millions of people expressed their support for the sanctity of human life (2002, p. 169).

For many scholars, however, the idea of global citizenship is not as unproblematic or benevolent as it is for the authors above: critics often charge that the concept is overly romantic, dangerously vague, completely unfeasible, and/or ultimately undesirable. Michael Woolf, for one, argues that outside of the educational context, global citizenship is simply an imprecise, rosy idea that connotes a set of goals inseparable from those for which a good national citizen should strive: open-mindedness, awareness of other cultures, tolerance of difference, and so on (2010, pp. 48, 59). Yet study-abroad programs aimed at the acquisition of global citizenship, he continues, constitute a beast of a darker nature: they "replace an obligation to commit to the difficult process of learning with a wholly misleading and vague aspiration to reach some notion of a transformed state of grace" (Woolf 2010, p. 59). Michael Byers takes this argument one step further by claiming that the harmfulness of current conceptualizations of global citizenship does not vary depending on whether one is inside the classroom or out of it. "If we're going to talk about global citizenship," he writes, "let's talk frankly about . . . our own country's [Canada's] complicity in the global power game, and about the hypocrisies and hollowness of less rigorous or more benevolent conceptions of global citizenship . . ." (2005, p. 5). Although Byers believes that the idea of global citizenship can be reclaimed by individuals committed to eradicating this global imbalance of power, others are not as optimistic as he. Bhikhu Parekh (2003), for example, condemns global citizenship

as "neither practicable nor desirable" (12) in that it strips people of much-needed political and social attachments and grounding: "... one who claims to belong to the whole world has no political home and is in a state of what Martha Nussbaum calls 'voluntary exile'" (2003, p. 12). Instead of global citizenship, Parekh argues, humanity ought to cultivate what he terms globally oriented citizenship, in which individuals maintain and value membership in smaller political communities, but still form meaningful alliances with others in similar communities (2003, p. 12). Finally, no fewer than two dozen of Nussbaum's peers reject her ideas regarding global citizenship on the basis that no current organization could confer such citizenship, nor should one be able to (Bosniak 2000, p. 469). As critic Amy Gutmann concisely states, "we can truly be citizens of the world only if there is a world polity. Given what we know now, a world polity could only exist in tyrannical form" (1996, p. 66, cited by Bosniak 2000, p. 447).

Thus, global citizenship, like citizenship itself (Bosniak 2000, p. 450), remains a highly controversial concept: scholars can reach no consensus on its desirability, feasibility, or source—or even on what it is or what it entails. In her article "Citizenship Denationalized," legal scholar Bosniak offers a nuanced approach to this debate by proposing that "the question whether citizenship has, in fact, begun to be reconfigured in postnational terms ... [has] no single answer because there is no single conception of 'citizenship'" (2000, p. 452). Instead, as mentioned earlier, she argues there are four broad discourses of citizenship by which the credibility of global citizenship should be evaluated: citizenship as political activity, as a form of collective identity and solidarity, as legal status, and as rights (Bosniak 2000, p. 455).

With regard to the first discourse of citizenship, Bosniak points to international movements such as those that advocate for human rights, the environment, women's rights, and so on as proof of the validity of the idea of global citizenship as political activity, as "commitment to the common good and active participation in public affairs" (Dagger 1997, p. 99, cited by Bosniak 2000, p. 478) (although she acknowledges that this conclusion means defining "common good" and "public affairs" more broadly than they are usually defined [Bosniak 2000, p. 478]). Next, Bosniak argues that "it is not implausible ... to speak of the 'sense of citizenship' a person might experience as part of the transnational environmental or women's rights movements ..." (2000, p. 486). Thus, in her eyes, global citizenship remains a legitimate concept when citizenship is defined in terms of a sense of collective identity, although she believes that more clarity will eventually be needed with regard to which transnational communities can and cannot serve as sources of this citizenship (Bosniak 2000, p. 487).

The idea of global citizenship as legal status, however, is more complicated for Bosniak. She acknowledges that the European Union (EU) citizenship project has important ramifications for the feasibility of global citizenship, and that many individuals are citizens of multiple nations, but ultimately decides that "the case of the European Union is not, as yet, generalizable" (2000, p. 459) and that the "multinationalization" (2000, p. 462) of citizenship does not amount to the globalization of citizenship as legal status. Finally, she discusses the possibility

of global citizenship as a system of rights, arguing that although the international human rights regime "represent[s] an alternative source of rights which transcends the jurisdiction of individual nation-states" (Bosniak 2000, p. 466), these human rights are often difficult to enforce precisely because they usually "are made available to individuals only by way of their states" (Bosniak 2000, p. 467). As such, she suggests that the global human rights movement is a source of symbolic, not real, citizenship. Bosniak thus ends this discussion of the four citizenship discourses by arguing that while the idea of global citizenship may never be fully accepted by the public consciousness:

> . . . the denationalized citizenship claim is entirely coherent, and often quite plausible . . . . there is a reasonable case to be made that the experiences and practices conventionally associated with citizenship do in some respects exceed the boundaries of the territorial nation-state—though the pervasiveness and significance of this process varies depending on the dimension of citizenship at issue. (2000, pp. 506, 488)[3]

The remainder of this essay builds upon Bosniak's conclusion by applying her analytical framework to a specific case study—that constituted by the contemporary indigenous movement.

The Indigenous Movement as Global Citizenship: Political Activism

Self-determination is fundamental to virtually all indigenous peoples; indeed, according to international law, it is the first right of any people (Anaya 2004). In 1923, Levi General, commonly known as Deskaheh, head of the Younger Bear Clan of the Cayuga Nation and spokesperson for the Six Nations of the Grand River Land in Ontario, arrived in Geneva in the hopes that the League of Nations could assist the Six Nations in their struggle for full self-government (Niezen 2003, pp. 31–33). The Six Nations, argued Deskaheh, were not and never had been British subjects, and thus, did not fall under the jurisdiction of Canada's Indian Act, which sought to replace traditional tribal leadership with state-supported elected councils and was generally favorable to the idea of assimilating Indians into the larger settler society (Niezen 2003, pp. 31–33). Although Deskaheh was able to rally a surprising amount of international support for his cause, the League of Nations refused to assist the Six Nations on the basis that their situation was ultimately an internal Canadian

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[3]The second half of Bosniak's article contends that "whether or not endorsement of postnationality is made explicit or is even consciously embraced [in discussions regarding global citizenship], the designation of non-national social and political arrangements in the language of world citizenship is necessarily a normative claim to some degree" (Bosniak 2000, p. 490). Although Bosniak herself is "sympathetic to the postnational project" (Bosniak 2000, p. 493), such meta-level claims are beyond the scope of this essay (although one could perhaps make the argument that this work, in claiming that the indigenous movement *sometimes* serves as a form of global citizenship, thus supports the possibility of that notion of citizenship).

affair (Niezen 2003, pp. 34–36). Despite this lack of overt success, however, the case remains noteworthy as one of the first breaches in the "lack of awareness among [indigenous] groups of the widespread, almost global nature of the crises they faced . . . " (Niezen 2003, p. 30).

Niezen notes that in the years after World War II four factors aligned to create an international political environment that was more hospitable to native peoples and their grievances regarding control of resources and self-determination in general (2003, pp. 40–41). First and foremost, the Holocaust had shattered the idea that states could generally be counted on to act in the best interests of their own citizens. Thus, the emergence of an international human rights regime, exemplified by the 1948 UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, was an essential precondition for the development of the indigenous rights movement (Niezen 2003, p. 40). Second, the process of decolonization drew attention to the ethnocentrism and imbalances of power that had characterized European projects of "civilization"; the logic being that if "European states could not be trusted to safeguard human life and dignity, [then] colonial governments could be trusted even less" (Niezen 2003, p. 41). Third, the assimilationist policies against which Deskaheh had fought, and which the International Labor Organization (ILO) of the 1950s continued to promote for what it dubbed "indigenous peoples" (Niezen 2003, p. 37), turned out to be far less effective than expected, and were in fact contributing to a larger sense of intertribal identity (Niezen 2003, pp. 41–42). Fourth, the horrors of war had sparked an explosion of socially oriented NGOs that served as models for the creation of native NGOs. These latter NGOs, in turn, enabled native peoples to express their concerns while bypassing corrupt, co-opted tribal governments as well as radical but powerless protest groups. Thus, the international community began to perceive native peoples' demands for increased self-governance in a more positive light, while at the same time, these peoples began to mobilize, primarily through the use of NGOs, under the banner of "indigenous peoples" (Niezen 2003, pp. 40–52).

At first, this political mobilization was strongest in the Americas: a 1977 forum on indigenous issues was specifically entitled "the International NGO Conference on Discrimination against Indigenous Populations in the Americas" (Niezen 2003, pp. 44, 51). Yet as television footage of indigenous advocacy, including the American Red Power movement of the late 1960s and 1970s, made its way around the world; and as indigenous NGOs expanded their foci to other regions of the globe, indigenous activism spread to such an extent that in 1982, the UN deemed it necessary to form the Working Group on Indigenous Populations (UNWGIP). The establishment of this political space, in which all indigenous peoples, regardless of geographical location, were welcome, only furthered indigenous activists' ability to forge international alliances and advocate for indigenous power. Moreover, the existence of an international press pool at the UN also provided these activists with a way in which they could publicly shame states into supporting the indigenous cause—the classic technique of "the politics of embarrassment" (Niezen 2003, p. 46)—as well as spread the message of indigenous self-governance to new regions and cultural contexts. By 1989, the indigenous movement had cemented itself as

a truly international phenomenon,[4] a turn of events that the ILO acknowledged by shifting away from the assimilationist language of its earlier decrees and issuing Convention No. 169. The document recognized "the aspirations of indigenous and tribal peoples to exercise control over their own institutions, ways of life, and economic development, and to develop their identities, languages and religions, within the framework of the States in which they live . . . " (International Labor Organization 1989), although its caveat that the word "peoples" "shall not be construed as having any implications as regards the rights which may attach to the term under international law" (International Labor Organization 1989) rendered (and still renders) it somewhat toothless in the eyes of many indigenous activists since it is the term "peoples" that engages the international law concerning the right to self-determination. Finally, the rise of the Internet—another "source of global identification between peoples who see themselves as suffering from the same leveling power of state governments, international agencies, and private organizations" (Niezen 2005, p. 551)—helped ensure that the global indigenous movement would carry on into the twenty-first century, which witnessed the creation of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues in 2000 (UNPFII).

This examination of the origins and development of the indigenous movement shows that the political nature of this phenomenon cannot be denied: indigeneity is routinely deployed as a discourse of empowerment and social justice for the most disadvantaged members of society. Mick Dodson, a member of the Yawuru peoples and the former Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner, appositely sums up the way in which political demands and indigeneity are often intertwined:

> My first session at the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations was a moment of tremendous insight and recognition. I was sitting in a room, 12,000 miles away from home, but if I'd closed my eyes I could just about have been in Maningrida or Dommadgee or Flinders Island. The people wore different clothes, spoke in different languages or with different accents, and their homes had different names. But the stories and the sufferings were the same. We were all part of a world community of Indigenous peoples spanning the planet; experiencing the same problems and struggling against the same alienation, marginalisation, and sense of powerlessness. We had gathered there united by our shared frustration with the dominant systems in our own countries and their consistent failure to deliver justice. We were all looking for, and demanding, justice from a high authority. (Dodson, cited in Niezen 2003, p. 47)

Obviously, not every indigenous person is a political activist. Nevertheless, when citizenship is defined as political activity, the idea that the indigenous movement constitutes a form of global citizenship is reasonable and legitimate. Indeed, the

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[4]Some scholars, such as Jeffrey Sissons (2005), argue that indigeneity, in the context of non-settler societies, such as those found in Africa and Asia, "is of little or no value as a marker of cultural or political distinctiveness" (Sissons 2005, p. 16). This essay, however, is more concerned with the ways in which the language of indigeneity has spread around the globe than with the debate over the challenge posed by African/Asian indigeneity, and it is undeniable that various peoples, in both Africa and Asia identify as indigenous and participate in the global movement (Dean and Levi 2003).

very existence of the movement itself is a testament to Bosniak's original claim that the denationalization of citizenship-as-political activism is both logical and possible.

The Indigenous Movement as Global Citizenship: Collective Identity and Sentiment

As mentioned previously, the term "indigenous peoples" is a relatively recent invention, promoted initially by the ILO in the 1950s during its efforts to encourage the assimilation of native peoples into existing nation-states. Nevertheless, the roots of the concept stretch back to the European conquest of the Americas: before this event, argues David Maybury-Lewis, "the Indians for their part had little sense of possessing common characteristics that distinguished them from the Europeans. Their Indianness was a condition imposed upon them by the invaders" (1991, p. 207). Thus, the contemporary indigenous movement represents a revaluation of this enforced common identity in the name of native empowerment: by "becoming indigenous" various peoples are able to assert their claims to self-determination in a morally powerful way. As Levi and Maybury-Lewis (2012) write, "increasingly over the last two decades, disenfranchised peoples from around the world are discovering the liberating potential of the term 'indigenous' and claiming this identity as a badge of pride wrested from oppressive conditions, thereby allowing actors from diverse local cultures access to a spanking universal category of collective empowerment predicated on primordial attachments." Simply put, the indigenous movement makes available to its members a new super-tribal, pan-ethnic, transnational layer of collective identity, so that a native person can identify as a Hopi in his home state of Arizona, as a Native American everywhere in the United States, and finally, as an indigenous person at the UN and in other international bodies (Levi and Maybury-Lewis 2012, pp. 73–75).

As we have noted earlier this process of becoming indigenous is one in which even peoples split between homeland and diaspora, or fully in diaspora, can participate, an idea that admittedly appears paradoxical: how can displacement and diaspora be reconciled with the rootedness of indigeneity? As James Clifford points out, however, the presence of "Samoans in Auckland, Tongans in Salt Lake City, and Hawaiians in Los Angeles" (2007, p. 202) renders the idea of indigenous diaspora less contradictory than it initially appears. Nor do the conflicts that sometimes arise between local and diasporic segments of a population need sever the claims to country and kin, as Robert Smith (2000) discovered in his study of this situation among the Aboriginal peoples of the central Cape York Peninsula in Australia. So too it is unfounded to assume that indigenous or tribal sovereignty is restricted to "reservations" or other exclusively native spaces when in fact it overlaps with a number of geographies—rural and urban, indigenous and non-indigenous— better reflecting the increasingly diasporic realities of many indigenous peoples

(Biolsi 2005). The point is that a common fire regarding belonging and homeland burns at the core of the concepts of both indigeneity and diaspora:

> [While] the physical separation and different knowledge bases of "diaspora" and "local" peoples cannot always be bridged by kin ties, exchanges, and political alliances . . . if there are diasporic aspects of indigenous life, the reverse is also true. For something like an indigenous desire animates diasporic consciousness: the search for somewhere to belong that is outside the imagined community of the dominant nation-state. In diaspora, the authentic home is found in another imagined place (simultaneously past and future, lost and desired) as well as in concrete social networks of linked places. This whole range of felt attachments is crucially a part of what Avtar Brah has called "a homing desire." (Clifford 2007, p. 205)

Thus, urban Yup'ik in Alaska assert their attachment to their traditional homelands through trips to those places and through emailing and telephoning friends and family who continue to live there (Fienup-Riordan in Clifford 2007, pp. 206–212). Similarly, for centuries before the advent of modern Zionism, Jews throughout the world made pilgrimages to the Holy Land and sent special funds, termed *haluka*, for the maintenance of the Jewish community there, especially for Torah scholars and *yeshivot* (religious academies) to continue their work, "where the contributors of the *haluka* fulfill the sacred duty of studying the law by proxy" (Davis 1881, p. 697).

Throughout the world, remittances from diasporas to home communities are important ways of demonstrating ongoing connections and relationships. According to a recent study, over "600,000 Maya in Guatemala were receiving remittances—approximately 15 % of the Mayan-speaking population of Guatemala, as identified in the 2002 national census. Of the $US 2.6 billion in remittances to Guatemala from the United States, in 2004, the study estimated, $US 546 million was sent to Mayan-speaking families in the Western Highlands" (Davis 2007, p. 334). Sometimes these remittances to the homeland constitute a major part of the economy. Regarding the aforementioned Jewish community in Palestine in the second half of the nineteenth century " . . . their brethren throughout the world send annual contributions (*haluka*) amounting to £50,000 a year, or five-sevenths of the total revenue of Palestine" (Davis 1881, p. 697).

Material support and visits to the homeland are not the only ways to sustain connectivity, especially as technology increasingly collapses distances. Hmong peoples[5] in the "Western" world maintain ties to Asia through trips to that continent and, increasingly, through the production, distribution, and viewing of videos regarding Hmong homelands and folkloric traditions, leading Louisa Schein to conclude that "a reading of Hmong media brings into focus [the idea that] discourses both of

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[5]While Schein maintains that the language of indigeneity has not yet spread to the Hmong peoples, references to the Hmong specifically as "indigenous peoples" can be found on both the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO)'s website (Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization 2010) as well as on the websites of several organizations in which Hmong participate (Pan-Tribal Confederacy of Indigenous Tribal Nations 2011; Congress of World Hmong People 2011). Thus, we cite the Hmong peoples to illustrate a case of the aforementioned process of becoming indigenous.

diasporic longing and those championing preservation of indigenous lifeways are not so far apart" (2007, p. 242). Of course, these uses of modern telecommunications and media in the construction of identity are by no means unique to either the Yup'ik or the Hmong peoples (Niezen 2005; Corntassel and Primeau 1998, p. 139). Of particular importance to indigenous peoples is the Internet, which, argues Niezen, facilitates contact and strengthens alliances among indigenous peoples; promotes local indigenous languages and cultures; and transfers power from technologically-illiterate indigenous elders to media-savvy indigenous youth (Niezen 2005). In short, it strengthens native groups' identity as indigenous at the global level, and as Cree, Masaai, Kumeyaay, or so forth at the local level, all the while playing an ever-larger role in the determination of how marginalized, cultures will shift in the future.

Thus, while the notion of indigenous diasporas, of indelible indigeneity, is not without its critics —"How widely," asks Andre Beteille, "can people move and still retain the entitlement of being indigenous for themselves and their descendants?" (1998, p. 190), a question of particular relevance to the current conflict in Israel/Palestine—the cases of the Yup'ik, Mayans, and the Hmong show that it is possible for peoples in diaspora to maintain their identities as indigenous without keeping a permanent physical presence in their traditional homelands. In light of Bosniak's second discourse of citizenship, therefore, the case for indigenous identity as a form of global citizenship is relatively clear-cut: the international indigenous movement transforms ethnographically-dissimilar peoples, even those divided between homeland and diaspora, into members of the same transnational, transcultural community.

The Indigenous Movement as Global Citizenship: Legal Status

In 1996, a group of South African Boers unexpectedly showed up at the inaugural meeting of the UN Forum of Indigenous Peoples (the precursor to the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues that was established in 2000), insisting that they were an indigenous people threatened by the policies of the African National Congress government. Although they were, in the words of Adam Kuper, "unceremoniously ejected" (2003, p. 389), their dramatic interruption of the Forum pointed to an important question: who and/or what decides which peoples are indigenous, and which are not?

Initially, the UN, which is the closest expression of global government that currently exists, would appear to be the most logical arbiter of this global debate. While states often play an important role in officially recognizing the indigenous status of certain groups, the existence of a supranational organization such as the UN means that peoples denied recognition as indigenous by states (as has often happened in Africa and Asia) do not necessarily have to abandon their quest for this recognition.

Yet when it comes to defining indigenous identity, the UN is actually a double-edged sword. As Jeff Corntassel and Tomas Primeau pointed out in 1998, the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations (UNWGIP) "refuses to place restrictions on who may participate in its proceedings, making it the most accessible agency within the UN" (1998, p. 139). At the twelfth session of the UNWGIP in 1994, the chair-rapporteur even went as far as to openly note that some representatives felt that "certain of the participants claiming status as indigenous peoples were in fact not so" (Corntassel and Primeau 1998, p. 139). Although Corntassel and Primeau believed that establishing a permanent forum for indigenous populations at the UN would facilitate the regulation of claims to indigeneity (they did not specify how this regulation might unfold) and thus, minimize the "free-rider problem" (1998, p. 140) of non-indigenous peoples laying claim to indigenous status, it appears that even this organization (which, as noted above, was finally established in 2000) is not equipped to address this issue in a formal or systematic way. Indeed, the fact that the UNPFII's website—while useful in explaining how the Forum's rotating core of 16 independent experts is chosen—does not discuss which peoples can and cannot attend Forum sessions and other meetings is indicative of this inability to officially determine groups' status as indigenous or otherwise (United Nations 2011). While participants in UNPFII sessions and meetings can always socially shun and ignore other participants whom they believe have no credible assertion to indigenous identity, we know of no concrete evidence, with the notable exception of the case mentioned below, that groups whose claims to indigeneity are controversial can be thrown out of the UNPFII for reasons other than disruptive behavior (such as that displayed by the Boers in 1996).

The exceptional case known to us is that of the Office for Israeli Constitutional Law (OFICL)—an Israeli legal action NGO, discussed above, that, among its other causes, supports the Jewish claim to indigeneity in Israel. Although the OFICL was able to register with the UNPFII as an Indigenous Peoples Organization (IPO) in 2010 and to send a delegation to the ninth session of the UNPFII in April of that year, when the OFICL attempted to again register as an IPO for the UNPFII meetings in 2011, its registration was declined, along with the application of the Negev Coexistence Forum for Civil Equality, an Israeli Bedouin rights organization (Abadi 2011).[6] Despite repeated inquiries to the UN by the OFICL as to why their application to attend the UNPFII was denied, no response was forthcoming. It remains puzzling as to why a people considered to be indigenous in 2010 would not be indigenous in 2011. Ultimately, then, the UN may be an inadequate or one-sided arbiter of indigenous identity: while it enables certain peoples, even those whose states do not recognize them as indigenous, to become indigenous in international forums, it also apparently denies indigeneity to peoples whose states claim them to be so, or accepts them as indigenous one year while denying their indigenous status the next. While we agree that the Jewish claim to indigeneity in Israel is certainly

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[6]For a discussion of contrasting views on the Negev Bedouin of Israel as an indigenous people, see Frantzman et al. (2011); and Yiftachel (2003).

contested, what is perhaps more troublesome than the claim itself is the UNPFII's lack of disclosure as to what it uses as the criteria for determining indigeneity and its seemingly fickle applications of these standards, whatever they may be.

One of the primary reasons that it is so difficult to legally determine who is—and who is not—indigenous is that, first, the indigenous movement places a high value on self-identification as indigenous, and second, the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples purposefully refuses to define "indigenous" in the document. One legally binding definition of "indigenous peoples" does, in fact, exist: that included in ILO Convention No. 169. Yet as Niezen points out, the indigenous movement has increasingly shifted its focus away from the ILO towards its parent organization of the UN (2003, p. 40); thus, the issue of which groups are indigenous and which are not remains salient in the primary arena in which the indigenous movement is now playing out. The fact that there is no universally recognized trait, or set of traits, common to all indigenous peoples complicates the matter considerably. Of course, noteworthy attempts to define the category of indigenous peoples have been made. In 1986, José Martinez Cobo, UN Special Rapporteur to the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, proposed the following definition:

> Indigenous communities, peoples, and nations are those which have a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of society now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop, and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions, and legal systems. (p. 379)

According to Sidsel Saugestad (2008), a similar understanding has been put forth by the UNWGIP, one that highlights four features of indigeneity: (1) historical antecedence, (2) cultural distinctiveness, (3) self-identification and identification by others as indigenous, and (4) non-dominance, whether in the past, the present, or both. Yet although the characteristics of indigeneity outlined by Cobo and the UNWGIP are applicable to many indigenous peoples, they do not pertain to all of these peoples, nor, according to some scholars, should they. Renée Sylvain (2005), for one, contends that the indigenous movement's emphasis on cultural distinctiveness has forced the majority of contemporary San peoples in southern Africa to represent themselves and their culture in historically static, essentialist ways, with the result that this emphasis on cultural distinctiveness has prohibited them from articulating the more pressing issues of class and economic inequality.

Of equal or greater significance is that there are numerous examples of indigenous peoples who do not conform to one or more of the four core features outlined above. For instance, the Maasai are prominent in the Tanzanian indigenous movement, but they are not, and do not pretend to be, the first occupants of that country. Meanwhile, certain Native American peoples, such as the Mashpee of Cape Cod and the Juaneño of southern California, have been unable to obtain official legal status because the United States does not perceive them to be either culturally or historically distinct enough to qualify as a federally recognized tribe. On the

other hand, some Yucatec Mayas do not identify as "indigenous" for social and political reasons. Finally, the Quechua and Aymara peoples in Bolivia constitute a majority of the country's population (and are thus demographically dominant) while the Otavalo in Ecuador are incredibly successful entrepreneurs (and are thus, at the local level, economically dominant) (Levi and Maybury-Lewis 2012, pp. 87–89). In sum, it is useful to think of indigenous peoples and their international movement as constituting a polythetic class: like a rope, the concept of indigeneity is made because many fibers overlap and interweave in complex ways, not because there exists a single golden thread that runs throughout.

The contemporary indigenous movement's insistence on self-determination and its polythetic character have important ramifications for the idea of indigenous identity as global citizenship when citizenship is taken to mean legal status. First, the idea of systematic, external regulation of indigenous identity is one that would probably offend many indigenous peoples, as it runs counter to the much-promoted idea of indigenous self-identification. Second, the lack of a single common trait, or set of traits, universally shared by all indigenous peoples makes the question of such regulation moot: how can the UNPFII or the UNWGIP legitimately decree which groups are indigenous and which are not without stipulating a priori a legally binding definition of "indigenous peoples," which they have so far refused to do? Thus, in light of Bosniak's third discourse of citizenship, the unbounded nature of the indigenous movement renders invalid the idea of indigenous identity as global citizenship. Simply put, there currently exists no global polity that can confer upon a group—based on criteria that are consistent, coherent, and explicit—the legal status of "indigenous," nor any formal, methodical, and universally accepted mechanism for selecting which peoples merit this status and which do not.

The Indigenous Movement as Global Citizenship: Rights

"Indigenous demands for rights," remarks Dorothy Hodgson, " . . . extend beyond [the rights to] territorial resources. These demands hinge on the right to self-determination and include the right to determine their own development and to control and protect their cultural knowledge and performances, material remains, languages, indigenous knowledge, and biogenetic material" (2002, p. 1041). On September 13, 2007, after more than 20 years of negotiation, the UN General Assembly finally acknowledged indigenous peoples' calls for rights by adopting the Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Reflecting the fact that the indigenous movement tended to focus more on collective rights than on individual ones; and that the 1986 African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights was created in direct response to what African countries perceived as the Eurocentric, individualistic bias of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples sought to honor both group and individual rights. The preamble of the document states that "indigenous individuals are entitled without discrimination to all human rights recognized in international law, and

that indigenous peoples possess collective rights which are indispensable for their existence, well-being and integral development as peoples" (United Nations 2007a, p. 4). Similarly, Article I acknowledges that "indigenous peoples have the right to the full enjoyment, as a collective or as individuals, of all human rights and fundamental freedoms as recognized in the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 4 and international human rights law" (United Nations 2007a, p. 4). Finally, Article 7, Section 1 notes that "indigenous individuals have the rights to life, physical and mental integrity, liberty and security of person" (United Nations 2007a, p. 5), whereas Article 7, Section 2 states that "indigenous peoples have the collective right to live in freedom, peace and security as distinct peoples and shall not be subjected to any act of genocide or any other act of violence, including forcibly removing children of the group to another group" (United Nations 2007a, p. 5). As noted earlier, that Bosniak's examination of citizenship as rights does not touch on the oft-associated idea of citizenship as responsibilities, but it is interesting to observe that the Declaration's preamble stipulates that indigenous families and communities have the right to maintain responsibility for the care of indigenous children (United Nations 2007a, p. 3); that Article 25 states that indigenous peoples have the right to "uphold their responsibilities to future generations" (United Nations 2007a, p. 10) with regard to maintaining spiritual relationships to land; and that Article 35 dictates the right of indigenous peoples to determine individuals' responsibilities to their communities (United Nations 2007a, p. 12).

Thus, when citizenship is defined as a system of rights, the question of whether indigenous identity functions as a form of global citizenship initially appears to have a simple, affirmative answer: indigenous status is associated with a specific set of rights, and thus, with global citizenship. Yet upon closer examination, the issue becomes considerably thornier: if indigenous identity brings with it certain rights, then why are so many indigenous peoples unable to exercise these rights (Levi and Dean 2003; de la Cadena and Starn 2007)?

The answer to this question is that there is a discrepancy between the theoretical and the actual source of indigenous rights. When asserting their claim to self-governance, indigenous peoples usually point to international law, which states that the first right of any peoples is their right to self-determination, as support for their argument. Furthermore, as noted above, the development of an international human rights regime was a necessary precondition for the emergence of the indigenous rights movement (Niezen 2003, p. 40). As Article 1 of the Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples demonstrates, this regime now acknowledges that human rights can be both collective and person-centered, that "the concept[s] of individual rights and group rights are different, but they are not incompatible with each other" (Levi and Maybury-Lewis 2012).

Nevertheless, the fact remains that this Declaration is not legally binding (United Nations 2007b), which means that while it ostensibly "represent[s] the dynamic development of international legal norms and reflect[s] the commitment of states to move in certain directions, abiding by certain principles" (United Nations 2007b), states that do not translate this commitment into policy are unlikely to suffer

official repercussions. As such, it matters little that most indigenous peoples seek self-determination, not outright independence, nor that the Declaration discourages the impairment "totally or in part [of] the territorial integrity or political unity of sovereign and independent States" (United Nations 2007a, p. 14)— states fearful that indigenous rights will lead to Balkanization if not outright secession have little to formally lose by not adhering to the Declaration (although their international reputations may be tarnished). So, while the theoretical fountain of indigenous rights is international law and a global human rights regime, the real source of these rights is revealed to be states, for it is the latter actors that play the largest role in deciding whether indigenous rights will exist on paper or in reality. Ultimately, then, given Bosniak's fourth and final discourse of citizenship, the concept of indigenous identity as global citizenship is more legitimate in theory than it is in practice, more symbolic than tangible.

Concluding Remarks

This paper has examined the question: is indigenous identity a form of global citizenship? On cursory appraisal, the question at first appears strange, since indigenous identity is normally associated with local cultures and aboriginal peoples, while global citizenship conjures the opposite image, namely cosmopolitanism and the proclivity to operate in transnational spaces. We have argued, however, that the notions indigeneity and globality exist in a dialectical rather than contradictory relation to each other, that they define poles of a single spectrum along which peoples may be conceived to move in either direction. As demonstrated by the two case studies presented, some, like the Hadza of Tanzania, represent a globalizing indigenous people, while others, like the Jews of Israel, exemplify an indigenizing global people. Moreover, given the translocal spaces, networks, and communications into which indigenous peoples are increasingly drawn, homeland, migration, and diaspora all aptly characterize indigenous experience today.

Yet a realistic concept of citizenship complicates facile connections between indigeneity and the emerging conditions of globality. As this paper demonstrates, there is no single answer to the question of whether indigenous identity constitutes a form of global citizenship. The application of Bosniak's four understandings of citizenship to the contemporary indigenous movement reveals that when citizenship is defined as political activism or as a sense of collective identity, the conceptualization of indigenous identity as a type of global citizenship is reasonable and valid. When citizenship is taken to mean legal status, however, the polythetic nature of indigeneity, the indigenous movement's emphasis on self-identification, and the lack of a definition of "indigenous" in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples make it difficult to legitimately view this movement as a form of global citizenship. Finally, in light of the idea that citizenship constitutes a system of rights, indigenous identity exists more as a theoretical expression of global citizenship than as a concrete one. Thus, the relationship

between indigeneity and global citizenship is intrinsically heteroglossic (Bakhtin 1981) in that it features multiple, even contradictory, varieties of the language of citizenship—forms which often are not mutually intelligible and whose use in any particular setting significantly impacts the validity of the indigenous movement as a strain of global citizenship. One thing is certain: as the concepts of indigeneity and global citizenship continue to be debated, it will be exciting to see which new discourses of citizenship will shape this dynamic between belonging somewhere and belonging everywhere.

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Chapter 21
Identity and Indigenous Education in Peruvian Amazonia

Bartholomew Dean

> *We must not believe the many, who say that only free people ought to be educated, but we should rather believe the philosophers who say that only the educated are free.*
>
> —Epictetus

Abstract Throughout Peruvian Amazonia, state-backed educational institutions and pedagogical strategies have seldom emphasized the retention of indigenous knowledge. This in turn has historically undermined the cultural survival of the region's culturally diverse indigenous peoples. Indeed, the story of formal "modern" indigenous education in the Peruvian Amazon is intimately related to state-driven introductions of Occidental concepts of "progressive" development, eventually anchored to incorporation into global markets. While it is clear that prospects for indigenous peoples' cultural survival may be analyzed in general sweeping terms, it is also evident that a close analysis of each local or regional case reveals significant differences in approaches to contextualizing inter-cultural education and indigenous identity politics. Taking my cue from Lyotard's *The Postmodern Condition,* which provides a basis for understanding and critiquing neo-liberal commoditization of education, I explore some of these contradictions as they find expression "on the ground" among indigenous peoples from Alto Amazonas, (Loreto, Peru).

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The chapter concludes by asserting that the intercultural educational environment in Peru must be formulated to include systems of Indigenous Knowledge that synergize both the school and the community's well-being.

Keywords Peruvian Amazon • Indigenous knowledge • Intercultural education • Latin America • Peru

Throughout the Americas, "Western" educational institutions and pedagogies have seldom focused on the retention of indigenous knowledge, which in turn undermines the cultural survival of indigenous peoples.[1] Ever since the "New World's" first "Columbian Exchange" (Crosby 2003; Maybury-Lewis et al. 2009; Nunn and Qian 2010), indigenous communities have been caught, "in an increasingly globalized world" one which now obliges them, "to adjust institutions, learning, tactics, and adopt much of the available world's knowledge in order to survive and live in the world of the future" (Champagne 2004). In the face of global, regional, and local alterations associated with the predominance of neoliberalisms, the frictions of identity politics, ethno-nationalisms and transnational social networks are now all becoming mutually implicated in the formation of organizations that presumably represent indigenous peoples (Dean 2003, 2012; Killick 2008; Greene 2009; Rénique 2009; Viatoria 2010; Davidov 2013). Yet, top-down leadership models, NGO or state-backed cultural patrimony projects, museums, and the political articulation of *strategic essentialisms* often do little to represent contemporary life-ways in Amazonia (Nugent 1993; Turner 2002; Jaramillo 2006; Whitten and Whitten 2006; Adams 2009; Dean et al. 2011).

For the outsider, "customary" indigenous knowledge and identity tends to be freeze-framed—embodied in material artifacts and cultural icons represented in a timeless simulacrum of putatively authentic former life ways. Notwithstanding the dominant folkloric/touristic imaginaries conjoined to the recursive formation of "authentic" Amazonian *indigeneities*, an incredible array of material acquisitions from foods to digital gadgets, not to mention the satisfaction of consumptive desires dove-tailing with increased access to popular mass-media, have all enriched the "essential knowledge bases" of indigenous peoples' collective identities, but not without unintended consequences. Local ontological constructs (i.e., "community," "territorially," "freedom," "identity," and "personhood") are increasingly embedded in supra-local interactions and processes that beg questions of "cultural authenticity" (Jackson 1995, Brown 1998; Jaramillo 2006; Nugent 2009).

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[1]Cultural survival is not about immobilizing a distinctive way of life as if it were in a time warp. As Maybury-Lewis contends (2002), cultural survival is a relative concept that is not about cultural *stasis*. It includes a peoples' "cultural control and continuity" in the face of an ever-changing world dominated by global processes. In addition to a secure land base, this means freedom of religious, cultural, linguistic expression, and gender rights which members of dominant national groups all too often take for granted (Levi and Dean 2003; Merry 2006).

Nevertheless, contemporary performative modes of enacting indigeneity have been helpful in mobilizing and contesting strategic essentialisms in an effort to advance the rights of indigenous peoples across the world—including education, access to their ancestral lands, and control over the management of their natural resources. Over the past generation, debates over the performance, and meanings of indigeneities have been common themes surfacing in the socio-political lives of contemporary indigenous peoples in lowland South America (Graham 1995; Dean 2012). For instance, Gabriela Valdivia's study of the distinctive performativity of indigeneity among three native political organizations (FEINCE, OISE, and FOISE) in the Ecuadoran Amazon is useful for assessing the legal case against Chevron Texaco (2007; see also Sawyer 2004). Illuminating how indigenous ethnic federations have endeavored to garner supra-local support for their "claims," Valdivia (2007) demonstrates how identity politics and transnational social networks are themselves mutually implicated in the formation of organizations that ostensibly represent indigenous peoples.

Likewise, Johnny Alarcón Puentes (2007) embraces a political anthropological approach to account for the transformations of power noted among the Wayúu and their fractious relations with the Venezuelan state, and broader national society. José Antonio Lucero's (2006) comparative study of two indigenous political federations in Bolivia (CONAMAQ) and Ecuador (FEINE) is an important reminder that indigeneity itself is a product of both localized "grass roots" mobilization, as well as a result of "opportunity structures" located beyond the community that collude to privilege some voices while muting or silencing others (see also cf. Madrid 2012).

The complex relations between land rights, indigenous activism and schools have been assessed by ethnographers, such as Evan Killick. In an effort to determine the impact of land titling among Ashéninka communities in Peruvian Amazonia, Killick (2008) compared accounts of communities that were obliged to fight for their rights to their land with those Ashéninka communities that obtained official land titling through established legal means. Emphasizing the later communities, Killick cogently illustrates that it is the Ashéninka's very desire for schooling that often inspires their communal motivations to obtain official state recognition for their rights to communal land ownership. Killick concludes by suggesting that "communal identities and action can be a result of the recognition of land rights rather than an impetus for land rights claims" (2008, p. 22). This raises the question of the impact that residing in defined settlements has had for the fluid identities of indigenous peoples in the broader context of inter-ethnic relations predicated on a spectrum of identities inextricably linked to ethnic mixing and the politics of *mestizaje* (Madrid 2012).

While it is clear that prospects for indigenous peoples' cultural survival may be analyzed in general sweeping terms, as I have down above, it is also evident that a close analysis of each local or regional case reveals significant differences in approaches to contextualizing inter-cultural education and indigenous identity politics. In Western Amazonia, for instance, all too often indigenous peoples have been forcibly expelled from their ancestral lands to make way for ill-conceived development schemes, colonization programs, political violence, military

occupation, and the circulation of petroleum, timber, palm-oil, and coca-leaf based narcotic derivatives.

Upper Amazonian frontiers have been driven by extractive export-oriented economies, as well as by what Stefano Varese (2002) aptly called *civilizing* projects. These refer to global styles of great temporal duration that have been tempered by the violence of colonial and postcolonial encounters to extinguish indigenous alterities. For its part, the "Bolivarian state" in Peruvian Amazonia historically failed to acknowledge indigenous peoples' rights to cultural, political or economic autonomy. Implicit in the Peruvian state's contemporary neoliberal, and at times populist *civilizing project* is a political philosophy whose imperative is the creation of a national citizenry—a "national community" (Rosaldo 1989)—out of a heterogeneous mix of culturally, linguistically and historically diverse peoples. By promoting the cultural homogeneity of a unified Peruvian citizenry through pedagogies of imaginary belonging, and orthodoxies of the Orwellian "unconsciousness"—schoolteachers, military officers, merchants, missionaries, bureaucrats, and local elites and their interlocutors have long reinforced the naturalizing impulse of the state's relentless attempt to forge the singular nation-state. Exalted by the will of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century *Civilista* elite and their allies to create a complaint national citizenry, popular education in Amazonia[2] has historically been fashioned to satisfy Lima's demands for the efficient domestication and national incorporation of the vast tropical forested region into the rest of the country (García Jordán ed. 1995). This was particularly so during the "Aristocratic Republic" (1889–1920)[3] while the state, and its very agents and interlocutors—including teachers, doctors, religious figures, (Catholic and evangelical), colonists (*colonos*), armed forces, engineers and extractive entrepreneurs all carried forward the message to Amazonia's sparsely populated residents of the imperative of cultural assimilation into the Peruvian nation-state. Not all indigenous peoples, however, were keen on embracing the identity of Peruvian national citizenship, especially among spatially isolated groups like the Urarina, who have long been brutalized by state intervention (Dean 2002, 2004a, 2013a).[4]

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[2]Prior to the ascendency of the Civilista Party, the new Peruvian Republic tried securing its national interests in Amazonia. Beginning in the mid-1840s, Peru enjoyed roughly two decades of socio-economic stability under the *caudillo* leadership of president Ramón Castilla, who increased state revenues from guano exports. Castilla began turning the country's attention to the *selva central* (central Amazon in closest proximity to Lima), and was Peru's first president to create rudimentary "national" schools in the larger settlements of the region (Klarén 2000).

[3]Coined to refer to the social elite that governed the country, the "Aristocratic Republic" was marked by anti-democratic elections, which were restricted, based on property and literacy qualifications, and rigged in favor of the incumbent Civilista regime.

[4]The Urarina did have a modest SIL presence for 40 years starting in the early 1960s; this by and large supplanted the dominance of the Roman Catholics' 400-year presence in the heartlands of Urarina territory—the Chambira watershed. The ethno-history of religious based educational efforts among the Urarina is unfortunately well beyond the ken of this chapter—despite the consequential colonial and postcolonial influence this history has had in shaping the nature of contemporary state-backed educational efforts (see Dean 2013a).

Almost a century after the demise of the Civilista Party, the Urarina have been in the midst of deeply consequential changes over the past few decades that puts their future at increased risk (Witzig and Ascencios 1999; cf. Dean et al. 2000). As I have noted elsewhere (2013a), during the 1990s and mid 2000s the Urarina's structure of patron-clientilism had become stressed by the growth of competitive mercantilism (petty-patrónes, small scale extractive entrepreneurs), the development of class distinctions, the spread of literacy, the slow but perceptible growth in urbanward migration, and an oil thirsty globalized economy that has since wrecked environmental havoc (Defensoría del Pueblo 2001; La Región 2013). In the recent past, Urarina political power was authorized primarily through personal prestige, rather than through appeals to formal jural authority or literacy (Dean 1999a, 2013a). However, the Urarina are now in more frequent contact with extractive entrepreneurs, not to mention Peru's vibrant (albeit fractious) ethnic federation movement, NGOs, and state officials, which in turn has begun to change the enactment of leadership since literacy, rather than orality, has come to certify public expressions of indigenous authority. Hence, all the more need to explore the dynamics of education, identity and mobility in indigenous Amazonia.

Mobility, and Education: Technologies of Social Disruptions in Amazonia?

Many peoples living in Peruvian Amazonia have had their livelihoods jeopardized due to on-going socio-economic challenges, ecocide and decades of political violence. Like highland Andean communities, indigenous societies, such as the Urarina's neighbors, the Kukama-Kukamiria (Cocama-Cocamilla) and Quechua-speaking populations (Kichwa Lamista [Llakwash Runa]), and *mestizos* (*ribereños*, *chacareros*, *gente humilde*) of the Huallaga Valley have been dramatically impacted by nearly two generations of civil war that has left tens of thousands dead and countless disappeared. This has been accompanied by significant transformation in their patterns of human migration, internal displacement, and a neoliberal economy that has favored the privatization of natural resources, including petroleum exploration, and vast palm-oil production plantations and facilities (Brokamp et al. 2011; Quintero et al. 2012).

Unabated extractive economies underwritten by global interconnections and the commoditization of communal resources (Tapayuri Murayari 2012, p. vii; Dean 2002, 2013a), coupled with the booming illicit trade in the region's valuable Amazonian hardwoods and the processing and trafficking in cocaine (*pasta básica de cocaína*) (Kernaghan 2009; Dean 2011, 2013b) have all taken their human toll. In the Huallaga Valley, dispossessed of their hunting, fishing resources and farming lands—and hence their economic livelihoods—many have been forced to migrate to the cities and towns in search of employment, educational opportunities and social mobility. As a result, indigenous peoples in geographically isolated regions, such

those in the province of Alto Amazonas (Peru) are coming to terms with novel "ways-of-being" in the world, spurred in great part by massive migratory flows now refiguring quotidian life with immense rapidity.

In a decidedly anti-enlightenment turn, I now pursue a line of scholarship contesting the notion that humans are universally driven to fashion increasingly more efficient technologies (Hornborg et al. 2007; Hornborg 2013). As I argue here, the technological developments facilitating human mobilities in Peruvian Amazonia[5]— be it in terms of the expansion of educational facilities, or the recent completion of a transandean all-weather road (IIRSA Norte)—have been associated with what Alf Hornborg (2013) describes as a "zero-sum game" involving uneven global resource flows (see Wolf 1982; Schneider and Rapp 1995). This has resulted in wealthier parts of the world prospering at the expense of humans and environments in poorer regions of the globe, especially lowland South America (Cooper and Hunefeldt 2013).

Following David Harvey's concern with urban concentrations of poverty (1973), the case of indigenous migrants to Yurimaguas underscores the contentious relationship between social justice, space and freedom. Typically having the least amount of formal (state-based) schooling and most restricted access to basic social welfare services, displaced indigenous peoples often find themselves vulnerably "emplaced" in frontier settlements like Yurimaguas.[6] Those indigenous peoples who have been driven from their Amazonian or Andean natal communities, are now obliged to carve out a living in the make-shift "shanty-towns" that loop much of the globe's "city" centers—as is the case for the *barriadas* circling Yurimaguas, a rapidly urbanizing center located in the midst of the rainforest, along the Upper Amazon's mighty Huallaga River (Justice et al. 2012). Deprived of their territorial, economic, and political autonomy—customary beliefs and values—which once unified indigenous peoples and their communities, begin to waver; as has been documented in a rich body of literature in Peruvian Amazonia, including M. Godard-Kuckinski's seven decade old classic, *La vida en la Amazonía peruana: Observaciones de un médico* (1944; see Dean 2004b).

Invariably this results in the loss of a community's cultural identity, particularly as their sense of pride in linguistic proficiency, long-established ritualized practices, beliefs, communal solidarity, and respect for the elders gives way to the Herculean pressures to conform to the dominant provincial and national societies, their distinctive moral economies, and the "modernizing" and seductively alluring impulses of global, popular culture. Indeed, the story of formal "modern" indigenous

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[5]On Amazonian migration, see among others, Alexiades et al. (2009) valuable compendium.

[6]The politics of place-making is a fundamental component of humanity (Harvey 1973). As Reno has argued the various claims surrounding a large US landfill, are most apparent through analysis of "what it means to know and care for a place" (2011, p. 513). Likewise, a contrast of indigenous peoples' experiences in rural, rain-forested areas with displaced urbanized communities demonstrates marked shifts in Amazonian place-making (see among others, Peluso et al. 2004; de Sartre et al. 2012; Thypin-Bermeo and Godfrey 2012).

education is intimately tied to the historical introduction of Occidental concepts of "progressive" development anchored to global markets (Escobar 1995; Saavedra and Escobar 2007).[7]

Characterized by an urban, monolingual-based model of pedagogy, the bureaucratic nature of formal schooling in Peruvian Amazonia tends to deeply authoritarian in practice and hierarchical in its organization. Furthermore, the mandatory imposition of Spanish[8] as the dominant national language through officially sponsored literacy programs—has estranged some indigenous peoples from their traditional means of socialization, modes of cultural expression, ingenuity and human creativity. Post-industrial, models of pedagogy (emphasizing individual rather than collective achievement), and the commoditization of education are antithetical to traditional indigenous notions of sharing of information (Dean 2004c). Not only have we seen indigenous students learning skills and *discursive formations* (Foucault 1972) that have not been appropriate for their particular socioeconomic and historical situation, but they have all too often been taught to be embarrassed of their own cultural and linguistic heritages. Not surprisingly, "typical" students in pluri-cultural Peruvian Amazonia are instructed about the "noble" Andean Inca, the "glorious" Spanish Empire, and Republican hagiography, but are taught very little about Amazonian indigenous historicities, mythopoetics or narrative epics and songs undergirding their own societies' distinctive cultural identities (Dean 1999b).

According to Anthony Stocks (1983), the Kukama-Kukamiria, a Tupi-Guaranían speaking peoples associated with the lower reaches of the Huallaga watershed have retained a degree of cultural autonomy (albeit as "invisible natives" or "*nativos invisibles*") in spite of the ferocious onslaught of European colonialism precisely because of their ability to retain their subsistence economy, as well as their unique forms of social organization. Socioeconomic marginalization, coupled with the state's relative weakness in the Huallaga may in part explain the endurance of distinctive cultural identities, cosmovisions and ways of life among indigenous groups such as the Kukama-Kukamiria (also known as the Cocama-cocamilla), yet clearly no native Amazonian society has remained unchanged, despite a booming ethnological industry devoted to plumbing ahistorically framed indigenous ontologies (Dean 2013c).

While one can take issue with the characterization of the Kukama-Kukamiria's social organization as a "closed corporate community," Stocks is nevertheless right to emphasize their socio-economic marginalization vis-à-vis regional and national forms of *citizenship* (Lazar 2013). Such a line of analysis is useful because it underscores the incomplete, "integration of regional society," which Stocks argues has historically been based on extractive economies, rather than more heavily capitalized forms of production, hence the limited growth of national *citizenship,*

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[7]Formal education has often been associated with language death (Crystal 2000), not to mention forces undermining indigenous people's distinctive identities, beliefs, and socio-cultural practices.

[8]Quechua is also a second recognized national language, yet its official implementation is woefully inadequate in Amazonia.

let alone *cosmopolitanisms* among the Kukama-Kukamiria (Stocks 1983; see also Bunker 1985; Cheah and Robbins 1998; Hornborg 2013; Vasquez 2014).

While many local Kukama-Kukamiria peoples in Alto Amazonas are aware of the Pacaya-Samiria National Reserve, the country's second largest protected area (more than 20,000 km^2), few know much about the history of this zone or its local indigenous inhabitants, despite the recent boom in the tourist industry the natural reserve has generated. In over more than two decades of conversations I have had with local indigenous and *mestizo* peoples of the area, few were cognizant of the historical significance of Manuel Pacaya Samiria, a prominent leader (*apu*) of the Kukama-Kukamiria peoples, who established Nauta after leading the successful 1830 uprising at the Jesuit mission of Lagunas, located at the embouchure of the Huallaga River. Have the Kukama-Kukamiria become not only "invisible native peoples," but also a society whose historical memory and collective identities are being torn asunder through sustained contact with "booming" frontier towns like Yurimaguas?

Indigenous Identity and Education in Peruvian Amazonia

Though stylish in many academic quarters, the term *identity* is often used quite loosely. Even so, the concept of identity is of great utility because it allows humans to perceive the existence of a *relation* among entities that otherwise would be seen as distinct, as David Hume pointed out in his *Treatise of Human Nature* (1739; see Levi and Dean 2003). The politics of identity is a fundamental aspect surrounding issues of educational "modernity." How can individuals, families, groups, and larger social networks reconcile the strain between hierarchy and equality as fellow citizens in what Benedict Anderson (1983) has famously dubbed "*imagined communities*"? Political citizenship is vacuous without the recognition of agentive empowerment and social citizenship, which involves *all* community members with adequate socio-economic and cultural capital to fully participate in national social and political life. As my colleagues and I have emphasized elsewhere (Dean and Levi 2003), there is a compelling political necessity for states to recognize not only forms of legal, but medical and educational pluralism, which can effectively accommodate for the heterogeneity of cultural identities (differences not only between groups, networks, and categories, but within them as well). The suppression of such identities has its deadly consequences as is readily apparent from the deserts of the Middle East and North Africa to the lowland rainforests of Peruvian Amazonia (Dean 1999a, 2009).

Some scholars have examined the efficacy of Habermasian models of learning and communication in formulating decolonizing, "emancipatory model of education" for Native North American peoples (Knowles 2012). Contrasting "dominant" and Native American epistemological "perspectives," Knowles argues that Habermasian approaches allow for the broadening of epistemologies including indigenous ontologies, thus in turn enhancing Amerindian peoples' pedagogies (2012). Whereas Jürgen Habermas championed the ideal of transparent

communication (1982), Jean-Francois Lyotard probed the variations intrinsic to language itself (1984). As such, Lyotard provides us with a sobering reminder that universal categories, established through the liberal principle of "consensus," are by no means equivalent to respecting the right to be different.

For Habermas, practical knowledge is socially constructed and generally valorized by the "ideal of consensus" achieved by competent practitioners of those specialized fields of knowledge (Rescher 1993). But ethnography reveals the very notion of "ideal consensus" is problematic in relation to indigenous peoples' knowledge systems. Who exactly will be the competent practitioners of "indigenous knowledge" capable to validate its practicality or incorporate it into suitable curricula reflecting contemporary concerns, especially those tied to the notion of cultural survival? What will be the metrics for determining successful academic achievement? In addition to the risks of exposure to non-customary forms of pedagogy, what are the dangers of allowing "traditionalist" practitioners' points of view of colluding with hierarchical power structures in their validation of contested beliefs and actions, which are constitutive of customary indigenous knowledge— such as patriarchial, gerentocratic and maternal structures of authority, or the cultural sequestration of women to monolingualism, home and hearth?

Amazonian Educational Praxis and Postmodernity?

Taking my cue from Lyotard's *The Postmodern Condition,* which provides a basis for understanding and critiquing neo-liberal commoditization of education, I explore some of these contradictions as they find expression "on the ground" among indigenous peoples from Alto Amazonas, (Loreto, Peru). Originally published in 1979 in French, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (1984) argues for an epochal break with the so-called "modern era." He contends that by the end of the nineteenth century, Occidental cultures had essentially transformed, "the game rules for science, literature and the arts" (Lyotard 1984, p. 3). These transformations are interpreted within the broader context of the destabilization of Enlightenment grand-narratives that irrevocably altered the perceived foundations of truth, meaning, and freedom, which previously had been employed to justify both the conventions of scientific knowledge, as well as the underpinnings of modern institutions (including the likes of the "school"). Given the erosion of the Enlightenment idealist and humanist metanarratives, wherein can legitimacy actually dwell?

Pace Lyotard's (1984, p. 3) assertion, "that the status of knowledge is altered as societies enter what is known as the postindustrial age and cultures enter what is known as the postmodern age,"[9] I contend that the "postmodern condition"

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[9]In a renowned passage, Lyotard employs the word "modern" to designate, "any science that legitimates itself with reference to a metadiscourse . . . making an explicit appeal to some grand

alluded to by Lyotard is applicable to the status of knowledge and its problem of its legitimization not only in post-Fordist societies, like the USA or Australia, but geographically "isolated" social formations at the margins of the world—like indigenous Peruvian Amazonia—which are linked to global markets and the metropolises via complex global commodity chains (currently associated with the circulation of cocaine, petroleum, and fine hard wood timber, see Dean 2013b). Moreover, in light of recent patterns of urbanization—the dynamic, cosmopolitan process of people[10] coming together en masse to form villages, towns, and cities—"education" and the transmission of knowledge provides an excellent optic for evaluating the human consequences of contemporary transformations, namely recent spontaneous migration to the "new urban settlements" (or *barriadas*) enveloping Yurimaguas, one of Peruvian Amazonia's principal cities.

Language is a critical aspect of indigenous peoples' cultural identity (Aikhenvald 2013; Aikman 1999, 2013). When it is historically oppressed or neglected, as among the Munichis peoples of the nearby community (with the similar place name), its essential elements are lost forever, most often giving way to ethnocide among numerically small societies. When the last of the few surviving speakers of Munichis have passed away, will their once culturally robust community be remembered? Or will it remain merely etched on the toponymic memory, or digitized in tourist images and linguistic databases? While language is a key aspect of cultural identity, one must keep in mind essentialist notions of ethnic identities—which link language, culture, and biology—and in so doing obfuscate the actual distribution of ethnic groups and languages in Amazonia (Hornborg and Hill 2011; Aikhenvald 2013). Indeed, the contemporary nature of Amazonian ethnolinguistic diversity underscores the fluid, dialectic relationship among ethnic identity, language, genetics, geography and the astonishing disruptions associated with colonial and postcolonial encounters. Study of Amazonian ethnolinguistic distribution patterns has fortunately moved away from a fixation with migrating "peoples" simply hauling their cultural baggage across lowland South America to contemporary concerns with ethnogenetic processes within regional systems of exchange and the complex political economies associated with what I have glossed here as simply "social disruptions."

Notwithstanding the philosophical status of Amazonia's "modernity," Lyotard's ruminations on the legitimization of knowledge and education are particularly pertinent in rural and peri-urban Peruvian Amazonia. In his persuasive analysis of capitalism, Lyotard claims that the state has found its only realistic goal in the struggle

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narrative, such as the dialectics of the Spirit, the hermeneutics of meaning, the emancipation of the rational or working subject, or the creation of wealth" (1984, p. xxiii).

[10]Many indigenous societies reside in the selva baja region surrounding the city of Yurimaguas, including: Quechua-speaking populations (Kichwa Lamista [Llakwash Runa], Kichwa del Pastaza [Inga Runa]); Jivaroan speakers (Achuar, Awajún, Wampis, and Shiwiar); Kandoshi speakers (Shapra and Kandoshi are dialects); Tupi-Guaranían speakers (Kukama-Kukamiria); Cahuapanan speakers (Shawi [Kampu Piyapi] and Shiwilu); Arawakan speakers (Chamicuro); and the Urarina ([Kachá], a linguistic isolate, see Aikhenvald 2012; Dean 2013a).

for the exercise of power. Accordingly, science and education are authorized, in de facto terms, through the notion of performativity, e.g., via the logic of maximizing the system's performance. Lyotard's prophetic analysis resonates with the ascendancy of neo-liberalism across much of the planet. Like in the metropolises, higher education in Peru is no longer considered a universal welfare right, having been increasingly recast as a privatized sub-sector of the national economy.

Intersubjective Spaces: Towards a Radical "Decolonized" Pedagogy

Despite the misgivings of anti-universalist "postmodernists" such as Lyotard, Lucy Trapnell—a long-term Amazonianist indigenous educational specialist and advocate—is "right on spot" for insisting that the campaign for universal access to early childhood education must always be supplemented by critical analyses of the impact that intercultural bilingual educational experiences have had for the primary socialization of indigenous children (2011; cf. Mato 2011). Not without its imperfections, the existence of indigenous teacher training initiatives, such as the Iquitos based AIDESEP's Bilingual Teachers training program (Programa de Formación de Maestros Bilingües de la Amazonía Peruana, see Dean 1999b; Burga 2011), provides one of Peruvian Amazonia's most innovative intercultural pedagogical and curricular frameworks that strives to be mindful of the relationships among key components of apprenticeship, culture and traditional knowledge. In the case of AIDESEP's program, this enables learners to provide their feedback for on-going curricular and pedagogical modifications. This facilitates students to actively value, enrich and engage in the educational processes that occur both in the classroom and in indigenous community settings (Trapnell 2011; Aikman 1999, 2013; see also Mato's collection 2009).[11]

Drawing from ethnographic field research in highland Quechua community schools, Sumida Huaman and Valdiviezo's (2012) critical scrutiny of teachers and their pedagogical styles in the formal educational ambit exposes general contradictions when it comes to the contentious issues of the inclusion of "Indigenous Knowledge" (IK), languages, customary practices, cosmo-visions, and the meaningful participation of *comuneros* (community members). They found that despite genuine efforts from those who support cultural revalorization efforts, the basic components of indigenous peoples' identities remain largely symbolic, as is noted among the Wanka Quechua highland community. Following Sumida Huaman

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[11]For a positive appraisal of a cooperative indigenous educational and "development" project (*Niños de la Amazonía*, Children of the Amazon) conducted among Ashéninka communities in the central Amazon, see Moromizato Izu (2011). Moromizato Izu relays the benefits of culturally appropriate forms of pedagogy in assisting the effective transition between various levels of educational achievement.

and Valdiviezo's (2012) insistence that urges us to move past the formal/non-formal dichotomy of the indigenous pedagogical experience, I too contend that the intercultural educational environment must be formulated to, "conscientiously include Indigenous knowledge in education processes from the school to the community," and all the more so in Peru, where state-backed formal educational systems have by and large exclude recognition of indigenous cultures, languages or gender rights.

After more than a generation, there has been a welcome renaissance in ethnographic research in Amazonia that has yielded insight into the hotly debated nature and consequences of sex and the embodiment of gender roles.[12] This has paralleled increased occupational and social roles, which have now opened up for young rural indigenous women, dramatically transforming collective and personal identities (Ames 2012, see also Muratorio 1998; Dean 2003). On this front, Ames (2012) has explored the role of formal schooling in daily life, and the future aspirations of indigenous girls, young women, and their mothers in rural Peru. As she demonstrates, increased educational opportunities for indigenous girls, young women and their families are not only reflective of desires to surmount economic hardship, social oppression, and ethno-racial discrimination, they also provides a strategic institutional nexus to challenge gerontocratic and patriarchial gender relationships. Clearly such social charged encounters are not purely individual but imbricated, "with intergenerational agreements, family projects, and shared understandings" (Ames 2012, p. 267).

A growing body of scholarship has been taking seriously indigenous peoples' presence in urban Amazonia. Despite the "risks of being heard" (Dean and Levi 2003) indigenous peoples in Amazonia have become more visible as they proactively collaborate in the fabrication of their own residential "emplacements." A central aspect of this transformation is the capacity for indigenous peoples to act in novel contexts previously reserved for Peru's dominant national society (Virtanen 2010). Young people occupy a variety of "native" and "non-native" *habituses* and develop their notions of indigeneity within complex social networks as part of their strategy for rupturing the stigmata associated with the baneful proscriptions of indigenous alterity. As Pirjo Virtanen (2010) notes in the case of Apurinã, Cashinahua and Manchineri youth in Rio Branco, a city in Western Brazil, the younger generations are severing their image of indigenous peoples untainted by urbanity, which promotes new types of interactions between indigenous peoples on the Federal reserve and those in the city.

Oscar Espinoza's (2012) valuable study of the Shipibo peoples' concerns about their future prospects for cultural survival speaks eloquently to the worries of many

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[12]As elsewhere on the planet, one of the most important ethnological findings dating to at least the 1970s has been the generalized recognition of the differentiation between sex, which is a biological construct, and gender, which is a cultural classification. Acknowledgment of this critical distinction enables one to move beyond simple, deterministic explanations of masculine, feminine and transgendered experiences.

indigenous community members. Peru's Shipibo-Konibo elders, for instance are anxious that the young are leaving their rural communities, lured to residing in the city, where it is felt they become influenced by new moral worlds, and hence to a willful "forgetting" of their indigeneity, and all that it constitutes in local, communal enactments of belonging, rights and obligations. To wit, Espinoza discusses how Shipibo moral and cultural values influence the way in which Shipibo youth respond to their new historical context of urban residency. As Espinoza correctly indicates, not all Shipibo youth behave in such ways or believe their elder's concerns. Rejecting primordialist views of identity, Espinoza reminds us that there are "many different ways of being Shipibo" (p. 451). Yet, he insists that the primary issue is not necessarily the question of Shipibo identity, but rather the phenomenological sense of what contemporary Shipibo youth "face" in the recent socio-cultural and economic circumstances they live.

My own ethnographic research among Kukama-Kukamira peoples residing in the *barriadas* of Yurimaguas supports Virtanen and Espinoza's recent findings. While there is a flourishing body of academic and policy studies devoted to understanding how young indigenous peoples residing in urban areas are redefining and refiguring their new cultural and social situations, scant research has been conducted on those who have not necessarily been the "primary" indigenous beneficiaries of urban-based education. Casual conversations and semi-formal interviews I have collected among dozens of illiterate Kukama-Kukamira emphasize the embodiment of the novel intergenerational strains now facing families. Over the years, many have increasingly discussed with me the socio-linguistically charged distinction between *letrado* ("literate"), *profesional* ("professional"), and *ignorante* ("ignorant"). The unlettered have had restricted access to social mobility, which has been a double-edged emotional sword for family and community members. In the context of a generation-long rural agrarian crisis (Rumrrill 1986; Mayer 2009), illiterate parents have encouraged their children to go to school—often citing this as a primary motivator for migration to the city in the first place. Sadly, many of the elder indigenous peoples now residing in the city express a deepening sense of being *incapacitados* (incapacitated/disabled) because of their inability to fully function in novel contexts, or to provide their kith and kin with adequate social support (Dean 2013c).

Future Prospects: Social Inclusion as a Perquisite for Indigenous Education?

In spite of the abysmal record of abuse and postcolonial domination exercised through the imposition of hegemonic modes of formal education, indigenous peoples and their allies have long contended and amply demonstrated that they have their own modalities of local knowledge, practical expertise, and culturally specific means of transmitting knowledge, albeit neglected (and in some cases violently

suppressed) by the dominant agents of national society (Dean 2004d). Given the Peruvian governments' historical disinclination to act on behalf of subalterns, indigenous peoples' participation in education is an essential part of transforming abstract policy formulations into long-awaited results that make a real difference in peoples' lives. In order to preserve community, sovereignty, and distinctive cultural identities, indigenous peoples and their advocates need to fashion more effective leadership, viable economic institutions, and expand new ways of formulating and implementing indigenous education throughout Amazonia, particularly as cities become a critical aspect of novel variations of indigeneity (Virtanen 2012).

Reflecting on a number of self-identifying indigenous intellectuals, as well as the status of a number of indigenous intercultural programs of higher learning, Mato has highlighted the pitfalls of embracing hegemonic "academic knowledge" to comprehend social processes marked by cultural differences, historical clashes, and structural inequities (2011, see Foucault 1972). When it comes to indigenous education in the face of "Western" pedagogies and curriculum, I return to Lyotard who suggested that we should rejuvenate the death of grand narratives with "little ones" (*petits récits*). For indigenous peoples of Amazonia, modes of local and "Indigenous Knowledge" that are held in common by specific groups, however "unscientific," are worthy of valorization, especially as they facilitate the needs of the community—including its own (perhaps contradictory) *inclusive* visions of cultural survival, sovereignty, and the fundamental right to be different in a pluri-ethnic, multi-cultural nation state.

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Chapter 22
Intersections of Identity and Education: The Native American Experience

Hilary N. Weaver

Abstract   This chapter explores the intersections between Indigenous identity and educational experiences. The material presented draws on research and theory as well as the author's own experiences as a Lakota woman dealing with various educational institutions. The chapter begins with an examination of some of the facets of, and influences on, contemporary Native American identity. This is followed by reflections on the confluence of education and identity, both for youth and adult learners. The chapter reviews some of the struggles experienced by Native Americans in their educational endeavors and elaborates on what is needed in order for education to be more culturally responsive and respectful. The chapter concludes with reflections on what it is like to be a Native American parent with children in the public school system.

As a way of framing this chapter, I think it is important to position myself and be explicit about how my identity may influence this writing. I am Lakota and a mother of children in elementary and middle school. I am a survivor of my own educational journey which has taken me from a quality public school education to a masters and doctorate from an Ivy League school. I have also taught in higher education at mainstream universities for more than 20 years. My scholarship focuses on cultural identity, primarily within helping processes but I have also conducted research examining the educational experiences of indigenous helping professionals and served on the Council on Social Work Education Taskforce on Native Americans in Social Work Education. All these inform my perspectives.

In this chapter, I begin with an examination of some of the facets of, and influences on, contemporary Native American identity. This is followed by reflections on the confluence of education and identity, both for youth and adult learners. Next, I present a synthesis of some of the struggles experienced by Native Americans in

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their educational endeavors and a discussion of what is needed in order for education to be more culturally responsive and respectful. The chapter concludes with my reflections as a Native American parent with children in the public school system.

Examining the Facets of Indigenous Identity

The identity of Native American peoples is a complex, multifaceted subject that can, at times, be contentious. At its most basic level, indigenous identity reflects a sense of peoplehood or membership within a group (Markstrom 2010). This includes a sense of being connected to other group members with a shared history and culture.

It is important to note that indigenous identity is both context dependent and dynamic. How a Native person expresses a sense of identity may vary from place to place. For example, within a home community, a Native American may express his or her identity as a member of a clan. Outside the context of a tribe but with other Native people, that same person may identify as a member of a tribe. With non-Native people, identity might be expressed as Native American, and outside of the US they might (or might not) use the label American (Markstrom 2010). In fact, an indigenous person maintains a multifaceted identity that includes other aspects of being such as class, gender, sexuality, and age.

While multiple facets of identity play a role in shaping any person, there are aspects of an indigenous person's identity that may be particularly salient. First and foremost, being indigenous means having an identity rooted in a particular place; often accompanied by a sense that a place was given into the care of the indigenous inhabitants. All aspects of the traditional territory of an indigenous people, such as mountains, plains, shorelines, and forests, shape the culture, values, and belief system of the people therein.

Identity is both deeply embedded in places and steeped in stories. Stories provide links between the past, present, and future. Likewise, there is an intimate connection between language and identity (Markstrom 2010). The nuances contained in indigenous words convey subtle aspects of culture and identity that defy adequate translation into other languages.

Spirituality is a significant dimension of indigenous identity (Markstrom 2010). This includes a sense of being connected to aspects of the natural world as well as the supernatural. Kinship is multifaceted and can include animate and inanimate beings (Markstrom 2010). Many Native Americans maintain a sense of connection to people of the past as well as people of the future. This is often expressed in terms of the *Seven Generations*. While this concept varies slightly across tribes, the premise of the *Seven Generations* is that contemporary people are nestled within a framework of relationships to the people of previous generations as well as the people of generations yet to come.

This sense of interconnection across generations also means that history plays a role in identity formation. Indigenous identity is shaped by a confluence of

experiences with oppression, including historical trauma and cultural resilience (House et al. 2006). The experiences of the ancestors can have a shaping influence on contemporary lives. This is the theoretical foundation of current scholarship on historical and intergenerational trauma.

Connection (and concomitant responsibility) to others is often a central aspect of indigenous identity. This results in an intersection between the development of a child and the development of a community (Rivera and Tharp 2006). A child internalizes particular values, beliefs, and roles through participation in cultural activities. Both school and family have socialization functions. Successful socialization and academic development of Native youth requires an integration of school and community practices. When this process is integrated in a positive way, it feeds the development of healthy indigenous communities.

Measurement of cultural identity is complex and is hindered by linear models that position identity along a continuum or posit transition between cultures (House et al. 2006). Linear models presume increasing identification with one culture necessitates decreasing identification with another (i.e., a process of assimilating into one culture while detaching from another). Some contemporary scholars posit a more complex and multifaceted conceptualization of cultural identity (Oetting and Beauvais 1991).

The distinct political status of Native Americans adds additional facets to indigenous identity. While self-perception, or how one views oneself, is certainly a component of indigenous identity, self-perception is not always aligned with tribal membership. Native American tribes retain vestiges of sovereignty, including the right to determine who is and who is not a member of a particular tribe. As each tribe determines this for themselves, there is substantial variation in criteria for membership. Most tribes require some minimal level of biological connection to the tribe such a 1/2, 1/4, or 1/8 blood quantum. Others require only documentation of lineal descent from a tribal member. Some tribes recognize lineal descent only through the mother while others recognize descent only through the father. In contemporary Native communities, particularly in urban areas, it is common for people to have heritage from multiple tribes, but not meet membership criteria for any tribe.

Measuring identity by blood quantum doesn't consider traditional cultural definitions of identity or self-perception (Markstrom 2010). There are also instances where an individual actively participates as a member of a Native community and is perceived to be a community member, yet does not meet legal or biological criteria for tribal membership.

Some qualitative research endeavors have sought to identify more nuanced ideas about indigenous cultural identity. For example, focus groups were held with Native youth, adults, and elders in the Southwest to explore their ideas about identity. The major themes to emerge from this research were the importance of tradition, ceremonies and rituals, physical and language characteristics, and mixing of cultures (House et al. 2006).

Cultural authenticity is hotly debated and polarizing. Feeding into this dynamic is the federal government's continued emphasis on blood quantum, and the increasing

propensity for some people to identify as Native, due to the popularity of Native culture and financial gains from enrollment in tribes with casinos (Pack 2012).

In an attempt to capitalize on the current popularity of claiming Native American heritage and the belief that biological heritage (more so than culture or community connection) is what makes someone Native American, at least 14 companies market Native DNA kits. If particular genetic markers are confirmed through the DNA test, individuals can receive a frameable certificate (Pack 2012). No tribe, however, accepts DNA testing as meeting criteria for membership.

It is incorrect to assume that there is a direct association between blood quantum and the strength of connection to culture. Indigenous people with mixed heritage are not necessarily somehow less indigenous while their full-blooded counterparts automatically assume the role of culture bearers (Pack 2012). Using blood quantum as a measure of racial purity not only falsely presumes a direct link between biology and culture but is based on outmoded ways of thinking. "The policing of Indian blood was propelled by 19th century scientific methods that have since been discredited" (Pack 2012, p. 180).

Traditionally, indigenous communities always had ways of incorporating new members. Community membership was typically associated with participating in particular roles and responsibilities, yet today, externally imposed definitions and measures of identity have become more common. Internalized colonization has led some indigenous people to accept and promulgate external definitions of indigenous identity. In an ironic and painful twist of fate, contemporary Spokane author Sherman Alexie points out that some "Indians formed their identities by questioning the identities of other Indians" (Alexie 2003, p. 40).

Native Americans face the on-going challenge of redefining a contemporary indigenous identity (Horse 2005). While there are many ideas about traditional Native American beliefs, behaviors, and appearance, tradition is not static. Indeed, culture is ever-changing and adapting to contemporary circumstances. Foreign influences have been actively and selectively integrated into indigenous societies throughout history. For example, the Navajo are known as sheep herders. This is considered a very traditional part of their cultural heritage, yet, the Navajo originally obtained their sheep from Spaniards who came to their territories. Indigenous cultures have always found ways to absorb what is useful and make it their own (Pack 2012).

Many contemporary Native Americans negotiate the process of indigenous identity development within a context of hybrid, multiracial identities. Indeed, those who value blood over culture as a marker of identity may be less likely to be active members of tribal communities (Pack 2012).

Today, Native Americans rarely live in isolation and must negotiate the complexities of living within a larger national context. Identities of today's Native youth are influenced by many things, including degree of family traditionalism, internet and other media, and long-standing colonial actions that have undermined traditional values and forced assimilation (Markstrom 2010). The negotiation of complex influences on identity is often complicated when the values that Native people are socialized with in their homes and communities conflict with national

values. Adding to this complexity is the fact that indigenous people in the United States can now fairly easily link with other indigenous peoples around the world. Globalization contributes to growing indigenous rights and identity movements that bridge indigenous peoples worldwide (Markstrom 2010).

Absorbing other influences into an indigenous identity need not be a passive process. Examples abound of Native youth deliberately owning and transforming other dimensions of identity such as breakdancing or heavy metal subcultures. They have found ways to take these outside influences and make them distinctly indigenous as a reaction to White oppression and flux of Native cultures (Markstrom 2010). In fact, contemporary Native people find many ways to maintain a sense of distinctiveness as indigenous people while adapting and adopting aspects of the dominant culture such as language, forms of government, and music (Horse 2005).

The Confluence of Education and Identity

Education is one among many factors that shape identity. Indeed, education may be a particularly relevant force to examine as it applies to the identity of Native Americans since it has been specifically applied as a tool of forced assimilation. Additionally, the incongruence between the values of the American education system and those found in many Native cultures is often cited as contributing to high drop out rates of Native American students.

The United States federal government has established a trust relationship with the Native American tribes within its boundaries. Among other things, the government promised to provide education as part of its treaty obligations (Raffle 2007). Between 1778 and 1871, 91 treaties were signed with specific provisions for education of Native American students (McClelland et al. 2005).

Primary and Secondary Education

In the 1870s, the federal government began to establish a system of boarding schools, often using deserted Army bases (Raffle 2007). These schools removed children from their families and communities and provided a Christian-based, vocational education designed to train Native people for roles such as farmers and domestic servants. Often youth were removed from their families under significant duress. In these schools they were not allowed to speak their languages or practice their religions. Any attempt to do so typically brought beatings. This federal policy had the deliberate goal of assimilation. Boarding schools were known by the slogan, *Kill the Indian, Save the Man*. Many boarding schools remained in operation into the 1970s.

In 1934, the Johnson O'Malley Act allowed the federal government to contract with states to provide education for Native students, thus showing a federal interest

in divesting itself from responsibility for educating Native people. By the 1950s, the trend was for more Native American input into and control of education. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act encouraged tribal and parental involvement in the education of Native American youth (Raffle 2007). In this same vein, in 2004, President George W. Bush signed Executive Order 13336 to assist Native children to meet standards of the *No Child Left Behind Act* in a manner consistent with indigenous traditions, cultures, and languages (ASHE 2012).

The trend toward more Native input into the education of indigenous children has not necessarily translated into better educational outcomes, as most Native students are still educated in schools based on dominant society standards and values. Native students in settler societies like the US and Canada often leave school prematurely. In Canada, the drop out rate for Native students is 66 % compared to 37 % for their non-Native peers (Kanu 2006).

In the United States, Native students have the highest high school drop out rates, are least likely to complete college preparatory work in high school, and have some of the lowest college entrance and retention rates in the country (ASHE 2012). Only 51 % of Native students complete a high school degree, compared to 69 % of their non-Native peers. This is the lowest graduation rate of any group (ASHE 2012). Indeed, the drop out rate may even be higher, as measures of high school completion don't count students who drop out before Grade 9.

The future is typically bleak for Native American school drop outs. "These students may not possess the requisite skills to participate in the economic life of their communities and society. In addition, they often lack the language and cultural knowledge of their people. Their identities and self-worth may be eroded" (Kanu 2006, p. 116).

How teachers view increasing diversity of students in the classroom influences students' acknowledgement of their own cultural identity and values (Maduram 2011). Teachers have the power to acknowledge and validate the cultures of their students or to denigrate and deny them. A teacher who can bridge different value systems and ways of knowing can help foster the success of indigenous students. In turn, education has the potential to benefit indigenous communities and foster self-sufficiency (ASHE 2012).

On the other hand, it is more typical for Native students to experience feelings of cultural discontinuity in the classroom. Feelings of discrimination and rejection may contribute to dropping out of school. Native American students have the highest rates of absenteeism and the second highest rates of suspension (behind African Americans), suggesting something is seriously amiss (ASHE 2012).

Reflecting on history can be informative in understanding the contemporary experiences of many Native students. Assimilation and cultural eradication have been the central goals of education. Schools have functioned as a tool of colonization (Rivera and Tharp 2006). Education has become a battleground between settlers and Native people.

Discontinuity between the cultures of the home and school environments is often cited as a reason why many Native students do not do well in school. Often educators fail to link home and community culture to school culture, thus failing to promote a sense of belongingness that supports academic achievement. Conversely, facilitating this linkage fosters a sense of belonging which leads to academic achievement (Gilliard and Moore 2007). Research has demonstrated that Native students in a classroom where Native content was integrated performed significantly better on exams than Native peers in another classroom. They also demonstrated broader understanding, higher level thinking, and improved self-confidence. Although these academic indicators improved, the integration of Native culture in the classroom did not have an impact on attendance or retention (Kanu 2006).

Parent and student empowerment may reduce school failure rates (Rivera and Tharp 2006). A number of examples exist of Native communities actively trying to assert their priorities in local school systems. In one reservation context, culture was explicitly used to shape the curriculum. "Ongoing communication with parents and community about teaching within a culturally relevant context, building a sense of belongingness and community through ritual, and respecting children, families, and community were essential to defining the Native American Indian culture within these early learning programs" (Gilliard and Moore 2007, p. 251).

In another example, the Zuni tribe took control of their school district in 1980 but found many obstacles to reform.

> These obstacles include a) a disrespect of Native Americans by the school, b) student resistance—withdrawal and reduced achievement, c) a lack of self-confidence in Native American leaders, d) a passivity of Native communities in the face of school authority, e) teacher imperviousness to external influence, f) bureaucratic, legal and policy constraints, and; g) vision conflicts between Native communities and the education power structure. (Rivera and Tharp 2006, p. 437)

Integration of Native cultural learning objectives, resources, and instructional methods into high school can be an important method of preparing Native students along the college pipeline (Kanu 2006). In one example, Native American high school students participated in an afterschool program at a local Native American center to discuss a book that facilitated their understanding of culture and identity (Maduram 2011). This qualitative research project found three themes: (1) cultural center as learning context for sustaining identity, (2) literature as mediator for exploring identity, and (3) text discussion as facilitating identity transformation.

In spite of a federal obligation to provide education to Native American students, Native schools are chronically underfunded. These schools now find themselves subject to additional cuts as the federal sequester that went into effect in 2013 has led to cuts in tribal schools. Schools on reservations have no taxable land to rely on for a funding base so as much as 60 % of school funding comes from the federal government (Layton 2013). Native American students are among the first and most heavily hit, experiencing federal cuts months before other classrooms feel the effects of the sequester (Mitchell 2013).

Higher Education

There is a long but little remembered history of Native Americans and higher education in the United States. Even under colonial rule, land was set aside in 1617 for construction of a college for "children of the infidels" (ASHE 2012, p. 7). Indeed, three of the nine original colonial colleges, Harvard, Dartmouth, and William and Mary, included educating Native Americans in their original mission statements, yet between their founding and the American Revolution only 47 Native Americans entered these institutions and four had graduated (McClelland et al. 2005).

By 1932, only 385 Native students had enrolled in US colleges and 52 had graduated. This low graduation rate "attests to the cultural, emotional, and integration struggles these students faced and the inappropriateness of the White Educational system available to them during this time period" (McClelland et al. 2005, p. 8). Even now, Native students attending mainstream universities are expected to abandon their cultures and become assimilated (McClelland et al. 2005).

A growing number of Native students entered higher education in the 1960s and 1970s, spurred by the growing number of scholarships and the development of tribal colleges (Lowe 2005). Although college enrollment doubled between 1976 and 2002, the numbers and percentages of Native Americans in higher education remains small with 26 % of 18–24 year old Native Americans enrolled in college compared to 37 % of peers (ASHE 2012). Native Americans have lowest college graduation rates. Four percent have earned bachelors degrees compared to 27 % of the White population (ASHE 2012).

The statistics for graduate level education are even bleaker. In many ways, graduate school can be characterized as a place where survival of the fittest reigns and only the strongest, most privileged, and most advantaged of Native students survive. In 2009, only 0.04 % of doctorates were earned by Native students (ASHE 2012).

The experiences of Native students can vary considerably (Lowe 2005). Native "student opportunities for higher education are influenced by a complex web of factors that include socioeconomic status, life experiences, family expectations and responsibilities, culture, tribal education policies and practices, perceptions about the relevance of higher education for living and working in tribal communities, and goals for work and life beyond the degree. All of the above are constrained or mediated by K-12 school contexts, policies, and practices; discrimination and academic tracking; students' proximity to colleges and universities; post-secondary institution costs; admission requirements and outreach and political policies based on the notion of who merits college education as enacted through financial aid, affirmative action, and accountability plans" (ASHE 2012, p. 31).

Native students often pursue education over a number of years and institutions with breaks for various reasons. This differs from the expectations of most colleges. "As long as success along the pipeline continues to be defined as completing a degree within four to six years of consistent, full-time enrollment at a single institution, Indigenous students will continue to be framed as failures in higher education" (ASHE 2012, p. 2).

Community college has become an increasingly viable mechanism for Native Americans pursuing higher education. Nearly 55 % of Native people who enroll in higher education begin with community college. Even community colleges, however, still have a high attrition rate for Native students; 60 % compared with 48 % of non-Natives (Watson 2009).

Different theories have been proposed to explain the low numbers and difficulties that many Native students have in higher education. Some research documents that the rigor of a high school curriculum is the single best predictor of college graduation (ASHE 2012) thus tracking of Native students into vocational streams at the high school level impedes college readiness. Other scholars propose that non-academic variables such as cultural factors are more meaningful in predicting degree attainment than academic preparedness (Watson 2009). "Native American students who are able to maintain their cultural heritage while at the same time adapting to the multiple demands of campus life are more likely to succeed than are those who are either completely assimilated into or totally rejecting of the mainstream campus culture" (Watson 2009, p. 133).

While the literature on Native American academic achievement often examines student characteristics associated with success (or lack thereof), it is also important to examine how characteristics of the learning environment influence student success. One of the factors affecting the educational experiences of Native American students is their constant exposure to racial microaggressions which produces a type of battle fatigue (ASHE 2012). These often brief and commonplace interactions can be subtle but have the effect of communicating disrespect and at times even hostility to Native students. Microaggressions are also commonly encountered by Native American professors (Walters 2013).

Research has identified a number of factors in the learning environment that can maximize the success of Native American students. Connecting with Native faculty and staff can help academic success and persistence (Fox 2005; Weaver 2000). Unfortunately low numbers of Native American faculty and staff compromise this important potential support (Cross et al. 2009). Native Americans constitute only 0.5 % of the faculty in 4 year degree granting institutions and 0.7 % in 2-year colleges (ASHE 2012). Establishing a relationship can enhance persistence and success, even if that connection is to non-Native faculty or staff (Fox 2005).

Tribal Colleges emerged as a culturally congruent avenue for higher education during an era when the federal policy shifted to emphasizing tribal self-determination. Dine College (aka Navajo Community College) was founded in 1968. The US now has 34 tribally-controlled colleges (McClelland et al. 2005).

Tribal Colleges and Universities serve as a link between traditional knowledge and contemporary life (Crazy Bull 2012). "By there very existence, TCUs [tribal colleges and universities] celebrate Native thought, philosophy, literature, science, health and art. Established through the sovereign authority of tribal nations, TCUs represent the inherent right of Indian tribes to educate and socialize their own citizens" (Crazy Bull 2012, p. 27).

Tribal colleges are a bridge between Native students and the outside world (McClelland et al. 2005). In spite of their importance, they experience many

struggles including lack of adequate funding, insufficient facilities, lack of public support for minority issues, accreditation requirements, and tension between Native and non-Natives working there. "The mid-1990s was a new low point in federal funding for Native American higher education, with tribally-controlled colleges receiving less than half of the funds promised" (McClelland et al. 2005, p. 13).

However indigenous students pursue their education, their educational success is key to maintaining vital Native communities and contributes to the wellbeing of society at large. "Pursuing higher education folds into a larger agenda of tribal nation building, and vice versa—that nation building cannot be fully or adequately pursued without some agenda of higher education" (ASHE 2012, p. 27).

The fact that there are few Native students in college is also a "loss to higher education, as classrooms, campuses, research, and teaching are deprived of Indigenous perspectives and talent. Finally, the nation as a whole loses, as do communities across the country and every sector of the workforce, because they consequently lack the intellectual, cultural, professional, and personal contributions and presence of Native people" (ASHE 2012, p. 52).

Bridging the Gulf Between Mainstream Education and Native American Cultures

Education is a venue for acquiring knowledge, attitudes, values, and skills but a fundamental question is whose values are being fostered in the classroom (Rivera and Tharp 2006). Ideas about individual success, commonly found in American classrooms, are often at odds with the reasons many indigenous students pursue higher education (ASHE 2012). As one indigenous educator described, he was scolded by a colleague for using a cooperative group assignment to advance the knowledge of all students. This was seen as undermining the individualistic focus of mainstream education. Developing the knowledge and skills that will benefit indigenous communities and ultimately contribute to nation building; in other words, the betterment of all, are key values for many Native students. "At the heart of Indigenous knowledge systems are notions of community and its concomitant survival" (ASHE 2012, p. 16).

While Native students are diverse and have a variety of experiences with education, we know that there is often a connection between their cultural identity and how they are able to, unable to, or choose not to negotiate various learning environments (Huffman 2010). We also know that many Native students experience struggles with isolation, sense of fit, competing responsibilities, finances, and preparation for higher education.

It would be both overly simplistic and inappropriate to say that more culturally traditional students do not do as well in higher education. While a mismatch between the culture of the student and that of the institution can present challenges, culture can be a crucial strength. As Huffman found in his study (2010), some

of the most traditional students were also the most academically successful. It is important to note, however, that many Native students "step out" or take a hiatus from their educational pursuits for various reasons, thus taking a longer time for degree completion than most of their non-Native peers. This "stepping out" should not necessarily be equated with school failure (Huffman 2010).

Higher educational institutions committed to serving indigenous students must not only work to strengthen the responsiveness of primary and secondary education to indigenous people (thus addressing the pipeline issue) but also have a responsibility to be attentive to the community: be known, become trusted. Community engagement in teaching, research, and service will help foster trust and overcome the longstanding negative legacy of education as a hostile place and tool of assimilation. Education requires an on-going partnership, not just them coming to us on our turf.

In order to retain Native students, universities should promote role models/mentors, support groups, and have a broader presence in the university through cultural events (Weaver 2000). A number of mainstream universities have developed cohort models to support Native American students such as the George Warren Brown School of Social Work at Washington University in Saint Louis, Missouri and the Rural Human Services program at University of Alaska, Fairbanks. These universities have taken steps to infuse indigenous knowledge and ways of knowing into higher education. Educational institutions wishing to better serve Native American students would be well advised to closely examine these models and reflect on what is working and what still needs improvement.

If education is committed to serving Native students, there are several key elements to consider. Knowing that indigenous students living away from their traditional territories to pursue higher education may feel compelled to return home for ceremonies, funerals, or cultural sustenance, educational institutions can incorporate this awareness and strive to develop responsive policies and practices. Likewise, knowing that competing priorities often lead Native college students to "step out" or take a hiatus from their studies, universities can reconsider definitions of educational success that emphasize graduating within 4 years and find ways to ease the transition for students seeking to return to college after a hiatus.

Of course, such educational adaptations require a "will" before we can develop a "way" and education, particularly higher education, is better known for its uncompromising Ivory Tower stance than its responsiveness to indigenous peoples. We are most likely to see such a shift if educational leaders focus on education within its broader meaning of exploring knowledge from multiple sources and in multiple ways to the end of becoming a more well-rounded, thoughtful human being with a complex array of critical thinking skills than the much more limited concept of education as training to maximize employment opportunities.

If education is truly about learning and not about training, this opens the door to different ways of acquiring knowledge. The quest for knowledge is a concept that is inclusive. It includes the possibility of embracing different ways of knowing and different ways of learning. If mainstream education is willing to let go of old structures and adapt to a changing environment, there is a possibility of being

much more responsive to the educational needs of Native American students and communities in ways vastly different from previous interactions. This would take a tremendous commitment, openness, and creativity to make this happen, but it is possible.

Reflections on My Interactions with the Public School System

Perhaps the most important task that I find myself struggling with, is consistently and vigilantly monitoring and interacting with my local school system to insure that my children obtain the best education possible to succeed in life, while not having their spirits crushed as indigenous people. My own experiences, background, values, and education position me well to stand up and confront school systems in ways that many of my indigenous peers are not prepared for or do not have the clout to do.

My first task was to identity an appropriate school. While my school district ostensibly has "school choice" where parents are allowed to send their children to any school in the district they qualify for regardless of proximity, even as a well educated person highly committed to this task I have found bureaucracy and obscurity of information make truly exercising choice virtually impossible. While looking into public school options I found myself flirting with the idea of enrolling my son in a Longhouse based religious school on a reservation but found the 70 mile one way commute daunting. While I relished the immersion in language, culture, and spirituality that would come with such an education, I feared the implications of selecting this school might limit his exposure to the academic rigor necessary to function in the dominant society world.

As it came time for my daughter to start kindergarten I desperately explored any options available to me. I learned of a new charter school that sounded promising. At that time they had no building and no teachers. What they did have was a group of founders (mostly parents), a curriculum they believed in, and a director. In exploring this option, I reached out to the director, explained that we were a Native American family and that I had significant concerns about what schools continued to teach about Native Americans. As an example, I cited George Washington. Most schools still teach that George Washington was a hero, the father of "our" country. What they do not teach is that he promulgated the "Scorched Earth Campaign" designed to obliterate all Native Americans in the state of New York (where we live). I asked this director how he would see the school approaching subjects like George Washington and what level of parent involvement might be available for shaping the school. In response, I received a detailed and thoughtful response. My daughter started kindergarten at that charter school the day the doors opened. I have never regretted that choice but feel I must remain vigilant to protect my children from the soul-crushing experiences many Native people experience with the American educational system.

I have always welcomed the opportunity to improve the public school system's responsiveness to Native Americans and have given guest lectures at various

schools, even prior to my children's entry into the school system. As New York state relegates Native American content to the forth grade social studies curriculum, that is typically where they are willing to accept input. While in many ways I see this as a marginalized position where token input is accepted and more meaningful input into the curriculum is dismissed, it is better than nothing and at least gives me a "foot in the door" to making a difference.

As noted in the literature, microaggressions continue as the norm. For instance, last fall my children missed 3 days of classes for religious ceremonies. We discussed the pending absences in advance, asked if the teachers would like to provide school work in advance, and checked in daily at the end of the school day to pick up any additional work or notices. During our absence, the local newspaper came to do a feature article on the school, who in only 7 years of existence and in spite of a 49 % poverty rate had risen to become the highest scoring public school in the city on state standardized tests, outperforming many suburban and private schools. The photographer focused on my son's forth grade classroom and pictures of his classmates were featured prominently in the newspaper. When we returned from ceremonies, she handed us a copy of the article and snidely remarked that my son missed out because we were not there that day. Ironically, even the forth grade teacher, (the year responsible for covering Native American content), was blatantly dismissive and disrespectful of a key religious observance, even after having its significance carefully explained to her. Even in the best of schools, painful experiences with oppression are common.

As a parent, it is an exhausting and daunting task to support my children as indigenous people in a mainstream school setting. It would be easy to miss seeing the occasions when a battle has been averted by a quiet ally. The importance of a non-Native person standing up on behalf of Native people cannot be overestimated. Sometimes a seemingly small, quiet act can make all the difference in the world in supporting a Native American student.

This year my son's forth grade class did a project on their "heros" where they gathered facts, synthesized materials, and developed a poster presentation. Most of my son's classmates chose major public figures such as Barak Obama or Rosa Parks with easily accessible information and little controversy. My son, on the other hand, chose Leonard Peltier; a choice which I fully supported but many people would find highly controversial. Leonard Peltier, a Native American activist, has been in prison for decades convicted of killing federal agents in a shoot out on Pine Ridge reservation in the 1970s. While Amnesty International and many other high profile activists see him as a political prisoner held unjustly, others would call him a "cop killer." My son chose to examine Peltier's life as someone who shares his tribal heritage, stood up against oppression, and has fought for the rights of our people. I saw my son's choice as honorable but likely a battlezone where I would need to fight for his right to do this project. This, however, would not be a battle that I would have to fight. Without any fanfare, the school librarian sought out resources beyond what the school had and made it possible for my son to complete his project. I cannot overstate the importance of non-Native allies in fostering a quality education for Native American youth in ways that are respectful of their cultural identity.

In the United States, the educational system has had a significant impact on the identity of Native American students. Historically, education has been used as a deliberate tool of assimilation. In contemporary times, Native Americans are still typically expected to accommodate to the dictates of education with little if any flexibility or accommodation expected on the part of educational institutions. While there will likely always be different worldviews between educational systems and most Native American students, I would hope for a time when this could be more of an intersection rather than a situation where Native students are expected to absorb the impact.

My role, both as an educator and as a parent, has often been as a buffer; someone able to absorb the some of the impact, and make education less oppressive for Native American students. I also see myself as culling for the knowledge and skills needed to survive as a contemporary indigenous person in all aspects of our world (indigenous and non-indigenous). If the educational system is to be more responsive and respectful of the needs of Native American students, those within the system must critically reflect on the goals of education, how education continues to impact Native students, and identify creative ways to reform education so that Native Americans can succeed in school, take the best of what the educational system has to offer, and still preserve the integrity of what it means to be a contemporary, educated, Native American.

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