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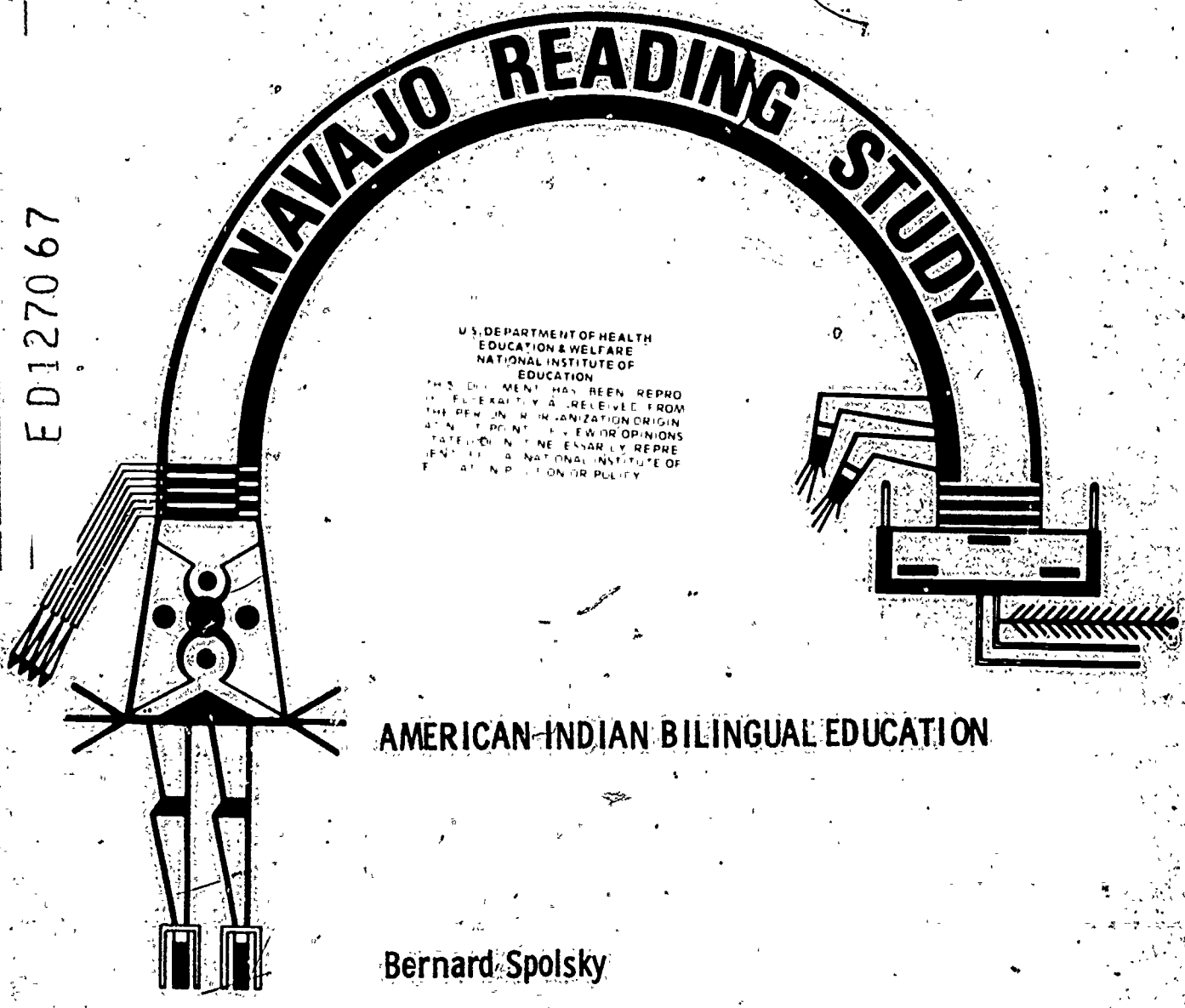
ABSTRACT

Bilingual education programs have been established in such Native American languages as Aleut, Yupik, Tlingit, Haida, Athabaskan, Cherokee, Lakota, Navajo, Papago, Pomo, Passamaquoddy, Seminole, Tewa, and Zuni. These programs include the: Choctaw Bilingual Education Program, Northern Cheyenne Bilingual Education Program, Lakota Bilingual Education Project, Rough Rock Demonstration School Bilingual/Bicultural Project, Ramah Navajo High School Bilingual Education Program, Papago Bilingual Education Program, Seminole Bilingual Project; San Juan Pueblo Tewa Bilingual Project, and Wisconsin Native American Languages Project. These programs are funded by three main sources of Federal funds--the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) Title I, the 1968 ESEA Title VII (Bilingual Education Act), and Title IV of the 1972 Education Amendments (Indian Education Act). A model proposed for the description and analysis of bilingual programs tries to map all relevant factors onto a single integrated structure and to suggest some of the lines of interaction (see RC 009 343). This report describes 17 of the currently existing Native American Bilingual Education programs. Using the proposed model (which is briefly described) as a guide, the differences among the 17 programs are discussed. (NQ)



AMERICAN INDIAN BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Bernard Spolsky

Navajo Reading Study Progress Report No. 24
The University of New Mexico, May 1974

American Indian Bilingual Education

Bernard Spolsky

The University of New Mexico

Introduction[1]

American ambivalence towards its aboriginal population is clearly reflected in attitudes to Native American languages and to language maintenance efforts. While linguists found the American Indian languages a rich mine for study, they generally felt little responsibility to preserve them except in grammar books and archives. In similar vein, they generally chose to study the languages rather than how they were used. The paucity of studies of sociolinguistic questions--of languages in contact or being destroyed--is most regrettable. With a few distinguished exceptions, the student of an Amerindian language has made no mention of these matters, except to complain how few speakers are left, or how poorly they recall the language (cf Spolsky and Kari, 1974).

Official policy towards American Indians and their languages have swung from virtual genocide to moderate acceptance, from the encouragement of assimilation or relocation to the support of some degree of maintenance of ethnic and linguistic identity. This chapter will concentrate on a recent trend to the direction of maintenance: it will not be able to predict future directions or efforts. It will record in the main recent Federally-supported initiatives to encourage one form or another of bilingual education. This will be shown to be interpretable in various cases as language maintenance, language revival, or more efficient language loss, depending on

the sociolinguistic situation in which it is developed. It will be seen to represent in some cases support for local impetus towards Indianization of education, in other to remain an undigested and uninfluential modification of curriculum. Some common principles will emerge and some practices will be seen to have wide currency by bilingual education will appear as multifaceted a concept for American Indians as for other cases.

A brief historical sketch will set the background. John Collier, Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, reversed earlier forced assimilation programs, and made a number of basic changes in education policies. Among these were the establishment of day schools, the recruitment of Indian teachers, and the start of some bilingual programs.

Collier's declaration that an Indian has as much right as anyone to his native language, was, according to Beatty (1944)

> greeted with scorn. Older teachers in the Service predicted that the already difficult problem of teaching English to their charges would be made more difficult.

The wording of the 1941 Manual for the Indian School Service in which Collier's new policy was finally detailed is of interest:

> "Use of English and Native Language. It is self-evident that the first step in any program of instruc-

tion must be to develop in the children the ability to speak, understand, and think in the English language. Every effort shall be made to provide activities and other forms of encouragement for children to use English in their daily association in the classroom and on the playgrounds. As language expression is essential to the development of thought, the use of native languages by Indian children may not be forbidden or discouraged.

Experimental teaching in the native languages of several of the larger Indian tribes is contemplated in the near future and textbooks and other material in the native language are being prepared to aid in this work.

The Indian Office desires to staff such experimental schools with teachers who are interested in the project, and if possible, who speak the native language. Requests for transfers to such stations would be appreciated."

First emphasis is on English, which is to be taught thoroughly and "encouraged" in classroom and playground. At the same time, the native language is to be neither "forbidden" nor "discouraged." There is to be "experimental" teaching of the native language, and material preparation is to be started. Finally, the

shortage of teachers is referred to. Clearly, a somwhat luke-warm and hesitant commitment to bilingual education, but a start.

The effect of such a program among the Navajo has been described by Young (1972). In 1936, John P. Harrington of the Bureau of American Ethnology was asked by Willard Beatty, Director of Indian Education under Collier, to develop a practical alphabet and produce primer material. Harrington worked on this with Robert Young and William Morgan: an orthography was developed, and several primers were written but never published. In 1940, Young and Edward Kennard were employed by the BIA to develop reading materials in Navajo and to teach literacy. A pre-primer, primer, and reader were translated into Navajo and published in 1940, followed by another reader. In 1941, William Morgan joined the literacy team, and Kennard moved on to work in Sioux and Hopi. In 1941, Young and Morgan produced a book called "The World and its People" in Navajo and English; in 1940-43 a four volume series of bilingual readers by Ann Nolan Clark was published; in 1942, a new set of bilingual reading materials based on Navajo stories was prepared by Hildegard Thompson and published; in 1943 Young and Morgan published The Navajo Language (still the basic grammar and dictionary) and an account of the events leading up to World War II, and started publishing a monthly Navajo newspaper. Materials written for adults and for the accelerated post-war program continued to be produced until

1957 when with a new stress on the teaching of English, the BIA removed support from the use of written Navajo and discontinued the newspaper.

The programs that are described in this paper often owe something to the earlier BIA programs but are generally the result of two new initiatives, the developing movement for local control, and the availability of Federal funds, especially through the Bilingual Education Act. Other important Federal funds that will be mentioned in the course of this account are Title I and Title IV. A word of background and explanation of each will perhaps be useful.

The three main sources of Federal Funds for Native American Bilingual Education are often referred to as Title I, Title VII, and Title IV. Title I is the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, officially known as Public Law 89-10. Its basic aim was to provide aid to local educational authorities for the education of low income children, supporting programs "which contribute particularly to meeting the special educational needs of educationally deprived children." A 1966 amendment expanded the law to apply to a number of specific groups including American Indian children. Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, passed in 1968 as Public Law 90-247, is the Bilingual Education Act. It was designed "to meet the special educational needs of children who have limited English-speaking ability, who come from

low-income families." Primary emphasis is on the acquisition of English: it is also recognized "that the use of the child's mother tongue in school can have a beneficial effect upon their education." Title IV of the Education Amendments of 1972, Public Law 92-318, is the Indian Education Act. It provides grants to local educational agencies, federal schools, Indian tribes and organizations, and institutions of higher learning, for programs designed to meet the special needs of Indian children. It requires that any program be developed in open consultation with the parents of Indian children.

Other bilingual activities are supported with funds under the Johnson O'Malley Act of 1934, which provided for Federal reimbursement to states for the education of Indian children. In one or two cases referred to in the descriptions that follow, there is specific earmarking of State educational funds for bilingual programs; at the moment, however, it is the general rule that the programs are dependant on additional externally-provided support.

Current Bilingual Programs

In the section that follows, an attempt will be made to describe in general terms each of the existing American Indian bilingual education programs. Some words of caution, of the type more usually relegated to footnotes, are in place. The descriptions are based on sources of varied detail and accuracy.

A good deal has been obtained by reading continuation proposals for Title VII grants. These, unfortunately, follow fairly rigid guidelines according to the criteria developed by the Office of Education, and tend to be written in what might be called "proposalese." There are seldom data on language maintenance or the sociolinguistic situation, although there is usually statistics of poverty. There are usually large and complex charts and lists dealing with such matters as "process" and "product" evaluation, and pages detailing who will report what, when, and to whom. Much of the description has been gleaned, or interpreted from these proposals, and while the description has in most cases been checked by local program staff, there may still be inaccuracies. A good deal of other information, more difficult to document, has beenobtained from educators with experience in the programs. Again, inaccuracies of fact or interpretation are possible.

Every effort has been made to describe the state of the programs and of their plans in the Spring of 1974. But the very newness of the activities, and the speed with which they are developing will mean that many changes will have taken place by the time this chapter is published.

In particular program descriptions, I have chosen to concentrate on those features that seem distinctive. The list is exhaustive insofar as Title VII programs are concerned; it

also includes every other bilingual program that I have been able to find in progress in the Spring of 1974. It does not necessarily include a number of Title IV supported Indian cultural programs, nor a number of places where some bilingual activity has started or is planned for the coming year. The descriptions are arranged alphabetically according to language name, except that all Alaskan programs are treated together as is a Wisconsin five-language program.

Alaska[2]

Bilingual education has become rapidly established in the many Native American languages in Alaska. Given that there are a score of different languages at all stages of maintenance or loss, three education systems, and half a dozen different kinds of funding source, it is not surprising to find that the term "bilingual education" covers a multitude of aims and policies.

Aleut is still spoken by about 700 of the 2000 Aleutians living in villages or native towns. In one village, Atka, where there are children who still speak the language a bilingual program with two language aides and eighteen students begun in 1973. Support is from the State General Fund, which for the last two years has included money for bilingual education.

Some of the strongest programs are those with the Eskimo languages, backed up by the work of the Eskimo Language Workshop at the University of Alaska. There are close to 15,000

speakers of all ages of Central Yupik, which is still widely spoken by children. Four bilingual programs started in 1970 with Title I support; Title VII programs started in 1970 and 1971 at four locations, and in 1973 at another, and there are now a total of 24 schools with programs supported by Title I, IV, or VII, Johnson-O'Malley or State Funds. The programs effect about 900 children, mainly in the first three grades but in many cases up to eighth grade, and employ about 45 bilingual aides. At four schools, Clarks Point, Ekuk, Levelock and Newhalen, there are complete oral programs in Central Yupik. The Eskimo Language Workshop is engaged in material and curriculum development and in teacher and paraprofessional training. There are five classes in Central Yupik at Kuskokwim Community College and Yupik is to be required for the AA degree. There are also classes at Bethel High School

To provide closer leadership and coordination for the programs, it is planned soon to move the Eskimo Language Workshop from the University of Alaska at Fairbanks to Kuskokwim Community College at Bethel. With this move, the importance of the Yupik program as the vanguard of bilingual education in Alaska will be confirmed. As Central Yupik accounts for the close to half of the speakers of Native American languages in the state, and two-thirds of the children still speaking their language, its successful maintenance will establish a model for the others.

Inupiaq, a second Eskimo language, has close to 6000 speakers; in some parts, children still speak the language, but in others they come to school speaking English only. There are fourteen programs in Alaska State-operated schools (ASOSS) supported from the general fund, and one in the Barrow BIA school supported by Title IV funds administered by the Alaska Native Education Board. Twenty-eight language aides work in these programs; in some cases they run their own classes, in others work as part of a team, in still others work with children taken out of the class. Teacher training started last summer.

Pacific Gulf Yupik Eskimo (also known as Sugcestun Aleut) is spoken by about a third of the 3000 estimated native population; generally, most of the speakers are over 30 years old, but there are children speaking the language at English Bay and teenagers at Port Graham. At each of these locations, in schools part of the Kenai Peninsula Borough system, there are Title IV bilingual programs. At the other schools, under ASOSS control, there is Johnson-O'Malley support for bilingual work.

Most of the 1000 Eskimos in St. Lawrence Island still speak their language, Siberian Yupik. A bilingual education program began in 1972 in the two BIA schools with Title IV support. The first grade at one school and the first and second at the second are taught in Yupik, except for one hour

a day of oral English. Next year, kindergarten and second grade will be taught in Yupik. Materials are being prepared in Siberian Yupik, with English translations being made available to the English teachers. A particularly interesting point is the potential comparison with the situation on the mainland of Siberia, where the same languageis spoken. Materials in the language started to be printed in 1932 in the Soviet sector, and there has been a bilingual program since then (Krauss 1974). The Soviet books use the cyrillic alphabet, and show signs in their various editions of developing modernization and Russification of Eskimo life.

A Haida culture course is taught at the high school and elementary school in Hydaburg, with Johnson-O'Malley funds. Only one hundred of the five hundred Haida speak their language, and most are over the age of 50. But there has been strong interest in language revival. The Ketchikan Haida Language Society has held two workshops, completed a noun dictionary, and has regular classes. But there is no school support for the language programs in Ketchikan.

Tlingit is also a revival program with few of the 2000 speakers under the age of 30 (there is a total population of about 9000). At Hoonah, the language has been taught for three years; at Angoon and Yakutat programs are in their first year; there are no other language programs. At some schools, aides and untrained native speakers are teaching

culture and some language: a touring bilingual specialist is working through the Alaska Native Brotherhood, school boards, and other agencies trying to encourage language revival work. The elementary school Tlingit program involves teaching words and phrases and some reading. There is a shortage of materials.

The situation with the eleven Athabaskan languages varies considerably from case to case, but some progress has been made with each. Orthography has been established, literacy worshops started, word lists and dictionaires are in preparation, and a core of native speakers is being trained for linguistic work and as a potential staff for bilingual programs. In Ahtena (500 population, 200 speakers generally over 30 years of age), a score or more people attend evening classes, and there are plans to start language revival programs in two schools in the fall. With Tanaina (1000, 300 mainly over 30), there is a program at Nondalton, but not elsewhere. There is a Title I and State supported program in Upper Kuskokwim, where all of the 100 people still speak the language. The program is supported by an SIL linguist. There are seven schools with Koyukon programs (2000, 700, over 30), all with the language taught as a second language. In Minto and Nenana (350, 100 speakers over 30), there is a Title I program at Minto. In the Tanacross language (175, 135 speakers including some children), there are Title I bilingual programs at Tanacross and Dot Lake.

In Upper Tanana (300, 300, all ages) the BIA school at Tetlin has one language aide and the ASOSS school at Northway has two. In the case of Kutchin (1000, 700, many children speaking the language), there is a Title I program at the BIA school and Title I and State supported programs in three ASOSS schools. A number of books have been prepared, and seventeen stories transcribed by Sapir are to be published. The language has been taught at the University of Alaska. A program is planned for Han (65, 30, over 50 years of age), and literacy work (but no school program is starting with Ingalik (300, 100, over 30) and Ifolikachuk (170, 20, over 30).

Support for these programs comes from a number of sources. The Alaska State-operated School System has State General funds and has its own bilingual staff; the BIA uses various funds; the Alaska Native Education Board administers a Title IV (Indian Education Act) grant; the Alaska Native Language Center at the University of Alaska, set up by legislative action in 1972, provides basic linguistic support, material development, and teacher training for many different languages; the Eskimo Language Workshop provides similar backing for the Yupik programs; linguists from the Wycliffe Bible Translators are working with Siberian Yupik, Inupiaq, Kutchin, Upper Tanana, Upper Kuskokwim, and Koyukon and assist locally with the bilingual programs; the Alaska Native Language Program at the University of Alaska offer majors in Yupik and Inupiaq, a minor in Alaska Native Languages, and courses in the various

languages; and Sheldon Jackson Community College offers aide training and plans a post-AA teacher training program. The strength of this general statewide commitment to the native languages is demonstrated by the 1972 legislation establishing bilingual programs in any state-operated school with at least 15 pupils whose primary language is other than English, appropriating $200,000 for this, and a further $200,000 to establish the Alaska Native Language Center.

Cherokee[3]

While the Cherokee had developed a high standard of literacy in their native language during the nineteenth century, the dissolution of the Cherokee Nation in 1907 was followed by a rapid decline in the language. By the 1960's, only the older people could read and write the syllabary that Sequoyah had developed, and only a third of the 30,000 Cherokee living in Oklahoma and the 3,000 in North Carolina were believed to be able to speak their language fluently (John K. White, 1962). Very little is written in Cherokee now: tribal council minutes for instance are kept in English, and there is only one Cherokee typewriter in Oklahoma. Studies by Wahrhaftig (1970) and Pulte (,) have shown that a good number of children still speak the language, although Pulte finds reason to believe that in some areas the language will soon be lost. In any case, all research supports the need for some bilingual education.

Believing that one of the major causes of language decline was the lack of reading materials in Cherokee, a revival program started in 1961 with a newsletter and some reprinting. An ACLS grant in 1962 made it possible to have the Cherokee syllabary set in type again, and some literacy classes were set up (White, 1962). The impetus was picked up by the Carnegie Corporation Cross-Cultural Education Project of the University of Chicago, which included among its various activities the development of a Cherokee primer, radio programs, the newsletter, and courses in Cherokee in various public schools (Walker, 1965).

A Cherokee Bilingual Family School Project was established with USOE support in Adair County, Oklahoma, in March 1968 with aims of providing bilingual preschool experiences for the children and of involving parents in the school. The program included instruction in Cherokee for the parents.

In 1969, Northeastern State College at Tahlequah, Oklahoma, established the Cherokee Bilingual Education Center, which works with Cherokee bilingual programs at four schools within close range. The programs are supported by Title VII, and involve the use of bilingual aides who "not only do the kinds of things that aides normally do, but...also serve as interpreters between the children and the teachers."

The aides now teach in Cherokee using Cherokee materials. There is a teacher training program, hampered reportedly by the College's unwillingness to give credit for knowledge of Cherokee. There is strong emphasis on the teaching of English as a second language. In 1972, permission was received from the Oklahoma State Department of Education to do some teaching in Cherokee; although Oklahoma law requires that all instruction must be in English (R. Fount Holland, 1972).

Cheyenne (4)

The Northern Cheyenne Bilingual Education Program is a joint project of the Lame Deer Public School and St. Labre's Mission School for Indians. About 200 of the 800 children in the schools are reported to be dominant in Cheyenne, and another 150 are said to understand it. The program was developed originally as part of a combined Crow-Cheyenne bilingual Follow-Through program. There were fears that bilingual education might disrupt the procedures of the Follow Through model: a separate Cheyenne program was therefore set up. In its first year of operation in 1972-3, some basic surveys were carried out. A questionnaire given to teachers and aides in the schools revealed initial doubts about bilingual education: most knew little about its goals, and more than half were indifferent to the

program. Most of the first year seems to have been spent overcoming these fears and doubts, and a great deal of emphasis went into explaining the program's merits to the teachers and parents. A policy advisory board, consisting of respected bilingual members of the local community, is given "weight and authority", with the director of the Project, in preparing policy recommendations for the local school board. The bilingual program is being integrated into the Follow-Through classroom as one of the activities children may choose. The Tribal Council has shown a keen interest in the program: they receive regular reports at each of their meetings, and have provided some financial support. A bilingual day camp is planned for the coming summer in order to give the children more experience speaking Cheyenne. In a recent handout, the program reports its results as follows:

> Most dramatically, a reversal in the Cheyenne attitudes toward the Cheyenne language: three years ago, young children absolutely denied being able to speak Cheyenne; today, Indian and white children alike are being given daily culture and language lessons, and enjoying them. The Cheyenne language now has a solidly based, useful writing system capable of displaying its true nature and keeping up with its complex variations--and the best in language

research is yet to come. Sporadic language classes are being given for non-Indians to learn Cheyenne, and plans are being made for literacy classes to teach Cheyenne speakers how to use the new system. And perhaps best of all, the Elders of the Tribe are again becoming useful and respected participants in the education of their grandchildren--through participation in the Culture Advisory Board, classroom visits, and night-time story-telling sessions.

Choctaw(5)

The Choctaw Bilingual Education Program began in 1970 with Title VII support, and operates in four elementary schools in McCurtain County, Oklahoma, with its headquarters at Southeastern State College. An orthography has been developed and materials are being written in the language. The program has three main purposes: the encouragement of the self-concept of the Choctaw children, the teaching of English as a second language, and the encouragement of recognition of individual differences. Bilingual aides are used in the classroom. In addition, some sixteen local Choctaws in teacher training programs at Southeastern work with the program as coordinators: their training includes work with Choctaw language and culture. The program thus aims to develop bilingual teachers whose role in the maintenance of the Choctaw language and culture is clearly recognized.

Cree[6]

The Cree Bilingual Education Project is part of the activities of the Rocky Boy School. The school is Indian-controlled, the district having become independent after some years of effort. From the beginning, there was a bilingual program, and in 1973-4, literacy in Cree was reported up to the third grade. There is evidence of considerable community interest in the program: a bilingual parents' advisory council meets every two weeks, observes classes, and plays an active role in direction. While none of the certified teachers are Cree, all have undergone extensive training in Cree language, culture, and values, attending weekly classes in Cree language and culture. In grades 1-3, classes are divided into three kinds of groups: two groups of Cree speakers, two of Cree "listeners", and four of children monolingual in English. In the second and third grades, children who are dominant in Cree are in a separate group, receiving more of their instruction in Cree. The project is developing its own materials, and is recording the stories and legends of the Chippewa Cree tribe in English and Cree. Classes receive instruction in Cree culture half an hour a day. There is already one Cree certified teacher working with the program, and five more graduating in the near future. In a few years it is expected that it will be possible to staff the school with

Crees. Teacher training is carried out by Northern Montana College.

Crow[7]

The Crow Bilingual Education Program has been operating since 1971 in one of the larger public schools on the Reservation. A study conducted by Dracon (1969) [John Dracon, "The extent of bilingualism among the Crow and the Northern Cheyenne Indian School Populations, Grades are Through Twelve, A Study," ERIC ED044205] established that 82% of the 1102 Crow students examined spoke Crow as a "primary" language, 8% as a "secondary" language and 10% were monolingual in English. This strong language maintenance appears related to a number of factors: the size of the reservation and its comparatively sound agricultural economy, the fact that it is on ancestral land, andthe strength of native traditional elements in religion. While the language is strong, literacy in it is virtually restricted to the school's bilingual staff. The orthography has been fairly well established for two years, but some details are still in dispute.

Language maintenance is generally considered to be a task of the home rather than the school: only parents one of whom does not speak Crow seem to believe that school should teach the language. The bilingual program then

can focus not on language revival or maintenance, but on attempting to overcome educational disadvantages of Crow children. It follows the principle of education in the vernacular: an initial reading program in Crow, and a program for oral language development. An extensive and intensive evaluation project has shown consisten improvement on various achievement methods by children in the bilingual programs when they are compared to other Crow-speaking children: the 1972-3 results showing effects beyond the first year are summarized:

> Achievement tests given at Crow Agency school last year indicated a much higher level of performance than had ever been obtained for the grade levels in which the bilingual program had been implemented. Most scores were at or above the national grade equivalent for the first time in the school's history. While differences could still be observed on some sub-tests between bilinguals and monolinguals, they were being reduced by second grade.

However, these encouraging results have not been repeated on some of the formal standard tests now being used, raising questions about the exact nature of the improvement. While there are very few bilingual Crow teachers at present, a number are in training and twenty are expected to receive teacher's certificates in the next two years. The develop-

ment of a unified program is hampered by the fact that several school districts are involved. The program at the moment is dependent almost entirely on Federal support, and would be unlikely to survive its loss.

Keresan[8]

The Acomita Day School Title VII Bilingual/Bicultural Program started in 1972. The children in the program come to school having heard Acoma Keresan spoken at home, but already speaking English. The project and the Tribal Council have moved towards agreement on an orthography: a dictionary with 2500 entires and a first primer have so far been prepared, large numbers of visual aids are in preparation, thirty folk stories and twenty songs have been underway. Local Acoma people work as paraprofessionals in the schools, and some are enrolled in on-site teacher education programs conducted by the University of New Mexico: four of the aides in the program have just completed AA degrees. The program appears to have good community support.

Lakota (Sioux)[9]

The Lakota Bilingual Education Project has been operating at Loneman Day School, Oglala, South Dakota, since 1971, but its work has been hampered by the political tensions in the community and with the BIA. The corporation

to whom the original grant was made was removed, and a new administration established. The non-bilingual teachers have been learning Lakota, and are assisted in their teaching by bilingual assistants. There has been emphasis on community participation: initially, there were objections to bilingual education which have been overcome. In spite of these difficulties, the program continues. Teachers are being trained, and there are prospects of having Lakota certified teachers in the next few years. About 15% of the children are reported to be dominant in Lakota and another 35% can understand it: half are monolingual in English.

Miccosukee (10)

The Miccosukee Bilingual Education Project was begun at the Miccosukee Day School, Ochopee, Florida in 1972 with Title VII funds. The school is operated by the Tribe under BIA contract, the Miccosukee tribe is small (about 400 members) but isolated and influential. Almost all of the children come to school speaking Miccosukee. As part of the program, elders of the tribe come to school to pass on traditional knowledge. The project has obtained authorization to claim copyright over material in the language, for the Tribe considers its language a treasure that may

not be stolen. An orthography is being developed. The aides teach Miccosukee language and culture and help the children with other subjects.

Navajo[11]

Navajo bilingual programs, virtually extinct after 1957, were revived in the mid-60's as part of the general resurgence of ethnic awareness and specifically in association with the growth of Navajo control over education. There are in fact two distinct trends that coalesce in the present activities. The first, educationally motivated, may be characterized as the attempt of local educators (BIA in particular) to improve instruction by a policy of teaching in the vernacular. To these people, bilingual education is seen as one method of overcoming the obvious disadvantage under which Navajo children work in a completely English environment. The policy has been translated into action, with the support of Federal funds separate from the BIA regular educational budget, to develop a bilingual kindergarten and first-grade curriculu, to provide support for development of Navajo reading materials, to encourage the use of Navajo aides, and to start a program for training Navajo teachers. The second trend is more political or economic in its motivation: it is the establishment or encouragement of bilingual programs as part of a movement

for tribal or community control of Navajo education. It is manifested in the bilingual programs developed by the four community-controlled schools (Rough Rock Demonstration School, Rock Point Community School, Ramah Navajo High School, Borrego Pass School), the dissemination activities of D.B.A., the Navajo Education Association, and the myriad of activities including a major teacher training program undertaken by the Tribal Division of Education in the last twelve months.

The Rough Rock Demonstration School Bilingual/Bicultural Project is now in its fourth year of Title VII funding, although the program began in 1966. As a recent position paper suggests (Division of Education, The Navajo Tribe, 1974) "one of the most significant aspects of the first community controlled school on the Navajo Reservation was its exploration and initiation of a bilingual/bicultural program for its student body." The program is guided by a Navajo Language Committee, and its philosophy stresses the use of Navajo in instruction from an early age, with subsequent teaching of English as a second language. As one might expect, the project has been a pioneer in developing curriculum and materials. Teacher training is carried on at the school through the University of New Mexico.

The Rock Point Bilingual Education Project is in its third year of operation at the Rock Point Community School. The basic approach, developed before extra funding was

available, is described as "coordinate bilingual instruction," with the students learning to speak in Navajo to the Navajo Language Teacher and in English to the English Language Teacher. These two teachers form a team. Instruction in Navajo is given in the primary grades in language arts, social studies, and mathematics, and there are Navajo social studies and science classes in the third through sixth grades. Most of the Navajo Language Teachers are working towards university degrees and teacher certification. Classroom material and workbooks have been produced, and the University of New Mexico is preparing a number of books written by Rock Point staff for publication. The school is under complete local control; the bilingual project is not autonomous, but is "an integral part of a community-controlled school attempting to evolve a quality Navajo education program."

The Ramah Navajo High School Bilingual Education Program is in its third year. The school came under community control in 1970, and the Title VII project set out in 1972 to raise the competences of its seventh grade pupils in both Navajo and English. In the second year, the bilingual program added the eighth grade, and the next year ninth grade was included. Emphasis has been split between an oral approach and Navajo literacy. During the first year, all non-Navajo speakers on the school staff

were required to study elementary Navajo, offered for University of New Mexico credit. As the second Navajo community controlled school, and the first high school under complete Navajo control, the program had special problems: all its students have spent six years in English-only programs, and there are few materials available for high school age pupils. The school is offering a course in Navajo law and another in Ramah Area Studies.

At Borrego Pass Community School, which has been an independent community controlled school since 1972, the combined first and second grade is taught mainly in Navajo with some teaching of English by English speakers. In the third grade, the mai- language of instruction is English, with a Navajo specialist for reading and writing. New curriculum is being developed, teacher training for aides is under way, and a special education program has been established.

The BIA-supported bilingual education programs are at Sanostee Boarding School, Toadlena Boarding School, Cotton wood Day School, Greasewood Boarding School, and Pinon Boarding School. At these schools, there are kindergartens, first and second grades with Navajo-speaking teachers following a bilingual-bicultural curriculum. The curriculum was written by Muriel Saville in 1970; it is at present

being revised. The efforts of the program are hampered by a shortage of certified teachers (many of the bilingual classes are under the control of uncertified instructors), the shortage of materials, and the absence of supervisors experienced in bilingual education or able to understand what is happening in the classroom. To remedy these situations, the BIA Area Office established a Title VII teacher training program at Sanostee and Toadlena and has found funds to support material development activities at the University of New Mexico.

A few of the many public school districts with Navajo children have so far started bilingual programs.

The Gallup-McKinley County Schools Title VII Bilingual Project started in 1972. It involves 12 classes (K-2) at four schools, reaching about 300 Navajo children. Materials are being developed, and Navajo aides are being trained by the University of New Mexico.

San Juan School District, Monticello, Utah, began its Navajo Bilingual Education Project in 1969 with Title VII support, and aims to integrate a new proposal with other funds to develop a curriculum for Indian students. One of the principal activities of the project has been to develop a series of film strips and animated films in Navajo. The project's initial aim of raising the academic

standards of Navajo children appear not to have been met in the first few years: while the evaluation results are confused, there is no evidence that experimental bilingual classes did better than controls. Navajo parents responded positively to questions about their attitude to the program, but expressed the desire to have more influence in school policy.

Tuba City Public Schools have a Navajo Cultural Center, funded through Title IV, that provides resources and support for Navajo studies at all grade levels. Using Title I funds, a single pilot class has now had a bilingual program with the same teacher for three years. But there has been concern expressed that the students in this class are not learning enough English; the program is to stop. A new program with more moderate emphasis on Navajo is planned to start at the kindergarten level next year and follow through until second grade.

There has been increasing emphasis on training of bilingual teachers. From the beginning of the use of Title I and other funds to hire Navajo aides, provision was made for career training, and a number of AA degree programs have been operated in BIA and contract schools. In 1971, the BIA obtained Title VII funds to establish the Sanostee-Toadlena Title VII Navajo Bilingual Teacher Training Project. Five trainees were selected by a

committee of local community members at Sanostee Boarding School, and another five by a similar committee at Toadlena. Training is conducted on site at the two schools. For the first two years, instructional support was provided by Antioch College. In summer 1973, the sub-contract was transferred to the University of New Mexico. The ten trainees are following a program towards a B.S. in Elementary Education, and should graduate with degrees and certification in 1975.

The Navajo Teacher Education Development Project was started in 1973 by the Division of Education of the Navajo Tribe with funds under Title IV. There are about one hundred trainees in the program, all Navajos with a minimum of two years of college credit who want to work for a university degree and certification as elementary teachers. The program is conducted on-site, in New Mexico by the University of New Mexico, and in Arizona by the University of Arizona, under contract with the Division. The trainees are generally working as paraprofessionals.

Papago[12]

The Papago Bilingual Education Project started in 1967, with local funds and since 1973 has been funded through Title I. In earlier years, emphasis was on English as a second language. In 1973, it moved to bilingual education,

with an aim of teaching reading and writing in Papago before English. There is evidence of strong language maintenance, and the program has begun at Kerwo BIA Day School, where, because of isolation, very little English is spoken. There is a separate program at a public school, funded by Title IV through D.Q. University. Materials are being prepared in Papago by a native linguist; inservice training for aides has begun; and there is evidence of community support.

Passamaquoddy (13)

The Wabnaki Bilingual Education Program operates in one school in Maine: its aim is to "reinforce Passamaquoddy values...and expand the Passamaquoddy culture." In its third year (1973-4), it involved 71 children, 64 of whom were said not to be English dominant. The evaluation report for the second year reveals average gains, over five months, of 13, 28, and 43 new Passamaquoddy words for the K-1, 2-3, and 4-6 grades respectively. In October testing, children spoken to in Passamaquoddy replied mostly in English: in January, they were starting to use Passamaquoddy words and phrases, and there are reported impressions of more Passamaquoddy used in regular conversations. A great deal of emphasis is placed on material development: there is training of the bilingual aides (some for credit from the University of Maine) and more Indian teachers have been studying

Passamaquoddy. There has so far been little success in involving the community: a bi-monthly community newspaper and a language committee were planned.

Pomo(14)

The Ukiah Indian, Mexican American Bilingual-Bicultural Program established in 1969 includes a component for the Pomo Indian children in the schools covered. None of the teachers are fluent in Pomo, and the goals are cultural rather than linguistic. Attempts to obtain statements of priorities from the Indian parents have met with difficulty: the Indians consulted have given individual opinions, but not been willing to represent others. For the 1973-4 year, it was planned to include more Pomo culture in the curriculum, "including language." It was hoped to find some way for staff to learn "linguistics, second language teaching and learning, and hopefully, Indian languages." There were also plans to train a group of three Pomo parents to develop language and culture materials.

Seminole(15)

The Seminole Bilingual Project, funded through Title VII ESEA, has been operating since 1972 in six elementary schools in Seminole County, Oklahoma. It is reported that the Seminole language is still used by adults speaking to each other,

in church services, and in other community activities. About 90% of the students come from homes where someone speaks Seminole, but most parents speak to their children in English. Teachers claim that the children speak English poorly, and have no more than a passive knowledge of Seminole. A survey of parents has shown that 129 out of 315 involved in the programs in grade K-3 are "bilingual", many of them understanding Seminole but speaking English. The main thrust of the program seems to be to revive the status of the Seminole language and to encourage the children to use it. There is one bilingual certified teacher. Teaching in Seminole is also done by bilingual assistants, who are in a teacher training program conducted by East Central State College. The regular class teachers, themselves not Seminole, are learning the language. The bilingual program involves teaching Seminole for a set period each day to all students Seminole or not: the bilingual assistant can use the language at other times. The Seminole orthography was developed by missionaries in the nineteenth century: various religious texts were printed, but there is little adult literacy now. The project therefore is writing its own materials and has printed so far reading books for each of the first three grades, two phonics books, two language workbooks, a number of readiness workbooks, three coloring books of legends, and a book of "Seminole Haiku."

Curricular objectives have been established for the first three grades: the highlights of the Kindergarten and third grade objectives are listed below to give some idea of the goals:

Kindergarten

1) Seminole greeting.
2) Names of two days of the week in Seminole and English.
3) Counting to ten in Seminole and English?
4) Names of weather conditions in Seminole.
5) Six basic colors in Seminole.
6) Eight animals in Seminole and English?
7) Three Seminole leaders.
8) Seminole words for head, arms, feet.
9) One song in Seminole.
10) Ask "What is your name" in Seminole.
11) Say "This is a _____" in Seminole.
12) Say "I want _____" in Seminole.
13) Recognize Seminole tribal dress.
14) Make two craft objects, or explain a Seminole custom.

Third Grade

1) Addition and subtraction in both Seminole and English.
2) Circles, squares, rectangles in Seminole and English.
3) U. S. coins in Seminole and English.
4) Time in hours and half hours in Seminole and English.

5) Simple sentences.

6) Simple questions.

7) Seminole possessive pronoun prefixes.

8) Story or poem about animal.

9) Parts of body in Seminole.

10) Major solar bodies in Seminole.

11) A Seminole custom.

12) A craft object.

13) A rhythmical activity.

14) Occupations.

In addition, children at all levels will be expected to make a gain on a wide range chievement test and to make "more positive statements about themselves."

It will be seen then that the bulk of the instruction in the school will continue to be in English, with the teaching in Seminole focussed on the improvement in self-image thought to come from recognition by the school of the native culture. The project is controlled by the school and the local State College: project staff are concerned to obtain community support, but are not under the control of the Seminole community. The fact that Seminole parents have come to speak English with their children is a reflection of their understanding of what the school wants: the reversal of policy will take time to be believed and to have effect. But community reaction to the program is reported to be favorable. There is some objection to the

notion of teaching the language to non-Seminoles, and some Seminole leaders do not see why the language is important: some don't speak it themselves and fear that Seminole language and culture may hinder success in the dominant English speaking society. There is hope expressed that the program may help produce jobs nearer home for some of the young people.

Tewa(16)

The San Juan Pueblo Tewa Bilingual Project may be characterized as a language revival program. There has over recent years been a steady decline in knowledge of the language: fewer than half the children in school speak Tewa, and only one child in this year's kindergarten class speaks it. With support from a linguist from the Summer Institute of Linguistics and a native SIL-trained linguist, adult literacy classes have been started. The bilingual project, under the control of the Pueblo and directed by a local Tewa man, operates at the BIA school with Title IV funding and at the local public school with Title I support. In each class, there are Tewa speaking aides, who are themselves all working towards teacher's degrees through the University of New Mexico. At the BIA school, Tewa is taught an hour a day, while in the public school, a Tewa resource room is used for language teaching. The Tribal Council appears satisfied with the positive effect of the program on the children.

Ute Mountain Ute(17)

Project SUN is a multilingual project in five public school districts in the Four Corners area of Southwest Colorado working with Spanish, Ute, and Navajo. Both Ute and Spanish are used at Monaugh Elementary School. The project worked with the Ute tribe in developing an orthography, and sponsored training for a Ute linguist who is now developing booklets, a dictionary, and tapes in the language. The project has as its goal the development of mutual respect among the various ethnic and linguistic groups involved. Half an hour a day is specifically devoted to language development, arts and crafts, and other cultural activities. The project stresses the need for parental decision, arguing that a bilingual program can be of benefit to all kinds of children: to thos monolingual in a language other than English by providing a co-instructor who can help the child; to those monolingual in English by teaching them more than one language; to bilingual children whose native heritage is retained; and to children who speak English but understand one of the other languages by restoring their bilingualism. The program is funded through Title VII, with partial support from school districts: it is assumed that districts will take full responsibility by 1975-6.

Working with Project SUN is a full time Ute linguist, who visits the Ute classroom periodically and works on the development of materials. Filmstrips prepared in Ute Mountain Ute await approval by the Tribal Council.

The Wisconsin Project (18)

The Wisconsin Native American Languages Project was established in 1973 with a Title IV grant to the Great Lakes Center Tribal Council. Of the five languages involved, Winnebago and Potawatomi are the most viable, with a strong tie between religion and language: but neither these two nor the others (Oneida, Chippewa or Manominee) have children speaking them as a first language. The speakers of these languages, all of which are spoken also outside the State, are scattered all over it, and attend public schools with white majorities and under white control (there is a community school at Menominee). No bilingual programs have yet started, but the Project, based at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, is developing materials and carrying out training in preparation for second language instruction program. Four teams of linguists and native speakers are at work.

Zuni (19)

A bilingual education program in Zuni is conducted by the Gallup-McKinley County Public School at Zuni Elementary

A Descriptive Model

Even from these brief sketches, it will be clear that bilingual education for Native Americans is a complex and varied phenomenon. While on some levels the programs look similar, the similarity is often superficial, arising from the terminology and phrases used in order to follow Title VII or other guidelines. The range of variation in situation, programs, and goals may be shown if we look at the programs according to a model proposed for the description and analysis of bilingual programs (Spolsky, Green, and Read).

The model tries to map all relevant factors onto a single integrated structure and to suggest some of the lines of interaction. It is based on a hexagonal figure. Each side of the hexagon represents a set of factors that may have a bearing on, or be affected by, the operation of a bilingual program in a particular situation. The six sets of factors are labelled psychological, sociological, economic, political, religio-cultural and linguistic. Not all of the factors will be equally--or even at all--relevant in an individual case but, since the aim is to make the model as universally applicable as possible, the full range of factors is presented, with no special concern at this stage for their relative significance.

In the center of the figure are located a seventh set of factors, the educational ones. This is not done to assert the primacy of these factors. In fact, a purpose of the model is to show how relatively insignificant educational considerations may be, both in the decision whether or not to establish a bilingual program and in the evaluation of a program's "success" in reaching its goals. However, we are engaged in the study of an educational activity and it is appropriate to recognize this by placing education in the middle as the focus of the figure, while the other factors circumscribe and shape it on all sides.

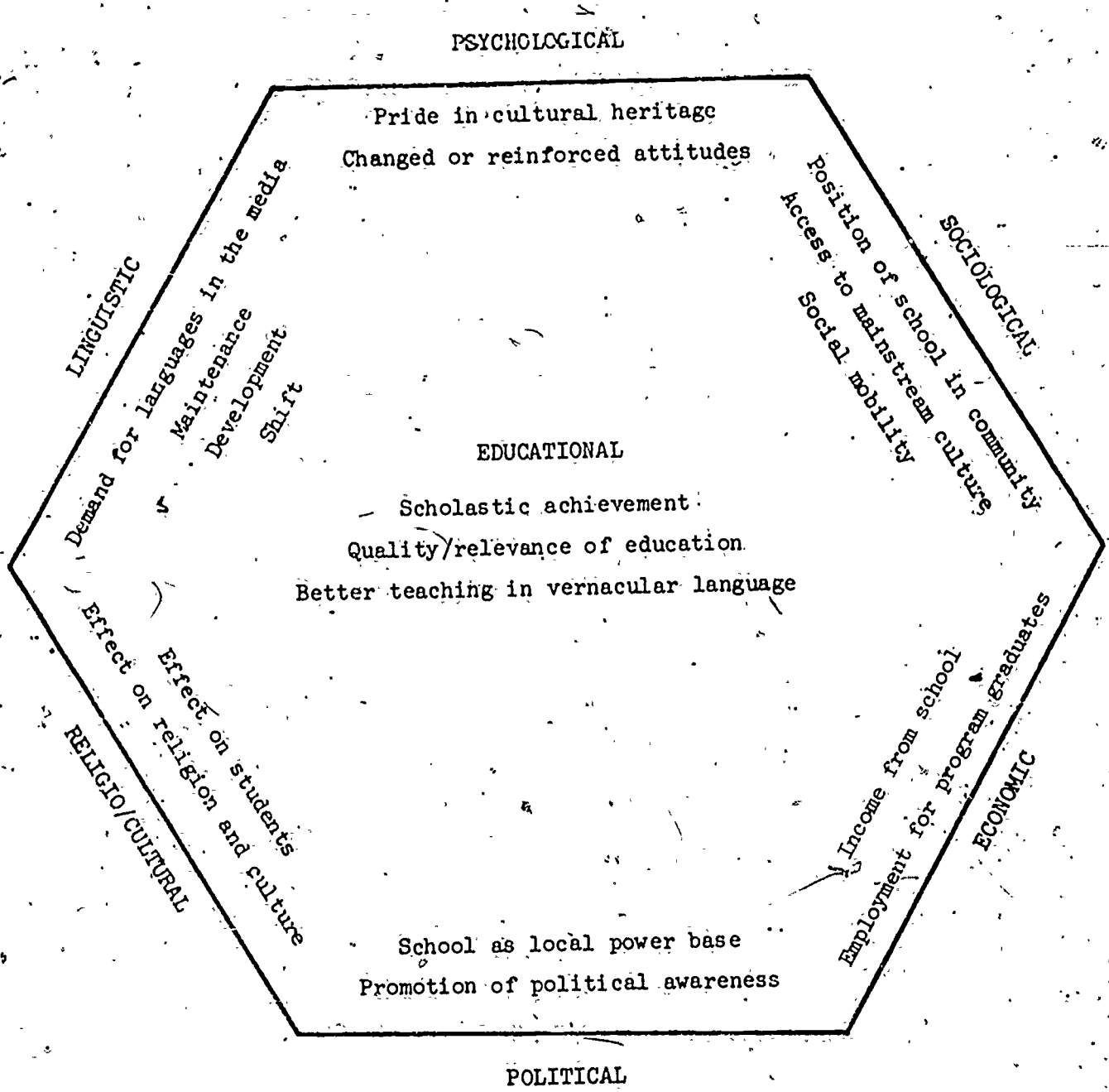


Figure 1c. The Level of Outcomes

The model comprises three of these hexagons. The first hexagon (Figure 1a) represents the total situation of a community before a bilingual program is introduced. Here "community" should be understood to include any relevant socio-educational entity, ranging from a village or neighborhood through a school district, a geographically-focussed ethnic group, a province, a region toa whole nation (Spolsky, 1974). The model is intended to be broad enough to deal with the consideration of bilingual education at all of these levels. It sets out the whole range of factors that should, ideally, be taken into account in deciding on the establishment of a bilingual program.

It is at the situational level that one could make something of a case for a seven-sided figure, so that educational factors would be placed on a par with the others.

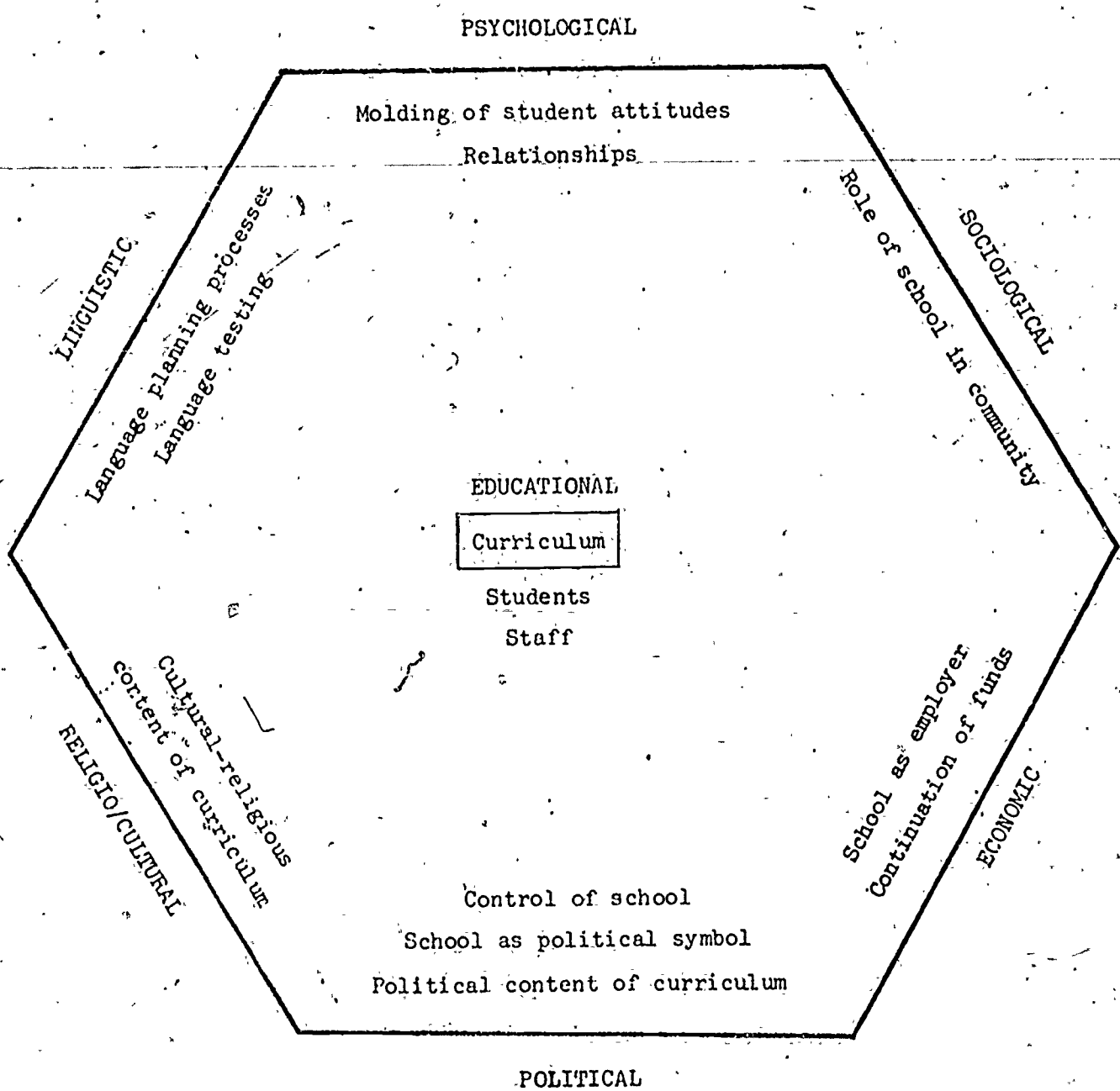


Figure 1b. The Operational Level

This would emphasize that, although an educational decision is being made, educational factors are not necessarily the most important ones, even when the decision is ostensibly made on the basis of them.

The second hexagon (Figure 1b) incorporates those factors that are more or less under the control of the people administering a bilingual program, or which may be directly influenced by the operation of the program. The prime factor here is the central element of the whole model, the sine qua non of bilingual education: the use of the two languages as media of instruction and, in particular, their distribution in the school curriculum. One would like to think that this is a prely educational matter, but even this decision may be subject to the influence of other factors. There may be pressure from outside to restrict the use of one of the languages, because "undue emphasis" on one is interpreted as a denigration of the culture and people to which the other language belongs. Or, one language may have insufficient linguistic development to be used in the teaching of certain subject matter; the necessary range of books written in the language may be lacking.

The fact is that there is a considerable interpenetration of the school and the wider community. Educational activities affect the life and constitution of the community,

while social factors have their influence on the school. Even in stable polities in which a right to academic freedom and independent inquiry is recognized, it may be misleading to assume that any educational decision is made in isolation from non-educational factors. In many countries, the link between education and national ideology is quite explicit.

So it is crucial to know who the decision-makers are and the framework in which they operate. They may be the superintendent of a school district, his specialist advisors and the principals of the schools in the district, who are seeking to improve the educational performance of a large number of their pupils whose mother tongue is not the normal medium of instruction in the schools; or they may be the top educational bureaucrats in a nation, decreeing that bilingual education shall be instituted nation-wide in terms of a directive from their political superiors, who are in turn responding to pressure from ethnic groups demanding recognition of their languages in the education system and elsewhere; or perhaps they are a group representative of the community that a particular school serves--local politicians, ethnic group leaders, parents, educators, ordinary citizens--who desire for the children an education rooted in the values of the local community and one that will allow them to contribute to the maintenance and development of the community in the future.

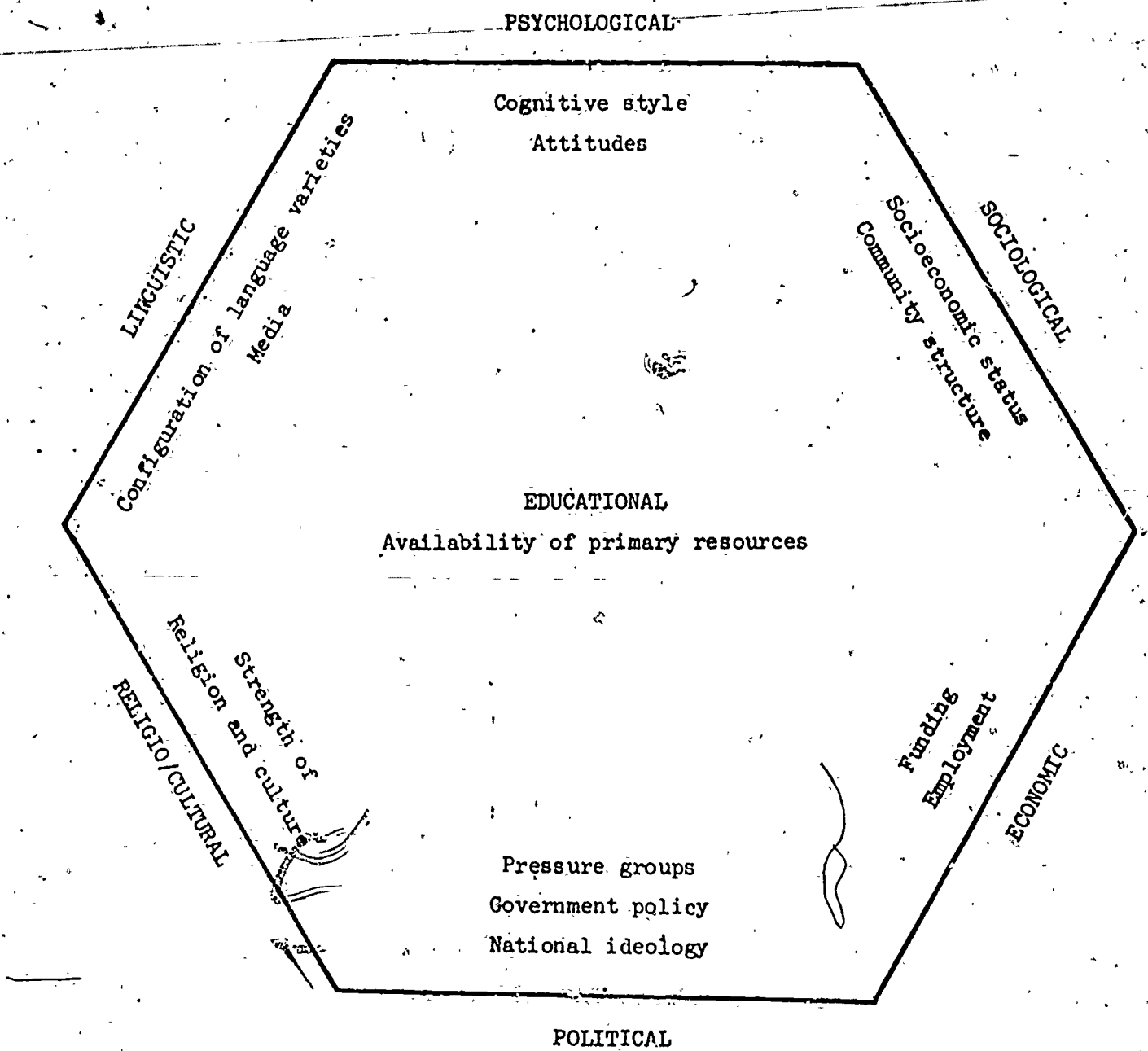


Figure 1a. The Situational Level

These various groups of decision-makers will have different priorities, according to their motivation and their goals. This will affect the nature and level of the interchange between school and community in ways that the second hexagon is intended to indicate.

The first hexagon, then, represents factors that predate and are independent of a bilingual program, whereas the second one deals with factors involved in the interaction of the school with the outside world upon the introduction of bilingual education. The latter includes the sources of the program's basic needs (funds, personnel, materials), the constraints within which the administrators have to work, the program's contribution to the community, and potential reasons for the program's failure.

The third hexagon (Figure 1c) sets out the effects of a bilingual program. The effects may be on the individual participant or on the community at large. Included here are both the explicit goals of those who have planned the program, and unintended outcomes or by-products of it. It is important to make this distinction, because the planners often have too narrow an appreciation of what the program involves. Unforeseen outcomes may go unrecognized or be misinterpreted if they are not related systematically to an outline of the total situation such as the one we present

in our first hexagon. For example, the planners of a program may establish as their primary goal an improvement in the children's educational achievement as measured by standard intelligence tests, but find that no such improvement results from the program. They may interpret this in terms of a lack of educability or genetic deficiency or the ineffectiveness of bilingual education. However, it could well be that they were unaware of strong attitudes against the program among the parents, attitudes that the children translated into a passive resistance to learning. Such a situation is aggravated if there is a linguistic or cultural barrier between the educators and the parents.

The content of the third hexagon takes us well beyond the classroom, both in space and time. It deals with th effects of bilingual education on the wider society, including people who have not participated in the program. In the case of those who have participated, it is concerned with their later worklife and adult experiences generally, just as much as their educational attainment.

To make the distinction between the second and third hexagons clearer: the second contains factors that have a direct bearing on the operation of a program, things that the administrators can manipulate, or that they must take into account, in the day-to-day activities of the staff and

students. The third one takes a broader view of goals and outcomes including those which the administrators may not recognize or over which they have little direct control.

Overall View

Using this model as a guide, then, we can see how different the programs we have described are in detail. Take first the linguistic factors. There are cases like Navajo, Crow, and Central Yupik where the language is strongly maintained, spoken by a large population of all ages, and with developing literacy and modern life. At the other extreme, as with Pomo or Haida, there are few speakers left; most of the children coming to school were brought up by parents who have spoken only English most of their lives. The number of speakers of the languages concerned ranges from close to 140,000 with Navajo to about 30 with Han. Some languages like Cherokee have a strong literacy past: others like Tanaina are still involved in developing their first written materials. Given this situational range, language planning activities vary from the first stages of orthography development, through the range of adult literacy training needed to provide teachers, to the advanced problems of language standardization and modernization exemplified by Navajo (with its planned Navajo Language Institute) and Yupik. Linguistic goals vary accordingly. In those cases

where children no longer speak the language, like Tlingit or Tewa, the only meaningful goal for bilingual educators is language revival: the traditional language is taught as a second language, usually with related cultural training. In cases where children still speak the language, the aim will always be to add English. As mentioned earlier, the basic design of the Bilingual Education Act is to provide for transition from the native language to English. Some programs, like Northern Cheyenne, Choctaw, Ute and Zuni, seem so far to have accepted this transitional goal completely: others, like Navajo, Yupik, Cree, and perhaps Crow and Papago, emphasize native language maintenance, planning already to carry the language program well beyond third grade.

It is not simple to disentangle psychological factors from the general situation in which they occur. All bilingual programs speak of developing pride in cultural heritage enhancing the students' self-concept; those (like Project SUN and the Pomo project) that have multicultural emphasis make a great point of how they will reduce ethnocentrism and increase ethnic and racial understanding.

The attitudes of Indian parents and community leaders to bilingual education make up a complex patchwork of varying influences and beliefs. In very few cases do parents or community have any real control of the school or the

bilingual program. While Title VII guidelines insist on the use of advisory boards and extensive community liaison work, these activities do not necessarily lead to any real change in authority. Thus, the bilingual program, often with a white or assimilated Indian director, is still seen as an externally imposed method of dealing with Indian children. Additional complexity is created by the make-up of the local advisory board. It can easily be the case that the board is made up of people whose qualification for election is knowledge of English and of Anglo ways. One result of such a case will be that the board, whose members would be considered progressives, will fail to reflect the opinions of the traditional members of the community whose support is necessary to an effective bilingual program. There again, these same progressive leaders whose success may well have depended on their own learning of English, are often hard to convince of the value of maintaining the native language. There are parado ically two opposing points of view from which the use of the native language in school may be opposed: from that of the progressives, who feel English is more important, and from the traditionalists, who feel their language is too sacred for school use. A third point of opposition is generally serious: the fear of many parents that bilingual education is a method of preventing their children learning English well enough, a way, in other words, of keeping Indians as second class citizens.

The opposition from the educational establishment, whether administrators or teachers, is likely to be equally strong. First, the proposal to teach in the native language can only be interpreted as rejection (or at least strong criticism) of all the past and present educational programs and practices. It is a fundamental attack on the validity of the education that American has provided for its Indian peoples. That there is good evidence supporting such an attack does not make it any more acceptable to the people who have been responsible for educating Indians. And the impli tions of the bilingual proposal are clearly more radical than others. To establish bilingual education is not just changing the curriculum: it leads to basic changes, not just of philosophy but of teachers and control.

Compare the alternative strategy often proposed f r U.S. minority gtroups, the more effective teaching of English as a second langu e.. The ESL approach is easily assimilated by a school system: a few new materials are bought, a few extra specialists are hired, some extra in-service training is provided. In actual practice, there are comparatively few cases where this approach has been adopted whole-heartedly, and fewer where it has had any success. A well documented study of its difficulties is provided in the case of the ESL program on the Navajo Reservation. An evaluation of English as a Second Language Program in the 1969-70 school

year (Harris 1970) found "dull, mechanical, and unimaginative" classes, "taught in a kind of vacuum" without integration with the rest of the curriculum, by inadequately trained teachers resentful of the materials they used and with low opinions of their students. But ESL is a curricular option.

Bilingual education is a greater threat to the educational establishment, for it requires native speaking teachers and administrators. It aims thus to change not just the curriculum but also the staffing of schools for Indian children. In very few cases are there qualified native speaking teachers available. When the Bureau of Indian Affairs decided to use fully qualified, college-trained teachers for its schools, it automatically blocked all but a few local people from participating in the education of their children. The results are most strikingly evident in the case of Navajo. In 1974, there are close to 3000 teachers in Bureau, Public, Mission, and contract schools on the Reservation; of these no more than 200 are Indians, and probably no more than one hundred are speakers of Navajo. To establish even a minimal transitional program for the first three grades will require that a thousand Navajo speaking teachers be found. One way this might theoretically be accomplished is by the Anglo teachers learning Navajo, but there is very little likelihood of this occurring in more than a handful of cases. The second is of course to

replace a thousand English monolingual teachers by Navajo bilinguals. Nor will it be enough to replace teachers: there will clearly be need for teacher-supervisors and principals able to understand what is happening in a bilingual class.

The threat of bilingual education is thus a direct economic one to the present teachers and administrators. However much they may sympathize with a bilingual education program, and however much they may agree on an intellectual level with its logic and its goals, they cannot remain for long unaware that their own jobs are at stake. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that bilingual programs often face opposition from teachers and administrators.

The most widely adopted compromise has been to set up programs using bilingual aides, who, as one teacher put it, "do what aides usually do and also act as interpreters." Often, very fine relations develop between the classroom teacher and the Indian aide. But it is not unusual for the monolingual college-trained teacher to feel resentful of the more effective rapport the bilingual aide has with the children. As long as the aide can be kept in her (or his) place, it's not too bad. But all Title VII programs involve starting to train the aides as teachers. These programs have not yet reached the stage of producing many certified teachers: they generally terminate at the AA level. But

some programs (the Navajo is most notable here) are now developing strong training components that will soon start to produce certified bilingual teachers. As this happens, it would not be surprising to find even stronger opposition developing from white educators.

The description of the sociological factors can only be sketchy. Common to almost all American Indians is their lower socio-economic situation: the Bilingual Education Act recognized this with its double linguistic and economic criteria. In a great number of communities, there is a strong contrast between the poverty of the indigenous Indian population and the comparative affluence of the white school teachers, with their regular and often high government salaries. Generally, too, in most cases, the maintenance of an Indian language will reflect the absence of what Fishman calls "interaction-based social mobility." Where there has been physical, religio-societal, or social isolation, there is less English; where there has been more or less easy integration, English will be weaker and the Indian language stronger. In the Alaskan cases, it is generally a fact that language maintenance has depended on physical isolation. In the case of Navajo, it has been shown that there is a correlation between the accessibility of a community and the tendency of children to know English

(Spolsky 1970, 1974). The Pueblo languages, Winnebago, and Potawatomi are examples of religious influence on language maintenance.

There is a clear potential conflict in the affirmed sociological goals of most bilingual programs. On the one hand, they aim to teach English and in other ways permit access to the mainstream, or in the terms used by Lews (to appear), the supra-national, technologically based, civic culture. On the other hand, they work towards integrating the assimilating instrument (the school) into the community. One of the permanent effects (and sometimes goals) of the American Indian bilingual programs has been to slowly and slightly reduce the alien nature of the school, but breaking down the linguistic and personal barriers that parallel the actual fences that separate many school compounds from the surrounding Reservation. More of this later.

The economic situation of almost all programs is similar in one revealing factor: in virtually no cases are bilingual programs part of the regularly funded educational system. Almost every program is supported by special Federal funds. In Alaska, there is a special State appropriation for bilingual education: in New Mexico, there is a similar State appropriation, but none of its funds support Indian

programs. Only in the few community schools like Rough Rock and Rock Point is it likely that there would have been a bilingual program without Federal funds. And it remains to be seen how well the programs are carried on when Federal support ceases.

One of the most important economic effects of a bilingual education program is in its potential for immediate benefit to the local community. The size of this benefit varies from the possible thousand well-paying teaching jobs on the Navajo Reservation to the part-time job for an older speaker of a dying language, but its impact on a local poor community cannot be underestimated. Economic motivation alone could lead to strong support from the local community.

The political factors are closely related to the economic ones. The initiating source of American Indian bilingual education in the 1970's is the Federal government, reflecting a growing acceptance of pluralism, or perhaps as a palliative to minority groups. There are so far only a few signs of indigenous linguistic pressure groups, but those that exist range from the Tanaina Language Society with its weekly language revival classes for adults, to the Navajo Education Association (N.E.A.) with its strong thrust towards political action. The political situation then shows more pressure from outside than inside.

But when one comes to the operational effects and the goals or outcomes of the programs, the case is different. The movement for bilingual education has become very closely associated with the movement for local Indian control of education. The local school boards set up through BIA initiative in the late 1960's seldom developed much power: personnel and curriculum decisions were out of their scope. But the advisory boards concerned with Title VII programs often have gained some real authority in hiring program staff and aides; and in making curricular decisions. These boards then come to be the main liaison between the community or the tribal council and the school, and in a number of cases have become the focus of the movement for local control.

The various forces involved can be seen in some of the discussions at the 1972 National Indian Bilingual Conference. A participant from Ramah Navajo High School explained that the school board was given as much power as possible, but that Civil Service still had authority over hiring and firing at the Ramah BIA Dormitory. Similarly, at Acomita it was hoped that the school board would "in a couple of year" obtain similar power; in the meantime, the board has authority from the Governor of the Pueblo:

> The Governor feels he doesn't have time to deal directly with the school, so this is his way of dealing with the school (via the board). The School Board chairman meets with the Tribal Council about once a month or if anything comes up the chairman goes directly to theGovernor...Three (of the school board members) are appointed by the Tribal Council and the Governor and three...are elected by the Parent Teacher Organization (Proceedings).

The school boards at the contract schools like Rough Rock and Borrego Pass have become models for many others who seek power. One of the key questions raised about these boards is whether and how they should be paid. At Acoma, board members are not paid at all; at other schools, they are paid about $25.00 per diem for their meetings.

One of the key effects of more local control is to break down alienation of the school from the surrounding community. As one participant in the conference summed up the position, the local people "identify the school as a white institution,--like the doctor." Another replied, "Well, in our situation, since the School Board has taken over, they really feel it's their school."

The Navajo situation provides the most striking example of this development in action. The move for Indian control developed first around Rough Rock school and its Navajo

program; from here, it moved to the Navajo Education Association whose 1973 Bilingual Education Conference showed the strength of this backing; and is now focussed in the attempts to assert the power of the Navajo Tribal Division of Education. Political factors then are of considerable importance in American Indian Bilingual Education; bilingual programs not only assert the need for Indian control of schools, but provide a way of gaining part of that control.

Language, culture, and religion are often closely tied for American Indian as for other groups. While great numbers of Indians belong to one Christian group or another, many have managed to Indianize their new religion, linguistically, ritually, and sometimes theologically. Religious factors play an important part in language maintenance in such cases as Potawatomi, Keresan, and Crow. And these factors often lead to difficult problems for those trying to use Indian languages and cultural materials in school.

One of the critical problems many American Indian bilingual programs face is the question of ownership of material. Under Federal policy, the Government has the right to reproduce any materials produced with Federal grants. Many Indians feel that the traditional and religious material they might provide for local programs needs to be kept under strict local control. One member of a project staff describes the situation:

> We found that we had to very strictly observe tradition. For example, some of our stories can only be told in the winter time and we had to make very definite agreements with the old people that we would not tell these stories other than in the winter time. We also had to make definite agreement that anything we made that was semi-commercial would not contain anything religious in nature. These things could then be disseminated to other organizations. But we have a collection of things that nobody knows about at our school. There are religious things that we use in the classroom. Our basic problem in the beginning was that they didn't want to give us anything because we didn't have ultimate control over our materials...So often we made the agreement that certain things would never leave the community, under any circumstances, and they saw that we did observe traditions and did use the pipe, then we started to get quite a lot of community participation (Proceedings).

The basic conflict created when a white, alien institution is being used to maintain local indigenous culture is fundamental to many of the difficulties. It explains why there are many communities still where language mainte-

nance is high, but the Indian community opposes a bilingual program. It explains, conversely, the eagerness of communities whose language is dying to have the school preserve it for its religious role.

Finally, we come to the educational questions. The failures of the educational system to provide for American Indian children has been often fully documented (cf e.g. Fuchs and Havighurst 1972). Children have long bus rides or live in dormitories; facilities are inadequate; there are few if any local teachers, and curriculum and materials are prepared for English speaking middle class children. When it came to starting bilingual programs, the general situation for all Indian languages was the same: no material, no curriculum, no bilingual teachers. In every program, therefore, there has needed to be material and curriculum development and the use and training of previously unqualified native speakers. Depending on previous literacy and the resources available, some programs are well along with the printing of material: the Navajo and Yupik cases are outstanding(20). And the programs have brought bilingual aides into the classroom, and are engaged in providing them with some kind of training. The function (and title) of the aide is closely correlated with the key educational factor, the distribution of languages by time and subject.

The range is complete. In three Yupik schools and in a couple on the Navajo Reservation, all teaching is done in the language except for an hour a day for English as a second language. The middle of the range is perhaps represented by the coordinate bilingual program at Rock Point. The extreme in programs where children are monolingual in the Indian language are classes where aides do no more than act as interpreters; in programs where the children do not speak the language, it is a few minutes a day learning Indian words and phrases as part of a cultural program. It is not easy to tell from available documents, but my guess would be that most of the programs described here tend in reality to lean towards the minimal end. In very few are there yet qualified certified bilingual Indian teachers; in a few more, the bilingual aide (or instructor, or paraprofessional) has virtually complete authority in the classroom; in a few more, the English language teacher and the Indian Language Teacher have authority and share the teaching equally. While almost every program includes provision for paraprofessional training, up to the stage of the AA degree, only a few are already engaged in training teachers to the level of the bachelor's degree and certification. All programs assume that bilingual education will result in better instruction and general improvement in the quality of education; the special (and somewhat unhelpful) evaluation design required for Title VII disguises the varying emphasis

on English-related goals or goals related to the native language.

The various programs that have been lumped together in this paper to portray current trends in American Indian Bilingual Education make clear the heterogeneity of the phenomenon. Because it is so varied and so recent, it is difficult to arrive at any clear view of the whole process. If there is a common factor, it is probably in the use of language-related activities and arguments to support a program of "Amerindianization" of the schools. The first and most critical effect will be to make possible the integration of the school into the Indian community, by leading to a continuity of language, people, and even values and culture. All the time that schools for American Indians stay in their compounds, controlled and conducted by what seems not unlike an occupying army of outsiders, the community has no chance to use the school to help it handle the difficult transition to modern technological life. Whatever its other ultimate effects, American Indian bilingual education seems to be a step toward this end.

NOTES

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(2) Data on language maintenance and language names and spelling are taken from the 1973 report of the Alaska Native Language Center written by Michael Krauss, with some corrections made by Krauss in May 1974. For each language, the report gives an estimate of the population living in villages

or predominantly native towns (excluding any living in Anchorage, Fairbanks, and many other non-native communites), an estimate of the number of speakers of the language, and an indication of he language status expressed in terms of the age of the youngest speakers. For details on bilingual programs, I am indebted to a statistical chart prepared in April 1974 at the Alaska Native Language Center. Much of the information in this section was collected at a meeting of the Center's Advisory Board in April 1974. Of particular value was the report prepared by Elaine Ramos, administrative director of the Center.

(3) For this section, information was gathered from papers listed in the References (Holland 1972, Pulte n.d., Wahrhaftig 1970, Walker 1965, White 1962) and from a personal communication from Agnes Cowan.

(4) For this section, information was gathered from the 1973 Title VII Continuation Proposal and from personal communications from Wayne Sypert and Herbert Swallow.

(5) This section is based on a pamphlet issued by the program.

(6) For this section, information was gathered from the 1973 Title VII Continuation Proposal and from personal communications from Robert Murie and Lynn Baker.

(7) For this section, information was gathered from various Title VII report, including the Final Report for 1971-72 and

and the Interim Evaluation Report of March 1973, and from personal communications from Steve Chesarek.

(8) This section is based on the 1974 Title VII Continuation Proposal.

(9) For this section, information was gathered from the 1973 Title VII Continuation Proposal and from a personal communication from Michael Madden.

(10) This section is based on personal communication from Cyrin Maus, Minnie Cypress and Robert Robert.

(11) For this section, information was gathered from the 1973 Title VII Continuation Proposals for Rough Rock, Rock Point, Ramah and San Juan County, and from personal communications from Roby Leighton (Rough Rock), Agnes Holm (Rock Point), Tom Cummings (Ramah) and Marjorie Thomas (Tuba City).

(12) This section is based on a Title VII proposal for 1973-74 and a personal communication from Joe Sturgeon.

(13) For this section, information was gathered from the 1973 Title VII Continuation Proposal and from a personal communication from Robert Leavitt.

(14) This section is based on the 1973 Title VII Continuation Proposal and personal communication from Pamela Mitchell.

(15) For this section, information was gathered from the 1973 Title VII Continuation Proposal, from mimeographed material and a pamphlet on the project, and from personal communications from Ronnie West and Susannah Factor.

(16) This section is based on personal communications from Arthur Ortiz and Harry Berendzen.

(17) This section is based on the 1973 Title VII Continuation Proposal.

(18) This section is based on personal communications from John Beaudoin and John Nichols.

(19) For this section, information was gathered from the 1973 Title VII Continuation Proposal.

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