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RESERVATION PUBLIC-SCHOOL PROGRAMS FOR INDIAN-LANGUAGE

REVITALIZATION: BUILDING ON GRASSROOTS VOICES FROM RURAL

DISTRICTS WITH MIXED INDIAN AND WHITE STUDENT POPULATIONS

by

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presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements

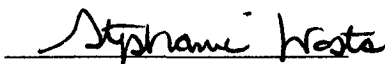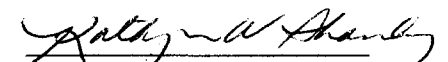for the degree of

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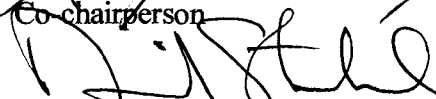
The University of Montana-Missoula

May 2004

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Phyllis Bo-yuen Ngai, Ed.D., May 2004 Curriculum and Instruction

Reservation Public-school Programs for Indian-language Revitalization: Building on Grassroots Voices from Rural Districts with Mixed Indian and White Student Populations

Directors: Stephanie Wasta and Kathryn Shanley

Can mixed rural districts agree to nurture Indian-language education in public schools? Public-school programs can play a valuable complementary role in overall language-revitalization efforts. This dissertation captures and frames grassroots input regarding ways to strengthen the impact of public-school indigenous-language education.

The researcher adapted the constant-comparison method (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), the central feature of the grounded-theory approach, in a two-phase study. Phase one involved identifying key components of Salish-language-education programs that are specific to three selected school districts and components shared by all mixed school districts on the Flathead Indian Reservation in Montana. The researcher developed four sets of program components grounded in local conditions and in the diverse voices conveyed through 101 interviews with 89 participants (Indians and Whites, educators and parents, administrators and stakeholders, politicians and community leaders, and supporters and non-supporters). Phase two involved extracting and abstracting core components that were consistent across the four resulting program descriptions. The integration of consistent components generated a general Indian-language-education program framework that can help public-school educators and policymakers in rural mixed school districts envision workable approaches that are supplementary to on-going indigenous-language-preservation efforts.

Research participants identified interacting constraints and facilitating factors that affect the design and implementation of Indian-language-education programs in mixed districts. They suggested approaches for dealing with existing obstacles and ways to include diverse local perspectives. They also proposed key program elements that accommodate socio-economic, political, cultural, linguistic, and educational conditions faced by reservation public schools with mixed White and Indian populations. Although public schools are not positioned to bear the full responsibility of passing indigenous languages on to the next generation, carefully designed and effectively implemented inclusive language programs serve to validate indigenous cultures and languages, promote the development of bi-cultural identity and heritage-language communicative proficiency among Indian children, and enhance cross-cultural understanding and multicultural competencies among all learners (both Indian and White).

The frameworks that emerged from this study present guidelines for action and call for a new direction. Framing indigenous-language learning as part of place-based multicultural education using a comparative approach will open up possibilities for Indian-language education to move in a direction that is likely to be acceptable to and beneficial for most, if not all, members of local communities in a global age.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to the 89 study participants who so kindly and generously opened their hearts, their arms, and their homes for me. Friendships grew out of many genuine conversations over the past two years. Every time I drive through the stunningly beautiful Mission Valley, I have the urge to stop at familiar houses and offices to visit friends whose stories have become part of my being. Now, when I look at the mountains, I see their faces and hear their voices. I have begun to realize that some of the richest stories of humanity have been holding up this majestic mountain range, and that what nestles in the breathtaking valley is a deep reservoir of sorrow and humor, despair and hope, and vulnerability and perseverance.

Learning from the people of this place has been a most enriching and meaningful experience. I am grateful for the trust and respect that I received from members of the local communities. Although I am unable to acknowledge individuals by name because of confidentiality, I would like to extend my appreciation to the Salish elders, the tribal education leaders, the Indian parent leaders, the public-school administrators, the teachers, and the school-board members for sharing their wisdom, passion, insights, understanding, and support.

Dr. Stephanie Wasta has been a constant source of support since the inception of this project. She was not only the co-director of my dissertation, but my advisor and my mentor throughout my graduate study in the School of Education at The University of Montana. Without the endorsement and encouragement of Dr. Kathryn Shanley, the other co-director of my dissertation, I would not have had the courage and confidence to engage in a study of American Indian-language education. I also would like to thank Dr. David Erickson, Dr. Roberta Evans, and Dr. Conrad Wes Snyder for their advice and helpful suggestions.

I am honored to have been granted an American Dissertation Fellowship by the Association of American University Women. The AAUW award allowed me to complete the dissertation on a full-time basis during academic year 2003-2004.

Over the past two years, this project took precious time that I could have spent with my family. I am thankful for their sacrifice, patience, and love.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

According to Krauss (1992), 3000 of the world's 6000 languages are likely to become extinct by the end of the Twenty-first Century. If we add to this already daunting figure the number of endangered languages that will "cease to be learned by children" (p. 6) during this century, 90% of humankind's languages, including many native North American languages, are on the road to extinction (Krauss, 1992). Will the remaining indigenous languages survive? What can be done to help increase the learning of dying languages?

The Plight of Indigenous Languages in the United States

Linguists postulate that many indigenous languages that once existed in North America have died out and the remaining ones are disappearing rapidly. On the basis of the available literature, data from questionnaires, and information provided by linguists and educators in the field, Krauss (1998) estimates that 175 of the approximately 300 native North American languages are still spoken in the United States. Krauss divides the remaining languages into four classes: A, B, C, and D. Class-A languages are those that still are spoken by all generations, including young children. Class B are those that are spoken only by the parental generation and older. Class C are those that are spoken only by the grandparental generation and older. Class D are those that are spoken only by the very oldest (over 70). This age group usually amounts to fewer than ten persons in a speech community. Languages that fall into class D are those that are nearly extinct (Krauss, 1998). Among the 175 surviving native American languages, 20 (11%) belong to Class A, 30 (17%) to Class B, 70 (40%) to Class C, and 55 (31%) to Class D (Krauss, 1998). Thus, according to Krauss' (1998) analysis, 88% of the remaining native languages are dying.

The most seriously endangered languages are those spoken by only a few isolated elderly speakers (Fishman, 1991). The languages of many Indian tribes, such as the Salish and Kootenai in Montana, Gros Ventre in Montana, Arikara in North Dakota, and Pawnee in Oklahoma, and almost all of the remaining 50 Indian languages of California are found in this severely endangered stage (Estes, 1991; Reyhner, 1999).

Significance of the Problem

If the learning of indigenous languages continues to diminish, the extraordinary linguistic and cultural diversity that characterizes the planet will disappear within a generation or two (Hale, 1992; McCarty & Zepeda, 1998; Yamamoto, 1995; and Zepeda & Hill, 1992). The death of a language brings about the irretrievable loss of diverse and interesting intellectual wealth. The human competencies and capacities embedded in a language might not be vital today, but they contribute to the available knowledge pool that can be drawn upon to solve unpredictable problems in the future. Aesthetic reasons are no less important than pragmatic ones for maintaining heritage languages. The garden metaphor (see Baker, 1996) helps us to envision the beauty of a colorful world with diverse languages and cultures as opposed to one that is left with little or no diversity. Diverse languages offer sources of inspiration, creativity, alternative insights, and aesthetic pleasure (Baker, 1996). Indigenous languages are valuable creations of humankind.

Furthermore, one's mother tongue is an important part of self-identity (Fishman 1989; Philipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1986). For centuries, American Indians, along with other linguistic minorities residing in the United States, have been denied the right to maintain their mother tongues through public education. In addition to the merits of cultural and linguistic diversity, therefore, the need to safeguard minority linguistic rights as a

fundamental aspect of social justice is an important reason for seeking effective public-education programs that would contribute to revitalizing endangered indigenous languages (May, 2000). Research efforts are urgently needed to help revitalize dying languages. This dissertation study explores ways to improve Indian-language education in the public-school arena.

The Role of Public Schools in Indian-language Revitalization

The inability of public schools to revitalize dying languages in the past led Krauss (1998) and Fishman (1991) to argue that the primary responsibility for indigenous-language maintenance should lie in the hands of parents and grandparents at home. However, collaboration among the whole community is more likely to reverse the trend (Silverthorne, 1997). Watahomigie (1998) and McCarty (1998) argue that schools and Indian-language school programs play an important role in Indian-language revitalization. Although the survival of indigenous languages should not and cannot be shouldered by schools alone, Watahomigie (1998) maintains that "schools can build on the knowledge of the home and bring informal, family- and community-based language experiences to the process of formal learning" (p.7).

Numerous studies have shown that the support of the educational system is a necessary condition for language maintenance (Spolsky, 1999). Linguist Joseph Poth, Head of UNESCO's Languages Division, asserts that "a language is always in danger when it isn't part of the school curriculum" (Urbina, 2000, p. 1). Public schools operate as dominating economic and, therefore, political institutions in many small towns and rural communities (McCarty, 1998). They serve the majority of the young members of a community and, hence, are in a position to help create the "territorial niches" that

indigenous languages need to survive and flourish (Laponce, 1987, p. 3). A school represents the local infrastructure that possesses the mobilizing force necessary for community-wide indigenous-language-maintenance initiatives. Moreover, public-school personnel are in a position to demonstrate and promote the instrumental value of the local Indian language. They can affirm the value of the Indian language in the public domain of the school – for instance, through a critical-literacy approach (see Fettes, 1997). Teaching a local heritage language alongside formal school subjects included in the mainstream curriculum can promote the co-privileged status of the heritage language and, hence, stimulate interests in learning and using the language for new everyday purposes and in new everyday contexts that may depart from the traditional ones (Fettes, 1997; Stiles, 1997). On some reservations, Indian-language-education school programs have carved out territories that serve important domains for protecting the indigenous languages (Stiles, 1997).

Schools and their personnel need to assume supporting roles if the languages are to be revitalized, although school-based efforts alone will not save dying languages. An indigenous language will grow in and through a school if a long-term, effective public-school Indian-language-education program is in place to supplement language learning before school, out of school, and after school (Fishman, 1997). However, no successful model exists for Indian-language-education programs in rural and small-town public schools with mixed Indian and White student populations (Ngai, 2002).

Some of the best-known bilingual-education models designed for schools with a large proportion of non-native-English-speaking students (e.g., Rough Rock Demonstration School in the Navajo Nation) would not work without major modification in communities with small, mixed Indian and White populations--such as those on Indian

reservations in Montana. For instance, a tribal councilman of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes calls for a model that will guide efforts to improve public-school programs on his reservation. A young Salish teacher asserts that famous models such as the Blackfeet model and the Hawaiian model do not work in the local conditions that exist in this Reservation. This dissertation aims to identify specific program components that are workable in small, rural, mixed districts.

The Need for Grassroots Input

Freire (Freire & Macedo, 1987) postulates that diverse perspectives "struggle to prevail as a legitimate object of learning" (p. 20). Thus, a "multicentric" point of view that includes different voices allows the researcher and research participants to recognize interrelated and contradictory ideologies and to analyze how differences within and between diverse groups can expand human potential to solve problems and improve life for all (Giroux, 1992).

This dissertation aims to capture diverse local voices regarding ways to help strengthen the impact of public-school indigenous-language education. Fishman (1997a) points out that "the unique assets of the view from within have long been overlooked" (Fishman, 1997a, p. 121). Views from the inside are valuable because only such views can be accepted as authoritative interpretations of local conditions (Fishman, 1997a). With regard to indigenous-language education, Radford Quamahongewa, a Hopi elder insists that "local people should set their goals; they need to become owners of their goals and finance the achievement of those goals themselves" (Reyhner, 1996, p. 28). Thus, this study set forth to find out what local people on the Flathead Indian Reservation desire, what steps they believe should be taken, and how they propose that suggestions be implemented.

As Crawford (1996) points out, a comprehensive strategy for revitalizing Indian languages mean "centralizing available information about what is already being done, organizing discussion about strategies and directions, and, most importantly, fostering leadership from endangered language communities themselves" (p. 66). Outsiders cannot lead this movement, although they can serve as "helpful allies" (Crawford, 1996, p. 67). As an outsider, I relied on local input in preparing action frameworks to guide local movements. That is, the researcher functioned as a facilitator. The research process operated like "a central forum for discussion" about approaches for moving things forward (Crawford, 1996, p. 66). The study responded to Crawford's (1996) call for action and sustained "momentum" (pp. 66-67) by initiating local discussions in the hope of stimulating grassroots initiatives from within.

Nevertheless, the inside perspective can be enriched by outside insights. Fishman (1997a) maintains that "every perspective brings with it certain debits and certain assets..." (p.119). Thus, this study includes the diverse perspectives of research participants and academics, insiders and outsiders, locals and non-locals, Indians and Whites, educators and parents, politicians and community leaders, and administrators and stakeholders. In addition, while acknowledging the value of inside perspectives and giving voice to the local people, the researcher resisted accepting what appears to be the unavoidable, taking the death of indigenous languages to represent the will of Indian people and became an advocate for the revitalization of the local Indian languages (Dorian, 1999).

Research Overview

Can mixed rural school districts agree to implement Indian-language-education programs in public schools? In many rural school districts with a mix of Indian and White student populations, efforts to find a language-education framework that is acceptable to both Indians and Whites and supporters and non-supporters have been deadlocked for decades. Are there ways to break through the deadlocks and identify innovative, workable approaches based on local compromises and cooperation? What would enable Indian-language education to succeed in rural mixed school districts? This study uses a new research approach to elicit grassroots input.

The dissertation study generates a framework of Indian-education-program components for the selected research site and a general framework for rural public-school districts with a mix of Indian and White student populations. The resulting frameworks capture findings guided by three interrelated research questions:

- What are the interacting facilitating factors and obstacles that affect the design and implementation of Indian-language-education programs in public-school districts with a mix of Indian and White student populations?

- How can the social, economic, political, historical, cultural, linguistic, and educational conditions that prevail among mixed communities in rural America be accommodated fruitfully with regard to the design and implementation of Indian-language-education public-school programs?

- What are the key components of an effective public-school Indian-language-education program that would be acceptable to local Indians and Whites, educators

and parents, policymakers and stakeholders, supporters and non-supporters in mixed

public-school districts?

The researcher adapted the constant-comparison method (Strauss & Corbin, 1998),

the central feature of the grounded-theory approach, for the two-phase study. Phase one

involved identifying key components of Indian-language-education programs that are

specific to three selected school districts and components shared by all mixed school

districts on the selected Indian reservation. The researcher developed four sets of program

components grounded in local social, economic, political, cultural, linguistic, and

educational conditions and in the diverse voices of Indians and Whites, educators and

parents, administrators and stakeholders, politicians and community leaders, and supporters

and non-supporters. Phase two involved extracting and abstracting from the core

components that were consistent across the four resulting program descriptions. The

integration of consistent components yielded a general Indian-language-education program

framework intended to help public-school educators and policymakers in rural school

districts with a mix of White and Indian student populations envision innovative educational

strategies that are complementary or supplementary to on-going indigenous-language-

preservation efforts.

Definitions

This section clarifies some terms and abbreviations used in the dissertation. A *mixed*

community is defined as a town or city where American Indians live side by side with non-

Indians. A *mixed school district* is one that consists of at least 15% and at most 85% Native

Americans students. A *small town* is defined as a geographical area with a population size

that ranges from less than 1,000 to 50,000 people. A rural area has a population size

below 1000.

The terms *Indians* and *Whites* are used to address Native Americans or American

Indians and European Americans or mainstream U.S. citizens. The choice of terms is

determined by the common discourse heard in the selected research sites. Indian and White

research participants used the terms consistently to address themselves and each other.

Indian languages, Native languages, heritage languages, and *indigenous languages*

refer to languages that were developed and used by American Indians. These terms are used

interchangeably in this dissertation.

The term *framework* in the dissertation refers to a description of important

dimensions that need to be considered in Indian-language-education program design and

implementation. The specific framework is relevant only to the selected reservation. The

general framework consists descriptions of conditions, actions, and program elements of

value for Indian-language-education in mixed districts beyond the research sites.

There are a few abbreviated teams used frequently by the research participants. *IEC*

refers to Indian Education Committee. Districts that receive federal funds (i.e., Impact Aid

and Johnson O'Malley Fund) for Indian education are required by law to establish a

committee composed of Indian parents (when available). The function of the committee is

consultation. *Tribal PIR Day* refers to the annual teachers meeting/conference organized by

the Tribal Education Department. Teachers receive information and attend workshops about

educating Indian children and educating mainstream students about Indian people. *Indian*

Education For All, MCA 20-10-501, is Article X of the Montana State Constitution. It

stipulates that all public-school students in Montana should be educated about Montana tribes and be instructed in Indian Studies.

Preview

The next chapter will review relevant literature that provided background for the research questions and sensitized the research to critical dimensions of Indian-language education. Chapter 3 sets forth the research design. Chapters 4 – 7 will describe and discuss research findings. Chapter 8 presents a proposed curriculum configuration based on participants' input. Chapter 9 concludes with a summary of findings and a discussion of key answered and unanswered questions.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

What is known guides a research study in the unknown. This chapter provides a review of diverse perspectives on indigenous-language maintenance. This overview sensitized the researcher to the supportive and opposing forces existing in the wider society. These forces also constitute potential influences on the attitudes of the community members selected for on-site investigation.

Secondly, this chapter reviews and briefly assesses the outcomes of current efforts regarding indigenous-language maintenance. This discussion reveals the importance for facilitating Indian-language revitalization of continuous concerted efforts that develop innovative educational strategies. The assessment of current efforts also provides references for the effort to refine the Indian-language-education program components that emerge from the research. Finally, a review of the best-known bilingual-education models serves as another reference for comparison with program components derived from local inputs.

Perspectives on Indigenous-Language Maintenance

Given the plight of indigenous languages, there is debate regarding whether we should attempt to reverse the trend of language decline. While some non-Indian educators, linguists, and policymakers oppose efforts to promote Indian languages, others urge contributions from diverse sources to save the dying languages. The following sections review and assess the arguments set forth by Indian as well as non-Indian people.

Nonsupportive Perspectives

Non-Indian point of view. Some politicians see maintaining languages other than English as a threat to the dominant group in society (Romaine, 1995). In 1918, for instance,

President Theodore Roosevelt remarked that "`we have room for but one language here, and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns our people out as Americans, of American nationality...we have room for but one loyalty, and that is a loyalty to the American people'" (cited in Romaine, 1995, p. 252). In the 1980s, President Ronald Reagan condemned the idea of maintaining native languages as "unAmerican" (Romaine, 1995, p. 251). Reagan argued that preserving the native language of a minority group would not help its members acquire sufficient English to contribute in the job market (Romaine, 1995). Former U.S. Senator Hayakawa formed an organization called "US English," which advocate the principle that "English is and must remain the only language of the people of the United States" (cited in Romaine, 1995, p. 252). Hayakawa, in a letter sent to voters in the Washington, D.C., area in 1988, emphasized that a common language is a blessing for the citizens of the United States.

Some educators and writers have expressed a similar view. They believe that the existence of more than one language in the country would diminish a sense of "Americanism," or unity (Butler, 1985; Chavez, 1996; Hirsch, 1999; Roth, 1996; and Vazsonyi, 1997), foster intergroup conflict (Butler, 1985; Ruiz, 1984), produce a divisive society (Butler, 1985; Chavez, 1992; Roth, 1996), and weaken national defense (Vazsonyi, 1997).

Negative attitudes toward native language maintenance permeate every sector of U.S. society. They can be found in schools as well as in the streets. In many mainstream schools, for example, teachers believe that Native American or other minority students have difficulties in school because of their language and culture (Deyhle, 1995). Some teachers

even conclude that the ability of Native Americans or other minority students to speak a language other than English is a cause of learning and reading disabilities (Deyhle, 1995).

In the public domain of the mainstream society, some people do not appreciate hearing a language other than English. For instance, a Native American testified that when she speaks in her native language in public, people stare at her unwelcomingly and English-speaking children make fun of her (cited in Linn, Berardo, Yamamoto, 1998). Mainstream negativism toward Indian-language maintenance directly and indirectly has created ambivalent feelings on the issue among some Indian-language speakers themselves (Watahomigie, 1998; see also Romaine, 1995).

Indian point of view. Negative mainstream attitudes toward languages other than English has led some American Indians, especially among the younger generation, to develop a feeling of discomfort, insecurity, and/or dislike toward their traditional languages (see also Linn, et al., 1998; Romaine, 1995). For instance, a Yowlumne tribal member confessed that, at one point in time, "I wanted to forget the language. ... I was ashamed of my language (Vera, 1998, p. 79).

Watahomigie (1998) contends that language loss begins with parents not teaching their children the traditional language at home. When considering the reasons why some parents have not wanted to pass on their native tongue, one Loyal Shawnee teacher explains that "if my children are to succeed in school and have a chance at a good job, they need to learn English" (Linn, et al, p. 64). In addition to this common attitude shared by many Indian parents, Fillmore (1994, cited in Linn et al., 1998) suggests the following reasons:

(a) the belief that the language of wider communication (English in the USA) is crucial to children's success;
(b) the desire for children to perform well in school and the concomitant fear that using the family language will prevent children from learning English well;

(c) the belief or despair that the family language has no use outside the home;

(d) the belief that the family language is symbolic of low social status; and

(e) the belief that English is the key to acceptance by peers and teachers. (p. 63)

Such attitudes run parallel to the widespread negativism that permeates mainstream schools. However, Indian parents who manage to elude the overpowering influence of the mainstream attitudes see counterevidence.

Supportive Perspectives

Indian point of view. Ambler (2000), the editor of *Tribal College Journal*, maintains that "by recognizing native languages, they [educators] recognize native people, leading to self-esteem and academic success" (p. 9). This insight is supported by Deyhle's (1995) decade-long ethnographic study of the lives of Navajo youth. Deyhle found that "students who embrace their traditional culture ... both gain a solid place in their society and are more successful in the Anglo world of the school" (p. 430). Along the same lines, a Yupiaq indigenous educator advises that "Yupiaq people do not have to become someone else to become members of the global society; they can continue to be their own people" (Kawagley, 1999, p. 45).

Indian languages are more than just a communication tool among Indian people. Duane Mistaken Chief, a member of the Blackfeet tribe, explains that Native Americans use words and phrases to reconstruct their cultures and to heal themselves. By studying the Indian words, they learn to respect themselves. From the Indian point of view, the traditional language is a sacred gift, the symbol of one's identity, the embodiment of one's culture and traditions, a means for expressing inner thoughts and feelings, and the source of ancestral wisdom. This perspective is mostly shared by the older generation, the elders (Linn, et al., 1998).

Although the groups of Indian people who are actively involved in traditional language maintenance often are small (see Lopez, 1998; Linn, Berardo, & Yamamoto, 1998), the number of individuals striving to achieve language revitalization is growing rapidly in some places (Hinton, 1998). Given the limited resources available for language maintenance in Indian communities, non-Indian support plays a vital role in the process of reversing the trend of language shift and death.

Non-Indian point of view. Scholars and linguists point out that indigenous language shift and death "threatens to eliminate, within a generation or two, the extraordinary linguistic and cultural diversity that characterizes the planet" (McCarty & Zepeda, 1998, p.1; see also Yamamoto, 1995; and Zepeda & Hill, 1992). The threat to linguistic diversity is similar to the threat to biodiversity. Bjelijac-Babic (2000) explains that "there is an intrinsic and causal link between biological diversity and linguistic diversity" (p. 3) in the sense that a local language embodies a special stock of local knowledge about the natural environment. As indigenous languages die, traditional knowledge about the environment disappears as well (Bjelijac-Babic, 2000). This scholarly insight is supported by the experience of an Alaskan female salmon fisherman who witnessed that indigenous languages helped local people extend a sense of community and guided them to live together with nonhuman creatures in a tolerant and dignified way (Lord, 1999).

In a similar vein, Hale (1992) contends that linguistic diversity shares the same level of importance with diversity in the zoological and botanical worlds. Hale (1992) argues that "loss of languages has brought about the irretrievable loss of diverse and interesting intellectual wealth, the priceless products of human mental industry" (p. 36). On the other

hand, Ladefoged (1992) argues that the disappearance of languages has not necessarily led

to the disappearance of cultural diversity. He maintains that the new cultures arise to

replace lost cultures and, hence, diversity naturally will be maintained.

In the face of these opposing points of view, it is useful to differentiate between

long-term and short-term perspectives. From a short-term perspective, Ladefoged's

(1992) argument is acceptable in the sense that loss of languages creates no immediate

impact on human survival today. Nevertheless, if we adopt a long-term perspective,

Hale's (1992) position is stronger than Ladefoged's. The human competencies and

capacities embedded in a language may not be vital today, but they contribute to the

knowledge pool available to be drawn upon in solving unpredictable problems in the

future. In other words, the value of indigenous languages may not be apparent from a

short-term perspective. However, from a long-term perspective, the knowledge and

wisdom embedded in dying languages could be invaluable. Anthropologist Russell

Bernard argues that:

> ...any reduction of language diversity diminishes the adaptational
> strength of our species because it lowers the pool of knowledge from
> which we can draw. We know that the reduction of biodiversity today
> threatens all of us. I think we are conducting an experiment to see what
> will happen to humanity if we eliminate 'cultural species' in the world
> (1992, p. 82).

Although we cannot prove whether indigenous languages are going to be useful a

hundred or a thousand years from now, most importantly they are meaningful to the

linguistic groups themselves. The right to maintain one's heritage language is part of

human rights (Fishman, 1991). Skutnabb-Kangas (1999) argues that "linguistic human

rights in education are a prerequisite for the maintenance of the diversity in the world that

we are all responsible for" (p. 58). The socio-linguist adds that "if the minority language

is not used as the main medium of education and child care, the use of the minority

language is indirectly prohibited in daily intercourse or in schools, that is an issue of

linguistic genocide" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999, p. 48). In the International Convention for

the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide prepared by the Unite Nations,

linguistic and cultural genocide along with physical genocide are considered serious

crimes against humanity (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1999). Thus, preserving and restoring

indigenous languages should be part societal reform (Fishman, 1991).

If indigenous languages are valuable creations of humankind and meaningful

possessions of people, what action can or should we take to help save disappearing

languages? Advocates of Indian-language maintenance are striving to find answers to this

question. Although not all tribal councils and all tribal members are fully committed to

language revitalization, individual efforts are occurring (Hinton, 1998).

Current Efforts in Indigenous-Language Maintenance

The U.S. Congress enacted two Acts related to Native American language

maintenance. The two laws have helped to reduce mainstream resistance to Indian language

maintenance. However, the main force in saving dying languages begins at the grassroots.

Local, or "bottom-up," language planning has contributed in important ways to slowing

down language decline (Hornberger, 1997). After briefly reviewing national policy, this

section focuses on what has been accomplished at the local level.

The National Level

To demonstrate responsibility for saving dying Native American languages, the U.S.

Government passed the *Bilingual Education Act* of 1968 and the *Native American*

Languages Act of 1990. These two laws have created a supportive atmosphere for indigenous language maintenance at the national level.

Under the *Bilingual Education Act* (Title VII) of 1968, the Government provides funding for language programs that aim to nurture Native American languages (Zepeda, 1998). For example, the teacher- and staff-training components of local Title VII programs annually support O'odham language teachers who participate in American Indian bilingual-education courses offered by the American Indian Language Development Institute (AILDI) (Zepeda, 1998).

The *Native American Languages Act* of 1990 is the only federal legislation that specifically addresses the endangered state of indigenous US languages. This Act declares that the U.S. Government's policy is to "preserve, protect, and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop Native American languages" (P.L. 101-477, Section 104[1], cited in McCarty, 1998, p. 37). Under this Act, funding is available to support short-term, inexpensive local initiatives in indigenous-language revitalization—such as overnight language-immersion camps and master-apprentice programs (see next section).

The *Native American Languages Amendments Act* of 2001 authorizes the Secretary of Education to provide funds to organizations, colleges, and tribal governments to establish and expand Native American-language programs throughout the United States for Native American children and Native American-language-speaking children. The *Amendments Act* requires the Secretary of Education to provide funds to support three demonstration programs that are identified as successful models. The three sites are the Ka Haka 'Ula O

Ke'elikolani College of the University of Hawaii at Hilo, the Piegan Institute in Browning, Montana, and the Alaska Native Language Center of the University of Alaska at Fairbanks.

Furthermore, national government recognition of the language crisis allows Native Americans to buy back patches of traditional land on which the rebirth of Native American communities slowly takes place. These communities function as an oasis where indigenous languages are spoken again and traditional ceremonies are practiced with new vigor (Hinton, 1998).

In sum, governmental influence on reversing the decline of indigenous languages has been indirect. Its main function has been to facilitate local efforts, which have provided the impetus for saving dying indigenous languages.

The Local Level

Linguists' contribution. Since 1990, linguists have given priority to studying and documenting Indian languages in order to maintain understanding of languages and to preserve the unique knowledge and insights embedded in every human language (Krauss, 1998). The common linguistic approaches to documentation include videotaping, audiotaping, and developing writing materials. According to Sims (1998), such approaches have led to "static preservation" which did not help to develop fluency in the target languages (p. 112).

Some tribal communities have tapped into the accomplishments of linguists. For instance, O'odham tribal members in southern Arizona collaborated with linguists Albert Alvarez and Ken Hale of Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the Papago Language Affairs Native American Language Education Project. This was one of the first tribally funded efforts to promote O'odham language. The outcomes of the project included

production of language teaching books, posters, artwork, and a small group of O'odham

community members who developed basic literacy in the O'odham language (Zepeda,

1998).

Similarly, the Loyal Shawnee tribal language committee in Oklahoma coordinated

with linguist Akira Yamamoto in the documentation of the Shawnee language, language-

teacher training, and recruitment of language learners. The outcomes of the collaboration

included the production of language materials and the creation of a language curriculum

(Linn et al., 1998).

While linguists are contributing to the maintenance of native languages, Krauss

(1998) points out that some of them are preoccupied with the use of advanced technologies--

such as computers and multimedia--for teaching the language in schools. Krauss is

concerned that children are no longer producing the languages, but only reproducing them

with the assistance of machines. Technology distracts them from the real reason for

learning the language; that is, they no longer consistently speak their mother tongue at home

(Krauss, 1998).

University contributions. A few universities have provided substantial institutional

support for indigenous language maintenance. For example, Zepeda (1998) reports that

members representing native-language teaching interests from the University of Arizona and

Pima Community College created the Southwest Indigenous Language Task Force in the

Tucson area. The agenda set forth by the Task Force includes the following objectives:

- move toward more consistent Indian-language course offerings;
- begin training native speakers of indigenous languages;
- initiate a network of language teachers;
- investigate avenues for continued education in O'odham language teaching and maintenance;

- develop language curricula that can be received by as many schools and organizations as possible via a computer network (p.55).

Over the past nearly 20 years, the American Indian Language Development Institute created by the Hualapai bilingual educator, Lucille Watahomigie, has offered university-accredited summer courses in the fields of American Indian bilingual education, curriculum and materials development, linguistics, literature, and language planning and policy. Yuman and Uto-Aztecan language teachers benefit from the annual training (Zepeda, 1998).

The tribal-college movement that started in 1968 has placed cultural preservation as the foundation of its mission. For instance, tribal language and culture are integral parts of the four-year teacher-education programs that recently have been established in Sinte Gleska University, Oglala Lakota College, Navajo Community College, and Haskell Indian Junior College (Reyhner & Tennant, 1995).

Some tribal colleges are trying different ways to promote indigenous-language use. For example, Salish Kootenai College in Montana targets its educational programs that integrate indigenous language learning to the local occupational needs of the Reservation of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes (Reyhner, 1999).

Community-based efforts. Several Native American communities (e.g., Karuk and Euchee) have adopted programs that involve multiple generations in language revitalization. These community-based programs aim to help learners achieve communicative language fluency (Sims, 1998; Lopez, 1998). Elders are usually active participants in language teaching under such programs as master-apprentice programs and immersion camps (Sims, 1998). The Native Californian Language Network, which is based on the "language-apprentice" approach, focuses on helping young potential teachers acquire their native language for future school-teaching purposes (Reyhner, 1999).

The training method used in the Karuk and Euchee master-apprentice programs is traditional, one-on-one oral teaching. Its intensive method requires students or apprentices to spend as much time as possible with the master teacher, who uses a wide range of strategies to teach the language (Krauss, 1998; Sims, 1998).

In addition, the Karuk and the Euchee have organized immersion camps in which children begin to learn the basics of such language. Such programs are designed to function as family events. During the overnight camps, children and their parents are introduced to vocabulary and basic phrases. They learn to use questions and commands in their heritage language. They also are encouraged to listen to and observe teachers' demonstrations and to act on teachers' instructions (Linn et al, 1998; Sims, 1998).

Systematic data regarding the long-term outcomes of these community-based efforts are not available. One tribal member reported that some children used the newly-acquired Karuk at local school basketball activities after returning home from a language-immersion camp (Sims, 1998). Other observed outcomes of community-based, short-term language-maintenance programs include positive changes in attitudes toward the ancestral language and new consciousness and personal commitment toward language learning.

Other community-based efforts in heritage-language maintenance range from less organized attempts such as using the language (e.g., Hualapai) in community gatherings, ceremonies, tribal council meetings, and assembly addresses, to more organized activities such as developing immersion preschools and developing writing systems (Hinton, 1998).

School efforts. School programs that aim at indigenous language maintenance tend to be short-term and disconnected with the mainstream curriculum. For instance, the Punana Leo language nest and Polynesian language nest are designed to nurture heritage-

language skills among young children (Krauss, 1998). The goals of such programs are well intentioned and constructive in terms of passing the heritage language on to the young generation. However, children will not develop proficiency in the language unless they can continue to learn and use the language in subsequent immersion programs (Krauss, 1998).

Many so-called bilingual programs allow children to receive an hour a day or a week of Indian-language learning on and off for a few years. One example is a program offered by the Klamath-Trinity Joint Unified School District in Orleans, Northern California. In 1992, the district agreed to allow weekly instruction in the Karuk language (Sims, 1998). During that year, the district allocated approximately $35,000 of its operational resources to support an Indian-language program, under which it made available teaching in Hupa, Yurok, and other Indian languages to students enrolled in the district (Sims, 1998). The Indian-language classes are offered as a regular part of the school's educational program. Instruction that is delivered by an Indian instructor involves the regular classroom teacher in learning the Indian language alongside Indian and non-Indian students. Students and teachers learn how to use the language for their everyday oral communication with each other (Sims, 1998).

In the state of Montana, several school districts offer Indian-language-maintenance bilingual-education programs. Rocky Boy schools offer Cree-language classes for K-12 students. In this school district, Head Start and elementary-school students are required to take conversational-Cree-language classes that become elective at the junior-high and high-school levels. Over the years, Rocky Boy schools have developed an archive of Cree cultural and language materials for teaching and learning purposes. Moreover, District A

and District B offer Salish-language instruction and cultural enrichment for elementary and high-school students. Polson schools offer Kootenai-language instruction for K-2 students. With the help of a computer specialist, Salish- and Kootenai-language instructors have developed electronic language-learning materials and web pages for the networked schools.

In spite of the efforts introduced at multiple levels, Silverthorne (1997) points out that few (if any) of the existing indigenous-language revitalization programs or classes have produced a new speech community of fluent Indian-language speakers. With scarce resources and limited support from state and federal governments, individual groups and organizations have contributed to slowing down the disappearance of indigenous languages. However, as Sims (1998) points out, the long-range outcomes of most of these efforts are unknown. Researchers need to continue to explore additional innovative educational strategies that potentially are effective in complementing current efforts by revitalizing indigenous languages in diverse settings, including rural public-school districts with mixed Indian and White student populations. Indian language education in public schools often is a part of bilingual education.

Definitions of Bilingual Education

In the United States, the influential perspectives on bilingual education range from a focus on a single ethnic group to an emphasis on all students. The narrowest perspective views bilingual education as *native-language* based education (Amselle, 1996) designed and conducted exclusively for the children from a particular ethnic group. Since a large number of bilingual-education programs in the United States involve Hispanic-American students, some people equate bilingual education with Spanish-language instruction for Spanish-speaking children (Butler, 1985;

Fernandez, 1999). People who assume this connection tend to believe that bilingual

education diminishes a sense of "Americanism" by hindering children from learning

English (see Butler, 1985; Chavez, 1996; Gingrich, 1995; Roth, 1996; Ruiz, 1984;

Unz & Tuchman 1998; Vazsonyi, 1997).

An equally narrow perspective defines bilingual education as *English-language* instruction for non-native-English-speaking children (Fenton, 1991). The

goal of such bilingual programs is to bring the English-language ability of minority

students up to the point where they can function independently in regular classrooms.

The focus is on teaching English as a second language. The development of

children's heritage language is largely ignored.

A more encompassing definition of U.S. bilingual education involves

learning two languages; that is, acquisition of English and language development in

the heritage language (Ovando, 1993). Scholars and researchers who hold this

perspective typically focus their arguments supporting bilingual education for non-

native-English-speakers on one or both of two dimensions: practical and emotional.

The most widely cited practical reason for bilingual education is that the

maintenance of a child's first language facilitates his/her acquisition of a second

language–English, in this case (see Cummins, 1993; Krashen, 1991). While most

English-speaking educators concentrate on the practical aspect, a handful of bilingual

education advocates struggle to convince non-native English speakers of the

emotional benefits of maintaining one's heritage language, such as creating new

pride in one's ethnic group and self-esteem among bilingual/bicultural individuals

(Fernandez, 1990; Ovando & Collier, 1998) and facilitating meaningful

intergenerational communication within the learner's non-English-speaking family and community (Baker, 1996; Cummins, 1993; Dicker, 1996; Fernandez, 1999; Krashen & Biber, 1988; Reyhner, 1992). Although the practical benefits of bilingual education for minorities are widely acknowledged, many mainstream educators and policy makers have overlooked the emotional aspects.

Owing to historical association with education for non-native-English-speaking children, bilingual education in the United States is perceived by many as a costly privilege or remedy for minorities only. This mindset precludes many U.S. parents and educators from realizing the far-reaching benefits of bilingual education for all children, including native speakers of English.

In this study, therefore, I adopted and applied the most inclusive approach to bilingual education in the United States. That is, bilingual education--defined as *teaching of and in two languages*--is presented as a valuable part of the formal public education offered *to all students*. The rationale behind this inclusive perspective is multi-fold. As noted in the Clinton administration's proposed *Educational Excellence for All Children Act of 1999*, "the growing demand for multilingualism [is] created by growing diversity within the United States and increasing cultural exchange and economic interdependency worldwide" (p. 133). For society, inclusive bilingual education strengthens the country externally and operates to harmonize intergroup relations internally.

For individuals, bilingual education enhances linguistic development, cognitive abilities, thinking skills, intellectual growth, and interpersonal- and intercultural-communication competence. Moreover, bilingual/multilingual capacity

and attained intercultural communication skills and cultural competency expand the

career choices available to individuals and facilitate the complex social identification

required for today's increasingly diverse living and working environment (see also

Nieto, 1996). Of particular relevance here is the fact that a bilingual education

program based on local cultures and languages would prepare participants for

globalization at the same time that it facilitates productive community development

(Ngai, 2002; Padilla, 1990; Sernau, 2000). A local language can revitalize a

distinctive sense of place or neighborhood that "is often vital to ongoing community

mobilization and to activism that extends beyond an immediate crisis" (Sernau,

2000, p. 189).

Language-Education Models

In the United States, bilingual education exists mainly in large cities and

nearly exclusive ethnic-minority communities where the non-English-speaking

population is concentrated. On the basis of the amount of a non-English language

used for instruction, Ovando and Collier (1998) identify five models that currently

are used around the nation. These are (a) bilingual-immersion education (including

the 90-10 model and the 50-50 model), (b) two-way bilingual education, (c)

developmental bilingual education, (d) transitional bilingual education, and (e)

English as a second language (ESL).

Not all of the five models are genuine bilingual-education programs that

assist students in developing proficiency in two languages. Transitional bilingual

education and ESL focus on advancing English-language ability. Only

developmental, immersion, and two-way bilingual-education programs aim at

developing dual-language competency. The differences among these three are subtle. Developmental bilingual programs are designed for language-minority children who have adequate first-language (L1) capacity. The maintenance of learners' L1, many educators and researchers believe, facilitates their acquisition of a second language—English, in this case (see Cummins, 1993; Krashen, 1991). On the other hand, one type of immersion program is designed for language-minority children who speak little or none of their heritage language. This bilingual program provides the opportunity for immersion in the lost mother tongue at an early age. Another type of immersion program is the two-way bilingual-education program, where English-speaking children are taught (or immersed) in the native language of their non-English-speaking classmates. For these non-English speakers, the two-way program is developmental in nature. In other words, the goals of developmental and immersion bilingual education can be fulfilled by the same program.

For instance, the Rock Point Community School on the Navajo Reservation in Arizona offers a program that is both developmental and immersion in nature. Although nearly all of the children enrolled in the program are Navajo, only some speak the heritage language. For those who speak Navajo, this bilingual program is developmental in nature; for the others, it would be an immersion experience; and for the community, it serves to maintain the dying heritage language. Under this bilingual-education program, according to Reyhner (1992), about two-thirds of the instruction is in Navajo during the kindergarten year. Kindergarteners learn math and social studies in English. By second grade, 50 per cent of the instruction is in English, and 50 per cent is in Navajo. In the upper grades, one-sixth to one-fourth of the instruction is in Navajo and the rest is in English (Reyhner, 1992).

Krashen and Biber (1988) advocate a developmental bilingual-education program that has been adopted or adapted by a number of schools in California. Under this program, enrolled minority students learn all core subjects (except art, music, and PE) in their first language at the beginning level, while developing English-language proficiency in ESL classes. At more advanced levels, students study some core subjects in English with the assistance of ESL teachers in "sheltered" classes. Eventually, minority students are expected to join mainstream classes -- first, math and science and, later, social studies and language arts. This model allows for continuous L1 development as an extra-curricula activity for enrichment purposes. Programs similar to this one are widespread in New York (Toy, 1999). These programs belong to the "traditional bilingual program" category (Toy, 1999, p. A22).

Modeled after the Maori Kohanga Reo (Shafer, 1988), the Hawaiian language nests aim to expose preschool-age children to their native language and culture. Language nests are community-based day-care centers where Hawaiian-speaking teachers from the grandparent generation interact with children and their English-speaking mothers in Hawaiian (Kamana & Wilson, 1996).

Modeled after Canadian immersion education, the Piegan Institute of Browning, Montana, established a Blackfeet immersion school for children aged 3–12 in 1995. The immersion program is based on the 90/10 and 50/50 Canadian immersion models (see Ovando & Collier, 1998). Children enrolled in this mixed-grade program that is housed in a one-room spacious school building learn in Blackfeet 90% of the time until they reach age 8. After that, they learn in Blackfeet

50 % of the time and in English 50% of the time until age 12--when they have to join the mainstream public schools.

One shortcoming of these developmental/immersion bilingual-education models is their lack of continuity. Under the model adopted in Rock Point Community School and the one designed by Krashen and Biber (1988), most content subjects are taught in English in upper grades. The language-nest programs and the Blackfeet immersion program are for young children, but not for teenagers. Both the language-nest and the immersion programs focus on elder-child bilingualism rather than parent-child bilingualism. Fettes (1997) points out that no indigenous-language program focuses on fostering parent-child bilingualism or language learning among teenagers. If children are not provided with the chance to continue to use their native language during their teenage years and beyond with their immediate family members and peers, their native-language skills are likely to be underdeveloped and eventually forgotten.

Moreover, these four models are not inclusive in nature. The language-nest programs and the Blackfeet program are designed mainly for English-speaking young children of native decent whose parents value the importance of exposing their children to their heritage language as a form of cultural enrichment and, at the same time, are able to afford the "luxury" offered by private educational organizations. As a result of their non-inclusive nature, even the most widely cited Maori language nests have not been successful in increasing the total number of fluent Maori speakers (Anonby, 1999). In small towns or rural school districts with mixed Indian and White student populations, the impact of such non-inclusive

programs is even smaller. If only a handful of young children are able to benefit from private indigenous-language programs, indigenous-language death may slow down, but the trend will not be reversed. For instance, the Blackfeet program serves about 45 children each year. Although it is considered to be one of the most promising indigenous-language programs in the United States, it has not been successful in reversing the trend of language death. According to Rosalyn LaPier (2001, November, guest lecture at The University of Montana-Missoula), one of the key officers at the Piegan Institute, the Blackfeet language remains a dying language.

Furthermore, the Rock Point model and the Krashen and Biber model are designed specifically for non-native-English speaking children whose primary need is considered to be English-language development for academic purposes. These non-inclusive models are unlikely to be applicable in most smaller towns around the United States because they have been designed to work under conditions that typically are not found outside large urban areas or nearly exclusive Native American communities. First, the program must be supported by a sizable ethnic group whose members value their heritage language and are able to raise sufficient funding to offer a non-inclusive education program for Indians only. Second, the language must have the appropriate written form for recording information concerning a wide range of subjects so that it can be used for teaching content areas of the mainstream curriculum. Third, financial and human resources must be available for the production of extra teaching materials not required for regular mainstream schools. In the United States, these conditions do not exist in most small towns. Given the absence of an appropriate and viable model, therefore, this

research study aims to identify the framework of a language-education program that is workable in rural mixed public-school districts.

Inclusiveness

At the onset of the Twenty-first Century, the type of bilingual education offered in many parts of the United States remains a special treatment intended for immigrant children. In March 2000, when U.S. Secretary for Education Richard Riley called for public school districts to create 1,000 new dual-language schools over the next five years, his expressed concerns focused on language education for immigrant children (McQueen, 2000). Although Secretary Riley briefly mentioned the importance of bilingualism for all citizens in a global economy, he did not explicitly include assisting Native American and mainstream students to become bilingual as one of the main goals of promoting bilingual education. Such inclusiveness deserves greater attention as a central objective of bilingual education in this country. The reason is that dual-language education benefits not only immigrants but *all* children, regardless of socio-economic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds.

Apart from gaining the ability to use an additional language, acquiring a second language enriches intellectual growth (Baker, 1996; Bialystok & Hakuta, 1994; Chomsky, 1966; Cummins, 1993; Hakuta, 1986; Krashen & Biber, 1988; Nieto, 1996; Romaine, 1995; and Vygotsky, 1962) and enhances interpersonal- and intercultural-communication competence (Cenoz and Genesee, 1998; Dicker, 1996; Esquivel, 1992)—both of which are essential for a successful and meaningful life in today's diverse U.S. communities and increasingly interconnected world (Padilla, 1990).

If its benefits are universal, bilingual education should be provided to citizens living in every corner of the country -- including small towns and mixed districts on Indian reservations. In order to extend bilingual education to places other than the major cities and the nearly exclusive ethnic-minority communities that most current programs serve, we must address the conditions that hinder the implementation of non-mainstream-language education in small towns such as rural mixed districts on Indian reservations.

Many of these small, mixed communities are the headwaters of dying indigenous languages. An inclusive Indian-language-education program specifically designed for small, mixed communities is lacking (Ngai, 2002). Studies that will contribute to the design of viable programs for this specific setting are urgently needed. The research project aims to identify key components of an inclusive Indian-language-education public-school program that would accommodate the unique conditions of rural school districts with a mix of Indian and White student populations.

Little research has been conducted on student and parental attitudes and interests in language-maintenance education (Romaine, 1995). More research is needed in this area because the direct beneficiaries, including Indian-community members and their non-Indian neighbors, play a crucial role in the process of designing and implementing Indian-language-education programs. Some parents, educators, linguists, and policy makers, oppose any effort to promote native languages, while others strongly urge contributions from diverse sources in order to revitalize the dying languages. Most importantly, in the debate concerning indigenous-language maintenance, the voices and views of the local people must not be neglected (McCarty & Zepeda, 1998). Thus, the research study integrates diverse perspectives in the form of an Indian-language-education framework that

incorporates suggestions acceptable among both Indian and non-Indian stakeholders and policymakers, community leaders and administrators, and parents and educators.

Factors Influencing Language Education

The factors that determine the success of a language-education program involve not only features of the program and L2 instruction itself, but also the complex interaction of a wide range of elements that exist within and outside the school environment (Johnson, 1996). These elements are social, historical, social-structural, cultural, ideological, and social-psychological in nature (Hammers & Blanc, 1989). Furthermore, the triple-braid perspective proposed by Mark Fettes (1997) suggests that sustainable indigenous-language-renewal efforts interweave a network of intergenerational relationships, local knowledge, and a critical-literacy approach (see Freire, 1970).

Second-language-education research is a "high risk" undertaking because it deals with a complex set of interacting factors (Tucker, 1996, p. 318). The research study aims to explore how social, economic, political, cultural, historical, and educational factors influence the decline and, hence, the potential revitalization of indigenous languages. The researcher seeks to examine micro-level and macro-level issues related to planning and implementation of bilingual-education programs in order to understand how the socio-political context of schools favors or impedes language-education program development (Amerin & Pena, 2000).

Summary

Although some Indian and non-Indian U.S. citizens overlook the value of indigenous languages and the urgency of saving them, others perceive important reasons for revitalizing heritage languages through educational efforts. Current efforts to teach the remaining

Indian languages are scattered and individualistic. Although some on-going efforts have yielded positive results, the long-term outcomes of most programs—in terms of revitalizing the indigenous languages concerned—are in doubt. Governmental influence on reversing the decline of indigenous languages has been indirect. Linguists largely focus on studying and documenting dying languages. Educators mainly contribute to short-term language programs. Community-based efforts in heritage-language maintenance range from informal efforts—such as using the language in community gatherings—to more organized activities such as developing immersion preschools that lack continuity and inclusiveness. Non-inclusive Indian-language school programs tend to be short-term and disconnected with the mainstream classroom (Krauss, 1998).

The urgency of Indian-language revitalization requires continuous joint efforts of cultural leaders, speakers of the remaining languages, educators, policymakers, linguists, parents, grandparents, the young, and other Indian and non-Indian language-education advocates. As a result, agreements are needed to guide educational efforts and individual, family, and community actions on behalf of threatened indigenous languages. Although public schools alone cannot save the dying language, Indian-language school programs play an important role in Indian-language revitalization. However, an effective, viable, and inclusive Indian-language-education program model that complements on-going indigenous-language-revitalization efforts in rural public-school districts with a mix of Indian and White student populations is absent. The doctoral dissertation aims to address this gap by presenting a grounded theory (in the form of a general framework) of Indian - language-education program components based on the social, economic, political, cultural,

linguistic, and educational conditions of mixed rural school districts on an Indian reservation

and the perspectives of both local Indians and their non-Indian neighbors and partners.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN

In the search for grassroots suggestions for improving Indian-language education in public schools with a mix of Indian and White student populations, this study aims to generate a framework of conditions, actions, and language program elements required for public-school programs. Three interrelated research questions guided this search:

- What are the interacting facilitating factors and obstacles that affect the design and implementation of Indian language education programs in public-school districts with a mix of Indian and White student populations?

- How can the social, economic, political, historical, cultural, linguistic, and educational conditions that prevail among mixed communities in rural America be accommodated fruitfully with regard to the design and implementation of Indian-language-education public-school programs?

- What are the key components of an effective public-school Indian-language-education program that would be acceptable to local Indians and Whites, educators and parents, policymakers and stakeholders, supporters and non-supporters in mixed public-school districts?

The research project aimed to identify key components of public-school Indian-language-education programs that potentially are effective in complementing on-going efforts to revitalize indigenous languages in three selected school districts located on a rural Indian reservation. The study generated program components in the context of the common local conditions faced by mixed school districts on the reservation and the unique characteristics of the specific school districts at issue. In addition, based on comparison of

program components derived from local input collected from the selected school districts,

the researcher integrated the consistent components into a general framework of Indian

language education for rural public-school districts with mixed Indian and White student

populations. The researcher applied the constant-comparison method to incorporate the

perspectives of both Indians and Whites and both supporters and non-supporters.

Premises

The research design for the study is based on three fundamental premises: (a) the

heritage cultures and languages of all students should be valued in the public-education

arena; (b) the perspectives of both the dominant and the minority ethnic groups must be

integrated in educational reform in order to achieve social justice; and (c) possibilities for

transforming the status quo and for transcending conflicting social and political interests

exist in the context of education reform. According to Henry Giroux (1992), an education

program or curriculum reflects the interests that surround it and, thus, often forms a

battleground where "different histories, languages, experiences, and voices intermingle

amidst diverse relations of power and privilege" (p. 169). Paulo Freire (Freire & Macedo,

1987) postulates that diverse perspectives "struggle to prevail as a legitimate object of

learning" (p. 20). Thus, a "multicentric" point of view that includes different voices allows

the researcher and research participants to recognize interrelated and contradictory

ideologies and to analyze how the differences within and between diverse groups can

expand human potential to solve problems and improve life for all (Giroux, 1992).

By seeking the diverse perspectives of both Indians and Whites against the backdrop

of historical domination, alienation, and social struggle, the research questions of the study

imply: (a) a critique of the inadequacy of current public-school efforts in terms of assisting

in revitalizing local indigenous languages and cultures and (b) belief in the possibility of

improving the status quo through grassroots innovations. As Freire (Freire & Macedo,

1987) points out, "radical desires, aspirations, dreams, and hopes were given meaning

through a merging of the discourse of critique and possibility." (p. 8). Thus, the research

questions are framed in the spirit of seeking "new constructive thinking" for tackling

obstacles hindering Indian-language education and for improving Indian-language learning

in the public-school arena.

Micro And Macro Objectives

A link between social vision and educational practice exists in an academic

environment that aims to enhance self and social empowerment (Kincheloe, 1991). Just as

Giroux distinguishes between the micro and the macro objectives of a curriculum or school

program (McLaren, 1998), this study possesses micro and macro objectives. The micro

objective is to identify components required for an effective Indian-language-education

program framework that will help educators and policymakers in mixed districts envision

new possibilities with regard to helping to revitalize a dying local language. As a form of

critical, action research,[1] the study involved and activated local people to generate

innovative ideas for removing obstacles and for improving Indian-language education in

public schools. The macro objective is to advance social justice and social relations through

the initiation of public-education innovations that protect and nurture the cultural and

linguistic rights of all citizens. One of the reasons for involving both Indians and Whites in

the process is because all citizens, regardless of ethnic background, have an obligation to

advance justice (May, 2000), although opinions differ regarding the approach for supporting

justice.

In developing the research design, I drew upon inspiration from critical theorists--such as Paulo Freire, Henry Giroux, and Peter McLaren--whose writings often emphasize empowering the oppressed and the marginalized through educational reform. My position, however, is less revolutionary and more pragmatic. The ultimate goal of the study is to improve education not only for minority linguistic groups, but for all. The paramount question that guides the research project has been: Is there a way that is accepted by all and is beneficial for all?

Methodology & Methods

The two-phased research study applied the constant-comparison method (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1994, 1998), the central feature of the grounded-theory approach, for identifying, analyzing, and integrating language-education program components. During the first phase, I collected "microscopic" and "macroscopic"[2] interview data-- including economic, social, cultural, political, and educational conditions of the selected reservation and the three school districts that consist of different proportions of Indian and White students. I applied the constant-comparison method to analyze the data collected about public-school Indian-language education on the reservation in general and about language programs in each of three selected school districts. I organized the data into four sets of program components that together form a framework of public-school Indian-language-education for the mixed districts on the selected reservation. The local framework, with its "substantive" nature,[3] provides specific information and insights that are likely to be helpful for educators and policymakers in the mixed districts on the selected reservation with regard to improving Indian language education in local schools. Nevertheless, this is not the only goal of the study.

As Glaser and Strauss (1967) point out, the overriding goal of the grounded-theory approach is to strive for a more abstract, general theory or framework (see also Strauss & Corbin, 1994, 1998). Corbin and Strauss (1990) postulate that the more abstract the core categories, the wider the framework's applicability. Thus, phase two of the research study involves extracting and abstracting from the core features that are consistent among the four resulting sets of Indian-language-education-program components. In the concluding chapter, I integrate the extracted and abstracted features in the form of a general framework for Indian-language education in rural school districts with a mix of Indian and White student populations. The "higher-level" framework is likely to be generalizable in the sense that its "fluid" nature allows for shaping and reshaping to fit new specific situations (Strauss & Corbin, 1994, p. 274).

Constant-comparison Method

Anselm Strauss's constant-comparison analytical approach (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Strauss & Corbin, 1994, 1998)[4] is an appropriate method for identifying school program components that are grounded in diverse local input and take into consideration the multiple conditions of specific school districts. This method is well suited for the task of generating, not simply verifying, innovative ideas for helping to solve the problems (Conrad, 1978) that hinder Indian-language education in mixed districts. The "continuous interplay between analysis and data collection" (Strauss & Corbin, 1994, p. 273) as well as on-going "discovery and verification" (Conrad, 1978, p. 106) allowed the researcher repeatedly to refine evolving ideas in terms of public-school Indian language education based on incoming data until the derived program components were acceptable to local leaders and compatible with local conditions.

Furthermore, the method is flexible enough (Conrad, 1978) to allow for integration of creative insights in the process of data analysis. This study strived for a balance between grounding the description and explanation of program components in local input and thinking creatively. Although the research project did not begin with a preconceived Indian-language education framework, and the "final products" emerged from the data, the researcher applied analytical creativity in naming innovative program components, provoking research participants to explore new possibilities by asking stimulating questions, and extracting compatible program elements from the mass of data that contained conflicting and even contradicting input.

Adaptation of Grounded Theory Methodology

A grounded theory typically explains and describes how people respond to changing conditions, and the consequences of their actions (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). The procedures of grounded theory "are designed to develop a well integrated set of concepts that provide a thorough theoretical explanation of social phenomena under study" (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 5). The emphasis of this analytical approach is on theory development through conceptualization. Nevertheless, "grounded theory is a general methodology, a way of thinking about and conceptualizing data," and it can be easily adapted to studies of diverse topics (Strauss and Corbin, 1994, p. 275).

This study adapted the grounded-theory methodology with unique modifications. Instead of generating a grounded theory of a social phenomenon, I used the constant-comparison approach to generate Indian-language-education frameworks composed of key program components that are grounded in the context of rural school districts with a mix of Indian and White student populations. Instead of "conceptual density" (Strauss & Corbin,

1994, p. 274), the resulting frameworks capture the multiple interrelated dimensions of an effective Indian-language school program.

Throughout the research, instead of aiming at verification of resulting hypotheses,[5] I adapted the constant-comparison method to strive toward compromises and accommodations among diverse perspectives that were situated in complex macro and micro conditions. In other words, I modified the process of constant verification of hypotheses (Corbin & Strauss, 1990) into one that involved constant revision of preliminary public-school Indian-language-education program components.

As in grounded-theory research, I applied theoretical sampling in this study. Sampling in grounded theory proceeds "in terms of concepts, their properties, dimensions" (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 8). A grounded-theory researcher usually "looks for incidents that demonstrate dimensional range or variation of a concept and the relationships among concepts" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 210). In this study, however, I selected participants from groups of individuals who were theoretically relevant to the goal of identifying components of a potentially feasible school program acceptable to members of the local community. For example, theoretically relevant participants included people who were in social or political positions that allowed them to influence the course of educational reform and people who were likely to be trusted by the public (e.g., policymakers, educators, educational leaders, parent representatives, and respected community and ethnic leaders).

Apart from the constant drawing of comparisons and theoretical sampling, "systematic asking of generative and concept-relating questions" and "systematic coding procedures" (Strauss & Corbin, 1994, p.274-5) are also central to the grounded-theory methodology. Throughout the course of research, I adapted these procedures by asking

questions that elicited suggestions helpful for tackling existing obstacles and insights useful to discovering essential components of an effective Indian-language program. Instead of asking concept-relating questions, I asked questions that concerned public-school language-program design and implementation.

Another key feature of ground-theory methodology is systematic coding[6]. This study applied open coding and axial coding for naming, categorizing, and subcategorizing components of Indian-language-education programs (rather than social phenomena as in typical grounded-theory studies). I used open coding to discover key facilitating factors, obstacles, suggested approaches to tackling obstacles, and language-program elements that are important to research participants. Then, I used axial coding within and across data sets. In analyzing data concerning a specific district, axial coding facilitated the search for common ground and areas requiring compromise among diverse perspectives. In comparing and contrasting reservation-wide data, axial coding helped distinguish components that are common across districts from those that are unique to specific sites.

The study involved key procedures of grounded-theory methodology, such as theoretical sampling, constant comparisons, and systematic coding. However, the process of concepts discovery is replaced by program-components discovery. The result of the study is not a grounded theory of a social phenomenon; instead, it is a general framework of components of an effective Indian-language-education program applicable in public schools with a mix of Indian and White student populations. Since the study did not strictly adhere to Strauss' grounded-theory methodology and the methods involved, it can only claim to be an adaptation.

Participant Selection

Data collection occurred on the Flathead Indian Reservation in Montana from April 2002 to October 2003. On this reservation, only 17% of the population are Indians. I selected three different school districts on the Flathead Indian Reservation as focal research sites because of their similarities and differences. On the recommendaion of the Director of the Tribal Education Department, the selected districts are not identified, but are referred to as District A, District B, and District C, throughout this dissertation. They are all rural school districts with a mix of Indian and White student populations. Most of the Indian students enrolling in these three school districts belong to the Confederated Salish-Kootanei Tribes and share the same heritage language.

Approximately 1% to 2% of the members of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes are speakers of Salish and the majority of these speakers are elders (Silverthorne, 2001 August, personal communication). On the Flathead Indian Reservation, a variety of Salish-language classes ranging from early-childhood programs and informal-learning sessions to college courses have been available to interested residents (Silverthorne, 1997). Other local language-maintenance attempts include teaching ceremonial language through ceremony, conducting summer-immersion programs for families, and forming a Salish choir (Silverthorne, 1997). The Salish-Kootenai Community College offers Indian-language courses and continues to assist in developing Indian-language teaching materials such as the computer-assisted instructional program that utilizes traditional stories, drawing, and voice recordings (Silverthorne, 1997). Nevertheless, the Salish language remains a seriously endangered language (see Reyhner, 1999).

One of the main differences among the three selected districts involves the proportion of Indian/non-Indian students. District C has more White than Indian students. In contrast, District B has more Indian than White students. District A has a more balanced ratio. In addition, the three districts differ in terms of their experience with Indian language education. A K-12 Salish-language program, along with a K-12 Native American Studies program, is in place in District B. In District A, Salish language is offered in the elementary school and the high school. District C has not introduced any Indian language program.

The dissertation study applied theoretical sampling to obtain data necessary for identifying key components of Indian-language-education programs for the selected school districts. The constant-comparison method calls for "the minimization and the maximization of differences" between comparison groups (Conrad, 1978, p. 104). This procedure facilitates the dense development, refinement, and verification of the resulting program components that are specific to each of the selected districts and those that are common across districts on the reservation and beyond.

The first phase of data collection and analysis of this study involved establishing a set of basic, substantive Indian-language-education program components for each of the three selected school districts. The following criteria guided initial sampling:

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

On the basis of the above criteria, participants selected for initial interviews included elected officials and appointed public-education officers, superintendents and school principals, supportive and non-supportive mainstream teachers, supportive and non-supportive parent

leaders, school-board members, the head of tribal education, and the cultural leader of the selected Indian community. These groups represent the diverse voices of Indians and Whites, community leaders and educators, stakeholders and administrators, and supporters and non-supporters. These samples are theoretically relevant because all of them are likely to be influential in education-policy making and future educational reform.

However, the sampling list served only as a starting point. Sampling, in fact, continued throughout the research process. The initial group of participants recommended individuals, who, from their perspectives, had been influential in supporting or obstructing the development of Indian education (including Indian language education) in the selected districts and/or on the reservation. This subsequent groups of participants included tribal-education leaders, respected tribal elders, former and current Indian-language teachers, Indian and White community activists, Indian and White Indian-language-education advocates, vocal anti-Indian community members, a historian in residence, and a linguist specialized in Indian languages. Only one parent and one former tribal-education leader refused to participant in the study.

Data Collection

Interview data in the form of grassroots input comprise the building blocks of the resulting Indian-language-education program frameworks. I conducted a total of 101 individual interviews with 89 research participants. All of the interviews, except one, were one-on-one interviews conducted in person. The one exception was a follow-up interview conducted over the telephone. At the beginning of each initial (as opposed to follow-up) interview, I explained briefly the purpose, the procedures, and the confidentiality agreement and asked the participant to read and sign the consent form

approved by the IRB chairperson at University of Montana-Missoula, the Director of

Tribal Education Department of The Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes, and the

Director of Salish-Pend d'Oreille Cultural Committee (Appendix).

Forty-one of the participants identified themselves as Indians and forty-eight are

non-Indians. Twenty-five participants are not professionally associated with the three

selected school districts and 64 either work for or are involved in the selected schools. I

interviewed the non-district-based participants first to obtain an understanding of

reservation-wide challenges and of the inclinations at the tribal level. Then, I conducted

interviews in one district at a time. Interviewing occurred in District A from August to

September 2002, in District B from October to November 2002, and in District C from

March to April, 2003. Table 1 presents the profile of the research participants. In

subsequent chapters, I identify each participant by the role he or she plays in a selected

district or on the reservation along with a code number. For example, code numbers R1,

R2, R3, and so forth represent non-district-based (reservation-wide) participants. A1, A2,

A3, and so forth represent participants based in District A. B1, B2, B3, and so forth

represent participants based in District B. C1, C2, C3, and so forth represent participants

based in District C.

The primary goal of the interviews was to collect grassroots suggestions with regard
to Indian-language education in public schools with a mix of Indian and White student
populations. The interviews initiated a discovery process. They provided opportunities for
brainstorming approaches to problems and alternatives that would accommodate local
conditions and diverse perspectives. I formulated the interview questions based on insights

Table 1

Research-Participant Profile

Number of Participants / Participants	Non-district Based	District A	District B	District C	TOTAL
Tribal education leader	2				2
Salish-Pend d'Oreille Cultural Committee staff member	1				1
Tribal Council official	1				1
Salish elder	4				4
Tribal members involved in Indian education	5				6
Non-tribal member involved in Indian education	3			1	4
Elected public-education official (non-Indian)	1				1
Non-Indian staff member of State Office of Public Instruction	1				1
Indian staff member of State Office of Public Instruction	1				1
District superintendent (non-Indian)		1	1	2	4
School principal (non-Indian)		2	2	1	5
School-program administrator (non-Indian)		1	1		2
Non-Indian classroom teacher		4	3	3	10
Indian classroom teacher			1	1	2
Salish language teacher	2	2	4		8
Native American Studies teacher			3		3
Vocal Indian parents/grandparent		3	2	1	6
Vocal non-Indian parent/grandparent		3	2	3	8
Active Indian community member		1	1	1	3
Active non-Indian community member			2		2
Indian non-teaching school staff member			1		1
Non-Indian non-teaching school staff member			2	1	3
Indian school board member		1			1
Non-Indian school board member		1	3	3	7
Indian-language educator (non-Salish)	1				
Linguist (non-Indian)	1				1
Historian (non-Indian)	1				
Legislator (non-Indian)	1				1
TOTAL	25	19	28	17	89

gained from literature review on indigenous-language education and from a pilot study

conducted with experienced Montana educators. The following interview protocol, which

addresses essential dimensions of program design and implementation as exemplified in

relevant bilingual-education models and well-known indigenous-language programs (see for

example, Amrein & Pena, 2000, Batchelder & Markel, 1997; Krashen and Biber, 1988;

Ngai, 2002; Sims, 1998; Reyhner, 1992; Valdes, 1997), served as the guidelines for my

unstructured interviews:

1. What efforts have been successful in helping to increase the learning of the Salish language in your school district?
2. Why do you think current efforts have not succeeded in reversing the trend of diminishing use of the Salish language?
3. What do you think public schools should do to help increase the learning of the Salish language among young people in your school district?
4. What are the possible ways to integrate Salish-language learning into the public-school curriculum?
5. What would be the design of an ideal Salish-language program in terms of the following areas:
   - *objectives,*
   - *grade levels,*
   - *subjects taught in Salish,*
   - *required teacher qualifications and teacher training,*
   - *the place of the program in the current school organization,*
   - *length and frequency of the Salish class(es), etc.?*
6. Do you think such program would work in your school district? What are the obstacles and what are the facilitating factors?
7. How do you think the obstacles can be minimized or even removed?
   -e.g., *What kind of professional development can be provided?*
   What qualifications are acceptable?
   What are the possible sources of funding?
   What should be the minimal level of external (or central) funding?
   How can collaboration between the tribe(s) and public educators be facilitated?
   What can the tribal council and the cultural committee do to help?
   What can school administrators and teachers do to help?
   What can student leaders and parents do to help?
   What can you do to help?
8. What are the innovative ways to gain support from policy makers and stakeholders?

9. What compromises/accommodations must advocates make in order to gain support from policy makers and stakeholders?
   -e.g., *If some people oppose..., how much would you compromise?*
10. What compromises/accommodations must policy makers and stakeholders make in order for such a Salish-language program to become feasible?
   -e.g., *If an advocate proposes..., would you find it acceptable? How much would you compromise?*
11. What are the key components of a public-school Salish-language program that are acceptable to both Indians and non-Indians?
12. What are your suggestions regarding possible ways to establish these components?

The interview protocol served as general guidelines for unstructured interviews rather than as a rigid template (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Most interviewees focused on responding to selected questions linked to their positions in the public-school setting. For example, the superintendents spoke at length on administrative issues such as funding and school policies. The teachers devoted the most time to discussing instructional issues such as teaching approaches and required instructional support. The parents talked mostly in terms of the quality and quantity of education programs that would impact their children's learning and future careers.

Follow-up questions emerged spontaneously during the interview process. For example, when a superintendent addressed the difficulty of working collaboratively with Indian parents, I asked the participant to suggest steps that administrators could take to improve the relationship and steps that Indian parents could take to build a constructive partnership. When a teacher pointed out that coordination between mainstream teachers and Salish-language teachers would help reinforce children's Salish learning, I asked what types of support teachers would need in order to find time for the suggested coordination and what would motivate teachers to take on the extra responsibility. Consequently, most interviews, which usually lasted about an hour, did not cover all the questions included in the protocol

thoroughly. Instead, each participant concentrated on discussing selected aspect(s) of Indian-language education about which he/she felt most strongly. Each participant, therefore, contributed details to a piece of the overall picture—the resulting frameworks.

Moreover, new and follow-up questions evolved through constant comparison of incoming data (Conrad, 1978). Early data collection and analysis facilitated fine-tuning questions for subsequent interviews. For example, a White parent suggested that students should learn about local Indian heritages along with local White heritages. I framed the suggestion as "a multicultural-education approach" to Indian education (including Indian-language learning). In subsequent interviews, I asked participants to comment on the suggested "multicultural-education approach." While the White participants expressed support for the suggestion, the Indian participants objected to the idea because they interpreted the term "multicultural" as little or no Indian. A comparison of Indian participants' responses with White participants' responses led to re-frame the suggestion into "local heritage studies" that would cover local Indian heritages and, at the same time, require students to employ a comparative approach in reflecting on other non-Indian local heritages. Subsequent interviews, as a result, included a new question seeking feedback on the new idea of a "local heritage" class. This is an example of how new interview questions emerged from the data-collection process, how the constant-comparison method directed data collection, and how the preliminary framework evolved along with interview questions. The back-and forth interplay of data collection and analysis is central to the constant-comparison method (Strauss & Corbin, 1994).

The preliminary program framework derived from interview data collected from the 89 participants formed the basis of follow-up interview protocols. For this purpose, I

conducted a second interview with 12 selected influential local leaders and knowledgeable

local actors.

I tape-recorded all (but four) interviews with the consent of the participants. Thus, I

prepared a full written transcript of each interview (about 1000 pages). The detailed written

record allowed for line-by-line coding and analysis (see Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Data Analysis

The 101 interviews generated four sets of data. Set 1 is non-district specific and

is relevant to all mixed districts on the reservation. Set 2 is about District A. Set 3 is

about District B. Set 4 deals with District C. First, I coded and analyzed each set of data

separately. In the process of analyzing sets 2, 3, 4, I extracted data concerning

reservation-wide conditions and combined them with the data in set 1.

Data analysis in this study involved three stages of coding that are similar to open,

axial, and selective coding procedures (see Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Strauss & Corbin,

1998). Stage-I coding aimed to sort incoming data into pre-set and newly discovered

categories. It was also a process of discovering detailed dimensions of each category

(Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The pre-set main categories included the four main areas

covered by the research questions, namely, "facilitating factors," "obstacles," "approaches to

obstacles," and "language-program elements." Under each of the main categories, initial

sub-categories emerged through open coding. For example, in data set 1 under "program

elements," the initial list of sub-categories included goals, offering arrangements,

integration strategies, course content, domains, target-student population, standards and

benchmarks, teaching approaches, materials, qualified teachers, teacher training, support

from schools, community support, coordination, leadership, motivation, Indian/White relationship, timing, recruitment, consultation, etc.

Stage-II coding operated to sew pieces of saturated sub-categories[7] together to form a preliminary set of program components (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). At this stage, I combined and condensed the sub-categories under the four main key categories. For example, the long list of initial sub-categories under "program elements" boiled down to seven final sub-categories: (1) supportive role of public school, (2) program objectives beneficial to both Whites and Indians, (3) target population, (4) frequency, (5) common progressive curriculum, (6) integration, and (7) shared vision and mission. Moreover, stage-II coding involved identification of connections among data within each sub-category. Organizing participants' inputs into sub-categories allowed the researcher to decipher inadequate, unclear, contradicting, and conflicting suggestions under each sub-category. In the process, I also strived to integrate diverse opinions. For example, regarding "target population," a subcategory under "program elements," some participants insisted that Salish-language education must be optional while others believed that it should be for all. I integrated both perspectives in the coding process and qualified the sub-category with the following "explanation statements" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 145):

> A public-school Salish-language program should be designed for all and available to all. It needs to appeal to students and parents as a better option, but it should not be mandatory. Otherwise, resistance develops and the problem of lack of motivation is likely to intensify.

In most cases, I was able to detect collaborative possibilities and find ways to accommodate all perspectives; in others, I had to speculate on a middle ground that would be acceptable to all based on an understanding of the bottom line of both the supporters and the non-supporters.

During this stage of data analysis, further sampling and data collection continued for the purpose of seeking elaboration, clarification, accommodation, and compromises until sub-categories were saturated. In this on-going process of constant comparison, the researcher kept questioning—how to, what would, where to—until preliminary program components emerged from each of the four sets of data. Some of the questions were answered by participants at follow-up interviews and some remain for further research and/or implementation by local actors.

Follow-up interviews served to verify and refine the proposed components derived from an integration of a wide range of grassroots inputs. I conducted 11 follow-up interviews with key local actors and influential leaders. To verify whether district-specific program components would be acceptable to most (if not all), I returned to the district superintendent, the chair of the Indian parent committee, and a district staff member who had been active in assisting Indian education in each of the three selected districts. Concerning program components relevant to all mixed districts on the Reservation, I returned to the Director of the Tribal Education Department, the Director of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille Cultural Committee, and a non-Indian Native-language-education advocate who had worked with multiple districts on the reservation. The follow-up interviews focused on proposed components (i.e., suggested approaches to obstacles and proposed program elements) that required compromising. Examples of controversial issues included how to define partnership, who should lead, who should coordinate, who should pay, how to fit Salish-language education into the mainstream curriculum, what to expect from a public-school Salish program, and how Salish

language should be taught. Areas that elicited little disagreement, such as facilitating factors and obstacles, were not addressed in the follow-up interviews.

Stage-III coding involved a comparison of the program components identified for mixed schools on the Flathead Indian Reservation and those for District A, District B, and District C in order to generate a general framework useful beyond the research sites. I compared the four sets of components against each other for both similarities and differences. At this "trimming" stage (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 159), I first extracted and abstracted consistent components to form the core components of the general framework. I also identified components that are particularly important to districts with about equal distribution of White and Indian students, to districts with more Indian students, and to districts with few Indian students.

For example, in a district with about 50 % Indian students, an Indian language program is tolerated but not necessarily perceived as relevant to all. Therefore, a particularly important action step required for such districts is to end or prevent isolation of the language program by promoting Indian-language learning as part of the school culture. In contrast, a language program is likely to be accepted as a legitimate part of the school in districts with mostly Indian students. Whites who live in such districts make a conscious decision to be surrounded by Indians, and, thus, the political atmosphere in such districts tends to be less anti-Indian. In such districts, actions should be targeted at upgrading the language program and expanding the use of the language. However, resistance is likely to be strong in districts with few Indians. The White majority questions the relevance of Indian-language learning for their children although they live on an Indian reservation. Indian-language education is likely to be placed near the bottom of the priority list when it

comes to allocating limited resources in such districts. Thus, first and foremost, in such districts positive attitudes toward Indian education have to be nurtured and interests have to be built up through a moderate amount of exposure in the classroom and/or at after-school activities.

Such comparisons allowed for specification of the distinctions between the common conditions of rural school districts with a mix of White and Indian student populations and the unique conditions of school districts with a particular proportion of Indian/White student populations. This process revealed the extent to which the program framework does apply and highlighted the specific components that have to be qualified for mixed districts with a particular Indian/White student ratio. Thus, the resulting general framework encompasses the detailed description and dense explanation of "patterns/regularities and variations" that a "grounded theory" calls for (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 10).

Researcher's Role

The constant-comparison analytical approach is based on "interplay between researchers and data" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 13). It requires a balance between analysis grounded in data and creative analysis on the part of the researcher. Creativity depends on a researcher's analytic ability, theoretical sensitivity, and sensitivity to the subtleties of words (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). During the research process, such creativity is manifested in naming categories, asking stimulating questions, detecting common ground, mediating differences, making comparisons, and extracting an integrated, realistic scheme from masses of unorganized raw data.

Constructing a framework of educational-program components out of diverse grassroots input that would be acceptable to most participants is a creative process. As suggested by Strauss and Corbin (1998), I applied the following analytical strategies during data collection and data analysis:

- Remain open to multiple possibilities;

- Generate a list of alternatives;

- Explore various options before choosing any one; and

- Frame ideas in multiple ways to stimulate thinking.

These strategies, in fact, also helped prompt research participants to come up with new ideas, explore new ground, adopt new positions, and detect room for agreements. For example, in the district with mostly White students, most participants expressed strong objection to an "Indian language program" at the onset of the interviews. To them, it meant an uncalled-for "Indian thing" that the district could not afford. Once I reframed "Indian-language learning" into "cultural enrichment" and explained how it can be "a form multicultural education that prepare students for the diversity of U.S. society," these participants became more open to explore further acceptable ways to integrate some Indian-language into the local school. When the participants appeared to be blinded by concerns such as funding, I asked questions that aimed to direct their attention to new possibilities (e.g., What if language exposure is integrated into mainstream classes? What if the Tribes are willing to provide a language aide or a language teacher? What if the Tribes are willing to sponsor an art class combined with Indian arts and crafts and language?). The researcher played the role of a facilitator in interviews that functioned as a collective brainstorming process.

The researcher also played the role of a mediator in a process parallel to a negotiation. For instance, I listened to White school administrators' criticisms of the Indians and the Indian parents' complaints about the school administration. During data analysis, I came up with possible approaches for facilitating collaboration between the two groups. My ideas, then, became new interview questions in subsequent meetings with representatives from both groups. During interviews, playing the role of a go-between, I acknowledged all participants' perspectives and demonstrated understanding and respect of participants' feelings and positions while trying to move participants to common ground that sometimes is more apparent to an outsider than to insiders.

During data collection and data analysis, as the researcher, I also took on an advocacy role. Nevertheless, my advocacy role was governed by the concern to be honest, to give voice to local people, and to include diverse perspectives (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). Although my philosophical perspective and beliefs shaped the preliminary interview protocol, I remained open to the discovery of alternative perspectives, new insights, and different beliefs that participants presented during interviews. For instance, one of the preliminary interview questions was: What do you think the public schools should do to revitalize the dying native language? This question implies my belief that public schools have a responsibility to help revitalizing local Indian languages. However, I respected and included in data analysis the voice of participants who believe that the public school should not conduct Indian-language-maintenance programs. From an advocacy point of view, objections to an Indian-language-education program constitute an obstacle to language revitalization. Therefore, I turned the non-supportive voice into questions that explored ways of convincing non-supporters to accept an Indian-language program as a beneficial

educational opportunity for all. For example, a derived question for a non-supportive parent was: would you support a Salish class that combines language learning with multicultural studies that prepares your child for diverse workplaces? In short, the steps I took to ensure that the resulting program components and the general framework reflect local perspectives include: (a) systematic, thorough, and rigorous data collection; (b) honest and accurate data description; (c) data analysis grounded in diverse local voices; and (d) constant verification (Strauss and Corbin, 1994, 1998).

Summary

The empirical grounding of this dissertation study is based on research findings that are "faithful to the everyday realities ... carefully induced from diverse data, and ... applicable to dealing with [actual challenges]" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, pp. 238-239). The following features characterize the research design of the study:

- ❑ The researcher employed theoretically relevant sampling to collect data useful for identifying key components of a public-school Indian-language program that is likely to be feasible and widely acceptable to local people.

- ❑ Samples included the diverse voices of Indians and Whites, educators and parents, administrators and stakeholders, community leaders and politicians, and advocates and non-supporters.

- ❑ Program components grounded in local insights, suggestions, and advice form the building blocks of an Indian-language-education framework relevant for mixed districts on the Flathead Reservation. The researcher conducted constant verification to ensure consistency with local perspectives.

- A two-phase systematic coding procedure facilitated incorporation of variations into the general framework. The constant-comparison method assisted the search for compromises and accommodations in articulating specific program components and facilitated the process of extracting and abstracting core features for the general framework.

- The researcher employed analytical creativity in data analysis in order to integrate conflicting input. At the same time, the researcher remained open to the discovery of alternative perspectives, new insights, and different beliefs.

- The advocacy role of the researcher was governed by systematic, rigorous, and honest data collection and description.

- Comparisons of district-specific and non-district-specific data allowed for the development of the general framework that specifies distinctions between common conditions of rural school districts with mixed student populations and the unique conditions of school districts possessing various proportions of Indian/White student populations.

Delimitations

This dissertation study focuses on identifying key program components that are important considerations for initiating effective Indian language education in the public-school arena. This focus does not mean that public schools should take the sole responsibility for teaching indigenous languages. I argue in this paper that public-school programs play an important role in supporting and supplementing language learning that occurs at home, in the community, and through other formal language programs. Therefore, the resulting action guidelines for improving Indian-language education in

schools should be interpreted and implemented along with efforts that take place before school, out of school, and after school.

The focal context of this study is limited to mixed rural and small-town public-school districts composed of 15% to 85% Indian-student populations. School districts that consist of nearly exclusive Indian-student populations and urban school districts with near-universal Indian-student populations lie outside the scope of this study.

This dissertation deals with a complex educational situation where historical, political, economic, social, and cultural issues are intertwined. Long-term antagonisms between Indians and Whites, opposing attitudes toward maintaining indigenous languages, and unstable government policies concerning Indian education place challenging hurdles in front of any attempt to reach consensus on an acceptable public-school Indian-language program. The input provided by Indian and non-Indian members of the selected communities consists of diverse and sometimes conflicting opinions. In order to identify language-program components based on a synthesis of all opinions, the researcher strived to forge creative compromises that accommodated diverse needs and interests. Compromise implies "give and take." The outcome may not fully satisfy all parties involved if the educational-program components are to be transformed into applicable educational approaches. Attaining someone's ideal is not the goal. Rather, the study set forth to find the common ground that is acceptable to most (if not all).

Although the researcher intended to identify Indian-language-education program components and generate program frameworks based on grassroots input from an "insider" perspective, the outcome incorporated compromising or accommodating steps suggested by an "outsider"--the researcher. In this study, this "outsider" point of view operated to bridge

the gap among diverse local perspectives rather than to impose an external viewpoint on local issues without respect for local inclinations. Although an outsider is in a position to perceive new possibilities that insiders might have overlooked because of the experiences of past and current struggles with related and unrelated issues, the outsider's suggestions in this grassroots study served only to garnish the local voices that remained the main ingredients of the resulting frameworks.

The predominant native language spoken in the selected communities is Salishan (Silverthorne, 2001 August, personal communication), although Blackfeet, Kootenai, and other native languages are spoken by a small number of residents. In light of the unique political and preservation issues associated with this kind of distribution, the outcome of the study is only relevant to communities with one predominant native language.

Furthermore, this dissertation focuses on exploring the potential benefits of Indian-language education that co-exist with mainstream education conducted in English. School programs in the form of total immersion in the target Indian language are not within the scope of this study. Investigation of possibilities that more than one Indian language could be incorporated in public-school settings (for instance, in communities composed of a balanced number of residents from two or more indigenous linguistic backgrounds) also lie outside the scope of this study. Moreover, investigation of existing Indian-language-education programs and models that are non-inclusive and private in nature was not a goal of this study.

In an attempt to answer the four main research questions, this study set forth to seek suggestions as well as to discover questions that need to be answered by local actors. The researcher did not expect to find answers to all of the implementation questions raised

during data collection and data analysis. Rather, the goal was to develop a program framework that would include general action guidelines. Detailed steps vary and should be allowed to vary across different cultures and local conditions. As the concluding chapter makes clear, the characteristics of specific groups of actors, the unique local culture, and the complex conditions faced by a specific school will determine the specific steps that transform the conceptual framework into a feasible education program.

The next four chapters will present study findings, discuss their implications, and address their applications. Chapter 4 focuses on considerations relevant to all mixed districts on the Flathead Indian Reservation. Chapter 5 deals with findings related to District A--the district with about half and half Indian/White student proportion. Chapter 6 is about District B—the district with mostly Indian students. Chapter 7 focuses on findings for District C—the district with the smallest number of Indians. These chapters rely heavily on direct quotes in order to give voice to the local people.

Footnotes

[1] One of the distinctive characteristics of critical research is that "the kinds of questions asked relate to the dynamics of power and exploitation in ways that potentially are linked to practical interventions and transformations" (Morrow & Brown, 1994, p. 257). Action research is "the systematic collection of information that is designed to bring about social change." This purpose "challenges some aspect of the status quo." The researcher "seeks findings that can be used by people to make practical decisions" and "presents recommendation for change" (Bogan & Biklen, 1992, p. 223, 225).

[2] Microscopic conditions are the ones that "bear immediately on the phenomenon under study." Macroscopic conditions are those that derive from "more 'macroscopic' sources, such as economic conditions, social movements, cultural values, and so forth" (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 19).

[3] Strauss and Corbin (1994) contrast "substantive" theory with "general" theory (p. 274). They suggest that "researchers can aim at various levels of theory when using grounded theory procedures" (Strauss & Corbin, 1994, p. 274). A continuum can be used to capture the various levels of abstraction. Substantive theories occupy the lower end of the continuum and general theories are at the higher end.

[4] Anselm Strauss and Barney G. Glaser are the co-originators of grounded-theory methodology. Strauss later developed his own approach to conducting grounded-theory research. One main difference between Glaser's (1992) and Strauss's (1990, 1994, & 1998) approaches is that Glaser strongly objects to Strauss's recommendation on the use of "verification" throughout data collection and analysis. Verification serves an important purpose in this study.

[5] Hypotheses derived from constant comparisons are statements of relationships between concepts (Strauss & Corbin, 1994, p. 274).

[6] Systematic coding includes open coding and axial coding. Open coding facilitates discovering of categories. Axial coding allows for relating and diagramming the relationships among categories (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

[7] As in a typical grounded-theory study, "saturating" existing categories (Corbin and Strauss, 1990; Strauss and Corbin, 1998) constitutes an important step in the dense development of a program/model. The technique, in this case, refers to accumulating data to the point that "no new information seems to emerge during coding" or when "the 'new' that is uncovered does not add that much to the explanation" (Strauss and Corbin, 1998, p. 136).

CHAPTER 4

RESERVATION-WIDE CONSIDERATIONS

Salish Language Education On the Flathead Indian Reservation:
A Record of Heroic Steps

Since the turn of the Twentieth Century, the survival of the Salish language has depended upon the heroic steps taken by individuals and groups committed to maintaining it in the face of entrenched obstacles. This chapter focuses on participants' non-district-specific comments. These comments reflect the common conditions faced by public schools with a mix of Indian and White students on the Flathead Indian Reservation. Therefore, the suggestions serve as building blocks for the resulting Indian-language-education program framework that is relevant to all mixed districts on the Reservation. In addition, questions dealing with feasibility and applicability emerged from these non-district-specific insights. I used these questions to guide the subsequent search for workable program-framework components for improving Indian-language learning in the three selected school districts.

The chapter begins with a summary of factors that facilitated Salish-language preservation. Identifying facilitating factors in the language-revitalization process allows for learning from past successful experiences. These common facilitating factors need to be acknowledged and maintained so that helpful efforts will continue. Along with past facilitating factors, suggestions for removing existing obstacles form the basis of an action framework that can guide efforts to improve Salish-language school programs. Identifying obstacles that are hindering the progress of Salish-language education is not the end, but a step toward finding ways to assist in reversing the trend of diminishing use of the language. Research participants offered suggestions for dealing with common

reservation-wide obstacles and for improving Salish language education in mixed school districts on the Reservation. The following discussion is based upon opinions shared by research participants who hold positions of influence regarding Indian-language-education program design and implementation on the Reservation.

The insights presented in the first three sections below are based on 101 interviews with 89 research participants (see Table 1). Forty-one of the participants are Indians and 48 are non-Indians. Twenty-five of the participants are not professionally based in the three selected school districts and 64 of them either work for or are involved in the selected schools. The fourth section will summarize the participants' input and interweave the researcher's comments.

Reservation-Wide Facilitating Factors: Taking Heroic Steps

Since the 1970s, the Salish people have been taking heroic steps to preserve and revitalize the Salish language and culture. Over the past three decades, they have made great strides toward preservation and revitalization in face of numerous obstacles. A number of entities have contributed to reservation-wide language education efforts. These entities include the Salish-Pend d'Oreille Cultural Committee, the Tribal Education Department, the People's Center, the Salish and Kootenai Tribal College, the Tribal Council, and Indian Education Committees of parents in various school districts on the Flathead Indian Reservation. In addition, supportive and committed individuals, both Indian and non-Indian, have assisted in the process over the years.

Desire to Revitalize the Language

In response to the rapid decline of the culture and language, the Tribal Government established the Salish (now Salish- Pend d'Oreille) Culture Committee in

1974-75 to protect, maintain, and perpetuate the Salish culture and language. The Tribal Council has financially supported the Cultural Committee until today. The Committee's charge is to preserve traditional knowledge and skills; preserving the language is central to that effort. A few years ago, the Tribal Council declared that Salish and Kootenai are the official languages of the Flathead Reservation. Recently, in response to the requests of four young language-revitalization advocates, the Tribal Council agreed to provide the newly established immersion school with a $220,000 budget.

The young tribal members set out to revitalize the Salish language through learning and teaching the language to young children. These committed young people devoted many hours to learning the language with elders. According to a tribal-education leader {R3}, they are the first group of Salish second-language learners who have become fluent enough to maintain a conversation with elders. Furthermore, while heading toward the goal of creating the first Salish immersion school for young children on the reservation, a couple of these young speakers went through mainstream teacher training to acquire the skills needed for teaching in a classroom setting. Their courage to step outside tribal politics by ignoring the debate regarding who should lead the language revitalization and to move ahead with their vision to revitalize the language elicited admiration throughout the reservation.

Salish cultural and education leaders, both young and old, refuse to "put the language on the shelf," or "preserve it like a jar of pickles" as a tribal education leader {R3} puts it. They want to revive the language. The leaders' initiatives have provided the impetus for continuous improvement and expansion of Salish-language-education programs on the reservation. The outcomes of these language programs depend on

grassroots support. According to a Salish-language teacher {R8}, interest in learning the language is coming back.

Written Records and Materials

In the 1970s, the Cultural Committee standardized the Salish language by using the International Phonetics Alphabet (IPA) introduced by non-tribal linguists. The writing system did not exist for most of tribal history. Now, according to a tribal education leader {R3}, "it is a goal of the elders to master the writing system." At first, the Committee applied the IPA writing system for documenting the language. According to a former member of the Cultural Committee, now a Salish culture and language teacher {R8}, the Salish language "is pretty well documented" through the production of video recordings, audio recordings, and books by the Cultural Committee. The Cultural Committee produced books for teaching the language to adults, and all seven public schools on the Reservation eventually adopted the books for teaching school children. The set of books for teaching the language, which include grammar lessons and pronunciation drills, are entitled Basic Salish 1, Salish 2, and Salish 3. This set of books is accompanied by three audio tapes that review the whole alphabet. Missionaries and non-tribal linguists assisted in producing a number of dictionaries. The most recent version is produced by a young Indian learner and teacher of the Salish language. While showing me the different dictionaries, a respected elder and Salish-language teacher {B10} states that "I use these dictionaries when I need to look up words; it [the language] won't completely die."

Language Instruction Programs in Place

Based on the books written in IPA, formal instruction of the Salish language began in the 1970s. Planting the seeds of Salish-language instruction in the public

schools, the tribal college, and other educational settings constituted a significant accomplishment of the Cultural Committee. Today, adult Salish classes and workshops are offered by the Salish Cultural Committee and the People's Center. Indian-language programs are in place in most of the public schools on the Flathead Indian Reservation. A Salish language teacher and a respected Salish elder {B11} attests that "it's a dream to have the language in the public school" in which Indian languages used to be prohibited. Moreover, the Salish and Kootenai College (SKC) has been playing an important role in providing resources for language and cultural instruction. For instance, the college assists in training teachers, offers formal language instruction, and facilitates efforts in integrating language and culture into public-school curricula. For instance, an Indian-language course is required for all students enrolled in four-year degree programs and a leadership language class designed for Indian students is offered by an elder through the college. Moreover, the teacher-training program and other academic programs are expanding and growing at the local college. Teacher candidates are gaining exposure to Native languages, and an increasing number of students (Indians and non-Indians) are studying Indian cultures, Indian history, and Indian languages. SKC housed a bilingual-education program that a federal bilingual-education grant supported. When the program was in place, according to a tribal education leader {R3}, "a group of people were able to move toward a goal [of language revitalization] much faster." In addition to the programs housed in the public schools and at the tribal college, the language is taught at Headstart programs and at the new Salish-language immersion school for young children. As a tribal-education leader {R3} points out, "We haven't truly acknowledged the great deal of evolution that has occurred over the years."

Salish Teachers in Public Schools

In public schools, the continuation of Salish-language instruction since the 1970s can be attributed to the efforts of Salish-langauge teachers who are willing to step into a traditionally hostile setting in order to pass the language on to the young. Over the last two decades, individual Salish teachers have been devoted to developing personal curricula and materials. For many years, Salish teachers delivered their lessons without a classroom designated for Salish instruction and received only the salary of a teaching aide or a home-school coordinator because they were not certified teachers. Since 1995, the establishment of Class 7 certification for Native-language teachers, a non-traditional certification process, has improved the status of Salish teachers. A Salish cultural leader {R19} explains that "Class 7 gives the opportunity for the younger people." Upon approval of the cultural leaders, the teachers are full-school employees within the union contract. They enjoy the same rights as certified teachers in public schools. According to a tribal educator {R3}, "this is the biggest open door for Native-language teaching/learning in public schools."

Constructive Engagement between Indian and non-Indian Educators

At the reservation level, supportive non-Indian public-education administrators have been assisting in maneuvering the political landscape to ensure a place for Indian-language programs in the public-education system. Without their agreement, the Indian-language public-school program would not survive. At the same time, the Tribal Education Department has been operating as a crucial liaison between the Tribes and the public schools on the reservation, between the tribal educators and the school teachers and administrators. In recent years, the Tribal Education Department has been organizing an annual Tribal PIR (public-instruction related) Day, which is a conference packed with

workshops for educating public-school teachers regarding teaching Indian students and teaching about Indian topics. One of the objectives of Tribal PIR Day is to facilitate the integration of Indian languages and cultures into the mainstream curricula. In addition, the annual River Honoring organized by the Tribal Education Department serves to educate children on the reservation about Indian traditions and, in the words of a tribal councilman {R16}, "to bring the Tribes and the public schools together." The Tribal Education Department plays an important role in engaging public educators in improving Indian education and education for Indians on the reservation.

At the state level, the Office of Public Instruction (OPI) has been involving Indian and non-Indian educators in policymaking. Apart from Class 7 teacher certification tailored to Indian language teachers, the recently developed Montana Standards for World Languages is another example of constructive engagement between Indians and mainstream educators. The new set of World Languages Standards calls for providing the opportunity for K-12 students to learn a language other than English. The standards are built upon a rationale that reads: "To relate in a meaningful way to another human being one must be able to communicate. Studying world languages, whether modern, classical or Native American, enormously increases one's ability to understand culture and to see connections." Currently, elementary and middle schools are encouraged by Montana Office of Public Instruction to offer world languages and all high schools are required to do so in order to obtain state accreditation. A county superintendent {R10} stresses the fact that "Native American languages are counted." Thus, applying the World Languages Standards in reservation schools can mean increased learning of Indian languages.

In addition, the Bilingual Education branch of the Office of Public Instruction is the liaison between public-education policymakers and Indian-language education advocates throughout the state. It helps facilitate Native-language teacher training for teachers from different parts of the state. For example, the state agency recently financially supported TPRS (Total Physical Response Storytelling approach) training for Salish- and Kootenai-language teachers. These constructive engagements have helped reduce antagonisms between Indians and Whites that are rooted in the past.

Federal Funds

In 1990, the Native American Languages Act declared that Native Americans have a right to use their own languages and that it is U.S. government policy to preserve, protect, and promote the development of Native American languages. Subsequently, the Native American Languages Act of 1992 established a program of grants to tribes and other Native American organizations to support a wide range of activities aimed at ensuring the survival and continued vitality of Native American languages.

In recent years, the federal funds supporting Salish-language education in the public schools on the Flathead Indian Reservation have included Impact Aid, Johnson O'Malley (JOM), Title III (formerly Title VII), Title VII (formerly Title IX), Title I programs, the Native American and Alaskan Children in Schools Program, and the Twenty-first Century Learning Center Program. According to a tribal-education leader {R3} and a school administrator {B8}, Impact Aid, aimed to assist local school districts that lost property-tax revenue due to the presence of tax-exempt property such as Indian lands, amounts to about $2000 per child per year. Although federally connected non-Indian students and some special-education students are qualified for this program, most students counted in the

Impact Aid formula are Indian students. JOM, Bureau of Indian Affairs educational funding under the Johnson O'Malley Act, amounts to $71 per Indian children per year. This program requires the establishment of an Indian Education Committee in each of the granted district. The committee, usually formed by Indian parents, serves to provide input regarding Indian education in the school. Another grant that benefits Indian children is the Title VII—Indian Education Program (formerly Title IX). It amounts to about $140 per Indian child. The Title III-Bilingual Education Program, formerly Title VII, amounts to $59.2 per LEP (limited English Proficient) child. LEP students are those who are impacted by a language other than English or come from a community so impacted. All Indian children who exhibit below-average academic achievement can be categorized as LEP learners. Title I is another formula grant, based on poverty driven criteria. It amounts to $374 per child. Although qualified students are not restricted to Indians, the grant primarily benefits schools with high Indian populations.

Apart from formula grants, there are a couple of competitive grant programs that benefit Indian language education. One is the Native American and Alaskan Children in Schools Program. According to a school administrator {B8}, this is specifically authorized for Native American language programs awarded by Office of Bilingaul Education and Minority Languages Affairs under the Improving America's Schools Act. District B has received this grant. It amounts to $238,389 per year for the next five years. Another competitive grant program is the Twenty-first Century Learning Center. This program, designed for schools with over 40% students who receive "free and reduced" lunches (an indication of poverty level), provides funding for after-school programs at reservation schools. District A and District B have received funding through this program.

These federal funds have allowed poor public-school districts with high Indian populations to provide Indian-language education for all. Without these funds, poverty-stricken rural districts on the reservation are unlikely to be able to afford programs other than core mainstream programs required for state accreditation and federal mandates such as No Child Left Behind.

Amiable Political Atmosphere

The political atmosphere on the reservation had been changing over the years. A public-education administrator {R10} points out that Indian people have become more powerful politically and they are developing the skills to protect their rights. For instance, Indian people occupy positions on local school boards, the State Board of Public Instruction, and in the Montana State Legislature. An elderly tribal member {R20} illustrates the change with a local example: "My daughter is the chair of the school board. Some years ago, an Indian would be voted down."

At the state level, an Indian legislator successfully revived Article X of the State Constitution in 1998. This law—Indian Education for All—mandates the integration of Indian education throughout the K-12 curricula in Montana public schools. Montana is the only state that has passed such legislation. The required implementation of Indian education has opened the door for increased learning of Native cultures and languages in the public-school setting. According to a bilingual education specialist {R5}, "a good bilingual program would satisfy the requirement of the law." With the backing of the law, it is becoming difficult for local school administrators and school boards to ignore grassroots demand for Indian-education programs.

Summary

The facilitating factors described above have been crucial to the revitalization process. The desire of committed people, the dedication of Salish-speaking teachers, the materials and instructional programs developed over the years, the cooperative working relationships established among tribal and non-tribal entities, and the financial and political support at the governmental level formed the backbones of the revitalization efforts. The rising question for reservation education is: how can one build on these conditions and move forward from there? More specifically, what are the strategies for tapping into the existing interest in the language and for mobilizing the community to fulfill the desire to save the heritage language? How can local actors take advantage of the official status of the language to change people's attitude and gain support? How can the written records be transformed into effective teaching materials for different grade levels? What are the steps for coordinating existing Salish-language programs so that they build upon each other? How can the partnership between schools and tribal entities be strengthened? What are the procedures for clarifying responsibilities? What form of training and education will help dedicated individuals continue to develop into effective teachers? What kinds of support are required? What are the possible steps for bringing about coordination among committed individuals so that they can build upon one another's efforts? How can local actors make the most of the existing resources? How should language-advocates take advantage of the opportunity provided by the revived law and the new Standards for World Languages? What are effective approaches for integrating Indian languages in a way to enhance learning for all? Context-specific

answers to these questions would allow individual school districts to plan their next moves.

For future plans to take off, planners also must take account of existing obstacles. Understanding of obstacles simultaneously sheds light on feasible solutions. The next section describes obstacles perceived as obstructing Salish-language revitalization efforts.

Reservation-Wide Obstacles

From the perspective of a school administrator {A1}, "I haven't seen public-school Indian language programs make much of an impact on kids." This disturbing statement provides one impetus for a search for answers to the question--what's wrong? The public-school Salish language programs reach more kids than any other Salish program on the reservation. What are the reasons that they have not been effective in passing the heritage language on to the young? The commonly perceived obstacles uncovered in this study include loss of economic value of the language, lack of domains for use of the language, low priority assigned to an Indian heritage language, shortage of Salish-speaking teachers, lack of support for Salish teaching and learning, lack of leadership and coordination, and tension between Indians and Whites.

Loss of Economic Value

According to Thompson Smith, a historian and a consultant for the Salish-Pend d' Oreille Cultural Committee, the Jesuits and BIA boarding schools did not succeed in killing the language despite their destructive impact. Smith shared the following account:

> Before 1910, I would estimate that at least 90% of tribal members remained fluent even after 25 years of the operation of boarding schools and 40 some years of Jesuit education as a whole. What prevented the Jesuits from succeeding in their acculturationist objectives prior to 1910 was the prevailing cultural environment of the reservation, including the persistence of a tribal economic

system. Language conversion, in other words, cannot be affected by educational methods alone, when the language of a community's principal economy is their own. And even though the Jesuits were backed by government policy and the punitive use of the rations system by the US Indian agent, even these additional coercive and partially economic powers were not enough to cause any significant loss in the Native languages. In order to function economically on the reservation prior to 1910, both Indians and non-Indians had to know either the Salish or Kootenai language, or both. Before the reservation was opened to non-Indians, the only Whites who legally worked on the reservation were officially sanctioned Indian traders who were licensed by the government to trade with Indians. Most of the traders ended up having to learn Salish or Kootenai in order to conduct business. Obviously, the whole language environment at that time was still dominated by Salish and Kootenai. However, the socio-economic climate changed dramatically after the establishment of non-Indian social, political, and economic domination following the opening of the reservation. In the years after 1910—after this blatant violation of the treaty—we saw a sudden change in the prospects for cultural survival in these communities. Within 5 to 10 years, Indian people became marginalized socially, politically, and economically on the reservation. The non-tribal members gained control of Indian land, especially the best, the most arable land that was most valuable for agriculture. The irrigation project, which was established through other congressional acts following the Flathead Allotment Act, helped ensure that non-Indian farming and ranching would be feasible on the reservation. Non-Indians also dominated the town and the whole commercial side of the economy. Consequently, Indian people were forced to know English in order to function in the economy. Worse still, the more Indian you seemed, the more you spoke with a Salish or Kootenai accent, the less Whites wanted to hire you for any job—except for maybe stacking hay bails or something like that. Opening up the reservation for White homesteading turned the place into one in which Salish language was not only useless but a liability if one wanted to be able to succeed, or even simply get by at a marginal level."

Furthermore, a respected tribal education leader {R4} points out that those who

clung to the Salish language gave up economic opportunities and ended up living in

poverty. Eventually, the lack of economic value of the language deterred the passing on

of the language to children at home. As a result, most of today's grandparents and

parents do not know the language. The sharp drop-off in the number of Salish learners during the1910 –1930 period led to 50 years of language discontinuity. This gap has disrupted intergenerational transmission of the language. Although school children now are learning the language again, there is little reinforcement and exposure at home and within the community. Since Salish is not the language of the workplace, most parents lack the motivation to learn the language or support their children's learning of the language. In order to increase the perceived value of the language, we must figure out: How can the attitudes toward the language be changed? What are possible economic incentives for learning the language?

Lack of Domains for Use of the Language

Since the opening-up of the reservation, parents avoided using Salish at home to protect their children from discrimination. As a result, Salish ceased to be the language of most households. Grandparents do not speak the language anymore; and parents do not know how speak it. A Salish elderly tribal member recalls {A13} that, in the past, "the language was always used in formal meetings," but "now none of the tribal-government business is conducted in the language and few of the tribal leaders are speakers." Individual efforts to create domains for use of the heritage language have been discouraged. For example, according to a tribal member {A13}, staff members of the tribally owned power company were "ridiculed" for putting up bilingual signs in the workplace. In the tribal-school setting, Indian-language use is limited to language classes.

Currently, Salish language use is restricted to the monthly advisory elder-council meeting, certain traditional ceremonies, informal encounters among the handful of speakers, and language classes. Although, in recent years, an increasing number of children have

been learning the language in formal-education settings (e.g. Headstart, the immersion school, the tribal high school, the tribal college, and public-school Salish programs), they hardly hear it outside of the classroom. Consequently, formal language instruction has not produced new speakers, except for a few young-adult learners who supplemented classroom learning with countless hours of practice with elders.

A tribal language-education advocate {R21} explains that "elders are so willing to translate bits and pieces of the language into English to accommodate learners." As a result, students never have to use the language. Given its limited use and the perceived lack of necessity, motivation to learn the language and to practice the little learned in school is low. Many learners also find Salish a difficult language. An Indian-education advocate {R13} notes that "mastering the language requires tremendous commitment that not many young Indians are willing to make."

Lack of domain for use is a reason mentioned by non-Indian school administrators {C1, C2, A2, B6} as an argument for supporting Native American Studies (NAS) taught in English over Salish language courses. They believe that NAS is more useful to non-Indian students. Also, they argue that it is easier to find NAS teachers than Salish-language teachers.

In order to create domains for using Salish, we must find answers to the following questions: What are the places that can be turned into domains for use and/or practice? How can it be made a "necessity" to learn and to use the language? How can people be motivated to use the language even when they do not have to?

Not a Top Priority

A third obstacle is that language revitalization does not seem to be a top priority when it comes to allocating resources for the tribal government, the mixed community, and the public schools. Not every tribal member supports the maintenance of the heritage languages. Not every Salish descendent perceives the language as their identity marker. One Salish education leader {R3} believes that some of the non-supporters were "brainwashed" by boarding schools. In her opinion, some are blinded to the value of any language other than English and others have lost faith and hope in the language. A respected Salish elder {R18} shares that "my great-grandmother said someday the language would completely be gone." Echoing this pessimistic note, a tribal-language advocate {R21} points out that "the large amount of money invested in language learning and teaching yielded little result to date."

Although some tribal members view the traditional language a source of personal pride and satisfaction, few perceive learning the language as a top priority in their lives. A language advocate {R13} points out that "the desire is high but the willingness to do ... creative thinking and hard work is low." A tribal educator {R3} observes that the number of "dedicated people is getting fewer" and "other priorities are pushing it aside." In her view, children were more interested in the culture and the language ten to twenty years ago than they are now. Many of today's Indians live in a world where the mainstream culture washes over the traditional culture. The dominant culture consumes the one of the minority. A respected Salish elder {B10} cites "the busy life style" as an obstacle. In her words, "we didn't make it [the language] important, ...basketball, football, school, washing, cooking, the whole thing took it away."

Lack of parental involvement also is identified as a key obstacle to language revitalization. An elderly tribal member {R20} maintains that "Indian people tend to stand back and wait until crises arise." His point of view is that some people do not realize their responsibilities and power as parents, some are apathetic, and some support the language program morally, but do not spend the time and energy required to ensure its success.

As the perceived language of power, status, wealth, and success in the dominant society, English has replaced the marginalized language as the preferred means of education and communication. Many Indian parents view English/Salish, White identity/Indian identity, and mainstream popular culture/heritage culture as either-or options. If required to choose, according to a tribal education leaders {R3} many would rather have their children receive "top-notch education in the White world" over maintaining their Indianness. This perspective has been shaped by the historical legacy of the White settlement on the reservation since 1910. The families who held on to their traditions, heritage culture, and language were those who gave up other opportunities in order to prosper in the White-dominated world. A prominent Indian educator {R4} points out that "the more traditional the families, the poorer they were." As a result, maintaining the language is not and cannot be a top priority in many families because other needs and interests beckon.

In some cases, not passing on the heritage language is a conscious choice. A respected elder, a Salish teacher {B11}, observes that some speakers are "being lazy." Instead of teaching the language to the young, they would rather "blame the boarding school and public schools for the demise of their heritage language." In other cases,

however, letting go of the heritage language is not a conscious decision. Widespread poverty leaves many Indian families with little time, energy, and financial resources for teaching/learning the heritage language. Although the Flathead Indian Reservation is the wealthiest one in Montana, many tribal members live in poverty. For instance, 67% of the Indian children in District A live below the poverty line. Poverty-related obstacles such as dysfunctional families, drug abuse, alcohol abuse, sexual abuse, spousal abuse, and high school drop-out rates distract communities from devotion to revitalizing a heritage language that, to many, has little or no socio-economical value. Tribal educators {R3, R19} point out that the Tribal Government allocates substantially more financial resources to remedial programs, such as drug education, than it does to language/cultural-enrichment programs.

Furthermore, research participants indicate that saving the language is not a priority for the Tribal Government right now. A Salish cultural leader {R19} maintains that "although language revitalization should be the top priority for the tribal government, it's not today." This participant continues: "When issues come up, they say it's a priority. Then it goes away. They don't follow it. They don't keep it as a priority at all levels." The Tribal Government elects to focus on political issues, such as water rights, lineal descendency, and Bison Range, rather than on language and culture revitalization. One councilman {R16} ranks language revitalization as fourth to fifth on a 1-10 priority scale (with 1 as the top priority). Although the Tribal Council passed a resolution declaring that Salish and Kootenai as the official languages of the reservation and required a language plan to be brought to the council within 90 days, the Council did not designate a specific entity to be responsible for this action nor put aside funding for that

purpose. According to a Salish elder {R19}, "The policy doesn't have any teeth to it." A tribal official {R3} adds that "right now program managers and department heads don't think language is important, and they don't allow their staff to attend language classes or language activities." Several tribal agencies (e.g., Cultural Committee, Reservation Department, and Tribal Education Department) have been contributing to language preservation and revitalizing efforts, but they are mostly underfunded and understaffed. A tribal educator observes {R3} observes that people working on the language tend to "come and go." The few education leaders and speakers who stick with it are working "as hard and as fast as they can," but they are loaded with many other responsibilities. For most people, there are always other seemingly more urgent and more important demands that push language down on the priority list.

In addition, an apathetic attitude toward Indian languages is rampant in the school system. Administrators tend to allocate finite financial resources toward programs that are required to meet state accreditation standards, No Child Left Behind requirements (which are unfunded Federal mandates), and programs demanded by the majority of the community such as athletics, music, and art. Lack of funding has become the primary rationale for delaying implementation of the recently revived Indian Education for All law. Among those Indian and non-Indian educators who are taking steps to implement the law, language has been mostly left out from the on-going discussions. Priority is being placed on teaching Native American Studies in English. Indian-Education-for-All advocates have been pressuring mainstream teachers to integrate Native lessons into the mainstream curriculum; little has been said about integrating Native languages. Since Salish is not viewed as a vehicle for success in public-school education or in the

workplace on the reservation and beyond, the language is often treated as a second-class, peripheral program in schools on the reservation. As a community activist {A1} notes, "public schools historically were set up to remove Indian cultures and languages after all."

In order to motivate people to spend more time, energy, and resources on revitalizing the heritage language, we need to figure out how to promote the language as a valuable asset. How can children and parents be motivated to learn the language? What political actions are required to move language revitalization up on priority lists within tribal entities?

Shortage of Language Teachers

According to a survey conducted by tribal education leaders {R3, B17}, there are only about 70 Salish speakers left. Among the 70, only 30 learned Salish as their first language. Most of these remaining Salish speakers tend to resist the idea of teaching the language in the public-school setting. They are still telling the stories about the punishments their grandparents and parents experienced for speaking the language in school. Even though some of these speakers have never been punished personally, they were discouraged from using their heritage language while they were growing up. Therefore, some of the remaining speakers refuse to work for the institution that treated their heritage with little respect. Many of the research participants refer to this factor as the reason for the shortage of Salish-speaking teachers needed for the public-school Salish-language programs. A tribal education leader {R3} describes the situation as one in which the burden is laid on a few individuals who are willing to step forward to teach in the public-school system. The demanding task of teaching 16 classes a week and working with hundreds of young kids day

after day burnt out most of the heroic Salish teachers. According to a Salish cultural leader {R19}, "Salish elders are not accustomed to the changes in discipline policy over the years. They can't control…a classroom with somebody else's ways, somebody else's methods. [The elders]… are not able to meet the discipline challenge." A tribal educator {R3} explains that "today's kids are raised by MTV. Their values and attitudes are so foreign to the elders who don't have the same reference. That's why we have a lot of turn over."

Among young people, there is insufficient interest in making teaching the language a career. According to a tribal education leader {R3}, "the bilingual program housed in the local tribal college ended because there were not enough students to make it self-supportive."

To increase the number of Salish-language teachers, we need to find answers to the follow questions: How to support the Salish teachers who currently are working in the school system? How to bring out speakers who currently are not teaching? What are the steps for preparing the next generation of teachers? Who are the potential teachers among the non-speaker group who grew up listening to the language and among those who are passionate about saving the language? How can semi-fluent or passive fluent people be trained to be teachers? What would make teaching positions attractive to those who have other professional options?

Lack of Support for Language Teaching/Learning

Indian and White educators and community members observe that children participating in the Salish programs in public schools are not achieving communicative proficiency. Obstacles identified include lack of teacher training, lack of a common curriculum that spans grade levels, lack of materials or access to materials, lack of

reinforcement in the school environment, integration difficulties in mainstream classrooms, and lack of community support for learners.

Lack of teacher training. Native language teachers are respected speakers of the Salish language, but they are not necessarily trained teachers. Teaching Salish as a second or a foreign language in the public-school-classroom setting is a demanding task for which speakers typically are not prepared. The task requires teaching strategies and classroom management skills that are foreign to Salish speakers who acquired the language in the natural environment. The needed Native-language teacher-training program is not available at the tribal college or in the state university system. According to an administrator {A1}, "without formal teacher training, speakers tend to fall back on their traditional way of learning a foreign language--English." Indian and non-Indian educators on the reservation attest that Salish teachers overemphasize helping students develop vocabulary and creating a comfortable learning environment for English-speaking Indian and non-Indian students through the use of English during Salish class. A respected Indian education leader {R4} points out that "we (the Indians) are torn by the tradition...we teach a traditional language in a traditional way—the way the elders learned a language when they were little at home...it doesn't not work." Further, teacher training has not been integrated into the Class 7 certification process. According to a Salish cultural leader {R19}, the Cultural Committee's policy for approving Class 7 teachers focuses on ensuring that candidates are fluent enough to be able to teach the language. The policy has nothing to say about teaching skills.

Lack of models. A Salish language teacher {A18} points out that "the Tribes don't know what effective teaching is.... We can't really model after Alaska, Hawaii, or Blackfeet programs because we can't really teach through dance and songs. Our songs have

no words." Along the same line, mainstream teachers feel that needed guidance regarding how to reinforce Salish language learning is not available. A public-school teacher {A9} maintains, for example, that "we don't get a clear message about what non-Indians should not talk about."

Lack of a common progressive curriculum. Individual Salish teachers develop their own personal curricula and teaching materials that currently are not being shared with other Salish teachers. A number of Indian and non-Indian participants believe that this is one of the factors holding back Salish-language education. In addition, a K-16 curriculum that allows learners to progress and achieve proficiency in the language does not exist. Apart from Salish Book 1, Book 2, and Book 3 that cover the basics of the language, few materials are known to be available to help teachers deliver language instruction in a school environment and to help learners develop their language beyond the elementary level. Indian and non-Indian educators on the reservation observe that children are learning the same thing over and over again through the public-school language programs.

Isolation. In the public-school setting, the Salish teacher is likely to be the only person who speaks the language in the building. The teacher is isolated and Salish language learning is often perceived as irrelevant to the learning of concepts and skills covered in the mainstream curriculum. The Salish class often is the only time children hear the language. It is not part of the school culture and students receive little encouragement and support for learning the language. An Indian educator {R7} points out that few classroom teachers have had any training in reinforcing and integrating the Native language into the mainstream curriculum as part of the fulfillment of the revised Indian Education for All legislation.

From the perspective of a public-education administrator {R10}, giant steps are required and a massive amount of training is needed to equip classroom teachers to reinforce Indian-language learning throughout the curriculum. Teaching materials for non-speaking teachers need to be designed and produced for use in mainstream classrooms. Research participants indicate that the expertise and commitment required in this regard is lacking at the moment. Outside of school, a support system for learners (e.g., mentor-apprenticeship system) is not in place. Indian educators observe that little encouragement and reinforcement is given to language learners in the community. According to a Salish educator {R2}, for instance, "speakers are saying that learners are talking baby talk; it didn't make them feel good about it."

Lack of materials. The word "materials" means different things to different people. Some are quite satisfied with the materials that are currently available. They referred to the books on basic Salish, vocabulary lists, and some recordings. Others have found few materials that are age-appropriate, effective teaching tools, and usable lesson plans. In particular, tools that help learners practice and materials that allow for reinforcement in mainstream classrooms, home, and other informal settings are lacking. Some participants {R13, R19, A10, A18, A19, B11, B14} indicate that few teachers have access to what is available at the Cultural Committee. When it comes to electronic materials, the scarce existing ones are simplistic and word-oriented. A cultural committee staff member {A5} adds that funding for developing computer programs is lacking.

Lack of community support for children. On the reservation, there are some classes and informal gatherings for adults who are interested in practicing the language. However,

these gatherings are not geared toward children. There is a lack of age-appropriate language-learning opportunities in the community. There is no place for children to practice the language through fun activities after school, in the evening, or over weekends.

In order to support Salish learning among children, we need to figure out: how can we create a school environment that promotes Salish learning? How can we establish effective links between Salish language and academic content? How can we bring about integration and reinforcement? What kind of incentives and what form of encouragement will motivate students to learn the language? What are the effective teaching strategies? What kind of teaching training is needed? What are the components of a helpful progressive common curriculum?

Lack of Coordination and Leadership

Participants point out that there is a lack of leadership in the language-revitalization effort. According to a tribal government employee {R14}, no one feels responsible within the Tribal Government system. She maintains that leaders are preoccupied with other issues. A Salish elder {R20} observes that the council is not making enough efforts, nor coming up with innovative ideas for helping to revitalize the languages. The Council is not supporting any research and development program regarding heritage-language education. A tribal educator {R21} affirms that "a clear vision is missing." At the government level, a tribal activist {R14} contends that there is a lack of advocacy, recruitment, outreach, and awareness-raising in terms of increasing learning of the heritage languages. The Cultural Committee has been playing a key role in language preservation. A tribal-education leader {R3} observes, however, that the Cultural Committee has not been taking on the leadership and coordinating role. An

elderly tribal member {A13} maintains that "the Tribal Education Department needs to be more creative, active, and pro-active."

Moreover, a tribal educator {R3} points out that "there is no support for strong leadership;" at the same time, "it's truly a struggle who should lead." A tribal elder {A13} explains with the story of what he calls "Indian Crabs." The main point of the story is that "every time one reaches up, others would pull this person down." Without support for leadership, little collaboration occurs among different entities. A tribal education-leader {R3} contends that "we suffer from everybody's autonomy.... People are not on the same page. Each person is doing his/her own work...not enough drawing together nor sharing resources." A staff member of the Cultural Committee {R9} observes that "the Headstart programs, the public schools, the immersion school, the tribal college, the People's Center under the Restoration Department, the Cultural Committee, and the Tribal Education Department are all going a million directions.... All these entities are not coordinated enough to have an effective, cohesive program." Without coordination, teaching/learning materials developed by individuals are not shared and lost over time. Without leadership and coordination, there is no agreement regarding the goals and direction of language revitalization among speakers and within the Indian community as a whole. An Indian school teacher {B16} maintains that "I don't think we spend enough time as a community talking about what it is that we collectively want to say about ourselves.... We say we would like to save the language.... Is there other knowledge that we would like to save." These reports suggest that it is not clear what should be preserved and passed on, or who should be responsible for the tasks. Community members are counting on the Cultural Committee to "save" the

language, while the Cultural Committee focuses on preserving the language in tapes, documents, and audio and video devices and expects the community to use their language resources to revitalize the language.

According to a tribal-education leader {R3}, Salish-language education has been stagnant since the termination of the bilingual-education program housed in the local tribal college years ago. The participant adds that "when there was a group striving toward a goal, we moved forward much faster." However, an independent group working to facilitate reservation-wide revitalization does not exist currently. A tribal-government official {R3} explains that it is difficult for a tribal department to take on such responsibility because it would have to divide its attention fairly between the two official languages of the Reservation—Salish and Kootenai. She adds that the current staff size of any tribal unit would not support taking on additional responsibilities for leading and/or coordinating efforts to revitalize two languages.

Public-school educators rely on the Tribal Education Department, which is perceived as the liaison between Indian educators and public school, for supervising Salish-language instruction in the public-school setting. However, a public-school administrator, who supports Indian-language education {B8}, points out that "the Tribal Education Department staff members are not language teachers. They have no authority over the language teachers" who are hired by the public school. Out of respect for the Salish elders, both school administrators and the tribal educator who are not speakers {R3, A1, B8} hold that "it is not our place to tell the speakers what to do." In other words, no one dares to intervene. Consequently, Salish speakers are left to shoulder the whole burden of teaching the language in isolation.

Within the public-school setting, there is a lack of coordination between the mainstream teachers and the Salish teachers and among the Salish teachers across districts. The common explanation is lack of time for coordinating. There are also the questions of who should take the initiative, who should approach whom, who should be reaching out to whom. Since there is little mutual understanding of the shared responsibility, few are reaching out to connect and collaborate with others.

In order to facilitate coordination and collaboration, we must figure out what form of leadership is needed. What would be the roles of the leaders? Who should be included in the leadership for language revitalization? What are the strategies for creating linkages among entities and individuals?

Lack of Unity within Indian Community

Lack of unity within the Indian community is one of the obstacles contributing to the diminished use of the language. An elderly tribal member {A13} explains that conflicts exist between light-skinned Indians and dark-skinned Indians, between full-blood and non-full-blood tribal members, and between those who know the language well and those who do not. Tribal members who do not speak Salish fluently claim to have experienced "discrimination" by speakers. These participants believe that speakers are not willing to support their learning of the language because "the language is speakers' power" {A13, R20}.

On the other hand, speakers observe that there is little initiation at the grassroots level. Community members are not supporting each other and are not working collaboratively to increase and improve learning of the languages. A Salish elder {A13} points out, for instance, that community members are not helping the young teachers of

the new immersion school, the young leaders, by providing advice and sharing expertise. Most community members would rather watch from a distance and see how they manage it. One Indian community member {B16} reveals that "I can see myself being part of the immersion-school efforts, but I also don't want to step on their toes.... Maybe it's just personality or cultural.... [I want] to let them do whatever they want to do and be supportive of them.... [I] try not to jump on the bandwagon and say—this is what I always wanted to do. What can I do to help you?" An elder {A13} explains that "It's not [culturally] appropriate to give advice because you will isolate the individuals and isolate other people."

A Salish education leader {R3} indicates that "disagreements among tribal members over the past years have been interfering with people coming together to work on the language." Although language advocates are aware of the success achieved by a language committee or a language commission solely responsible for language revitalization on another reservation or in another country, the participant explains that "part of our [the Salish people's] stumbling block is forming that group." An elderly tribal member {A13} points out that "historically we have such hard time finding people to get up and be that motivator." A tribal-education leader {R3} posits that "there needs to be an intentional agreement that a language committee or a commission is valuable. I don't hear that kind of clarity coming yet from somebody.... I don't think it's our [non-speakers'] place to tell the fluent community what to do." While speakers are expected to take on the responsibility of saving the language, they do not necessarily have the expertise required for organizing concerted efforts that would succeed in passing the language on to the next generation through effective formal instructional approaches.

To facilitate concerted efforts in support of Salish language education, we need to finds ways to bring about coherence within the Indian community. In terms of language revitalization, what agreements are required among tribal members? What does it take to achieve agreements? What form of leadership is needed?

Tension between Whites and Indians

On the Flathead Indian Reservation, Indians retain negative perception of White policy and White institutions while Whites' negative perceptions of Indians and their practices linger. Indians continue to report experiences of racism and discrimination. Whites express feeling of being distrusted by Indians.

The line between Indians and Whites came through clearly in the researcher's conversations with study participants. For instance, a tribal councilman {R16} perceives White resistance to every effort the Tribes initiate. He adds that "for everything we (the Tribes) do here, we have to prove beyond the shadow and doubt that the Tribes are going to treat White people with fairness." He believes that White antagonism springs from their fear of being treated unfairly by the Tribes and the fear of losing control, losing their domination, on the reservation.

From Indians' perspective, Whites have not accepted, but are only tolerating, Indian culture. A Salish cultural leader {R19} maintains that "public schools are not too interested in Indian people...They don't really value our language, culture, and history." Indian-education advocates perceive the public school's treatment of the language program as unfair and unjust. There are Indians who are still resentful of how White people treated Indians. A respected Salish elder {R19} contends that:

> Poverty has been bestowed upon Native Americans because of what
> was taken from them [by Whites]. You take something away; it's like

> taking money from somebody's pocket and say—go and live. You can't live without money. The same way, you can't live without culture. You take that from them. They are broke. They don't have anything.

Indians believe that White people are responsible for their fiscal poverty and cultural poverty. Many believe that the high-drop out rate among Indian students is caused by lack of respect for students' heritage in public schools. The cultural leader {R19} views the revived law (Article X of Montana constitution) as a kind of "band-aid" effort.

Tribal educators and Indian-education advocates believe that public schools continue to put up barriers that prevent Native languages from being integrated into public education on the reservation. The Salish classes used to be treated as "second-class classes" in the past. For instance, they were conducted after school, during lunch hours, or at recess. Indian-language teachers were paid as the wage of an aide because they were not certified personnel. A tribal-education leader {R3} points out that "after going through many hurdles, the language program still is not a priority in public schools." Some Salish speakers refuse to teach in public schools because of distaste for interethnic politics and anti-Indian attitudes among parents. Some Indians perceive school boards composed of Whites as a major political barrier to Indian Education. An Indian parent leader {A6} explains that we have to fight for every little thing [in the public school]." A Salish elder {R29} believes that it is the Federal government's responsibility [to restore the language] because they are responsible for having taken the language for the first place. So, to put it back, they should fund it [language programs]."

On the other hand, a White legislator {R15} believes that "the government has contributed a lot already through Impact Aid, and the Tribal Government needs to share the financial burden." At the same time, some Indian participants {R3, R16, A5, A6, B28}

consider Impact Aid money as their financial contribution because they believe the schools

are receiving Impact Aid money due to the presence of the Indian students. This

discrepancy in expectation of each other's role has created tension between Whites and

Indians.

Indian parent leaders and school personnel talk about "partnership." However, there

is no consensus regarding what partnership means to both sides. Discrepancies in

interpretation and expectation cause disappointment and blaming. Indians expect the school

to contribute more, while the school expects the Tribes to shoulder more of the partnership.

For instance, school administrators expect the Tribes to provide Salish-language teachers

with a certain level of teaching expertise, while Indian community members expect the

school to provide Salish teachers with training, released time for professional development,

and so on. Each side blames the other side for the ineffectiveness of Salish-language

instruction and is waiting for the other to fix the problem. Along the same line, while school

administrators {A2, A4, B7, B5, C1, C2} expect the Tribes to provide more information,

materials, and training in order to build up mainstream teachers' knowledge in the area of

Indian education, Indian educators and community leaders {R2, R3, R10, R11, R19, A5,

A6, C14} are disappointed by mainstream teachers' inaction regarding developing their own

materials for integrating Indian education. An Indian-education supporter {A1} labels

teachers' reliance on the Tribes to provide materials as a "cop-out."

In order to facilitate Indian education, including Indian-language education, in the

public school setting, we need to figure out what specific steps can be taken to improve

relations between Whites and Indians? How can we bridge the gap between public schools

and the Indian community? How can we build consensus on a constructive partnership (at least in the education arena) that is based on trust and mutual respect?

Suggested Solutions To Reservation-Wide Obstacles

Public-school Salish programs will not take off without dealing with the above reservation-wide obstacles. Solutions to non-district-specific problems are likely to facilitate reservation-wide language-education efforts. Therefore, it is fruitful to discuss ways to overcome challenges at the reservation level before exploring strategies for enhancing Salish-program efforts in the selected school districts. This section reports the research participants' attempts to answer the questions derived from the above analysis.

A tribal-education leader {A3} maintains that "we need to keep working on creativity to look at how to address obstacles. We can't just get stuck in one way." In the face of lack of interest and motivation to learn Salish, participants suggest multiple ways to increase the perceived value of the language and to create domains for use of the language. In response to the shortage of teachers and lack of successful learning of the language, participants propose numerous strategies for supporting teaching and learning. In order to facilitate concerted efforts, participants suggest ways to enhance collaboration and cooperation between Indians and Whites both vertically and horizontally.

Increase Perceived Value of the Language

Informing community members of the value and benefits of teaching/learning the Salish language is one of the recurring suggestions. A linguist {R6} maintains that "the secret of success is that they [community members] have to want to do it.... This is one ingredient, without which is like making spaghetti without water. You cannot do language preservation without the will to speak it." To succeed in revitalizing Salish, according to the

linguist, "there needs to be people who just want to speak Salish all the time to learners and children." Therefore, in order to promote Salish teaching and learning, language educators and advocates must take on the responsibility of marketing the language--starting at the grassroots level.

Informing/Marketing/Promoting. Both Indian and non-Indian research participants believe that apathy toward Salish language education is caused by a lack of understanding of the value of the heritage language. The participants suggest that efforts be made to convince tribal members, especially the young generation, of the following beliefs:

- "The Salish language is on the verge of going out of existence; however, it is possible to revitalize the language just as Hebrew was revived" {R6}.
- "The language is an essential part of the tribal identity" {R3}.
- "Losing our language is losing us....we [would be] just people of brown skin and black hair" {B10}.
- "Our language comes our culture, our values...everything that describes, makes us who we are" {R21}.
- "The language is a survival tool in our culture" {A5}.
- "The only thing that has any importance is the language" {R20}.
- "The language is our knowledge" {R20}.
- "The language has more of the culture than whatever can be described in English. When you translate it, you lose something" {R13}.
- "Out of respect for elders and love for the children yet to come, we have to pass it on" {R21}.
- "Indian students need to know the language for their self identiy" {R18}.
- "We need to share hope but not despair" {R21}.
- "The meaning of survival depends on language and culture" {A19}.

Moreover, research participants emphasize that rapport needs to be gained with the larger community. The community as a whole needs to be informed of the value of Salish-language education. All parents need to understand the personal and family benefits of learning two languages and the importance of learning about the local heritage language for children. They suggest the following arguments:

- "Salish-language education is adding to the current curriculum and not replacing English language education" {B22}.
- "The language allows you to see the world differently, allows you to make relationship with different things that you can't do within English, to expand one's mind, and to see how things are categorized differently" {B17}.
- "Learning the international alphabet helps children learn other languages" {B12}.
- "The ability to do those things in another language is a skill that is useful in other academic areas" {R3}.
- "Learning any second language primes the pump for future language learning" {B8}.
- "Learning a language other than English helps children develop critical cultural sensitivities that cannot be gained in other ways" {B8}.
- "Learning languages is like building shelves or neuro-pathways for kids to put things in the future" {A11}.
- "When children learn a language which is very different from English, they learn a lot more about languages" {R5}.
- "Learning other languages is inherently valuable; the more we find ways of understanding each other, the better the environment, the better we are" {R5}.
- "It's good for children to think about other cultures" {A1}.
- "It's the language of the place, not only of the Indian" {R13}.
- "Connection to the place and gaining another perspective are important" {B25}.

Research participants also suggest using moral arguments. They point out that the community should be aware of its obligation at different levels. At the individual level, community members need to understand that their faith, commitment, and support are crucial to language revitalization. Regarding the school context, a tribal educator {A3} maintains that "although we can't revitalize a language in the school only, we can't have language revitalization if schools don't help us." Participants stress that community members need to be informed of the revived Article X of the State Constitution that requires Indian Education for All in public schools. They need to know that "public schools have an obligation to recognize the cultural diversity within the schools" {R11}. The Office of Public Instruction (OPI) staff member {R11} adds that "language is Indian Education.... Language needs to be acknowledged in the interpretation of the new law." Another OPI staff member {R5} contends that "a well-designed Native language

program can meet the spirit of the law." At the same time, community members need to understand that "children have to learn it in school as well as outside the school system" {R3, R4, B6, B7, B11, A4, A17}.

In order to reform people's thinking, Indian-education advocates suggest that promotion has to be both top-down and bottom-up. For instance, in response to the question concerning strategies for reaching the targeted audience, a public-education administrator {R5} suggests that Office of Public Instruction can play the role of informing school districts about the language component of Indian Education for All, world-language standards, the assumption underlying the standards, and the benefits of K-12 instruction in a second language. This participant believes that it is important to promote Indian-language education among school administrators and school-board members because they are influential in shaping school policy, school atmosphere, and curriculum/program design.

Politically, an elected public-education official {R10} maintains, "Pressure needs to be exerted on both the Tribal Government and the state government." She adds that within the Tribes, increased interest and demand from tribal members would push the Tribal Council to support heritage-language learning. Some participants {R3, B28} suggest that the Tribal Council could encourage language studies through financing and by requiring employees to take language classes. Furthermore, other participants {R25, A13} suggest that the Council can mandate language learning in tribal schools and tribal college. They can require newly enrolled members to reach a certain level of language proficiency within a specified time frame. According to the elected public-education official {R10}, the Council has the power to require Indian students to acquire an Indian

language because they have the power to insist that "we want higher standards for our Indian people." Also, the council could also push the state to request more.

This public-education official suggests that "we have to find a way to push the legislature to better fund schools." She contends that "the Tribe needs to convince the local legislators and the local politicians and local leaders of political offices.... If you cannot convince them of the need to implement this [Indian education], you are not going anywhere." The official adds that "the Tribe has to be involved in all parts of the politics. They have to change the opinion of the body politics, starting with their own people." However, "The Tribe should not stop their political influence within the Tribe. There are a lot of us [white education leaders] who are willing to agree with them." Therefore, the participant suggests that "it takes people, Whites and Indians, who really are concerned about the issue, to bring it forth; then, other people would think about their needs."

Further, the public-education official explains:

"Although it's important to gain support at the state level, especially for implementation of the law, the State won't require the learning of a second language. The only way it would happen is if the local district says that this is important for us, we want to do this."

Local education leaders respond to local demand. Therefore, the participant contends that "in order for the language to succeed, everyone has to have a part in it.... Everyone has to make it an important part of their lives." A legislator {R15} echoes the same advice. He suggests that "initiatives should come from the local level.... It has to be a service demanded by parents and students and desired by the tribal people." Thus, the arising question is how to mobilize local people.

Mobilizing. An elected public-education official {R10} points out that "the Tribe has a big job to do within the Tribe. They have to get tribal people to want it badly enough

to become committed to it." District-based participants believe that the desire of the people to revitalize the language will increase interest and motivation to learn the language and that will, in turn, increase the demand for teaching the language and for creating domains for use of the language inside and outside of the public school system. Research participants suggest that presentations using research results to support bilingual education will help convince the public. A revitalization advocate {R21} suggests the use of scare tactics. For example, "one needs to create a crisis and make it scary to lose the language by publicizing horrifying statistics." Others suggest using the media, such as TV, radio, and the *Char Kooster* (the tribal newspaper), to reach each and every tribal member.

The language-revitalization advocate {R21} points out that a desire to save the language has to be ignited quickly enough to educate an adequate number of children to save the language. To mobilize parents, a grassroots movement is needed. An Indian community activist {R14} suggests the following steps:

-organize through reservation-wide Indian Education Committee [a system in place for Indian parents to link up];
-hold evening meetings;
-tell people we are losing our language;
-start out informally;
-circulate questionnaires;
-get people empowered a little;
-write grants; and
-provide food and have a feast together [the traditional form of gathering].

Many of the participants who expressed strong beliefs are not actively involved in language-revitalization efforts. The Tribal Council can mandate and contribute financially. IEC can inform parents. Schools can support and supplement efforts. The emerging question is: Who should be responsible for promoting the language and mobilizing people locally and reservation-wide?

Support Learning

In response to questions regarding how to support Salish learning, participants propose active and interactive teaching approaches and new ways for reinforcing learning within and without the school setting. They explore potential incentives and recruitment strategies. They also identify needed materials and discuss the potential benefits of a common curriculum.

Effective teaching approaches. Indian-language education advocates call for the need to "shift our thinking, look at the problem with fresh ideas and fresh insights, and imagine something fresh and new" in terms of teaching Native languages. An experienced indigenous-language educator {R23} contends that "a revolution is needed." "Teachers must try a different way," another advocate {R21} urges. She adds that "they must stop throwing an arrow at a brick wall again and again," and "must get out of the box and be more creative with teaching of the language." To be respectful, the indigenous-language educator {R23} clarifies that it is "not that speakers [of Native languages] need to improve their teaching techniques, but they need to understand how to deliver a language in a school environment."

Many research participants believe that an effective teacher should possess the following: the ability to manage a room of 20 energetic children, knowledge of language acquisition, genuine interest in the language, a gentle and loving personality, and skills for teaching in a classroom setting. Effective teachers, most participants believe, are the ones who can make learning relevant, fun, interesting, engaging, and educational with regard to culture and language acquisition. The participants call for "more entertaining, more active methods" in place of "listening and repeating words."

Indian-education leaders and Salish cultural leaders believe that "the most advanced ability will come from immersion...that provides opportunities for conversations, helps develop the ability to respond in unpredictable situations, allows for internalization of grammar rules through practice." A Salish-education leader {R3} stresses the importance for teachers to possess "a bag of methods" and be able to adapt to specific groups of students and the changing learning atmosphere that exists in an immersion setting. Suggested approaches include:

-field trips guided by Salish speakers;
-make-up games (e.g., Bingo) in Salish;
-Indian games (e.g., learn numbers through playing Shinnee);
-hands-on activities;
-Total Physical Response (TPR);
-TPR Storytelling;
-interactive technologies;
-question-and-answer practice;
-guided-conversation practice; and
-unstructured interaction in the language.

In general, participants are anxious to see breakthroughs in Indian-language teaching approaches. They believe that it is time for Salish learners to "get out of the classroom, get up from the chairs, swing their legs and arms--be active, involved, and engaged in learning." Then, where and how should the suggested "revolution" start?

Reinforcement. A significant number of Indians and Whites participants believe that "the Salish language should be integrated throughout the curriculum so that students constantly hear and see the language." Some {R7, A20, A9} suggest that language teachers and regular teachers share word lists and concept lists. In the mainstream classroom, for example, "every time the teacher uses the word 'world,' he/she can use the Salish word/conceptualization for 'world' along with it" {B20}. An Indian-language education supporter {R13} urges that "every regular teacher commit 5-10 minutes of

every class to reinforce the ancestral language." In the Salish class, the Salish teacher could incorporate concepts presented in the mainstream curriculum in teaching the Salish language. For example, children can work on addition in Salish and the weather chart and calendar in Salish.

Another suggestion is that mainstream teachers work with language teachers and team up with elders to develop materials. Along the same line, a participant {B20} proposes the idea of team-teaching in mainstream classes and the Native American Studies class. A Salish speaker could reinforce lessons on the spot in the Salish language.

Outside of the school, participants point out, parents need to take on responsibility for reinforcing Salish learning. A tribal-education leader {R8} asserts that "we shouldn't depend on the school to teach our children our own language. Parents should learn, too." For example, the participant adds that teachers can learn through the distance Salish courses offered by the local tribal college. An elderly tribal member {A13} suggests that "the language has to be everywhere in the community in order to reinforce learning occurred through formal instruction." Suggestions include Salish TV programs with Salish "subliminals," a Salish radio station, Salish street names and store names, a Salish newspaper and newsletter.

The next questions are: what kind of training and planning would it take for reinforcement to occur in the mainstream classroom? What would motivate parents to reinforce learning at home? Who should be responsible for setting up the Salish radio station, producing Salish TV programs, putting up Salish signs in the community, etc.?

Recruitment. A respected Salish-education leader {R4} affirms that recruitment is culturally appropriate means of increasing the numbers of Salish learners because "we so desperately need to speed up the revitalization process." Salish elderly tribal members {R20, S13} suggest the active recruitment of selected teenagers for intensive language training. For instance, cultural leaders can "identify promising young tribal members" and provide them with intensive training by elders. An elder {R18) points out that this is the traditional way of preparing the next generation of tribal leaders. He adds that "in the old days, tribal elders used to identify children with special qualities for spiritual gifts and send them off to the mountain for a quest." Another elder {R20} advocates "taking wild 15/16 year-olds and influencing them with basic things." For example, as the elder illustrates, "let them in a summer-language program, combine language with outdoor activities, and tell them if they quit they are coward. They will die before they are cowards." In order to attract learners and maintain interest, learning activities must tap into the energy of young people and they must be fun and relevant to children's bicultural world—the traditional and the contemporary aspects of their lives, the Indian and the mainstream cultures.

If recruitment is necessary, someone has to take on the task. Who should be responsible for recruiting? What support system is needed for the recruited learners?

Motivation/incentives. A respected scholar {R6} in Native-language revitalization maintains that "the trick is to give people incentives" to study the languages. A Salish cultural leader {R19} agrees that incentives "will go a long way." To motivate learning of the Salish language, an elderly tribal member {R20} suggests implementation of the traditional reward system. For example, honoring can be

conveyed through granting an eagle feather or a notch on the stick as presented

traditionally. Although intrinsic motivation is considered to be superior, research

participants acknowledge the effectiveness of practical rewards as learning incentives.

For example, a form of practical incentive in the school setting would be to offer high-

school or college credits that count toward graduation or college-admission requirements.

The participants agree that the most effective incentive is money. Suggestions

include different forms of monetary incentives for learning the language:

-"Make heritage-language learning a full-time job for selected individuals {R9};"
-"Pay community members to go to college to take language classes {R10};"
-"Offer education fellowships for potential language teachers who are willing to commit to working on the reservation {R10};"
-"Offer scholarships for young learners of the language {R10};"
-"Pay working adults stipends to attend a two-year intensive training course so that they don't have to work for a living during that period {A13};"
-"Pay 20-30 tribal students to get into the language to a greater degree of fluency and keep giving them incentives for using the language {R9};"
-"Let tribal employee leave work early to attend language classes {B28};"
-"Hire help in the workplace so that employees can take time off to attend language classes {B28};"
-"Offer a payroll addition for people who achieve a certain level of the language {R3};"
-"Offer higher level salary for fluent speakers {R9};"
-"Require all tribal employees to learn the language. Work 4 days a week and use the fifth day to learn the language {B28};"
-"Offer materials incentives (e.g., If you can speak Salish in certain situations, you will receive a jacket or sweatshirt as a reward {B28}."

In addition, parent and teacher involvement is a kind of incentive suggested by a

number of participants. If children see parents and teachers learn the language, they are

more likely to view the language as valuable and, hence, will be more motivated to learn

the language. Indian language advocates {R8, R21} insist that "the language has to be

part of home life. Parents can learn a little from their kids and be proud of what the kids

learned in school." Along the same line, a respected elder and Salish language teacher

{B10} points out that "if teachers learn a little about the local Indians and maybe some

language, that act of appreciation for the local culture will solve a big part of the problem." Another Salish teacher {A18} maintains that "if teachers use the language, even just a few words, the children would be motivated."

A Cultural Committee staff member {R9} believes that successful language revitalization requires a combination of "economic incentives and a well-funded, well-developed, and well-staffed language program." Thus, the next practical questions are: what are the sources of funding? What does it take to elicit such financial commitment from the Tribes and other sources?

Materials. Research participants acknowledge the need to spend more time and money on developing materials that facilitate learning of the heritage language. The participants suggest the production of audiotapes and videotapes for language learning, materials that students can take home for practice, and readers with exercises. Although some participants claim that these types of materials exist, others indicate no knowledge of how to access the materials and some are believed to be lost.

Indian and non-Indian participants who have been involved with Salish language education suggest establishing a central resource center, a resource library, or the like where materials developed by individuals are archived, organized, and shared among teachers. In addition to polishing the traditional materials so that they are perceived as valuable, the younger generation of educators hope for multimedia materials, such as CD recording of stories shared by speakers, interactive computer- learning programs, Internet lessons for individualized distance learning, CDs and tapes of Salish lessons covering mainstream academic topics. Research participants suggest that CDs, audiotapes, and videotapes of Salish lessons help alleviate the problem of teacher shortage. In a situation

where speakers are not always available to reinforce the language, classroom teachers, parents, and students themselves can use tapes, CDs, and computer programs to further their learning of the language.

While some teachers are in search of authentic materials that record elders telling traditional stories rather than Salish translations of Cinderella, the Frog Prince, and the like, others are awaiting materials that include new coined words and concepts that are relevant to the technological age. A tribal-college educator {R7} maintains that "instead of teaching Western concepts with Salish words, new words should convey the Salish way of thinking as much as possible. Materials should include not only Salish words, but a language that conveys the Salish world view." A teacher {A9} believes that "booklets that are subject-centered on particular topics would help facilitate Indian education in the classrooms." For example, teachers can use a booklet explaining why Salish people tell coyote stories, when to tell them, what lessons are taught by the stories, and relevant information that teachers can easily use in developing lesson plans.

In the face of critically high demand for various kinds of materials, we need to identify a group of individuals to coordinate and oversee the efforts of material development and distribution. Who should take on the task?

Curriculum based on high standards. A recurring suggestion involves the call for a Salish-language curriculum. Research participants are convinced that a progressive curriculum is needed to support learners in the development of their language proficiency from beginner to advanced level. Moreover, a common curriculum will allow learners to progress and to learn new skills as they move from one grade level to the next even when they move between schools on the reservation. An Indian-education supporter {A1}

asserts that a standards-based curriculum would allow school administrators to support and to help improve the classes. With benchmarks and standards, administrators would know what kind of teacher training is needed, what to expect from students, and how to fit the program in the school organization. Furthermore, an Indian-education administrator {R2} proposes that the Indian-education curriculum be aligned with national standards for content areas and contends that an Indian language can be integrated into the Indian-education curriculum. Thus, the questions arising are: Should there be a separate language curriculum or should the language be integrated into an Indian-education curriculum? Should the language and Indian education be weaved into the mainstream curriculum?

Support Teaching

The few Salish language teachers in the public schools on the reservation are shouldering a heavy burden, mostly in isolation. Participants suggest several ways to support their teaching of the heritage language. Increasing the numbers of teachers will lighten the workload and establish rapport among teachers. Providing teacher training will equip speakers with skills for teaching in a classroom setting. Centralizing supervision of language instruction will allow for continuous improvement of Salish education.

Increase the number of teachers. The immediate solution to the challenge of Salish-teacher shortage is to convince speakers who have been reluctant to become teachers in public schools. A Salish cultural leader and a Salish education leader {R3, R19} affirm that there are speakers who could be persuaded to teach in the schools. Many of the 70 speakers are either unemployed or retired. According to the Salish

cultural leader {R19}, monetary incentives and compensation "would go a long way."
The elder adds that "a lot of knowledgeable people are not working or retired. If you
compensate them, they feel they are needed. If they are needed, they are very
productive."

Other suggestions for making teaching Salish an attractive job include paying
speakers to work with selected individuals in a mentor/apprenticeship format, paying
Salish teachers in the public school system the same salary as certified teachers, paying
honorarium to elders who serve as guest speakers in schools, and offering scholarships
for young learners who aspire to be Indian-language teachers and are committed to
working on the reservation. For example, a participant {R10} suggests "sending off
young, politically powerful tribal members who have interests in learning the language to
school [college] and immersion with an elder."

In addition, showing respect for Salish speakers and Salish language in schools is
another way to make teaching the language an attractive job. Given the fact that most
speakers are elderly, participants {R12, R19} point out, providing classroom-
management and logistics support would increase their willingness to teach in the school.
Participants support the idea that the school hires a full-time support person who is an
adult learner of the language to work with the elderly speaker in the classroom setting.
This person can drive the elder from home to school and back, help with enforcing
discipline in the classroom, coordinate with mainstream classroom teachers in terms of
academic content, develop age-appropriate learning tools, photocopy and type materials,
and perform recess and other duties required for a teacher in the school. Indian
participants {R3, R13, R14, R19} also point out that school staff can help change the

negative perception and create a welcoming atmosphere for elders to come into the school. An Indian-education advocate {R13} explains that small gestures such as greeting elders at the door, using Salish greeting expressions with speakers, and presenting small gifts for guest speakers would help speakers to feel comfortable to come to school to share their language with the young. A young tribal member, a language-education activist {A19}, asserts the need for providing psychological counseling to help depressed and oppressed speakers to overcome fear, anger, hopelessness, and hurt so that they are able to embrace the language again and be involved in transmitting the language to the next generation.

One recent success story of the Salish Tribe is the emergence of four young Salish-language educators. According to a public-school administrator {A1}, these young people were identified through a teacher-training program supported by a federal grant. The administrator suggests repeating the successful steps to identify another group of young people who are willing to work for revitalizing the language and to provide them with teacher and language training. Since the four young Salish educators have been concentrating on establishing an immersion school for young children, the new groups could be specifically responsible for teaching the language in public schools.

Increase teacher training. A young Salish teacher {A18} insists that "we need to challenge our speakers to become really good at teaching." The belief is that Salish-language teachers are likely to benefit from training in the areas of classroom management and second-language acquisition. A tribal-education leader and a Salish cultural leader {R3, R19} agree that the suggested training could be built into the Class 7

teacher-certification process. The participants suggest that incentives be provided for current teachers to participate in training.

In response to the question concerning who should offer the suggested training, Indian and non-Indian education administrators {R3, R10} refer to the local tribal college and state universities. For instance, participants suggest that there should be a four-year degree program for training Salish-language teachers. An elected public-education official {R10} asserts that public schools are in a position to create demand in the local tribal college and state universities for Salish-language teacher-training programs. The tribal college, which has ties with the fluent community, could focus on bringing about fluency in future language teachers. State universities could focus on developing skills for teaching effectively in the classroom setting. While acknowledging the need for such collaboration at the college level, a tribal-education leader {R3} calls for more communication, conversation, networking, and sharing of expertise among different entities around the state and throughout the country. Then, the question that arises is: who/what entity should be responsible for coordinating with colleges and universities to combine expertise in offering Salish-language teacher-education programs?

To support current teachers, one suggestion is to train paraprofessionals. For example, some speakers may not want to receive the training to become a teacher, but they can serve as a language aide in the classroom. In terms of supporting mainstream teachers to reinforce the language, a participant {R2} points out that librarians can play a role in the process. For example, a system that has been successful in another state involves a librarian offering to help mainstream teachers to search for materials. If

teachers let the librarian know what topics they are covering in the mainstream curriculum, the librarian will find relevant Indian materials for the teachers.

Research participants believe that satellite instruction and distance course will help to keep the cost down for both training institutions and the trainees. Distance education is likely to attract potential Salish language teachers who otherwise would not want to give up obligations at home. Similarly, distance courses could be offered to help mainstream classroom teachers develop basic knowledge of the Salish language so that they would be able to reinforce students' learning of the language in the mainstream classes. An Indian-education administrator {R2} suggests, for example, that a distance course based on Sandra Fox's curriculum guide would be feasible and helpful in guiding mainstream teachers to integrate Indian languages and cultures into the mainstream standard-based curriculum. School administrators could encourage teachers to use part of their early-out days for participating in on-line training. From mainstream teachers' perspective {C2, C13, A10, A11, B20, B21}, summer-language camps designed for classroom teachers would be helpful. School teachers and administrators {C 2, C13, B20, R7, A10} reveal that incentives, such as renewal credits and a stipend for participating in training courses, would increase the level of participation. Indian participants {B10, B11, A5, A18} believe that mainstream teachers in schools are obligated to join their students in learning the language.

An Indian-education advocate {A1} argues that ready-made Salish materials or basic language training would not help enhance teachers' cultural understanding. Many teachers feel uncertain about what to teach and what not to teach, what is appropriate and what is not appropriate, and what is accurate and what is not accurate. This participant

asserts that "they [the teachers] won't be ready to look at resources until they spend a week defining culture, reflecting on culture.... It has to be boarder-based professional development." The next questions here are: What kind of multicultural education teacher training is needed? Where and how should it be provided?

Centralize Salish- language instruction. Out of respect for Salish speakers, public-school administrators posit that it is not their place to supervise Salish-language teachers. One administrator suggests shifting the supervision role to the Tribes. For instance, the Tribal Education Department, in place of the public-school district, could become the employer of Salish-language teachers. The Department could oversee the quality of Salish-language instruction, offer teacher training, provide teaching materials, and implement on-going staff development. Instead of paying Salish-language teachers directly, school districts could subscribe to the service by paying the Tribal Education Department for providing Salish-language instruction in the school.

Would the tribal community agree that the Tribal Education Department should be the responsible entity? If so, what kind of help would the Tribal Education Department need to accomplish the task? What are other possibilities?

Create Domains For Salish-Language Usage

A Cultural Committee staff member {R9} points out that in order to motivate learning of the Salish language, Salish people need to "make the language more of a necessity." The language needs to be used and be perceived as useful. In other words, Salish people need to create domains where the language is used, learners can hear and practice using the language, and support and encouragement are available for language learners. Participants proposed four main domain categories. One suggested domain is

formal gatherings. A Salish educator {R21} asserts that "the community needs a solemn agreement with our elders that particular times, particular ceremonies, and certain cultural events occur only in Salish." Others participants {e.g., R10, B25, B26, A13} suggest that the Salish community develop formal activities where the language is used (e.g., social activities, community activities, and forums about policy and politics). A Salish-language teacher {B12} maintains that "praying" is a unique function of Salish language. To illustrate, the participant mentions that "my son learn the Salish language through praying in the language."

The second suggested domain category is the educational setting. Both Indian and non-Indian participants {R2, R18, R20, R25, A1, A13, A19} agree that the tribal school (Two Eagles River School) could be the haven of Indian-language use. It could be a place where daily communication is conducted in the heritage language among students and between students and educators who know the language. It could be a place where public-school children are immersed in their heritage language after school. It could be a place where summer activities for teenagers are conducted in the language. In individual communities, adult Native-language class could be a domain where parents start learning the language. If parents would learn to speak, children would be more motivated and home would become a domain for language use and practice. Another important domain for language learning and use is early-childhood-education settings. Research participants {e.g., R8, R19, B10, B11, B12, B17, A18, A19} agree that daycare centers and Headstart programs should be places where Indian languages are used and heard.

The workplace is the third domain category suggested by participants. Some participants {e.g., R9, R14, R20, S13} strongly believe that the Tribal Government

should conduct business in the official Native languages and should use trilingual signs in all tribal offices. The Cultural Committee could be a "Salish-only place." A Cultural Committee consultant {R9} believes that the Tribal Government could create a significant impact on language revitalization if Native languages could be encouraged in the work environment within branches of the government. The Tribal Government is the largest employer on the reservation. According to the consultant, about 1200 people work for the Tribal Government. There are 300-400 people who work at the college. One suggestion is to use incentives to encourage learning and use of the Indian languages in the workplace. For example, tribal employees who are learning or have learned their heritage language should be paid at a higher level. Or, "a merit increase" system can be implemented to allow tribal employees who are learning or learned their heritage to receive extra $500 to $2000 a year. Apart from monetary incentives, tribal department heads could support learning of Indian languages by allowing employees to take turns attending language classes during office hours.

Recurring comments convey a commonly-held belief that for a language to be alive, it needs to be everywhere. Informal social settings and everyday surroundings are the fourth suggested domain category. Participants' suggestions {R4, R6, A13, B3, B25, B28} include Salish TV programs, Salish radio programs, Salish student radio station based at the local tribal college, a speakers' club, Salish activities organized by the Housing Department for children, and a Salish-only community center. The potentially useful tools that could spread the language into everyday surroundings include a Salish newspaper, CDs and cassettes of Salish stories to be used in car stereo systems, videos of

performances of Native texts, street signs, store signs, morning announcements in schools, puzzle of the day or word of the day posted on bulletin boards in schools, etc.

Consensus with regard to the need to create domains for Salish language use emerged from interview data. The questions arising are: Who should take the initiative to nail down agreements? Who should facilitate implementation of the agreements?

Improve Relationships between Indians and Whites

To remove the interethnic tensions rooted in history, participants suggest ways to build trust. It is important that Whites understand Indians' points of view and that Indians hear Whites' perspectives. Mutual understanding will facilitate consensus building regarding the meaning of partnership between the Tribes and the school districts.

Build trust. Building trust is considered by White school administrators and Indian education leaders to be a crucial first step toward successful language education. A respected Salish cultural leader {B19} points out that "people need to accept one another.... Once it's accepted, working toward the goal, meeting those needs, would be a lot easier.... The key right now is that they (the Whites) accept it." An Indian educator {R13} maintains that "there needs to be almost a healing relationship, some kind of resolution, between public schools and the Indian community.... We need to shift our focus from our differences, the divisive nature of conflicts between communities."

To build trust, an Indian participant {R14} suggests that public schools make effort to support language teaching/learning by creating an inclusive environment and acknowledging Salish as the language of the place. From the Indians' point of view, such school efforts demonstrate to Indian parents that the school cares about who they are and who their kids are, and values their cultural heritage. In addition, Indian participants

{R13, A6} indicate that there are different ways of expressing respect for Indian cultures. Suggestions include simple gestures such as making Indians feel comfortable coming to school, greeting Indian guest speakers at the door, presenting gifts, and showing hospitality. Schools could also show support by contributing financially to Indian-language education, such as paying Class 7 Salish teachers the same rate as Class 2 teachers and sponsoring materials development. School administrators could take the initiative to invite suggestions for improving Indian-language education in school. A Salish cultural leader {R19} elaborates:

> Teachers and administrators need to make an effort to come into the Indian community. I've seen how that worked and how that is responded to by the Indian community. The misunderstanding and fear of each other start to disappear.

Also, it is important for Indian parents that the school demonstrates explicit support for Indian education through statements such as "we want to stand by Indian education" and "we want to honor Article X of the State Constitution—Indian Education for All."

As a Salish cultural leader {R19} explains, "for the Indian community to see that the White community that accepts them, there is that instant bond.... It's got to start at the grassroots level to make that connection to bridge the gap." A respected White school teacher {B20} agrees that it helps "to be visible and be part of the Indian community." She underscores the importance of attending community cultural events such as Pow Wow, trying to learn a little language, and supporting students' other part [related to their heritage] of their lives."

Define partnership. Both Indian and White participants refer to developing a partnership between the school and the Tribes as a goal. It appears that consensus regarding the definition of partnership will likely prevent disappointment for both Indians and Whites.

In response to the questions concerning what the school should be responsible for and what the Tribes should be responsible for, school administrators {A2, B7} suggest that the school be responsible for professional development related to classroom management. For example, one of these participants maintains that "we [the school] do have the responsibility in terms of ensuring all teachers serve kids appropriately...[by] attending to different learning styles." Specifically, a young Indian-language education advocate {A19} points out that "the school should provide professional development, technical support, and time for curriculum and material development."

From the Indian perspective {R19, C10, B28, A5, A6}, "teachers in public school who are non-Indians need to take...the initiative with Tribal Education Department. Then knowledgeable people that know the language and culture will come forward to give their input." In terms of material development, a Salish cultural leader {R19} explains that "the school teachers need to come forward to say to Native people—we need this, we can work together and the Native people can develop the needed materials." This participant urges the Tribal Education Department and the public-school administrators to coordinate when it comes to bringing people together. In terms of funding, Indian-education advocates and Indian parents {R3, R13, R14, R21, A5, A6, B28} call for "shared responsibilities" on the part of the school. An Indian education leader {R13} proposes that school districts on the reservation collectively fund Indian language education efforts. For example, school districts collaboratively could sponsor a Salish speaker to make audiotapes and support translation of common books. The participant asserts that such contributions from school districts would be "a huge promotion between the public school and the Indian community...."

In terms of funding, most Indian and non-Indian participants call for a partnership between the Tribes and the school. Indians expect schools to set aside funds (in particular part of Impact Aid) for Salish programs and NAS programs while some believe that the Tribal Council could contribute to extra-curricula programs. However, they are unclear regarding how much of the Impact Aid should be allocated to Indian studies (including Salish-language education). A public-education administrator {B6} suggests that:

> If parents would like to see a large part of that money be spent on Salish-language education, administrators need to see the Salish program as a real demand of parents. Parents need to be involved. They need to present clear goals and expectation from the school. Parents need to lobby the educators. They need to lobby the school board and vote in people who would support Salish language education.

On the other hand, in response to the question regarding whether the Tribes are in a position to increase financial support, a Salish cultural leader {R19} claims that "realistically, the Tribal Government can do it [invest more in language]. They need to cut back on some other things they have been spending money on." Along the same vein, a tribal-education leader {R3} maintains that "the Tribal government just has to shovel the funds around. We spend awful lots of money on drug testing. If we fund an incentive program that promotes positive values, positive role modeling, development of identity, would we need to spend so much money on drug programs?" An elderly tribal member {R20} suggests putting aside money from gaming and fishing for language education. The remaining questions are: How to convince the Tribal Government to invest more in language revitalization efforts? Who should take on the responsibility of presenting needs?

Acknowledging the financial constraints faced both by school districts and the Tribes, most participants refer to grants and private support as indispensable sources for expanding Salish-language education. A staff member of the Cultural Committee {R9} proposes "applying for grants creatively through law enforcement programs, drug prohibition programs, and environmental-preservation-education programs and through the Catholic Church." This participant suggests marrying funds from different sources. The questions arising are: Who would be responsible for ensuring that funding programs complement one another? Who should be responsible for writing grants?

From the school administrators' perspective, the Tribes should deal with training in terms of subject matter in the area of Indian Studies (including Indian language education). School teachers {B19, B20, B21, A9, A10, A11, C12, C13} claim that they lack the knowledge to develop materials. Public-school educators {e.g., B7, A2, A9, A10, C13} expect the Tribes to take the lead in terms of collaboration in material development, while Indian-education supporters {R3, R11, A1, A5, A6, C14} expect classroom teachers to ask for information on their own initiative. Indian participants {R19, A19} identify a couple of areas to which Indian people could contribute more. One is that Class 7 requirements need to be revised so that high-quality teachers are available. The other is that the Tribal Education Department could do more to bring the White educators and the Indian group together. A Salish cultural leader {A19} points out that "the PIR day [Tribal Public Instruction Related Day] is very successful, but just one day. More of those things should happen...." For example, the elder explains, "there was an one-week long language/cultural camp that brought 40 teachers together

with Indian community people last summer. It started to bridge the gap. Those things

need to happen one or two evenings a week."

A tribal-education leader {R3} maintains that "there are responsibilities in all

different areas. We all have to take responsibilities." The participants' inputs serve as

the basis on which consensus regarding a mutually acceptable definition of "partnership"

can be reached. The next questions are: What are the steps for facilitating a final

agreement on who should be doing what? Who should be responsible for outlining the

shared responsibilities and gaining commitment from individual entities for each task?

Collaborate with One Another

Most of the participants agree that coordination among Salish language educators

and supporters will improve Salish learning. Participants have identified multiple

potential areas for coordination. Horizontal coordination involves individuals and

entities in similar capacities. Vertical coordination involves entities across hierarchical

lines.

Horizontal coordination. Cooperation among speakers is identified as "the first

thing that needs to happen." Tribal education leaders, Indian parent leaders, and public-

school educators concur that Salish teachers need to collaborate on developing

curriculum, units, lessons, and materials and store the resources at a centralized location

for future teachers who, therefore, will not need to re-invent the wheel. Furthermore, a

Salish-language learner {B16} explains, "you can't go to one person and know it all....

Knowledge is not within one person." When speakers gather and speak the language, old

words and phrases that have been used infrequently will come out and new words can be

formed through consensus. In addition, public-school educators {e.g., R3, R13, B8,

B28, A1, A18} stress the benefits of coordination between the Salish teacher and the Native American Studies teacher and between the Salish teacher and mainstream teachers. Such coordination allows for reinforcing Salish learning throughout the curriculum.

Moreover, coordination among Indian parents could create pressure on the school. As an Indian parent {B28} attests, "parents are a lot more powerful than they realize." One success story involves vocal Indian parents successfully preventing a shift in focus from Indian-language education to NAS in a local school district.

Finally, public-school educators {A1, C1, C15, B8} point out that coordination among tribal entities will facilitate coordination between school and the Tribes. For example, the participants suggest that Tribal Education Department and Culture Committee should collaborate on coming up with standards for public-school Salish language programs, supporting Salish teachers, and ensuring the quality of Salish instruction in the classroom. Research participants {e.g., R3, R9, R25, B8, B19} perceive potential benefits of coordination among various education units on the reservation. The belief is that such coordination will bring about continuous support for learners of the language. For instance, coordination among the early childhood units (e.g., Headstart and the immersion school), K-12 programs, and language programs offered by the local tribal college could be an important step toward providing a coherent pre-K to 16 Salish language program.

The remaining questions are: Who should define the role of each entity? How? What kind of coordination system would allow for fair contributions from all and for tapping into existing expertise?

Vertical coordination. Vertical coordination involves governmental and non-governmental, local and state, and state and national entities. A public-education administrator {R10} maintains that "close cooperation is required between the politics of the state, the politics of the tribe, and the local politics.... They have to work together to accomplish it [the goal of language and culture revitalization]." At the same time, cooperation is needed between educators and politicians. This participant explains that "educators have to convince local politicians, and local politicians and tribal politicians have to convince state politicians. Educators and local politicians need to hold tight to expecting the legislature, our government, our leaders to carry the vision." Nationally, according to an Indian education advocate {R13}, organizations such as the National Congress of American Indians and the National Indian Education Association should take the lead to organize efforts in revitalizing Indian languages. The belief is that the national political atmosphere impacts local atmosphere. At the same time, a Salish cultural leader {R19} asserts, the individual tribal member can make a difference by electing language supporters into the Tribal Council. The Tribal Council officers who support language revitalization are more likely to contribute to national organizations for language revitalization. In other words, coordination needs to happen both from top down and bottom up. An elderly tribal member {A13} points out that consultation is a key to coordination. For instance, the immersion school founders need to ask for advice from the community and the Tribal Council and Tribal Education Department need to ask for community input. The main question concerning coordination that arises is: Who should take the initiative to reach out and coordinate with others?

Establish a Language Commission

During the discussion about who should be responsible for implementing

suggested solutions, some participants point to Tribal Education Department and some

point to the Cultural Committee. With regard to public-school Salish programs

specifically, most refer to the Tribal Education Department as the appropriate entity to

take on the responsibility for implementing their suggestions. The Tribal Education

Director explains that if the Tribal Education Department is to take on Salish-language

education, at least two extra staff members are required to handle responsibilities

concerning not only Salish, but also Kootenai. Within a tribal department, the tribal

officer explains, the two official languages need to be treated equally.

A Salish cultural leader {B19} raises the idea of adding a language director to the

Cultural Committee and the idea of re-directing the Cultural Committee to focus on

language revitalization. However, the participants who are connected to the Cultural

Committee {R9, R19} contend that additional human resources are required for taking on

additional responsibilities with language education. Alternatively, the cultural leader

{R19} argues, "there is so much demand on culture that we [the Tribes]...have to

develop something other than the Cultural Committee to meet the demand of language

revitalization." We "have to create a language commission all by itself."

Research participants {e.g., R3, R9, R10, R14, R19, R21, B8, B17, A18, A19}

envision forming an independent group of people who would concentrate solely on

Salish-language education. It could be a central office, a language commission, a

teaching core, or a language committee for Salish-language education. An Indian-

language education advocate {R21} explains that forming such an entity contributed to

the success of the Hawaiian and Maori language-revitalization efforts. A Salish-education leader {R3} agrees that " it would be ideal to have some people focus on coordinating, promoting, and recruiting. " The next question is—who should be part of this (let's say) language commission? In other words, who should lead Salish-language-revitalization efforts? In response to this question, various suggestions emerged.

Composition. It is important for most supporters of the idea that fluent speakers, the elders, are included as "the brain trust" of the language commission. The elders could advise on issues involving the mechanics of the language. In addition, a young language-education advocate {A19} proposes, there needs to be a person who develops curriculum, one who develops materials, one who trains teachers, one who insures capacity building, one who handles public relations, and one who campaigns and lobbies policy makers. A couple of respected tribal educators {R3, R8} believe that the commission should be composed of a combination of the young, the middle-aged, and the elders. A Salish cultural leader {R19} agrees that, apart from the respected elders from the Cultural Committee, the young people who established the new Salish-immersion school should be part of this commission. A public-school administrator {A1} points out that the young speakers could contribute important insights based on their experience as second- language learners of Salish and as certified teachers in the public-school system. Moreover, a tribal-education leader {R3} insists that the Tribal Education Department should be involved in assisting language education. The participant asserts that the department "doesn't have the expertise in language, but has the relationship with people who do. [The department] has to be a part of it." A public-school administrator {A1} concurs that "the Tribal Education Department is the pertinent group that goes between districts and provides some sort of focus to link all

districts together and to move all districts forward." In addition, public-school educators {A1, A2} point out that school teachers and administrators could contribute to the language commission by sharing valuable insights regarding what would work in public schools. Some tribal members {e.g., R21, B28} refer to the local tribal college as a potential player in the language commission. Some participants {e.g. R21, A19} are open to including outside experts in the commission. For example, the Native-language commission in Hawaii reportedly grew out of a university think tank.

Leadership characteristics. Participants have identified a number of leadership qualities that they believe are the crucial ingredients of success. An elderly tribal member {A13} contends that a leader needs to be "somebody who can mediate, has foresight and a priority list, and who is not afraid of ridicule." A consultant to the Cultural Committee {R9} believes that leaders of language revitalization should be people who have cultural grounding, roots in the community, complete fluency, and are trained in how to construct an effective language program. It is important to the participants that the commission is community-based because there needs to be a sense of ownership invested in the people.

A school administrator {A1} points out that the leaders need to be trusted by the speakers; otherwise, their work could be undermined by uncooperative language teachers. A Salish-education leader {R3} suggests that part of the success of the immersion school is that they ignored debate, preferring to step out and move forward even though they were not the persons whom the community expected to lead. Thus, full acceptance is not necessary for a group to begin to work toward revitalizing the Salish language. Acceptance will come with success. What it takes are persons "who are willing to step

out on the limb, knowing full well someone would fall behind you...; step on the limb

anyway and have the endurance and the fortitude to keep going...."

Responsibilities. In terms of responsibilities of the language commission, a

Salish cultural leader {R19} envisions that the commission be responsible for everything

that pertains to preserving, protecting, and perpetuating the language. According to the

elder, to protect means "to make sure it's not diluted in any way." To preserve means "to

start teaching it." To perpetuate means "to pass it on." Specific responsibilities

suggested by participants include:

-explore ways to strengthen the language policy on the reservation;
-convince the Tribal Council to re-visit the language policy;
-find ways to make sure the language is integrated in all tribal offices;
-secure funding from the Tribal Council to fund language teachers to teach in the
workplace, summer camps; and various tribal programs;
-reach out to and recruit potential learners;
-coordinate among Salish-language teachers on developing materials;
-operate as the coordinator among the immersion school, the public-school system, and
the tribal school;
-map out a reservation-wide program and a common curriculum;
-help bring out speakers to teach the language;
-provide training to potential teachers, including semi-fluent speakers;
-establish standards and benchmarks;
-set annual reachable goals;
-come up with a plan for K-12 public-school programs;
-develop curriculum and materials for public-school programs;
-support Salish-language teachers in various public-school districts;
-coordinate with mainstream teachers in developing materials for reinforcement in
regular classrooms;
-coordinate intra- and inter-school extra-curricula activities; and
-promote the use of Salish at sport games, community PowWows, community dances,
community dinners, etc.

The list of suggested responsibilities presented here is by no means exhaustive.

When asked what should be the priorities, a young Salish-education advocate {A19}

identified three top priorities: 1. teacher training, 2. materials development, and 3.

curriculum development. These are also the areas mentioned by most of the participants as requiring immediate attention.

Forming a language commission provides a solution to a number of major obstacles. The remaining questions are: What are the steps in forming such a group? Who should start the process? How can we gain agreement from all, including the fluent community, the semi-fluent, the non-speakers, the educators, the advocates, the old, and the young?

Suggested Language-Program Elements

In order to increase Salish learning, the language has to be perceived as valued and valuable. Participants suggested ways to market the language, create domains for use, and provide incentives for learning. Participants also proposed strategies for supporting language teaching and learning. Cooperation and coordination in all directions are believed to be keys to improving Salish language education. Participants' suggestions for removing obstacles shape the design and implementation of Salish-language-education programs. This section presents participants' proposed language-program components, which constitute the basis of a framework for an Indian-language-education program in public schools with a mix of Indian and non-Indian student populations.

Most participants believe that Salish-language education should exist both inside and outside of the public school system. Focusing on the school context, the interview questions explored how public schools can best help with language-revitalization efforts. Research participants clearly define the role of public schools as helping to teach the heritage language and set goals and expectations for public-school language programs.

Participants also identify the target population for and desirable frequency of language programs in mixed districts. When asked to describe main features of a feasible public-school Indian language program that would effectively supplement and complement reservation-wide language-revitalization efforts, the key elements participants proposed include a common progressive curriculum, integration throughout the school, and a shared vision by all involved.

Supportive Role of Public School

As a tribal-education leader {R3} reports, "we can't have language revitalization if schools don't help us. But we can't revitalize a language in the school only." Although, as a young tribal member {A19} points out, "the public school cannot save the language nor should it be expected to do so," most participants agree that public schools have an important role to play in supporting Salish-language education.

Promoting interest and increasing awareness of the Salish language is one of the important tasks that public schools can undertake. Research participants believe that respect and appreciation for the language begin and continue to be nurtured in the school setting, although "the revival of the language has to go beyond the schools." A Salish-language college teacher {R7} asserts that "teaching the language in public schools adds value to the language in the eyes of children." Nearly all participants accept that public-school Salish-language programs might never produce fluency, but public-school Salish-language-education advocates believe the exposure would help to motivate some children to seek further opportunities to learn elsewhere. A tribal-education leader {R3} illustrates this belief by sharing the success story of one of the young new speakers who was first exposed to the Salish language in the public-school setting. A linguist {R6}

describes the role of schools, with the influence of peers and teachers, as providing the spark in children that inspire them to learn more outside of school.

In addition, school-Salish programs supplement other community efforts on reservation. The school is one of many agencies that support the process. An Indian parent leader {A5}, who has been involved in culture and language maintenance for years, explains that "language education in the school should be a piece of the apple. The rest of the apple comes from the Cultural Committee, the People's Center, the elders, and the home.... In the school you are getting just a bite of that apple by learning the basics--phonetics, pronunciation, written form, etc." Along the same vein, this participant explains, "public-school programs could sensitize children to the sounds of the language, familiar them with the alphabet so that their brains would be wired for opportunities to be around fluent speakers at summer-immersion camps, community gatherings, etc."

Also, K-12 Salish classes provide additional opportunities for practicing the language. For instance, a young tribal member {A19} concurs that school programs would supplement the developing immersion school in the near future. Currently, the immersion program focuses on early childhood years. The public-school Salish programs could be designed to build on the foundation laid by the immersion school. At the same time, public-school programs could help to prepare learners for further learning offered by the local tribal school and the local tribal college.

It is important that Salish-language learning occurs in the public school. A tribal grassroots activist {R14} maintains that "we don't just want Indian language learning in our tribal school for tribal members only... We know we have to be grounded in both worlds.... [Therefore,] Salish-language learning should be in public schools for all

children...." The tribal activist also cautions that "segregation is really scary. " From the

Indian perspective, separating Indian students from non-Indians is undesirable and

impossible. A culture/language revitalization advocate {R22} points out that "the school is

in the heart of our community..." and that public schools "serve as the institutional host, and

the learning should come out of the school into the community." According to a Salish

elder, schools offering a Salish-language program convey to Indians that "White people are

interested in my culture...they try to learn, understand, and accept it." The school could

validate Salish learning by placing the language program on par with mainstream academic

programs.

Objectives Beneficial to Indians and Whites

Nearly all participants agree that language-program goals for Indian students and

for White students are similar, although they differ in some ways. For both White and

Indian students, Salish-language education should aim to enhance cross-cultural

understanding, teach a world view in addition to the mainstream U.S. perspective, and

help develop basic knowledge of a language other than English. For Indian students

exposed to Salish, language learning also is a way to maintain their tribal identity and

pride in their tribal heritage. For White students, learning the Salish language provides

cultural enrichment.

Enhance cross-cultural understanding for all. Research participants believe that

teaching a local heritage language in school would help bridge the gap between Whites

and Indians. Indian-language program should be designed to help White students

understand the Salish people and accept the importance of the language to Indian people.

It should help Indian students compare the two worlds in which they live and, hence,

develop the competence required for effective participation in both worlds. Some participants {B12, R19} argue for learning the Salish language (and the English language) together in school as an act of learning from and sharing with each other. The belief is that if a language program promotes students' acceptance of each other's language, it will serve to hold the mixed student body together. This goal could be accomplished by implementing a Salish language program that both Whites and Indians "own equally."

Enhance multicultural competence for all. A Salish-language teacher {R7} advocates that a language program should aim to help both Indian students and White students see the world from multiple perspectives, and, hence, learn to respect different world views in a diverse society. Another Salish-language teacher {B17} urges language teachers to teach the language in a way that allows both White and Indian students "to make relationship with different things" and "to categorized things in ways that would not be possible within English." One of the goals of including a language other than English in the curriculum, as some point out, would be to expand the minds of the young regardless their ethnic backgrounds.

Enhance second-language awareness for all. There is a consensus that the goal of a Salish-language program should aim to help learners develop basic knowledge of the Salish language. Participants believe that one of the practical goals of learning Salish is to help increase children's linguistic awareness. Although some children, especially White children, might not find the chance to use the Salish language in the future, learning the written form of the Salish language would help them become familiar with the International Phonetic Alphabet. That could be helpful for learning other languages.

If a Salish-language program aims to stimulate children's brain development, expose them to different sounds, and enhance their awareness of the differences among languages, it would be valuable to all.

Enhance Salish-language proficiency for Indians. For Indian children, participants believe that the goal should reach beyond linguistic awareness to include developing oral proficiency and communicative competence in the Salish language. A tribal-education leader {R3} remarks that "children using the language on the playground is more my goal than writing a thesis or poetry." Language-revitalization advocates perceive public-school programs as part of their efforts to "create a healthy re-growth of people who can speak the language."

Enhance self-esteem for Indians. To Indian children, the language is "a piece of their identity" {R3}. A Salish teacher {B10} affirms that "Indian children need to retain their ancestral language and the ways of the past so that they can be people who have an identity." Teaching the language is a way for Indian educators to transmit their heritage culture to the young. Both Indian and non-Indian participants agree that one of the main goals of a Salish-language program would be to help Indian children know who they are and to connect with their own heritage. "Knowing who you are gives you self-esteem, pride, and a greater sense of self-worth," an Indian educator {B12} believes. The participant adds that "if we teach the language, more Indian students would stay in school."

Enhance cultural experience for Whites. For White students, learning the Salish language is part of "an academic package." Indian and non-Indian educators believe that "knowing another culture through learning another language is good [for all children in

general]." A tribal-education leader {R3} suggests that "it's like a foreign exchange experience" for White students. One of the goals should be to help non-Indian students understand their own culture better through learning about others. Instead of focusing only on Salish-language skills, some {e.g., R2, R7, B25, B26, C4, C5} suggest, White students should also be encouraged to learn about the perspectives and culture embedded in the language.

Every one of the suggested goals serves to shape the design and implementation of a language program that aims to benefit all. Integrating all suggested goals into one program is challenging, but feasible. A Salish cultural leader {R19} trusts that "different goals would become unified as the efforts in teaching the language move forward."

Target Population

For all. A tribal-education leader {R3} explains that "although the goals are different for White and Indian students, the mixed student body should be served by one unified program in the public school setting." The reasons expressed are multifold. A tribal elder {R19} maintains that it is important to keep all children, Indian and non-Indian, as a group so as to maintain their friendship. Salish-education and community leaders believe in exposing the broadest number of students possible to the language, in the hope that one or more of them will create his/her opportunities for further learning. The education leader {R3} explains that "we don't know who is going to have the ability and the interest, or something is going to spark them and they are going to take off; we couldn't have predicted the young people would have turned into Salish teachers today."

Although, according to a couple of Indian-language-education advocates {A1; R20}, a few Indian people do not want non-Indians to learn their heritage language for fear that

they would misuse the traditional knowledge, an Indian-education leader {R4} insists that

"we are at a stage and an age that we should welcome all." Therefore, public-school

programs should be designed for all and include all. The potential challenge of an inclusive

approach is that limited resources are used for teaching the basics to all. Since linguistically

talented and interested students are not provided with opportunities and a learning

environment in which they can advance, honors classes in Salish and additional immersion

experiences outside of the school (e.g., experiences with the elders in a form of mentor-

apprenticeship format) should be available for talented students.

Optional. Participants express different opinions regarding whether the Salish-

language class should be optional or required. More than half of the participants believe

that Salish-language courses should be optional in the public-school setting. A Salish

elder maintains that "I don't like to force people." When asked whether the Salish

language should be required in public school, a tribal-education leader {R3} rejected the

idea, saying "I don't want the Salish language to be defeated that way." A White public-

education administrator {R10} predicts that "if the language class were not optional,

people would resent it." On the other hand, a few Indian participants insist that an Indian

language should be required in all schools on the reservation. Some believe that it should

be at least required for Indian children. Given the lack of consensus over this issue,

several districts on the reservation have come up with a solution that satisfies both sides.

In these districts, all K-5 students are supposed to attend the Salish class unless their

parents decide to pull them out during that period. This strategy has been working well

in districts without consensus in this regard.

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

Frequency

Another key element that research participants emphasize is an adequate amount of exposure. The recurring criticism of the current programs is a lack of time provided for Salish-language learning. Participants propose different models for elementary programs:

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

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

To increase students' exposure to Salish language, a few participants raise the idea of decreasing class size as an addition to or a substitute for increasing the frequency. Either way means a need to increase the number of teachers. For districts where financial resources are not available for additional teachers, one suggestion is to increase exposure for interested and talented students instead of for all.

A Common Progressive Curriculum

Public-school educators and the younger generation of Indian language-education advocates believe that a common progressive Salish-language curriculum will help improve the quality of Salish public-school programs. The key suggested feature of this curriculum is that it should facilitate learning to progress from one level to the next. Clear objectives for each grade level and standards and benchmarks are considered as essential elements. In response to the question regarding what should be taught in the language, suggestions include cultural studies, academic skill reinforcement, critical language for everyday use, and common lexicons.

Benchmarks and standards. Some propose a three-level language scheme (i.e., beginning/primary, intermediate/middle, and advanced/high-school) to guide K-12 Salish language learning. An Indian educator leader {R3} suggests that the focus of the beginning/primary level be on awareness of sounds and rhythm, learning basic grammatical rules, and vocabulary. At the intermediate level, the focus should be on learning to spell and read with the International Phonetic Alphabet, composing sentences, and expanding vocabulary. At the high-school/advanced level, the focus should be on understanding advanced grammatical structures, further expanding vocabulary, and conversing.

A school administrator {A1} suggests that benchmarks and standards be developed based on this general three-level scheme. With benchmarks and standards, the participant explains, public-school administrators would know how to support the Salish language program. For instance, they would know what kind of teacher training is needed, what to expect from students, and how to fit the program into the school organization. Otherwise, the participant elaborates, "if there is no written curriculum with standards, it pretty much left the administrators' hands off." Moreover, a common curriculum allows for consistency and continuity in learning even when students move between schools. According to experienced Indian and non-Indian educators, this is important because student mobility is high on the reservation.

Common lexicons. In terms of the content of language learning, a tribal education leader {R4} suggests that a language curriculum be developed based on frequently used words. He suggests that the 100 most common words would be covered in the primary grades. A non-Indian public-school administrator {B8} suggests adapting the goal of English-literacy development, namely, to develop 3000 words vocabulary between ages 5 to 11. This participant emphasizes that the focus be on interactive, action vocabulary for communication purposes instead of just nouns. The next question is what words should be selected? What should be the topics and themes that provide the context for language learning?

Everyday context. Young Salish teachers {B17, A18} believe that the Salish language be taught in the context of children's everyday life. They argue that children relate more readily to topics pertain to their culture than to the elders' culture. They suggest teaching children Salish words and expressions for discussing basketball,

football, their favorite athletes, current issues, and things that would be considered real and relevant to their lives. A middle-aged Salish-language teacher {B12} suggests teaching children Salish by integrating the language into the children's world. For example, this participant proposes teaching Christmas songs and making up children games in Salish. Along the same lines, a non-Indian parent {B25} emphasizes the importance of "tapping into the passion that children have" and "making it personally meaningful to individual persons."

Cultural context. While the younger Salish teachers prefer separating Salish language education from Native American Studies (NAS), the majority of the participants express strong interest in helping children learn about Salish history, culture, traditions, and world view through Salish-language education. In response to the question regarding what should be taught in Salish, Indian participants identify subjects that are significant to them and non-Indian participants identify subjects that are appealing to them. Specific suggested topics and themes include the following:

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

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

Academic context. A suggested alternative focus is to use Salish to reinforce mainstream academic content such as math concepts, science concepts, reading/writing skills, etc. For example, the Salish teacher can help primary-grade students practice addition and subtraction, describe the weather and change of seasons, re-tell stories, and engage in reading and writing in Salish. A bilingual-education specialist {R5} maintains that "in order for schools to see Salish learning as a valuable piece of the curriculum, it needs to be seen as reinforcing what goes on in school. Making the Salish program as an integral part of the mainstream curriculum is the best way to go." This way, the participant contends, "the language program is put in the same context of the other curriculum subjects so that it's not seen as taking time away from those subjects, and the public-school educators would not feel that they have to cut their core curriculum in order to 'squeeze in' Salish." Moreover, an Indian education leader {R4} points out, parents are pressing for their children to learn math, science, and reading so that they can become professionals. Thus, parents are more likely to support Salish learning if it is combined with academic enhancement.

The common curriculum needs to encompass standards and benchmarks and it needs to combine language learning for everyday communication, cultural studies, and academic reinforcement. What would be the design of such a curriculum?

Integration

Integrating mainstream academic content into the Salish-language class can be complemented by integrating some Salish language into the mainstream curriculum.

Participants urge mainstream teachers to help establish connections between Salish-language learning and learning that occurs in the mainstream classroom. For instance, Indian and non-Indian educators suggest that mainstream teachers use words, expressions, and concepts covered in the Salish-language class in their lessons so as to help students perceive Salish as relevant to the rest of their learning. Also, students would perceive the language as valuable if mainstream teachers validate it by using it in the regular classes. Without integration, a public-school administrator {A1} points out, "the Salish teacher would isolate him/herself and it would make it easy for administrators to come along and cut it."

Indian educators believe that Salish language can be integrated into math, science, and English. Along the same line, participants agree that Salish language should be integrated into Native American Studies, which normally are taught in English.

Indian participants caution that a separate Salish language class should remain even though some language can be integrated into other classes. This comment is based on the fear that integration will eventually replace a separate language class. Integration without focused language learning in a protected arena will likely lead to diminished language learning. A respected Salish cultural leader and language teacher {R18} maintains that "a separate language class would be more holistic and not so piece-meal." Logistically, a Salish college educator {R7} believes, it is easier to teach the language in a separate class rather than forcing pieces of it into other classes. In other words, Salish-language education in public schools should be integrated, but remain separate at the same time.

Shared Mission and Vision

A vital element of a public-school Salish-language program is a shared mission among the school community and the wider Indian and non-Indian communities. Participants agree that there needs to be strong commitment at all levels. The tribal government needs to be committed to revitalize the language. The community needs to share a consciousness that the language is valuable. There needs to be shared hope and responsibilities at individual level. "Passion and vision are what is going to convince other people," a public-school educator {B5} asserts.

First and foremost, an elected public-education official {R10} maintains, "It has to be the goal of the tribal people...not my goal, not your goal, their goal for themselves." A state legislator {R15} agree that "local desire shapes local policy making." Language revitalization has to be a local community interest. It has to be a service demanded by Indian parents and students.

Furthermore, there needs to be local agreements regarding a district's goals for an Indian-language program. Legislators react to unified messages. Moreover, when there are disagreements, as a public-education administrator {R5} points out, extensive discussion on the part of the school district and the community are required. Thus, this study focuses on identifying (potential) points of agreement between supporters and non-supporters, between Whites and Indians, and between local actors and tribal leaders.

Summary

Both Indian and non-Indian supporters of Salish-language education agree that the role of public school primarily is not to develop fluency, but to validate the indigenous language, expose all children to the language, and help interested learners lay the

foundation for further pursuit of the language. Even if programs would not produce fluent Salish speakers, participants believe that language education would benefit all students by enhancing their cross-cultural understanding, multicultural competence, and linguistic awareness. For Indian children, participants believe, language education means more than a cultural experience. Learning their heritage language is part of establishing self-identity and self-esteem. The consensus is that opportunities should be available for Indian children and interested others to develop communicative competence in the language. Thus, participants propose exposing all students to the language for 60 minutes to 10 hours per week during elementary grades and offering Salish as a foreign language option in high school. This proposal is in line with the current arrangement in some schools on the reservation.

However, in order for such programs to be beneficial for all and to contribute to overall language-revitalization efforts, participants believe that a common progressive curriculum, school-wide integration, and a shared community mission are needed. A shared mission will not materialize if the language is not perceived as valuable and teaching and learning the language is not a top priority for educators and parents. A common progressive curriculum will not help if there is a shortage of language teachers, a lack of leadership and coordination in the language-education efforts, and a lack of innovation in teaching and material development. Integration of the language throughout the school will not happen if domains for use of the language do not exist in and out of the school and tension between Whites and Indians hinders collaboration between school personnel and Indian community members. Through brainstorming, participants have proposed suggestions for increasing perceived value of the language, supporting learning

and teaching, creating domains for Salish language, building trust and partnership between Indians and Whites, and coordinating and collaborating among the entities involved.

Discussion

From the researcher's point of view, participants have generated action proposals that deserve further attention. To add to participants' input, the following sections of this chapter discuss the importance of marketing, expanding involvement, and combining diverse language teaching strategies. These sections are based on the researcher's analysis and insights from relevant literature.

Marketing

Fishman (1997) calls for a "societal revolution" so that not one or two institutions, but the whole society, support a dying language (p. 194). Marketing is one of the first steps needed to kick off such a revolution. On the Flathead Indian Reservation, language promotion is required for reversing the trend of diminishing use of the Salish language and for facilitating Salish-language education. Participants discuss the need to inform parents and community members of the value of the language and promote the benefits of language education. They did not suggest specific strategies for "marketing" the language. Grin (1990) maintains that the first goal of a language-revitalization effort should be to improve the image of the target language. Cooper (1989) suggests that "like all marketers language planners must recognize, identify, or design products which the potential consumer will find attractive" (p. 10). In addition, marketing should aim to spread hope. Nicholson (1997) contends that the prime commodity in the cultural marketplace is: "hope that an endangered cultural treasure will be saved, that an

endangered language can be revitalized....and that [Natives and non-Natives] can dwell peacefully together...affirming and valuing one another's languages and culture" (p. 212).

For Salish-language programs to take off, parents, students, educators, and the whole community need to be behind the education efforts. In order for the entire community to embrace the language programs, everyone has to embrace the language first. A "collective consciousness" has to be attained in order achieve "mobilization" (Fishman, 1999, p. 160; Fishman 1997a). From my perspective, a long-term marketing campaign is required to reach such shared consciousness. It needs to be as recognized as Coca-Cola, Kodak, McDonalds, or Microsoft in every household--at least on the reservation (Nicholson, 1997). How can one create such "atmosphere effects" (Fishman, 1991)? Valuable lessons can be learned from the Hualapai and the Maori experiences.

Hualapai was perceived as "a liability at best and stigma at worst" for many years (Watahomigie & McCarty, 1997, p. 105). The bilingual program staff confronted the situation with a well-organized public information campaign aimed at "reversing the brainwashing of the past" (Watahomigie & McCarty, 1997, p. 106). The strategy used involved organizing public meetings that served as an outlet "for the expression of competing ethnolinguistic allegiances and for public critique of an imposed assimilative formal education system" (Watahomigie & McCarty, 1997, p. 105). According to Watahomigie and McCarty (1997), within six years the attitudes of the community toward the bilingual program changed and community members became supportive. Would this type of public information campaign help elicit support from Salish elders for

Salish language education? Would it help speakers embrace the language again? Would

it help increase the number of Salish-language teachers?

In the 1990s Maori was an endangered language. The low social status of the

language in the eyes of its speakers and the general New Zealand community was a factor

in this situation (Nicholson, 1997). According to Nicholson (1997), the Maori language

commission strategically planned the marketing of the Maori language at local and

regional levels in response to the need to lift the social status of the language and to

encourage a higher level of commitment from the largely elderly group of speakers and

younger second language learners as well as the general public. Relying on media

coverage, radio and television, and advertisements, the language commission promoted

Maori as a living language. The goals were:

1. to encourage Maori people to learn and use the Maori language in various daily
   activities;
2. to celebrate the place of the Maori language in New Zealand history and modern
   society;
3. to generate and /or harness, and actively employ, goodwill towards the Maori
   language within the wider New Zealand population (Nicholson, 1997, 210)

On the basis of the Maori experience, Nicholson (1997) advises that, in marketing

indigenous language transmission, any advertising or promotional material should appeal

to the heart and emotion of the Natives and the non-Natives. Would such marketing

strategies help elicit support from the general public for Salish language education?

Would they increase the perceived value of the language? How can such marketing be

adapted?

In the case of marketing the Salish language, a tribal education leader {R3}

mentions the need for glossy covers for Salish materials and designer's T-shirts, posters,

and banners promoting the Salish language (see also Family and Community Group,

1992). What else would improve the image and lift the social status of the language?

From my perspective, public information campaigns and public meetings could be

organized to reverse the brainwashing of the past as in the case of Hualapai. TV, radio,

and newspaper advertising could be used to celebrate the place of the Salish language, to

encourage Salish people to learn and use the language in various daily activities, and to

generate goodwill toward the Salish language on the reservation, throughout Montana,

and beyond.

In terms of marketing Salish-language public-school programs, participants

emphasize the need to inform the public of the benefits. Participants have covered a

wide range of benefits of *inclusive* bilingual education. Weaving their input with

research insights reported in bilingual-education literature (see Ngai 2002), I would

suggest that "marketers" consider including discussions of the following benefits in their

attempt to convince education policymakers and stakeholders of the value of indigenous-

language education:

Benefits for all children:
-increase metalinguistic capacity
-enhance cognitive ability and intellectual growth
-improve interpersonal and intercultural communication skills
-heighten cultural awareness and self-reflection
-prepare adaptability for diverse communities
-develop competency for the multicultural workplace

Benefits for society as a whole:
-harmonize intergroup relations
-tear down group boundaries
-decrease existing interethnic prejudice and racism

Furthermore, I propose tapping into interests that extend beyond the tribal

community. Non-tribal members who are related to tribal members (e.g., a white parent

whose mother-in-law is Salish or a white grandmother whose grandchildren are part

Salish) constitute a large pool of potential supporters. White residents who move in from out of state tend to be interested in learning about the Salish. What kind of language education program would appeal to these non-Indians parents and students? Language programs could be framed as place-based education and cultural literacy development (which a Salish language education advocate {R13} identified as buzzwords in mainstream education) and/or as multicultural education (which appeals to parents on the reservation who tend to perceive the future of their children beyond the reservation boundary). How can indigenous-language education be shaped in this global education framework?

Expanding Involvement

Another urgent step required for enhancing Salish-language education is to expand involvement. Local actors should reach out and expand the realm of collaboration. This requires a re-definition of "outsiders."

Language commission. As suggested by participants, the creation of a language commission or a language authority is an essential step toward language renewal (see also Rubin, 1999). If a group of five to ten people can devote full time to language-revitalization efforts, many of the participants' suggestions could be implemented and many of the questions concerning the feasibility of participants' proposals could be answered. For example, the commission could operate as an office of centralized language education services to which public-school districts could subscribe (as proposed by one of the participants). It could take on the tasks of facilitating agreements in defining goals and sharing responsibilities, marketing and lobbying, creating domains for Salish language use, coordinating individuals and entities, recruiting and reaching out to

potential learners and teachers, training teachers and providing professional development, bridging the gap between schools and the Indian community, developing a common progressive curriculum with benchmarks and standards, creating and distributing teaching and learning materials, supporting Salish and mainstream teachers, fund raising and grant writing, and harnessing expertise within the reservation and beyond. Each of these suggested tasks can be dealt with systematically by a language commission. Moreover, with a language commission in place, decisions regarding maintenance of traditional patterns of grammar and syntax, and a screening process for new words and word forms can be made with input from a group of knowledgeable people (Rubin, 1999). More fundamentally, according to Rubin (1999), this body can serve to "unify and focus the cultural aspirations of the people at a time when unity and commitment are needed to keep the language from disappearing" (p. 22).

In terms of the composition of the suggested commission, the consistent response is that elders who speak the Salish language should be part of it. Other less consistent suggestions include the Tribal Education Department and the local tribal college. From my perspective, the current expectation is focused on people who already have been contributing a great deal to language revitalization. Do the same people possess the additional time, energy, and skills required to accomplished the tasks called for by a language commission? Instead of expecting elderly speakers to perform tasks such as coordinating, outreaching, marketing, etc., their energy needs to be reserved for supporting language learning. Therefore, it is necessary to involve people who normally would be considered "outsiders" to help. Outsiders in this context include semi-fluent speakers, passive-fluent speakers, Indian and non-Indian language-education advocates

who do not speak the language, and perhaps people who possess needed expertise from outside of the reservation. An expanded list of potential members will increase the feasibility of forming the suggested language commission.

Consultation. Re-defining "outsiders" also is necessary for the attempt to build support for language-revitalization efforts on the reservation. Perceived boundaries among groups, entities, and institutions are preventing language-education supporters and educators from consulting with each other and tapping into the expertise available. For example, several tribal leaders acknowledge the immersion school founders' efforts. However, when asked whether they have provided the young people with support in the form of advice and suggestions, their responses imply that the immersion school is not within their jurisdiction and they would rather avoid "stepping on others' toes." In the words of an language-education advocate, a tribal-government employee {R21}, "I applaud their efforts. I think the work they are doing is just extraordinary. We'll see, too soon to tell." An elderly tribal member explains this widespread perspective as apathy. Others indicate that to avoid being involved is a way to show respect. At the same time, some tribal and non-tribal educators would like to be involved in the immersion, but out of respect they are waiting to be asked. While people with expertise who can make a difference are waiting to be consulted, little consultation has occurred so far.

Similarly, each of the public-school language programs has been running quite independently. There are tribal and non-tribal educators from the outside who would like to offer help. Moreover, they know that "it's not [their] place to tell the speakers what to do" {R3, A1, B8}. Out of respect, they are waiting to be asked. While waiting, the expertise of these "outsiders" is not being tapped into. Lack of consultation with people who possess

expertise (e.g., bilingual-education specialists, educators who bring experience with indigenous-language education elsewhere, and literacy experts) on and off the reservation slows down and undercuts the impact of Salish-language education efforts. If the boundary keeping the "outsider" away can be adjusted, more people who possess the needed expertise can be involved in supporting the programs. Increased consultation and expanded involvement by people of diverse expertise will increase the visibility and credibility of the current language-education programs. It will also end the isolation problem and help improve relationships among individuals and entities. The step of re-defining "outsiders" is one that needs to be taken by the insiders—people who are currently involved.

Potential teachers. If "outsider" can be re-defined, moreover, the list of potential teachers will expand and the teacher-shortage problem will be eased. To date, fluent speakers are the only group being considered as qualified to teach the Salish language. They are few in number and not every one of them is interested in becoming a teacher. Through my interviews, I discovered a number of people who could contribute, but are not currently included on the list of potential teachers of the language. For example, an elderly tribal member, who does not speak the language fluently, could be trained to help with language education. This person grew up hearing the language. He is knowledgeable about the culture and history and is passionate about saving the language. Another potential teacher is a tribal member who has a degree in bilingual education and is passive-fluent in Salish. This person has experience training Native-language teachers and developing materials for Native-language instruction in Alaska. Another potential teacher is a Salish school teacher who is a Salish-language learner. This person strongly believes in Salish education and can afford financially to give up her current job to be involved in language education.

If the semi-fluent, the passive fluent, and the advanced learners are included as potential teachers, the picture of teacher shortage looks much less gloomy. An expanded list will open up new possibilities. For example, according to a survey conducted by a tribal-education leader years ago, there were about 400 semi-fluent speakers on the reservation. Semi-fluent persons could support language teaching at the beginner's level. They could help conduct language classes and activities for students who have just started to learn the language. Passive-fluent persons could perform the role of teaching aide in language classrooms. In the classroom, they could be learning from the speaker while helping with students' comprehension. Advanced learners, such as language students at the tribal college, could help increase students' exposure to the Salish language in school districts where a Salish-language program does not exist. They could help facilitate integration by delivering guest units and language-related activities in mainstream classes. Such tasks could be framed as assignments or projects required for language courses at the college level. Spreading the burden of language education will help spread the language farther and wider.

Moreover, according to Greymorning (1997), "one of the factors that has consistently contributed to the success of indigenous language education is that the successful programs are being primarily staffed by second language learners" (p. 29). Greymorning (1997) explains that "this success is most likely the result of second language learners having effectively internalized the language learning process based on their own experience and success.... [This] factor seems to elude most speakers who have acquired their language as first language speakers" (p. 29).

Thus, steps need to be taken to bring out and train semi-fluent speakers and passive-fluent language learners so that they can assist in language education. Monetary incentives may work for some; for others effective recruiting strategies are required. Is this approach appropriate and acceptable culturally? A Salish cultural leader indicates that the use of monetary incentives is acceptable "as long as they are willing to learn and teach... Desire goes a long way." In terms of training these potential teachers, lessons can be learned from the Maori experience. According to Greymorning (1997), "by offering very intensive weeklong immersion classes at the end of each month, the Maori have been very successful in developing waves of adult second language learners." He maintains that training second-language learners in advanced teaching methodologies would be more effective than trying to send elder speakers through a year or two of the standard university-level teacher training. This is because the younger teachers-to-be would have already internalized the methods that have enabled them to become proficient language speakers as second-language learners.

Immersion and Second-Language-Teaching Methods

After more than a decade of word drill (primarily noun drill), Indian and non-Indian educators are eager for Salish language teaching to swing from a vocabulary-based approach to a more natural approach. The two words frequently used by participants to describe what they envision as more effective than the current approach are—"immersion" and "communication." The belief is that students need to be immersed in the language in order to produce communicative competence. Immersion often is interpreted as "just talk to the kids in the language" and "stay in the language throughout the whole class." It is perceived as close to the traditional way of teaching and learning.

A Salish cultural leader {R19} indicates that "this is how some elders learned the language in their grandparents' house." The success of the Maori and the Hawaiian immersion programs has led many to believe that immersion is the most effective approach. A Salish-education leader {R3} contends that "the most advanced ability will come from immersion." While everyone is talking about immersion and the Salish teachers are urged to adopt an immersion approach, little is said about its feasibility and applicability in the context of Salish language public-school programs. What does an immersion approach involve? Can the Salish language teachers implement it in the public-school classroom? What are the conditions required for successful immersion programs? There are lessons to be learned from a close-to-home example--the Arapaho's immersion attempt.

The Arapaho experience. According to Greymorning (1997), the French-Canadian model has proved successful for some American Indian languages, including the Arapaho. In helping to set up the Arapaho immersion program in a public-school district on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming, Greymorning (1997) discovered several key factors that contribute to the success of immersion programs. First is adequate language contact hours. Hawaiian children were achieving an age-appropriate level of fluency in Hawaiian after being exposed to from 600-700 language contact hours (Greymorning, 1997). Accordingly, the Arapaho program expanded from an hour a day to six hours a day. The "No English" rule is intended to maximize the impact of the contact hours. In order to help develop the ability to use the language beyond the confines of the classroom, the program is designed to expose children to every facet of the target language. In others words, immersion is not a random process, but one that

requires careful planning. In the case of Arapaho immersion, the program was designed to allow children to learn at different language stations in the classroom. For example, one station focused on word drills, a second station focused on phrase drills, and a third one focused on interactive conversations. The goal was to expose learners systematically to speech forms in a way that required them not only to hear the usage of such forms, but required them to respond verbally to such speech acts by using a full array of speech forms.

This immersion-program design requires the instructor "to work with an absolutely thorough understanding of their own language, with all of its nuances and complexities, so that the language instructor can systematically bring these speech forms out when speaking to developing speakers and getting developing speakers to speak back to them" (Greymorning, 1997, p. 28). Teachers need to develop a strong understanding of language-instructional techniques based on an internalization of the language-learning process. Therefore, teachers who acquired the target language as second-language learners constitute a key facilitating factor in successful indigenous-language-immersion efforts such as the Maori immersion programs (Greymoring, 1997).

If immersion is the selected approach to Salish language teaching, the next question would be—how to implement immersion? For example, how to combine effectively "word drills" and "phrase drills" with teaching "interactive conversations" as suggested in the Arapaho experience? It is important that teachers consider carefully various instructional strategies for teaching second languages (Bennett, et al., 1999).

TPR & TPRS. Instruction strategies can be borrowed from the ESL field to create new activities and materials for indigenous language immersion (Rubin, 1999). For

instance, communicative approaches, such as Total Physical Response (TPR) and TPR storytelling (TPRS), can be adopted or adapted for teaching Salish in public-school classrooms. Several of the research participants (primarily classroom teachers) strongly recommend TPR (see Asher, 1996) for Salish instruction. A couple of young Salish language-teachers started to explore the feasibility of TPR Storytelling (see Ray & Seely, 2002). From the Indian perspective, these instructional strategies are compatible with the traditional ways of learning. From the vantage point of mainstream educators, these strategies constructively diverge from the rote-memory approach that has been used. In my view, through action and interaction, these strategies are helpful in developing essential functional oral proficiency. They could be effectively combined with other ESL methods to achieve the overall goals of immersion programs. For instance, the Language Proficiency Method used in various California Native-language programs, combines a writing dimension with storytelling and roleplaying.

Language Proficiency Method. According to Bennett, Mattz, Jackson, and Campell (1999), the Language Proficiency Method is based upon the belief that "writing offers a sequence for presenting new language material, moving from easier to harder forms, and can also be the basis of communication" (p. 86). Teaching units based on this method begin with a sequence of lessons built around conversations, games, and storytelling and expand to dramatic performances and writing projects. For children who are visual learners, writing is a useful tool for improving speaking skills (Bennett, et al., 1999). Also, Salish teachers, as well as mainstream classroom teachers, can use the writing form to reinforce concepts taught in Salish.

The next important question is what to teach with these methods—TPR, TPRS,

Language Proficiency Method, and/or others? What linguistic items should learners be

presented with? A respected Salish-education leader {A4} suggests building an early

childhood Salish-education curriculum based on commonly used words and phrases. A

public-school literacy specialist {B8} echoes the idea by suggesting the adaption of an

English-literacy development goal; that is, to develop a scope and sequence that allows

Salish learners aged 5 to 11 to develop communicative competence with an active Salish

spoken/interactive vocabulary of approximately 3000 words (which would be comparable

to a low-level kindergartener in English). The Lexical Syllabus offers a helpful

framework for achieving this goal.

Lexical Syllabus. The *Lexical Syllabus* is an ESL teaching method developed

based on the belief that second-language exposure in the classroom must be organized;

otherwise, it is of little value. According to Willis (1996), the Lexical Syllabus is

developed based on three main principles:

1. The language that learners are expected to understand and produce should be
   graded in some way so that learners do not face such difficulties and
   complexities at an early stage that they become demotivated.
2. The language learners are to be exposed to should be carefully selected so that
   they are given not random exposure, but exposure to the commonest patterns
   and meanings in the language—the patterns and meanings they are most likely
   to meet when they begin to use language outside the classroom.
3. There should be some way of itemizing the language syllabus so that it should
   be possible not simply to expose students to language, but also to highlight
   important features of their language experience, and to point to what language
   we might reasonably expect them to have learned from their experience.
   (Willis, 1996, p. iv)

Since the 700 most frequent words of English account for around 70% of the

English used in speaking, listening, reading, and writing, Level I of a language course

based on the Lexical Syllabus would aim to cover the most frequent 700 words along

with their common patterns and uses. Level 2 would cover the next 800 words, and Level 3 would add a further 1000. Can a progressive Salish-language curriculum be developed this way? Such a curriculum would address the problems of lack of progress, lack of proficiency, and lack of consistency that the participants observe in Salish language education. In order to determine the content of language classes based on commonly used lexical items, Salish language educators must first identify the domains for use of the language. If few domains exist, perhaps creating use domains will need to occur simultaneously. Given the widespread perception that Salish is not a useful nor a used language, it is necessary to teach words along with common language patterns that are often used and/or can be used in old and new domains so that the language will be used by learners in schools as well as in the community.

Experiential learning. Classroom immersion would be best supplemented by experiential learning conducted outside the classroom. A language-education advocate {B16} asserts that it is time for Salish-language education to move out of the box. The Master-Apprentice Learning Program initiated in California (Dorian, 1999) offers an immersion model for Salish language learning to occur outside of the school. If each of the Salish speakers could spend ten to twenty hours a week with one or two selected Salish-language learners (e.g., current participants or graduates of public-school Salish programs), learning for those learners will be expedited and the results will multiply. In addition, participants suggest using field trips to cultural events and historical sites, outdoor education conducted in the wilderness, games, and hands-on traditional activities that are appealing to learners as additional immersion opportunities. Cultural learning combined with language use can become natural parts of participation in a traditional activity (Rubin, 1999).

Furthermore, although immersion may be the preferred approach in most cases, it is not always a viable option. A complete immersion environment requires teachers to be fully fluent, and it needs to be supplied with materials that allow learners to work in the language by choice. It can be challenging and costly (Rubin, 1999). In some school districts, fluent speakers, Salish language materials, and/or funding may not be available for full immersion programs, and class time available for Salish learning may not be long enough for immersion to be implemented effectively. In such cases, an academic approach, combined with language exposure via multimedia devices, is worth considering. The Arikara model is a promising alternative.

Arikara model. The Arikara Multimedia Language Lessons "emphasize a metacognitive (self-monitoring) strategy to learning, a strategy which includes explicit attention to the rules and the structures in language." (Kushner, 1999, p. 75). Each computerized lesson addresses six different segments of language learning: written and spoken sounds, vocabulary, conversation, grammar, sentence patterns, and culture (including history and society). All lessons incorporate auditory, visual, and kinesthetic features, such as music, video, and pictures of people, places, items, and cultural artifacts (Kushner, 1999). According to Kushner (1999), students who have worked with the interactive computerized lessons find them highly engaging.

In the context of Salish-language education, an adaptation of the Arikaro model could address a number of identified obstacles. First, the metacognitive approach allows students to gain a linguistic awareness that helps them improve both their first language (i.e., English) and a second language (e.g., Salish) at once (Kushner, 1999). This is one of the goals desired by Indian and non-Indian parents, and it would be an appealing benefit of an

inclusive Salish-language-education program offered in a district with a mix of Indian and non-Indian students. Second, when there is a shortage of teachers who are fluent speakers, an academic approach allows semi-fluent speakers to be involved in sharing the teaching load. Semi-fluent speakers could help with teaching the grammar, sentence patterns, vocabulary segments of a language course, and fluent speakers could conduct the segments concerning spoken sounds, conversation, and culture in an immersion setting. Another possibility is to use the academic approach in the classroom and provide immersion opportunities outside of the classroom. Third, computerized lessons could be used for independent study in the form of an after-school program, distance learning, or enrichment activities in the mainstream classroom when a language teacher is not available or a full language program is not affordable in districts with low enrollment of Indian students.

In the case of Salish-language education, immersion can be perceived as the overarching pedagogy, an umbrella under which diverse instructional strategies can be considered. A Salish education leader {R3} posits that teachers need to have "bags of methods" because Indian language teaching combines elements of foreign language methods, ESL, and traditional teaching methods. For instance, TPR and TPR storytelling, Language Proficiency Method, the Lexical Syllabus, the metacognitive approach, and computer-assisted learning can be applied as parts of an immersion experience, as methods for reinforcing learning gained from being immersed in the language, or as approaches for preparing learners for language practice in an interactive immersion setting. An understanding of how second-language-teaching methods complement the desired immersion approach informs program design and development and serves as a guideline for teacher preparation and professional development.

This chapter presented insights that are relevant to all mixed public-school districts on the Reservation. The next three chapters focus on suggestions specific to each of the three selected districts of varying Indian/White student proportions.

CHAPTER 5

A SCHOOL DISTRICT WITH AN EVENLY MIXED INDIAN/WHITE STUDENT POPULATION

District A: The Balancing Act

District A has a student population of around 540. The percentage of Indian students has ranged from 42% to 55% in recent years. The half-and-half Indian/non-Indian composition represents the political atmosphere in the district. A portion of the community support Salish learning in public schools and a portion object to it. The situation faced by Indian-language education supporters in the school district requires careful balancing. A school administrator {A2} explains that

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

The balance that has been achieved for the past years manifests itself in the K-6 plus 9-12 Salish-language program that is staffed by 1.25 teachers. A school administrator {A2} indicates that the source of funding for the1.25 Salish teachers comes from the central budget of the school district. Currently, Impact Aid, which contributes to 40 % of the school budget, has been folded into the central budget. In the elementary school, the Salish class is placed in a rotation with activity classes, namely, Art, Music, Technology, Library, and Physical Education. All K-6 children are provided with the opportunity to receive 40-minute (a full class period) Salish language instruction every third or fourth day for years. Recently, the frequency has been increased to 40 minutes every other day after Art and Library were eliminated due to budget cuts. During

2003/2004, the program served 220 elementary students in the district. Although the class is available to all, parents can choose to "pull out" their children from the class. These children would have an independent-study period instead. According to a school administrator, there always are "a few" parents who object to Indian-language learning and prevent their children (four this year) from participating in the Salish class. In the high school, one Salish-speaking teacher teaches two elective Salish-language courses. The two full-period classes (90 minutes) are offered every other day. Out of 181 high school students, 28 are enrolled in the Salish courses.

How can Salish education in the district be improved while balancing opposing interests? The insights presented in first three sections below are based on 22 interviews with 19 research participants. Eleven of the nineteen participants support increasing Salish learning and eight object to an increase. The research participants include four school administrators, one Indian and one non-Indian school board members, four mainstream teachers, two Salish teachers, three vocal Indian grandparents and parents, three vocal White parents, and one tribal member who is active in Salish-language education. The fourth section summarizes the participants' input and interweaves the researcher's comments.

Local Facilitating Factors

In spite of the forces that constrain the promotion of Salish-language learning, the language program continues to exist. The factors contributing to its survival include past efforts to secure school administrators' commitment, the support of individual parents, administrators, and teachers, and organized grassroots efforts.

A Rooted Program

Salish-language education has been a controversial issue in the district. Nevertheless, the advocacy of the Tribal Education Department and the demand of local Indian-parent leaders has succeeded in placing a program in the school district for over 20 years. Since the early 1980s, the administration consistently has earmarked funds for the Salish-language program. Currently, the Salish classes are not dependent on Title VII (Indian Education) or Title III (Bilingual Education) federal grants. Although the existence of the Salish program is not guaranteed by a written contract or the like, the expectation of the Indian community that the commitment of past school administrators will be upheld has been keeping the Salish program in place.

According to an administrator {A2}, Salish is one of the capstone-course options for fulfilling the requirements of the honors diploma. Salish also is an option for meeting the "foreign-language" requirement of the school. Indian parent leaders find the current arrangement acceptable, given existing financial constraints. A non-Indian educator, an Indian-education advocate {A1}, observes that "over the past 5 years or so, policymakers, school board members, politicians...may not understand and [may not] be promoting things, but I don't see them saying no. They are not opposing it, as long as it's good education." Allowing parents to "pull their kids out" has calmed some of the antagonism toward Salish-language education. In face of both supportive and non-supportive forces, the district has found a balance in maintaining Indian language education in the school system.

Supportive Individuals

Individual Indian parents are strong advocates of Salish-language education in the district. These committed Indian parents are instrumental in keeping the Salish-language program from being removed or replaced by Native American Studies. They are active in influencing decisions regarding Indian education in the district by maintaining communication with the school administrators. For instance, a parent leader {A5} has been cooperating with the superintendent on issues dealing with Indian education. This participant indicates that "Indian parents have a good relationship with the superintendent...and he [the superintendent] is working really hard."

Individual administrators indicate commitment to helping with language-revitalization efforts. An administrator {A1} has been trying to tie Salish-language education in with other grant programs applied for the district. For instance, the federal grant program with a focus on helping to improve students' English literacy contributed to professional development for Salish-language teachers.

Individual teachers in school also are supportive of Salish-language learning. According to an Indian parent leader {A5}, some teachers have been asking to learn words in the language so that they could use some Salish with their students outside of the language class.

The school teaching and administrative staff are making efforts to create a caring atmosphere for the Indian families. A class in Healing Racism was offered in hopes mitigating inter-ethnic conflict among young people. The school staff organized an annual community showcase along with a barbecue for all community members. An

administrator {A2} describes that event as "a way of demonstrating to everybody how we care for their kids and how we believe it in our hearts."

Indian-Education-For-All Committee

In District A, a core group of teachers, led by an administrator, have formed a committee to "develop an infrastructure" for supporting teachers in implementing MCA 20-10-501, the recently revived Article X of the Montana State Constitution. The committee has been working on coming up with a five-year Indian education plan. The objectives set out by this group of White teachers include strengthening existing efforts in integrating Indian education in mainstream classrooms, improving Salish-language learning, and developing a Native America Studies program for all. This group strives to find ways to support teachers to expand on their current integration of Native American materials. In the process, they actively involve Indian parents.

The efforts of this committee set a non-threatening, supportive tone for the attempt at implementing the law. The committee leader {A1} hopes that a core group will "start building a snowball …a little bit at a time until you get a critical mass that pulls the whole school down the hill."

The group leader believes that setting objectives motivates everyone in the school to move forward. The objective regarding helping to revitalize Salish language states that "Salish language will have an honored and respected place in the school and will be heard in the hallway and seen on the wall.… Five years from now if you walk down the hallway in District A, you will hear words expressed, …phrases or words used by staff daily.…"

The remaining questions are how to navigate within the current balance so as to find ways to move forward? How can the wider community tap into the local efforts initiated by teachers and administrators? How would grassroots efforts in District A fit in with the reservation-wide language revitalization? What would be the role of a language commission in coordinating local efforts with reservation-wide efforts?

Local Obstacles and Suggested Solutions

In addition to the common obstacles faced by schools on the reservation, District A is challenged by a unique set of factors. In order to move forward with language-education efforts, participants suggest ways to deal with local constraints such as the antagonistic relationship between Indians and Whites, peripheral status of the language, lack of mission and expectation for Salish-language education, lack of parent support for Salish learning, lack of perceived reason to expand the Salish-language program, lack of funding, and lack of consensus regarding qualification of Salish-language teachers.

Improve the Antagonistic Relationship between Indians and Whites

Conflicts between Indians and Whites remain the most deep-rooted obstacle in this district. A administrator {A2} points out that "the history of the relationships between the U.S. government and Indians is a huge burden." A long-time community member {A16} who moved to District A from outside of Montana explains that "issues (e.g., the water issue) go back to several generations. Problems are perpetuated from generation to generation on both sides." A non-Indian community member {R9} observes that "there is a lot of deep old-time racism in this community." Indian participants {A5, A6, R19} believe that there is a lack of acceptance on the part of the non-Indian community. An administrator

{A2} holds that the poor relationship is a result of "racism on the part of Indians and racism on the part of Whites."

A White parent {A15} maintains that "my own kids are discriminated just like the tribal kids in school.... Those who don't take Salish are treated as Indian haters and asked to do menial work during Salish class time...Now we have a situation of reverse discrimination." Indian education is believed to be "putting the White culture down in order to make the Indian culture better" {A15}. Another White parent {A14} asks "why should your way [the Indian way] be taught in school, but not mine?...I don't like the way it is being pushed on." A descendant of a White homesteader {A15} argues that "my family owned land here for generations. My children's heritage is just as important...I feel Indian culture is being forced down my throat." This White parent asserts that "young Indians are taught intolerance and their pride is turned to hate and bitterness.... The young generation has no respect for someone like me."

Teachers and administrators {A2, A3, A11, A17} indicate that, although parents who held antagonistic views toward Indians are the minority, "the school atmosphere has been adversely affected by the few vocals." An administrator {A4} points out that "a few radicals who come to school-board meetings could change policy." A teacher, a long-time community member, {A11} maintains that "the political obstacle is the biggest problem.... Every year I have a few parents pull their kids out of Salish class.... It seems to be a race issue--old wounds."

From the perspective of the Indians, the boarding-school era left behind distrust of any public school. A school administrator {A2} asserts that "it has been a huge challenge and I don't think we have resolved that... it will take generations.... They [the

Indians] haven't gotten over that." A community activist {A1} claims that "groups of Indians would rather let their culture and language die than have White people speaking it." One participant {A2} describes such antagonistic attitudes as "the poisoning of the older generation" that has prevented collaboration between the school and Indian families.

"Trust among groups is minimal," a school administrator {A2} observes. A school board member {A7} describes the situation as one in which "very rarely the Indians and non-Indians can work together on an issue." "Divisions of opinion" have been preventing Indians and Whites from "getting on the same page."

Deep gulfs remain between the Indian community and the White school administration. A school-board member {A7} observes that "the dividing issue often is about money." A young tribal member {A19} believes that there is a lack of will, a lack of commitment, a lack of technical support on the part of the public school.... The current programs are merely a way to pacify people." An Indian parent maintains {A5} that if the Whites would stop criticizing the language program, "it would make it easier for Native students to be part of it [the Salish program]." An Indian-parent leader {A6} feels that "the administration is not listening to us..., and in the school "you have to get hurt and then you get heard." The Indian parents {A5, A6} maintain that they continue to have to struggle every year to have a permanent classroom for the Salish program. They believe that the administration should know by now how important a classroom is to the Salish teachers. An Indian parent {A6} believes that the administration "makes the Salish home-school coordinator do all the dirty jobs, and they stick kids who cannot be placed in another class into the Salish class." The feelings that "the school doesn't value

Indian kids..., doesn't help them succeed..., [and] would rather see them leave and attend the tribal school" still exits.

On the other hand, a school administrator {A2} maintains that "I am working very hard to help Indian kids, but then I get criticized by the very people I am working hard for." The administrators {A2, A4} contend that one of the major obstacles has been a lack support for the school from the Indian community. One administrator {A2} feels that "parents don't get involved" and "the tribal government doesn't talk about our [the school's] needs in a problem-solving way, but more about what is in it for me." Another administrator {A4} observes that "IEC spends more time studying what we [the administration] are doing rather than working to improve Salish education." The administrator holds that "they never go beyond fighting for a teacher, fight for a classroom...they need to sit back and look at what it is being taught and how it could be improved...." He adds that "as a white person, I don't feel comfortable telling them what I think." Along the same lines, an Indian-community member {A8} maintains that "I don't like the pushing part of the IEC. IEC is too pushy, always pushing.... They don't pay attention to the conditions of the district."

The school administration and the Indian Education Committee (IEC) composed of Indian parents disagree over several issues:

1. An administrator {A3} perceives the current arrangement of Salish language program as problematic in the elementary school because "it's like a required class." The administrator holds that "the IEC have to change some attitudes." In turn, IEC perceives the Salish class as optional and insists that the program be offered to all students.
2. An administrator {A3} argues that "there is little room in the curriculum for a language that has no economic use." IEC interprets this position as a lack of willingness to include the language in public school and a lack of understanding of the importance of the language.
3. While administrators {A2, A3} insist that there is no funding for expanding Indian education, IEC believes that finance should not be the excuse. An Indian-parent leader

{A6} believes that Johnson O'Malley Fund and Impact Aid should be used for Indian education.

4. Administrators {A3, A4} perceive little interest in Salish. IEC insists that interest exists, but the class availability had been too restricted.

5. The administrators {A2, A3} maintain that it has been difficult for schools to find teachers who are qualified to teach Native American Studies and/or Salish. While Class 2 certification and Salish background appear to be crucial to the administrators, an Indian-parent leader explains {A6} that IEC is willing to accept a certified non-Salish teacher who could build a curriculum through working closely with the Salish Cultural Committee.

In order to bridge the gap between Indian parents and the school administrators, Indian and non-Indian participants {A2, A4, A5, A6, A8, A14} agree that "some open, honest, dialogue" is crucial. An administrator {A2} maintains that "it would help an awful lot if we can work together better and communicate more honestly and have more trust." A school-board member {A8} suggests that Indian-parent leaders "need to consult more, present ideas in a more consultative manner, show understanding of the constraints the school is facing." An administrator {A4} believes that "if decision making is open and inclusive and the skeptics feel a part of what is going on, majority rule will work."

An Indian-parent leader {A6} suggests that timely conferences between parents and teachers are necessary before problems arise or when signs of a problem emerge. This parent {A6} argues that if the teachers or administrators would ask how parents feel about their school, they would "be able to weed through the hurt and be able to find out the real program." Indian community members {A13, A19} believe that improving the atmosphere in the school would require "team work between parents and teachers." Indian teachers and parents {A5, A6, A17}, indicate that it would be important for the school to "hire teachers who want to be part of the community."

An Indian-parent leader {A6} indicates that "it's really simple because it would take open conversation, willingness to listen and not giant steps." On the other hand, an

Indian elderly community member {A13} believes that the challenge is more deeply rooted and a mediator is needed to bring those groups together. A non-Indian school board {A7} concurs that it would take an outside person—"the only way here in Mission to get two opposing groups together."

The emerging questions are: Who should initiate the suggested open, honest communication between the school and the Indian community? Is it the school administrators' or teachers' responsibility? Is it IEC's responsibility? What intercultural-communication skills are required in this context? How can verbal and non-verbal miscommunication be avoided? Who would be an appropriate third party to invite to perform mediation?

Raise the Peripheral Status of the Salish-Language Class

A school administrator {A1} in the district points out that the Salish-language program "stands in a kind of limbo place in the school.... It doesn't improve or get fed in water the same way as the other programs." This administrator {A1} observes that the Salish teacher "is like a substitute teacher who does not have much control over discipline....The Class 7 teachers are not perceived as full-fledged teachers." Furthermore, "the Salish teacher is isolated physically by the schedule, by the fact that they [do not hold] the same endorsement, and by the fact that no one knows what that person knows." A Salish teacher {A18} offers that since the language class rotates with activity classes such physical education and music, the language is only as important as an activity class.

A mainstream teacher {A9} indicates that "we don't know what is taught, how its taught, we don't know the expectation, and what is the curriculum....It's like it happened

and it didn't happen." Uncertainty leads to indifference among teachers. This teacher {A9} confides that "I don't know enough to monitor it...I just don't know how kids who have problem learning English can learn another language." Another teacher {A11} asks: "Are there alive Salish words for concepts we teach in 5th and 6th grades?" Given the unknowns, a parent {A14} who pulls her children out of Salish classes replies that "if it's all shady. You don't understand. You are afraid of it."

While some teachers {A9, A10, A11} maintain that there is already too much to teach and too little time for an additional subject such as the Salish language, other educators {A3, A4} believe that the language is not an useful subject to be included in the curriculum. An administrator {A1} affirms, however, that "the law sends a message." Quoting the law should make a difference in terms of increasing awareness and interest. In order to change attitudes, an administrator {A4} presumes that a school counselor could make a difference because the counselor could exert influence on class selection. Therefore, it is suggested that Indian community make an effort to ensure counselors perceive Salish-language education as relevant and important. Moreover, another key source of influence springs from young people who have become certified classroom teachers in addition to being language teachers. An educator {A1} believes that effective young Indian teachers could elevate the status of the language class and language teachers in general.

In order to break down walls and increase the visibility of Salish-language education, a written curriculum will help to inform teachers and parents, and, hence, promote the programs in the community. For instance, a couple of teachers {A9, A10} stress the importance of "a written curriculum -- something written down, something teachers can refer to, and new teachers can pick it up and know what to do." One of the

teachers {A9} indicates that "if resources are readily available, I am happy to use them."

Another teacher {A10} asserts that "I need to know what they are doing, and they need to

do what I am doing. [When] I am teaching a novel, the Salish teacher can teach the same

book in the Salish class in Salish...." Some sort of external support will help in this regard,

" the participant agrees. Moreover, collaboration between Native American Studies teachers

and Salish-language teachers will also help bring Salish learning out of the dark. A school

administrator {A1} attests that "the Salish teacher and the NAS teacher can form a

community. Two teachers can work together with common goals.... Some coordination is

critical for changing the school culture."

The questions arising are: How to convince the counselor? What needs to be

done to nurture effective young Indian teachers? What are the necessary features of a

common curriculum that would help classroom teachers reinforce Salish-language

learning? How can we facilitate coordination between Salish teachers and mainstream

teachers and between Salish teachers and NAS teachers?

Clarify Mission and Expectation

Salish-language education has been in place in District A for two decades. A

public-school administrator {A1} points out, however, that "there is no mission, no

expectations, and no standards" for Salish learning in the school district. Moreover, there

is no assessment and evaluation system in place. According to the administrator,

assessment has been an emotional issue for Indians because they perceive testing as being

used against them. As a result, school administrators have refrained from setting

standards for the language and culture. An administrator {A2} confirms that school

personnel have been afraid of being criticized by the Indian community. Therefore, they

contend that it is not the place of the school educators to set standards, which should come from the Tribes and from the Indian community.

Without a clear mission and expectations, parents and teachers have developed resistance due to a lack of understanding of how much is taught, what is taught, and how it is taught. Some parents {e.g., A14, A15} perceive what the Salish teacher has been teaching as witchcraft and some perceive it as "religion." One parent {A15} insists that the Salish teacher has been "putting the White culture down in order to make the Indian culture better." This parent maintains that "I am not opposed to some..., but I don't accept going from small portion to big portion [or] everything about how bad White people are."

Without clear expectations, there is no yardstick and, hence, no motivation for improvement. According to an administrator {A1}, there has been "a bit of resistance on the part of the Salish teachers to receive training" aimed at helping them find ways to develop new strategies for teaching the language. The participant stresses the importance of specifying mission and objectives of a language program designed to benefit both White and Indian students. A couple of the school administrators {A3, A4} contend that it is necessary to inform parents of the content and the amount of Indian education integrated into the mainstream curriculum so that there will be no misperceptions.

Who in the Tribes or the local Indian community should set standards for Salish-language learning? Can a common curriculum include common goals and objectives for all? Should there be district-specific goals and missions? Who should set the goals? How can teachers be held accountable in terms of reaching the standards?

Find Room for Expansion

Educators in this district talk more about adding a Native American Studies

(NAS) program, which does not exist currently, than expanding existing Salish language

education. A teacher {A9} points out that "cultural studies is required by the state but

not the language." An Indian-parent leader {A5} concurs that "I would put NAS higher

up than the language because it's important for all the students attending the school to

learn about who we are as Indian people."

Other participants hesitate to support the language program because the language

has "no economic use and no use in everyday life." A White parent, who is a school

board member {A7}, maintains that it is "not something that will add to his [my son's]

package of tools.... it isn't necessary or important to succeed in this world." One

administrator {A4} wonders whether the language class could meet the high-school

foreign-language requirement and college requirement, while the superintendent affirms

that the Salish-language course offered in high school can be counted as a capstone

course for the honors program.

A non-Indian administrator {A4} contends that "the Natives themselves don't

seem to be promoting their language even within their community." Another

administrator {A2} argues that "a lot of the Native children haven't bought into their

Native culture. The younger generations haven't emphasized trying to deal with the

language crisis. They say it's important, but they haven't done much about it." A school

board-member {A7} observes that "there has been little interest in the Indian Club for a

number of years." A White parent {A14} offers that "I don't see Indians teaching their

culture at their home." These participants perceive no reason to invest more in the Salish-language program.

In order to improve current Salish-language education in the school, some participants propose combining Salish language learning with learning in other areas. A teacher {A9} insists that the language program must serve a dual service for it to be justified for expansion. For instance, the Salish teacher could reinforce "literacy skills" in Salish classes. An antagonistic parent {A15} proposes "teaching more than just the language." Suggested topics include "tolerance, mutual respect, diversity acceptance, heritage--not just Indian but also heritage of the White kids." Another non-Indian parent {A16} contends that it would be more meaningful for non-Indian children to learn about the local language and culture if the class "deals with diversity, the ethnically diverse world, rather than just tribal."

The remaining questions are: What academic content should be covered in Salish classes? How can Indian-language learning be combined with English-literacy development? What would be meaningful to teach both Indian and White children in Salish? What kind of curriculum framework would address the goal of teaching the local Indian language and at the same time address issues of diversity? Does the program have to be expanded in order to improve language learning? If not, how can we improve the quality of the program without expanding it?

Elicit Parental Support

Both administrators and Indian parents {A1, A2, A4, A5, A6} affirm that lack of involvement on the part of Indian parents has been an obstacle for promoting and improving Salish-language education in the school district. Indian parent leaders {A5,

A6} are frustrated by the fact that "parents don't come to IEC meeting and they come only when their kid is in trouble." She adds that "parents don't understand they have the power. There is not enough demand for the school to take action." An Indian community member {A13} protests that "people are not interested in contributing ideas. There a lack of rapport in the community." An administrator {A2} illustrates with the example of the last school-board election. Only 134 out of 1600 registered voters voted. This participant emphasized that 7% turn out is "really low." This administrator describes the situation as one where "a lot of our children don't have a lot of parental support. That's why we struggle with achievement levels of Native students quite a bit, because we have a hard time getting parents involved in their kids learning."

From the perspective of the administrators, the main problems are lack of communication and lack of commitment on the part of Indian parents. For instance, one administrator {A2} states that "we have meetings all year with the teachers. We invite parents, but nobody shows up. It's advertised in the school newsletter. We talk about it in the IEC meeting. People know." The new Indian-Education-for-All committee has also tried to involve Indian parents. Usually, only a couple of Indian parents show up at meetings. Based on past experience, a school-board member {A7} asserts that "it's difficult to get parents involved." An administrator {A4} feels that "I don't know what they [Indian community] want…[because only] the same few people show up every time at meetings. Those parents who attend IEC meeting tend to talk about problems, not solutions." At the same time, the administrator adds, "lots of folks like to sit out on the sidelines and complain. It doesn't make them unimportant. That means you have to try other ways to solve the problem without their participation."

When asked for suggested solutions, an administrator {A2} shares that the school administration "tried to identify people and invite them personally to come.... It worked really well. I don't think the policy changed very much throughout the dialogue. But, everybody supported it when we were done." The administrator emphasizes that the solution involves both communication and commitment. If people "are committed to an idea, they want something in this school, it will happen." The administrator explains the specific situation as follows:

> [Because of] the struggle to meet federal and state mandates with not enough money, the language issue has slipped clear back of my mind. I've got other more urgent things that I have to do.... If people begin working with me, communicating with me, that moves it ahead in terms of priority. When they don't, it drifts into the background.

Participants believe that it is IEC and fluent-speakers' responsibility to encourage Indian families to support Salish learning at home. In order to mobilize Indian people, an Indian-parent leader {A6} suggests, "you have to make them [Indians] mad. Tell them the school is not going to have Indian Studies. Instead of saying the school will let [us have] Indian Studies and you just need to go there to tell them how to teach—there isn't a fight there." The participant indicates that a sense of being treated unfairly operates to mobilize Indian people.

What would be the objectives of such a grassroots movement? How can one build such movement? Who should take on the leadership role? What does it take to mobilize Indian parents? Given the fact that about 65% of the students live in poverty, how can parents be convinced that heritage-language learning is a priority? How are Indian parents expected to help in the process? How can Indian parents make a difference in terms of policy making?

Re-frame Funding Issues to Reveal Alternatives

From the administrators' point of view, lack of funding is a major hurdle for expanding and/or improving Indian education. An administrator {A2} explains that besides No Child Left Behind (an unfunded federal mandate) and Indian Education for All (an unfunded state mandate), special education has been draining the school budget. In this district, about 85 out of 545 students (about 15%) are identified as special education students. According to the superintendent, "the percentage is 26 times of the national average.... We are spending $250,000 a year on special education and I [the district] get reimbursed $118,000. That's a huge chuck of money being taken out of regular education." Last year, the administrator explains, "the school district hired three new special education teachers. It cost about $60,000 dollars. We are spending our savings to do that." The administrator asks, given the financial constraint, "do the Indian people want athletics or a Native American Studies teacher? Do the Indian people want us to not meet accreditation standards.... That's what we are coming down to." Since the Johnson O'Malley Fund pays for a tutor for Indian children only and Title VII pays for the home-school coordinator and a counselor for Indian kids only, the administrator asks: Do the Indians want a counselor or additional Salish-language teaching staff? Do the Indians want a home-school coordinator or additional Salish-language teaching staff? He maintains that "we are working on drop-out preventing, attendance, drug and alcohol use, reducing violence among students. Those are really high-priority...because it doesn't do good to be good at NAS and be killed at a car wreck when you are drunk.... You have to balance those." This participant explains that "when community members don't want to spend their tax dollars on Salish language, it has to come from the state, the Tribes, or

grants. Indians represent 6% of the population in the state; they are small voice in pushing for additional funding." This administrator {A2} envisions the only long-term solution to be "a better funding system in the state."

An administrator {A1} suggests a more proactive approach for dealing with funding obstacles. This is including "Salish-language education in grant programs that are inclusive and are good for other things [other than Native-language learning]." This administrator also cites how the community successfully raised money to support a group of talented kids to participate in a national competition. Another administrator {A4} believes that " the Tribes have a lot of money.... They could help with meeting us kind of halfway."

Ironically, the poor funding situation recently has opened a door for increasing Salish learning at the elementary level. Because of budget cuts, two elementary activity classes (i.e., art and library) were eliminated in the district. As a result, space is opened up in the elementary schedule. Instead of rotating with five other activity classes and appearing once every third/fourth day in the schedule, Salish now rotates with only three other activity classes and appears once every other day in the schedule. The Salish teacher remains full-time at the elementary level. In other words, the increased number of Salish classes involves the same level of funding, although the workload of the Salish teacher has increased.

From the Indian community's perspective, the main problem is lack of priority rather than lack of funding. An Indian parent {A5} maintains that:

> They [the administration] said they were short of funding this year. I don't think our school is big enough to have a principal and an assistant principal. They kept both positions. Then, they dropped the music program—the music teacher—to half time. The teacher left and went to a

> full-time position. And, they advertised for a half-time teacher. Nobody applied.... Then, they changed that around again and hired a full-time teacher.... So there is some manipulating that goes on there.... [They are] trying to get what they want. I don't feel like they are making efforts to get Indian education going. If they wanted it, they would do it."

The Indian-parent representative believes that:

> The Tribes have invested a lot [already]...They are the first one everybody would run to. I don't agree that our Tribes should be investing money into the school system. It's school responsibility. If the school pays the teachers a set salaries, any additional classes can be paid for by JOM.

Both Indian parents and administrators agree that there should be a partnership in terms of funding Indian-language programs. What exactly does this partnership mean? Who should define the shared responsibilities and how would they be shared? Who should be responsible for paying for what? In terms of making the best of the existing financial resources, is it possible to combine the Salish-teaching position with the home-school coordinator? Can tutoring be combined with Salish-language instruction?

Jointly Define Expectations of Salish Teachers

From the perspective of the administrators, finding qualified teachers to teach Salish language and Native American Studies constitutes another major obstacle for maintaining the Salish language program. Community members remain skeptical about the recently established Class 7 certification which allows Indian-language speakers without an education degree to teach Indian languages in public schools. A parent asserts {A16} that "Class 7 is not good enough to teach.... Making children learn words and color pictures is not exactly how a language should be taught." A school -board member {A8} insists that, "language teachers should not only know the language but also be trained to teach children." For that reason, school-board members and parents expressed strong preference for Class 2 over Class 7 certified teachers. An administrator {A2}

explains that "it's not been easy to get teachers. There aren't that many people who are fluent in Salish and have a Class 2 certificate." Participants {A2, A8, A16} identified this as a main reason for limited Indian education in the school district. While non-Indian participants set out to look for a creative, effective teacher who commands trust from both Indian and non-Indian communities, Indian participants have different kinds of candidates in mind. An Indian-parent leader {A5} maintains that "we have elders who would love to come teach in school, if there are jobs." A tribal- education leader and a tribal cultural leader {R3, R19} affirm this situation.

A couple of teachers and an administrator {A1, A10, A11} agree that having more speakers around the school would facilitate integrating the language throughout the school environment. Parents and teachers {A7, A10, A11, A16} indicate that they would accept language specialists or language aides to help teach portions of some mainstream classes. This would be one way to increase Salish learning without burdening speakers with full-class responsibilities.

The arising questions are: How would integration and coordination work? What is the role of a language commission in facilitating such tasks? What type of integration would reinforce students' learning in the Salish class? How can speakers be helped to become effective, creative teachers?

Suggested Language Program Elements

In response to the question regarding how to improve Salish-language learning in the district, participants suggest certain elements be included in a framework that guides the design and implementation of a program tailored to the district. In addition to the relevant framework components suggested for reservation schools in general (e.g.,

material development, consensus building regarding content, effective teaching

approaches, teacher training, coordination between mainstream teachers and Salish

teachers, etc.), local participants believe that an effective Salish-language program should

be one that includes benchmarks and standards, creates an affirmative atmosphere, and is

separate from NAS. A feasible program needs to bridge key sectors of the community,

and it should be inclusive but optional. For the program to thrive, there ought to be a

place for it to belong. In addition, effective presentations of the benefits are necessary.

A grassroots movement aimed at winning the support of the quiet majority is an essential

part of implementing an Indian-language program in the district.

Program Objectives Important to All

In District A, Indian participants {A5, A6, A17, A19, A19} believe that the

Salish-language program possesses significant symbolic meanings to Indian students. It

"sends a message to children that the school values the language" {A6}. The recognition

"creates prides in Indian children"…which means "survival of the tribe" {A5}. This

Indian perspective is balanced by the belief that it is important for all, including the

White students, to "learn about culture, tradition, the Tribes, and their history through the

language" {A1}. Most non-Indian participants {A1, A2, A3, A5, A9, A10, A11} agree

that the school has the obligation to help non-Indian students develop appreciation for the

local Indian heritage.

The goals that participants set forth for the K-6 program include building the

foundation for Salish-language education, exposing young children to the sounds of the

language and stimulating interest in further learning. For those who choose to continue

learning Salish in high school, Indian parent leaders {A5, A6} envision that the goal for

the interested students is to achieve functional proficiency that allows them to extend

greetings, conduct small talk, and carry out simple conversations.

Benchmarks and Standards

A school administrator {A1} points out that in order for the Indian-parent leaders'

vision to materialize, clear mission and expectations must be set for the Salish- language

program. Specific benchmarks and standards built into a reservation-wide common

curriculum will guide Salish-language teachers to help learners make consistent progress

over the years.

Non-Indian administrators {A1, A2} maintain that "it's not my place" to set

standards. Thus, the emerging questions are: Who should set the benchmarks and

standards for Salish-language education? What would be appropriate expectations for the

language program? Can a reservation-wide language framework or a common

curriculum that includes benchmarks and standards serve to bring about consistency

across districts?

Affirmative Atmosphere

Indian-parent leaders and school administrators {A5, A6, A1, A2} agree that an

affirmative atmosphere in support of Salish language and cultural learning is a crucial

element of a Indian-language-education program. A school-board member {A7}

emphasizes the need to "pump in some positivism, energy, and enthusiasm" to the Salish-

language program in the school.

First, "Indians need to be empowered so that they could take the lead in supporting

language efforts," a school administrator {A1} asserts. The administrator proposes

celebrating and honoring the achievements of the bilingual elders—the cultural leaders who

serve as role models for kids. For instance, authoritative figures respected by young people can help improve attitudes by explaining to Indian students that "you don't have to give either one up. Hold on to your English and still learn the heritage language." To improve the image of Salish-language learning in the district, a grandparent {A13} suggests giving awards to outstanding Salish learners in school. For language learning to occur, a teacher {A11} maintains that:

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

In short, the Salish language needs to be promoted as valuable. An administrator {A2} emphasizes that "everybody needs to value it because it's hard to be who you are if your peers are cynical about it." Support for Salish language needs to be seen everywhere in the school. This participant states that:

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

To create a positive political atmosphere in the district, "trust and understanding ought to be built among stakeholders (teachers and parents) and policy makers (school board members and administrators) through inclusive decision making" {A2}. He believes that some open, honest dialogue between Indians and non-Indian educators would create a more trusting relationship. The administrator {A2} maintains that people need to talk to each other to work things out. For instance, Indian teachers could "assure people by showing them the curriculum [that] the teacher is not biased, and [that] what is being taught is accurate, real research-based information." Indian participants agree that

communication is a key. Indian-parent leaders {A5, A6} highlight the need for a partnership between parents, teachers, Indians, and the school through "open conversations and the willingness to listen."

Moreover, teachers need to model inclusion of the language. A Salish teacher {A18} and a school-board member {A8} believe that "if teachers use Salish words and phrases (e.g., greetings), the kids would be motivated to learn." A public-school administrator {A1} suggests that teachers incorporate the language and concepts into their lessons. Indian participants emphasize the role that teachers play. The belief is that teachers from the local community, who know everybody in community, who like people in the community, and who respect diverse cultures would help to create an affirmative atmosphere.

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

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

The arising questions are: Who are in position to initiate activities and actions that would bring about an affirmative atmosphere? What would motivate mainstream teachers and Salish teachers to take the initiative in creating an affirmative, trusting

atmosphere? Who should take on the task of promoting the language in the school? How would the local efforts be tied into the reservation efforts in affirming the values of the language and language learning?

Salish Courses Separate from Native American Studies

In this district, some participants are thinking about adding Native American Studies (NAS) to the curriculum rather than expanding Salish language education. A couple of administrators and Indian-parent leaders {A1, A2, A5, A6} believe that NAS should be required. An Administrator {A2} perceives adding a required NAS course for all as the best way to meet the requirement of the newly revised Indian Education for All law. That way, according to the administrator, "you don't have to have the mainstream teachers to do one more thing." An Indian parent leader {A5} believes that NAS is more important to all students than the language. Non-Indian parents {A7, A16} maintain that NAS is more interesting to their non-Indian children than the language.

However, an Indian-parent leader and a Salish-language advocate {A1, A5} hold tight to the belief that the Salish-language program should remain separate from any new additions in the area of NAS. That way, the Indian parent explains, "you are concentrating 99% on the language...rather than learning through other subjects... with mostly English, ...just a little bit of Salish here and there." Out of fear the language program be replaced by NAS permanently, these participants suggest, the balancing act is to hold out for the Salish program while promoting NAS.

Teachers and administrators agree that a little bit of Salish can be part of NAS and part of the regular classroom, but the language class has to be separate in order to achieve the goal of developing language skill. Then, the question is: What should be taught in the

separate Salish class if NAS exists simultaneously? Local suggestions are consistent with reservation-wide inclination: a mixture of old and modern. A young Salish teacher {A18} proposes using Salish to reinforce concepts covered in the mainstream curriculum. Others suggest using part of the time for teaching culture and traditions in the language and the rest of the time for reinforcing mainstream subjects.

The next question is how to balance NAS and Salish-language education? Should the limited resources be invested in NAS or in improving or expanding the Salish-language program? Or, should efforts be focused on NAS first in the hope that interest in the language will rise as a result? An administrator {A2} assumes that "if NAS would become a graduation requirement, Native children will perceive their culture as valued, become more motivated to learn about it, and, perhaps, want to learn one of the languages." He further maintains that since "it's easier to make NAS a required course and the level of acceptance among parents and school board members is higher because of the new law," a window of opportunity is open for promoting the language along with NAS. Then, the emerging question is: How to take advantage of the law and implement Indian Education for All in a way that facilitates learning of the local Indian language?

Bridges between Salish and the Mainstream

Participants stress the importance of breaking the isolation of the Salish classes and bridging Salish to the rest of the school. A school board member {A7} suggests integrating Salish into the school environment by integrating language and culture throughout the curriculum. This participant explains that such bridging will not only increase exposure and awareness of the language, but add value to the language, and, hence, make it more appealing to all students. For example, a mainstream educator {A1}

proposes the use of computers to bring the language into the classrooms. One simple way will be to allow students to play Salish computer games in their free time. This way, teachers can "help without knowing the language and be able to include the language in the classroom without actually including it into their lessons."

Bridging among Indian teachers will help increase the visibility and use of the language in the school environment. For example, a school administrator {A1} suggests that "it would help improve Indian education in general if there were more than one Indian teacher in the school." The additional Indian teacher can coordinate with the Salish teacher to spread the language in the school. The participant envisions infiltrating Salish concepts and expressions in the school culture. In Hawaii, the participant explains, Native concepts and phrases are embedded in the common language (English) and the lifestyle of everybody. The remaining questions are: how to go about infiltrating Salish into the daily activities at St Ignatius School? Who should be responsible for the task? How can students and staff be motivated to support the initiative?

An administrator {A4} adds that "it would be more effective to branch out to different entities than to try to increase the number of learners in the school setting." The participant implies that tribal entities need to help reinforce what children learn in school. Parents need to help at home. The Indian Club needs to organize after-school activities. The Cultural Committee and other tribal-community centers need to offer after-school, weekend, and summer programs.

Why are there not more of these learning opportunities for school children? Who should be responsible for initiating and coordinating the activities and programs offered by different entities? What role could a language commission play in this regard?

Inclusive, but Optional, Salish Program

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

From an administrator's {A1} point of view, it would be easier to guarantee funding for a program that is inclusive and beneficial to all children than one that serves only a small portion of the student population. In addition, it is easier to guarantee funding for a program that aims to improve students' learning in multiple areas (e.g., reading and writing) than one that teaches only an Indian language.

From an Indian parent's {A5} point of view, more children are exposed to the language through an inclusive program and the chance that the language reaches potentially interested learners is higher than otherwise. The participant adds that "it's important to have a broad base of learner in order to be sure we are not missing some potential kids." In addition, "people are more likely to perceive the class as important if it's for all rather than it's optional." A Salish teacher {A18} believes that an optional Salish class is likely to be perceived as a sub-standard class.

The arising questions, then, is: What type of scheduling would allow the Salish program to reach the maximum number of children? Given the limited availability of Salish teachers, a broad-based program means a small quantity of instruction for each student. Each kid would have a taste of the language but not enough to develop proficiency. Moreover, "some kids did show some interest in the language, but it became very boring for them because other kids didn't and it did not progress fast" {A1}. In that

case, supplementary language-learning opportunities, such as an after-school program, lunch-time program, study-hall program, etc., are essential for developing language proficiency.

In contrast, an administrator {A3} proposes turning broad-based Salish education into a Salish-honors class to nurture only those (about 25-30 students) who are interested and motivated. A former Salish teacher {A18} in the school agrees that a special honors class will allow gifted children to do more with activities centered around the language. The administrator suggests that "Salish educators could make the Salish class a privilege for talented students.... [They could] test them and find out who has linguistics intelligence, get recommendation from teachers and parents, ...[and] interview why they want to be in it." In this way, "you make it a privilege to be in the group..., then, suddenly, expectations rise for everybody.... The tide raises all boats, it doesn't just raise one boat...." While administrators {A2, A3} are inclined to believe that "we can provide more for a few than a little for all," Indian educators and parents {A5, A18, R3} strongly believe that the "honors class" should be an addition rather than a replacement for the current inclusive arrangement.

From the perspective of non-Indian parents {A7, A14, A15, A16}, the Salish class must be optional. A parent {A14}, who had pulled her children out of Salish classes, used the terms "choice" or "options" 24 times in a 45-minute interview. Non-supporters {A14, A15, A16} indicate they will accept the Salish program in the school as long as their children are not be "forced" to take the class. Administrators, school-board members, and Indian-community members concur that Salish should be optional even for Indian children because "if you force them, they resent it," as a participant {R3} explains. An Indian

elderly community member {A13} maintains that "language learning should be strictly voluntary, but educators should use enticement to attract learners." Then, the remaining questions is: How to make a Salish course optional without making it peripheral?

The balancing act here is that you want to give parents the option to pull their kids and provide a reasonably meaningful alternative, while keeping Salish as the better option. Otherwise, as a school administrator {A1} cautions, many parents will pull their kids out and turn the language class into an unwanted dumping ground as it was before. Currently, the non-supportive parents indicate that their children (who have been pulled out) have been treated as "Indian haters" and assigned to menial work during Salish class time. What alternative would stop the non-supportive parents from continuing to criticize the Salish program? How can Salish be turned into the more appealing option?

A Place for Salish Classes

Indian parents and Salish teachers in the district {A5, A6, A17, A18} strongly believe that one essential element of a healthy Salish language program is a decent classroom for the Salish-speaking teacher to conduct language classes. An Indian-parent leader {A5} emphasized that "it's very important for the Indian Education Committee that the Salish teacher has a permanent classroom."

When asked about past successes, an Indian parent leader {A5} highlights "the biggest change" as "finding a place, a room for the language class." When asked about future plans, the participant notes that "one of the most important things to get done...is to find a building, a facility, that is part of the school system, for our language and our class."

Careful Presentation of Benefits

In order to improve Salish learning, there needs to be support for Indian language education in the school district. A school-board member {A7} points out that "to get people support the language integration or any language classes...would be a marketing issue.... To really spend a lot of time getting enthusiasm going...will mean presenting the idea very well." Based on an understanding of the existing opposing opinions in the district, this school-board member advises the use of a "softer approach" through "careful presentations." For instance, careful presentation of how learning a language benefits all children cognitively will be vital. Moreover, Indian-language education could be framed in terms of current buzzwords in education, such as "cultural literacy" and "cultural awareness."

At the community level, participants {A4, A8, B14} call for the use of a consultative approach. A school-board member {A8} insists that educators "keep the community aware of what's going on." This participant maintains that "in order to gain support from the community, IEC needs to consult more, present ideas in a more consultative manner, and show understanding of the constraints school is facing." A non-supportive parent {A14} demands that "information relating to new Indian education efforts be publicized through newspaper, TV, and radio." This non-supportive participant expresses the desire to vote on any new education policy and agrees to comply with the "majority rule." To gain support from parents, Indian-parent leaders emphasize the need to "educate parents of the importance" of Salish-language education.

Along with the school-board members, an administrator {A3} posits that "it would be necessary to sell our programs...and show what we are going to do and how we

are going to do it." Another administrator {A4} maintains that "it would be important to show the school board that we wouldn't compromise any of the other programs, particularly the ones from which we are measured by the state and other people." School-board members need to be convinced that "we are providing something unique…and enriching," he adds.

Among students, the learning of Salish, or exposure to Salish, needs to be presented as "a new fun concept, a kind of fun cultural experience, instead of something that "you must" attend. This school-board member {A7} also suggests using incentives, such as scholarships, a savings bond, etc., and rewarding good learning behavior. For instance, "we can all go to a ball game if we have good attendance at Salish class." In addition, an administrator {A4} explains that for any program to take off, teachers "need to recruit cool students whom other kids would like to follow—be a salesman." Also, the non-Indian administrator {A4} stresses that Indians need to "make non-Native students feel welcome, accepted, a part of it, and respected like Native kids."

The emerging question is: Who should be responsible for marketing and recruiting? A participant {A7} indicates that someone from the local Indian community would not be trusted by White-community members and vice versa. Then, who would be an effective salesman/saleswoman? How would marketing at the local level fit in with reservation-wide efforts?

Grassroots Movement Targeted at the Quiet Majority

An elderly Indian community member {A13} maintains that "Indian-language education has to start with individual determination.… Otherwise it won't happen." The challenge is to mobilize individuals in a community where most people are "indifferent,"

as described by this participant. A teacher {A11} admits that little attention has been paid to those who appear to be "indifferent." "We never pay much attention to the not-negative, not-supportive, the middle.... I don't know how they feel." A young Indian-community member {A19} believes that "there is will.... People just don't have the knowledge of what to do. [They] don't know how to organize themselves to put pressure on the school." Then, the next question is: how can we mobilize the quiet majority?

On the basis of past grassroots efforts that have been successful in changing school policy, a school-board member {A7} proposes the following steps:

-"Start with parents and work through the school board."
-"Have the Indian community rally behind you; that would create a lot of pressure."
-"Basically, do it through community leaders, people who are very excited about the idea, who then make the presentation to the appropriate people."
-"Get support through lots of meetings, contacts... going through everyone, the principals, through the school board, through the superintendent, ...keeping the momentum going."
-"Find key supporters...teachers, community leaders, excited school-board members.... Getting key people from each segment, pull them together."
-Target the area where the most resistance is..., work with that."

"It's a lot of work," the participant adds. Who is in position to organize such a grassroots movement? Who should take on the responsibility?

Summary

Salish-language education has been rooted in District A for over 15 years. Despite objections, the demands, support, and efforts of committed individuals (both Indians and Whites) have been keeping the program in place. However, a number of obstacles had been pulling the program away from the center of attention in the district. Lack of mission and expectations, lack of parental support, lack of funding, and lack of consensus between Indians and Whites and between supporters and non-supporters have contributed to the peripheral status of the language program. The need to balance the

polarized interests of supporters and non-supporters has been limiting the impact and hindering the progress of Salish-language education in the district.

Participants suggested a number of program elements for improving the program in place. Benchmarks and standards, independence from Native American Studies, bridging to mainstream classes, and extra-curricular Salish activities are believed to help learning of the language. An affirmative atmosphere in school and a permanent physical locale for the program are believed to support learning. An inclusive-but-optional arrangement and effective presentations of the benefits of language education are believed to minimize opposition. A grassroots movement is considered necessary to initiate change and influence policymaking.

Discussion

From the researcher's perspective, the suggested program elements are most likely to materialize through collaborative communication, the adoption of a comparative approach, a written curriculum, and local/reservation coordination. The following discussion is based on the researcher's analysis and insights from relevant literature.

Collaborative communication

The divide between the Indian community and the school administration is wide in District A. From the perspective of the researcher, the problem is not lack of common ground but lack of collaborative communication. The Indian parents and the White administration appear to disagree over several issues, such as funding for Indian- studies programs, hiring Indian teachers, and Indian course offerings. In the interviews, they portrayed two different pictures of these situations. Lack of mutual understanding, or

misunderstanding, has led each group to feel little unsupported by the other side. The Indians feel that they are not heard, while the Whites feel that they are not trusted.

As an outsider listening to both sides, I detect common ground that few Indian or White participants voice. From my vantage point, both positions are not too far off from each other. For instance, both share similar expectations of the Salish-language program. Both want to keep Salish language optional and add a required NAS. Both believe in tribal/school partnership in terms of funding Indian education in schools. How can an inter-ethnic relationship be built on this common ground?

Communication is a solution suggested by both Indian and White participants for creating trust and a constructive working relationship. Is there a lack of communication? Each group believes that they have expressed their demands and/or support clearly; at the same time, while each group feels that they are not heard nor appreciated by the other side. Honest and open communication in collaborative terms, instead of competitive terms, will likely bring about consensus and cooperation over the issues of teacher qualification, a classroom location, and funding priorities. According to Hocker and Wilmot (1995), "collaborative tactics involve a stance toward conflict management very different from competitive tactics" (p.111). Unlike compromising, collaborative tactics require that one "not give up your self-interest.... You integrate it with the other's self-interest to reach agreement" (p.111). When "parties mutually work together for desirable outcomes for all and protect their own as well as each other's interest, many times respect, caring, and admiration develop as by products of the collaborative effort" (p.111).

In the context of District A, the Whites and the Indians seem to perceive each other as "competitive" and assume the agendas of the two groups to be incompatible. Instead of dwelling on competing over finite resources to maximize gains for one's side, could both Indians and Whites find ways to use the available resources to meet multiple goals on both sides? Instead of criticizing the school for not caring about Indian language education, could Indian parents suggest specific strategies for integrating the language in the school? Could they propose a plan for bridging Salish teachers and mainstream teachers, connecting Salish teachers and NAS teachers, and linking the school and various tribal entities that offer extra-curricula Salish-language learning opportunities? Similarly, instead of ignoring angry criticism, could the school take steps to acknowledge parents' feelings and engage upset Indian parents at "an exploratory, problem solving level" (Hocker & Wilmot, 1995, p.108)? Instead of avoiding dealing with the conflicts or looking for some easy intermediate position or compromise that partially satisfies both sides, could both the Indians and the Whites collaborate on "identifying the underlying concerns of both parties" and find creative alternatives to meet all needs (p. 109)?

For instance, it is important for Indians that their feelings are acknowledged and their heritage is respected in an explicit, culturally appropriate manner in the school setting. Non-Indian administrators and teachers can move the long-term conflict toward collaboration by "soliciting disclosure and criticism" (Hocker & Wilmot, 1995, p. 113) from the Indian parents (e.g., what is making you so upset when you ...?). Indian parents can help build understanding by making "disclosive statements" (Hocker & Wilmot, 1995, p. 113) about their feelings without attributing problems to the school.

On the other hand, it is important for Whites that Indians demonstrate understanding of the constraints faced by the school and live up to their commitment in promoting the language and culture within and without the school. Could Indians and Whites in District A start from what is important to the other side? Could Indian parents start with "supportive remarks," "concessions," and "acceptance of responsibility" (e.g., I can see why increased Salish learning is difficult...I agree we need to find new ways to deal with the issue.... Yes, I need to work on increasing involvement of other parents....)? Would the use of "conciliatory remarks" (Hocker & Wilmot, 1995, p. 113) avert competitive, defensive responses from the school personnel in return? If the Indian community and the school, Indians and Whites, could "move with the other rather than against" (Hocker & Wilmot, 1995, p. 111), the inter-ethnic relationship and, hence, the atmosphere would improve in the school setting and potentially in the wider community.

District-wide change needs to start from the inter-personal level. For developing collaborative communication skills, conflict-management training would be helpful for school personnel and Indian representatives. Since both Indian-parent leaders and White administrators identify *communication* as the key to successful partnership in meeting the needs of all students, it would be worthwhile for the school district to hire an external communication consultant to help with the training.

Comparative Approach

Communicating collaboratively is one way to convey mutual respect and to gain mutual understanding. Learning about each other's cultural heritage through multicultural education is another way. A curriculum design based on multicultural perspectives will help blur the line dividing the Whites and Indians.

White parents in District A express fear that teaching about Indian culture and language means excluding teaching about the heritages of White students. They also fear that teaching Salish means taking away from English-literacy development. A White participant {A15} asks: "Why should your way be taught but not mine?...What about my children's Scottish-Irish heritage?" On the other hand, an Indian community member {A5} argues that the mainstream curriculum is based on European traditions. An Indian community activist {C10} insists that "I have been learning about you [the Europeans] all my life. It's time for you to learn about me." From my vantage point, these two seemingly opposing perspectives could be accommodated with a curriculum design that is based on a comparative approach in dealing with diverse cultures.

Banks' multicultural model (1991 & 2001) could be adapted for Indian-language and cultural studies. Under the multicultural-education model, "students study historical, social, artistic, and literary events and concepts from several ethnic and cultural perspectives" (Banks, 1991, p.18). Mainstream perspectives constitute one group among several, all of which are equally valid and valuable for educational purposes. Native American perspectives would be another group that could be studied and compared. Banks (1991) maintains that contrasting various perspectives helps students understand fully the complex role of ethnicity, race, gender, culture, class, religion, and political power in life.

Perhaps a Native American Studies and/or a Salish-language curriculum could cover primarily Native topics, but the assignments could be based on a comparative approach. For instance, Salish creation stories could be the focus of a teaching unit. By the end of that unit, the instructor could ask students to compare what they learned from

the Salish stories with stories from other traditions (e.g., an Irish story, Scottish folklore, or Greek mythology). In other words, the teaching content could be Salish, or NAS in Salish, while the end-of-unit assignment could be one that requires children to compare and reflect on diversity perspectives. Children should be encouraged to go home and ask their parents to help research their own heritage. If framed this way, the learning experience will likely to be perceived as a multicultural, inclusive, one rather than another Indian class "being forced down to my throat" as some White parents in the district complain. The Salish teacher could even invite White parents to share their heritage stories in the Salish and/or NAS classes, while White teachers invite Salish elders to speak frequently in mainstream classrooms. If such a comparative approach were to be adopted throughout the curriculum, the clear message of inclusiveness and the joint efforts to bring about mutual respect and understanding will help to uphold an affirmative atmosphere that is conducive to learning for all.

Furthermore, a comparative approach helps students develop the multicultural competence that is required in a globalizing world. Learning about a local culture and a local heritage language and comparing it to other cultures help students develop the kind of cross-cultural awareness and sensitivity that can be transferred to other multicultural settings. If Indian Studies is promoted as a program that prepares students for effective and meaningful participation in the diverse U.S. society and beyond, parents and school-board members are likely to support it.

Written Curriculum

What is being taught in the Salish class remains a mystery to many in the district. The unknown has become the source of a number of problems that hinder the progress of

Salish-language education. For instance, the language program is considered to be isolated and, hence, unrelated to learning in the mainstream classroom. Mainstream teachers have no idea how to reinforce Salish learning. No one knows what to expect from the program and, hence, there is no accountability. The unknown breeds fear and suspicions among parents and school-board members. A White parent {A15} imagines that the Salish class has been teaching children everything bad about White people. Others even believe that it is about witchcraft. Some {A14, A16} wonder whether taxpayers' money has been wasted on something useless. Thus, a written curriculum is vital in helping to remove the ignorance, fear, and suspicions toward Salish-language education that are currently rampant in the district.

A written curriculum outlining objectives, benchmarks and standards, and instruction units/topics allows for sharing of information about the program. If the curriculum includes assignments based on a comparative approach, advocates can use it to promote the program as one that is inclusive and relevant to all children. Then, teachers will know what to reinforce. Parents will know what their children are learning in the class. It will facilitate bridging between Salish teachers and NAS teachers and between Salish teachers and mainstream teachers. Furthermore, all Salish teachers on the reservation should collaboratively design and implement one common curriculum. That way, teaching resources can be shared by all Salish teachers. A tribal entity (e.g., the Tribal Education Department) could set the standards and be responsible for holding teachers accountable. Chapter 8 will elaborate on possible characteristics of a common Salish-language curriculum.

Coordination at the Local and Reservation Level

A couple of participants in the district advocate a grassroots movement for promoting and increasing Salish-language learning locally. In my view, a local movement will have limited impact without coordinating with reservation-wide efforts. If the Salish language is not promoted and appreciated within the tribe and throughout the reservation, it will be difficult for the language to survive and thrive within one school district. For instance, the local Indian-Education-for-All committee has set objectives for the district. For the objectives set forth by the committee (e.g., in five years, Salish will be heard in the hallways of the school) to be realized, support from other entities on the reservation is essential.

Local, grassroots efforts constitute the foundation for, rather than an independent element in, a language revitalization process. Fishman (1991) stresses that initiatives should come from the "lower level" (p. 4), and that the place to start is at the "home front" (p.5). The goals of increased learning of the heritage language should be oriented toward smaller units, such as families, clubs, neighborhoods, or schools (Fishman, 1991). Quamahongewa (a Hopi elder) points out that "local people should set their goals, they need to become owners of their goals and finance the achievement of those goals themselves" (Reyhner, 1996, p. 99).

Nevertheless, the "bottom-up" process should be built upon a language infrastructure that is not just horizontal but vertical as well (McLean, 1997, p. 122). Horizontal networks, such as the Indian Education Committee, the Indian-Education-for-All Committee, supportive school administrators, and committed individual community members, require support from multiple entities, leadership, and policies at the

reservation level and beyond. Fishman (1997) goes as far as saying "a societal revolution is required" (p. 194) so that every member of every entity would be involved in supporting language revitalization

In the case of District A, local efforts in marketing the language, developing curriculum and materials, and training teachers will be more efficient and effective if tied in with the reservation-wide efforts. For instance, the Navajo experience shows that "collaborative effort could reduce duplication of labor and free up time and resources," allowing ... [language educators] to create far more instructional and testing materials than any one program could possibly develop alone" (Fillerup, 2000, p. 32).

This type of collaboration requires agreements across districts in terms of language-education objectives, learning standards, curriculum features. On the Navajo reservation, immersion and bilingual programs throughout the reservation and the border-towns formed a consortium to address common concerns, provide training, share resources, and collaborate on the development of Navajo assessments, materials, and curriculum.

In sum, the committees in District A need to be collaborating with the ones in other districts. A Salish language commission (formed at the reservation or tribal level) can take on the leadership role, bridging tribal entities and groups from districts in which Salish is identified as the dominant heritage language.

CHAPTER 6

A DISTRICT WITH MORE INDIAN THAN WHITE STUDENTS

District B: Leading The Way

District B offers a K through 12 Salish language program along with a K through 12 Native American Studies program. A Native teacher {B13} describes this district as "the forerunner in providing K-12 Salish language instruction and Native American Studies on the reservation." An Indian parent leader {B28} claims that District B is "more advanced" because a K-12 program is rare in Montana. A tribal- education leader {R3} affirms that the Salish language program in District B is the best on the reservation.

District B is composed of more Indian students than non-Indian students. Over the past two decades, the percentage of Indian students has been consistently over 60%. During 2003/2004 academic year, out of 450 students, 297 are enrolled tribal members. An administrator {B6} claims that around 68% of all students are Indians if both enrolled tribal members and the descendants of tribal parents are counted. Interestingly, some White parents were shocked to find out in the interviews that there are more Indian than White students in District B.

The district first offered Salish-language instruction in 1972. An experienced Salish teacher believes {B10} that "having Salish classes and teachers in the school helps keep the Salish culture alive." The current program allows for 20 minutes of Salish instruction once a week in kindergarten and first grade and twice a week from Grades 2 to 6. In the middle school, Salish is an elective class for one semester (an hour every day for nine weeks). In the high school, the language is available as an elective class for four years. Along with the language program, the Native American Studies program allows

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

The Salish-language program is currently funded by a combination of Title I, Title III, and Title VII federal funds and funds from the district's central budget (which include Impact Aid). In addition, District B has been awarded a grant under the Native American and Alaskan Children in Schools Program. A public-school administrator {B8} indicates that there is financial flexibility to improve and expand Salish learning in the district. Being ahead in the race, District B is in an advantageous position to upgrade the Salish-language program and lead Salish-language education to a new level. The question is: how?

The insights presented in the first three sections below are based on 32 interviews with 28 supportive and non-supportive research participants, and the fourth section summarizes the participants' input and interweaves the researcher's comments. The research participants include four school administrators, two White and one Indian non-teaching school staff members who are long-time community members, one Indian and three White mainstream classroom teachers, four Salish-language teachers, three NAS teachers, two White members a local community group, two vocal Indian parents, three White school-board members, two White parents who are involved in community activities, and one active Indian-community member. Most of the participants indicate support for increasing Salish-language learning; six perceive no room for increase.

Local Facilitating Factors

District B stands out as more successful than the other districts in Salish-language education. In addition to the reservation-wide facilitating factors described in previous chapter, participants in this district point to three main local factors that have contributed to its success story: additional grant funding, a supportive school environment, and an open-minded community.

Grant Funding

One of the factors contributing to the leading role of District B in Salish language education in the public-school setting is the success of a talented and committed grant writer in winning funding to support the Salish-language and NAS programs, training teaching staff, and other educational efforts that help improve learning for all. In addition to Title I, Title VII, Impact Aid, and the Johnson O'Malley Fund, District B has been awarded a five-year grant ($238, 389 per year) under the Native American and Alaskan Children in Schools Program, part of which will to be used to continue support for Salish-language education in the district. The district also has received the Twenty-first Century Learning Center grant, part of which will possibly be used for supporting after-school Salish-language related activities. Over the years, grant funding has contributed to improving Salish-language education in numerous ways. For example, the exemplary grant entitled *Tapestries* supported a comprehensive school program of bilingual education fostering systemic reform. The elements of the program include Salish-language and cultural enrichment, Salish-materials development, staff development, a writer's and reader's workshop for all students, inter- and intra-school collaboration, and guest speakers that serve as Native role models for increasing Native students' motivation, self-esteem, and attendance. The

primary objective of the bilingual education program is to help all students to develop strong English-literacy skills that would allow them to achieve high academic standards in all subject areas. At the same time, the program set forth to help create a culturally relevant environment through Salish-language instruction. This grant supported direct Salish instruction for all students and assisted in the development of Salish-Language curriculum and instructional materials consistent with the Tribal Language Policy and Language Plan.

The Literacy Learning Network Project was a subsequent exemplary bilingual-education program linking four elementary schools on the reservation. This program featured a similar dual focus. While aiming to improve English literacy instruction through professional development for teachers, the program provided a cultural-enrichment dimension through Salish- and Kootenai-language instruction and Native-language materials development. Inter- and intra-school collaboration again constituted a critical factor in providing consistency, quality, and systematic education reform. The teacher-training dimension of this program aimed to enhance the teaching techniques of Salish-language teachers, some of whom later became pioneers of the new Salish-immersion school.

Although these grant programs have not met the goal of developing Salish fluency among students, they succeeded in enhancing Salish-language ability as measured using an observation scale. In addition, the Salish-language dimension of the bilingual-education program has been sending a powerful message to Indian learners about the value of their heritage. According to the school administrators, the K-12 Salish program has created a welcoming environment. The administrator {B8} believes that the Salish dimension has "kept thousands and thousands of [Indian] children in school, engaged in

learning because of their sense of being acknowledged and welcome.... It makes them feel unique within the context of the school setting."

Moreover, the combination of English-literacy development and Salish language instruction is important politically. The administrator {B8} explains that such a combination cuts down resistance to Indian education and, hence, allows the Salish-language program to be institutionalized. Few parents have chosen to pull their children out of the Salish-language classes. According to the administrator {B8}, in recent years "not one non-Indian child has self-selected out of the bilingual program."

Apart from Salish-language classes, the grants have been supporting other educational opportunities that contribute to language-revitalization efforts. For instance, the grants provided Salish-learning opportunities for mainstream teachers so that they would develop basic Salish skills for reinforcing children's Salish learning throughout the school day. One of the grants allowed for the purchase of recording equipment and tapes for recording Salish lessons to be distributed to learners and their families. Another grant sponsored parents to take Salish classes at the local tribal college so that parents would be able to reinforce children's Salish learning at home. The recent grants provide the financial flexibility that allows for additional Salish-language teaching staff and an after-school Salish-language program. The grant programs being implemented in District B serve as a model of federally funded bilingual-education programs for the public-school setting.

Supportive School Environment

District B is perceived as the most supportive of Salish-language learning. According to a tribal-education leader {R3}, this is the only school in which she is

greeted in Salish when she walks in. A White grandparent {B26} reports that the teachers greet parents/grandparents "hello" "goodbye" and "thank you" in Salish. An Indian teacher {B16} observes that "some teachers would use Salish throughout the day. They use specific words, commands, or phrases that keep kids' attention." One of the Indian teachers {B14} feels that "teachers are open minded about the use of Salish in the hallway." According to a Salish-language teacher {B11}, "years ago, teachers wouldn't stay in the classroom during Salish class. Now all teachers stay and learn along with the children. Teachers and kids help each other. Students' expectations motivates the teachers to stay in." Moreover, Salish words are put up around the school. The Salish language is integrated into the flag ceremony in the forms of Salish blessing, drumming, and honor songs at football games on Friday nights.

Academically, Salish has a place in the school curricula. A school administrator {B6} explains that in the classroom, "we try to plug in a Native American part throughout the curricula.... We require all staff members to attend the Tribal PIR Day." Individual teachers have taken the initiative to develop materials for reinforcing Salish learning in their classrooms. For example, one elementary-school teacher developed as part of her master's thesis a series of bilingual "big books" composed of big cards with picture illustrations, which can be used in the reading dimension of the mainstream curriculum. A school administrator {B8} developed "an interactive model" for teaching Salish. In the high school, Salish-language instruction is available for all children as an "official elective" course. Thus, Salish is treated as equal to the other official foreign-language subject (i.e., Spanish).

The school personnel and members of the local Indian community demonstrate respect for one another. A school administrator {B7} describes the teaching staff as "progressive" and "open" to helping with language/culture education. At the same time, an Indian teacher {B13} perceives the administration as open and fair. [It is] one that wanted to give our [Indian] children equal and quality education." School-board members {B22, B24} indicate that they are aware of their obligation to follow the state and the federal law. They agree that the district has an obligation to provide Indian-language instruction. Also, individual teachers show great appreciation for the elders who work for the school. An administrator {B8} describes "the depth and authority" that an elder brings to school as "a magic blend for many kids."

Open-minded Community

A school-board member, a White parent, and a school administrator {B7, B18, B22} describe the local community as "open-minded." According to a school-staff member {B2} who has lived in the district since the 1970s, "interest [in Indian culture and language] is there. Everybody wants to help with perpetuating Indian culture and language." For instance, the participant maintains, the Catholic Church has been good about keeping the Native tradition in the community. Church members have made efforts to interweave Salish tradition in religion classes, funerals, and baptism. Salish songs are sung at church. Church members are interested in learning the songs and use them often in religious ceremonies.

A school administrator {B6} affirms that Whites who live in this district enjoy learning more about Indians. A school-board member {B22} reveals that "the fun of living here is to learn about different things, including the local heritage." Several White

participants {B18, B20, B26, B27} acknowledge the fact that it is their choice to live on

the reservation and that they are prepared to accept the local Indian culture.

A mainstream teacher {B20} who has been living in the district for almost 30

years reports that the language and culture is well-accepted in the community and that

only a "few parents don't want their children doing that [learning the language and

culture]." Nearly all parents, Indian and White, support their children taking Salish

language at the elementary level as a form cultural exposure and multicultural education.

Apart from Indian educators and leaders, a number of White participants {B18, B19,

B20, B21, B22, B23, B24, B25, B26, B27} believe that learning another language and a

culture other than the mainstream one is beneficial in general. The belief is that such

education would open the children up to another perspective, and, as a community

member explains, "maintaining diversity is a way of maintaining a rich world.... There

would be more things to see and enjoy." Furthermore, a member {B25} of a local

community group points out that:

> Language that has a living context--a living language that has a context in the
> local--is valuable. The local environment--the richness and the possibility of
> living of that [learning the local language]—offers opportunities you can't get
> from languages that are more distant.... The language is part of that local history,
> part of that place, and the people who have been in that place. The connection to
> the place where we live is important. People who have learned that connection
> would have a greater respect for where they live, and, in turn, would create a
> healthy environment. When you care about the place, you would protect the air
> and the water. Also, when it comes to creating a community, that connection is
> important."

In this community, a school-board member {B24} observes, "Indians and non-

Indians have been in a fairly good relationship." A teacher {B19} points out that "the

anger built up toward Whites has been decreasing over the last three years...The younger

generation is less 'traditional' in the sense that fewer young people hold the traditional

antagonistic attitude toward Whites." Many Whites, in fact, express admiration for the

Indian people. For instance, a couple of White community members {B18, B26} applaud

the positive changes they observe within the Indian community. The participants have

witnessed growth in pride among Indians over the past 20 years. They marvel at the

socio-cultural, economic, and educational development that has occurred on the

reservation over the past decade. An administrator notes that, "Salish people are diligent

and use a lot of foresight in looking ahead to what to do to survive." At the same time, a

long-time resident {B26} states that "Salish-people are speaking more of their heritage

language. The traditional way is coming back." Such renewed mutual respect between

White and Indians creates an atmosphere conducive for Salish language education in

District B.

Although grant funding is available and the school and the community are

supportive and open-minded about Salish-language education, community members and

educators are not necessarily convinced that more needs to be done in terms of upgrading

the Salish-language program in school. Why not? The next section will describe the

obstacles perceived by research participants.

Local Obstacles and Suggested Solutions

Like other districts on the reservation, District B also struggles with a shortage of

Salish-language teachers. It is especially difficult in this district because local

administrators are looking for young, trained teachers. As in other parts of the

reservation, a lack of domains for use of the language becomes a rationale for not

spending time and resources on Salish-language education. Parents and students in the

district let other priorities consume most of their time and energy and spare little for

learning the heritage language. When it comes to allocating resources in school, helping students to develop Salish proficiency is not a top priority among local educators. The perceived lack of economical value of the language and of exciting and fun learning materials and activities also contribute to low motivation in learning Salish. Although there is a will in the district to maintain the Salish language program in place, there is a sense of helplessness in terms of upgrading the program. Without being part of coordinated reservation-wide efforts and given the lack of tribal leadership, local educators feel that it is not their place to make a difference in terms of improving Salish education. Fearful respect for speakers could be stifling the desire to help, to innovate, to improve on the part of non-Indian educators. Finally, the financial advantage that this district has been enjoying will be curtailed if the grant agencies start to emphasize English-literacy development in place of bi-literacy development.

Participants suggest several approaches in response to the four district-specific obstacles. The most important are: to create a pool of trained young teachers, to make time for improving Salish education, to shift supervision out of fearful respect, and to avoid reliance on federal grants.

Create a Pool of Trained Young Teachers

The struggle to find qualified Salish teachers remains, even though tribal-education leaders and cultural leaders maintain that a pool of Class 7 teachers who have been unemployed or retired would be open for invitation to teach in the school setting. At the district level, the search for Salish teachers often ends up to no avail because it has not been easy to find someone who is both knowledgeable about Salish language and trained in classroom teaching. A school administrator {B8} explains that "there might

be a Class 7 knocking on the door. But, it's not just fluency. Can you manage a class group of 20 children? Can you teach 6-7 classes a day?" With such criteria in mind, the administrator is afraid that it will be difficult (if not impossible) to find replacements for the current teachers.

On the basis of their past experiences with Indian teachers, mainstream teachers and administrators {B5, B7, B8, B19, B20, B21} strongly believe that qualified, trained teachers would bring about significant improvements in Indian education (including Native American Studies and Salish language education). A mainstream teacher {B19} asserts that, in some cases "what could be so beautifully done has turned into biased, anti-White mentality, ineffective presentations, and boring repetition--classes that turned kids off." From the perspective of the local educators, hope lies in Indian teachers who are well trained and energetic. A mainstream teacher {B19} predicts that the new, young Native American Studies teacher, who is also a basketball coach in the school, would be "a shot in the arm." This comment captures the belief that the right kind of teacher is one who can connect with students. Another mainstream teacher {B20} maintains that young teachers, such as the new NAS teacher, are desperately needed to reinvigorate Salish-language education in the district.

The seemingly insurmountable obstacle is that most of the Salish speakers are not young. While school administrators are waiting for the Tribes to provide effective young teachers, what can the tribe do to meet the demand? What kind of recruitment procedures and teacher training are needed in the short and in the long run?

A tribal-education leader {R3} maintains that existing speakers are most ready to be trained into teachers. This older group would have to be open to adopt active and

interactive approaches that might require them to move out of their comfort zone. For the long run, an administrator {A1} suggests recruiting committed young Indians and providing them with intensive teacher training and Salish language training. In a few years, they would be able to step into the classroom and teach elementary Salish language.

The arising questions are: How can one motivate speakers to be involved in language-teacher training? What would it take to attract younger people into the profession? Who should be responsible for recruiting and training?

Make Time for Improving Salish Education

Improving Salish language education requires additional time on the part of teachers and students. Indian teachers, mainstream teachers, and an administrator {B8, B11, B12, B14, B17, B21} point out that the hectic teaching schedule has left the Salish teachers with little time with students and no extra time for coordinating with other teachers. For example, the elementary Salish teacher has to teach six to seven classes every day. A Salish teacher {B11} adds, "I am also struggling with developing my own materials." Participants find it hard to imagine how the Salish teachers can find more time to be with students or other teachers.

Reinforcing Salish language in the regular classes requires extra work not only on the part of the Salish teachers but also that of the mainstream teachers. A mainstream teacher {B21} argues that "teachers don't have time to initiate and start a new process of coordinating with Salish teachers." Another teacher {B19} claims that "teachers have little time to arrange to have visitors from the Tribes or to work with elders or tribal experts on developing materials for reinforcing Salish."

From the perspective of parents and school administrators {B5, B7, B18, B23, B26}, students' academic schedules have "no room for expanding Salish"—something that would not help children to meet the criteria of standardized testing nor find a job in the future. An administrator {B6) points out that "the list of what we [educators] are expected to be doing has expanded immensely." Another administrator {B5} states that "the plate is full," and asks "what are you going to take out?" A parent {B26} argues that learning about Salish culture is worthwhile, but children "don't have time to learn a whole language which is too huge an undertaking."

In order to increase Salish learning in the district, a couple of school administrators {A1, B8} have been exploring the possibility of establishing an after-school Salish program for interested students rather than sacrificing any part of the school day. On the other hand, a teacher {B20} maintains that "instead of increasing time for Salish class, the Salish teacher needs to use the existing time slot effectively and all teachers need to help get little pieces of it into other parts of the school day." To facilitate integration, an administrator {B8} proposes increasing the Salish-teaching staff to allow time for coordination with mainstream teachers. A mainstream teacher {B21} suggests hiring an administrative assistant who could help teachers with clerical tasks so that teachers could use the time to coordinate with the Salish teachers. Another mainstream teacher {B20} recommends that the school administration consider allowing released time for teachers to attend Salish-language training. The teacher urges that the Tribes offer training in integrating the language into the curriculum and motivate teachers to participate with renewal credits and stipends. In addition, administrators and teachers {B7, B8, B19, B20, B21} request that the Tribes produce teaching materials that would

make integration less time-consuming. An Indian-parent leader {B28} believes that it is time for Indian educators to be proactive in providing mainstream teachers with materials rather than waiting for them to produce their own.

The emerging questions are: What are the strategies for integrating the Salish language into the mainstream classroom? Who in the Tribes should train teachers to do so? Who in the Tribes should be responsible for preparing materials for mainstream teachers? Would the administration agree to hire administrative help so as to allow teachers time for coordinating with the Salish teachers and working on integrating the language in their classes? If not, can the cost of an administrative assistant be covered by grant funding?

Shift Supervision out of Fearful Respect

Respect for elders becomes obstructive when no one dares to suggest to elders how the Salish language can be delivered more effectively than it has been for years. Speakers have found their own way of teaching in the classroom setting. However, what they are used to is not necessarily effective. An administrator {B8} observes that the Salish teachers prefer creating a comfortable learning environment for students and for themselves by doing 90% of the talking rather than pushing students to try to speak in the language. Although many Indian and non-Indian educators perceive a need for an active and interactive approach, an administrator {B8} speculates that such kind of immersion conflicts with a fundamental tribal value. It seems to be more important for the elders to be at ease with the children than to pressure them. At other times, it may be more important to enjoy being together than to press for an outcome.

Out of respect for the last speakers of the language, local experts in literacy and bilingual education and experienced language educators {B8, B17, R3, R5, R6, R13, R21, R23, A1, A18} dare not press for change. Indian-language advocates {R3, B8, A1} maintain that authority comes from the language speakers. For instance, a White school administrator {B8} explains that:

> Culturally it's not my place...even though I sign the paycheck, it's not my place to tell an elder how to teach...[I would] do more damage than good.... It would not be helpful to them. Speakers ultimately are the ones who will make the determination of the decision regarding the materials and the curriculum.... It is not my place to impose that. Not only will it be poorly received, it would be very destructive...to impose a curriculum they don't feel confident in delivering will actually make their competency go down.... I am fearful of...losing the teachers.... She certainly doesn't need us for her employment. We need her.

It seems that fearful respect has become an unintended obstacle. Removing such fear might allow for more creative suggestions to surface, although the suggestions still might not materialize. The administrator {B8} points out that, in District B, the consistent inflow of grant money has been supporting an adequate amount of teacher training. Participants question whether there is a will to change how Salish language instruction has been delivered.

Having struggled with this issue for years, a school administrator {B8} suggests that the responsibilities for teacher training, curriculum and material development, quality control, and holding teachers and support staff accountable be shifted from the district to the Tribes. Since district administrators culturally have no authority over the Salish teachers, supervision and support could be centralized at the tribal level. For instance, District B can subscribe to the Salish-instruction service provided by the Tribal Education Department.

This is an innovative solution. The arising questions are: Would the Salish people agree that the Tribal Education Department should take on the primary responsibility of supporting and providing Salish-language instruction? If so, what resources would the department need to fulfill the task? If not, who should take on the responsibility?

Move Away from Reliance on Federal Grants

For years, the district has been able to support the Salish-language program through federal grant funding. To date, the grants have allowed the district to offer Salish continuously. However, the size and characteristics of grant programs are subject to change at the mercy of federal education policy and the national political atmosphere. Under the Bush administration's No Child Left Behind mandate, the bilingual-education program has been re-directed to English-language acquisition. The main focus has shifted from bi-literacy to English literacy. Although the district has been awarded a new grant for bilingual education, the grant-program director {B8} questions whether new state and federal policies allow the use of the resources for any instruction other than English-language enhancement. She explains that "the new law is turning us to the other direction.... The federal government is not smiling on Salish language in any shape or form. The new legislation created a whole series of ways of discouraging us from utilizing Salish. It's not prohibited. It's simply not encouraged in any way."

In response to this change in federal policy, the administrator {B8} suggests shifting money from Title I funding to support Salish-language education to avoid violating new funding regulations. On the other hand, a tribal-education leader {R3} believes that, in the long run, federal and state policies will exert less impact on local language programs. If 65% of the children coming to the public school system speak

Salish as their first language, the school should use district's central budget rather than federal soft money to support bilingual-education programs. In this scenario, developing literacy in the first language (Salish) helps literacy development in the second language (English). Therefore, the suggested long-term solution for the Tribes is to concentrate on nurturing Salish-speaking pre-schoolers who will then become an unavoidable reason for demanding Salish language programs in the public school system.

The remaining questions are: How can one secure agreement from the Indian community and the tribal government to focus their investment in early-childhood Salish-language education? Who should shoulder the responsibilities of initiating and implementing the plan?

If the reservation-wide obstacles can be tackled and local difficulties can be lessened, how can the Salish language program be expanded and the quality of Salish education be upgraded in District B? Given the unique local conditions, what elements would a desired program consist of? The next section captures participants' proposals.

Suggested Program Elements

In addition to the elements suggested for reservation schools in general, participants from District B point out several elements that are crucial for successful implementation of Salish-language education in the district. The district-specific suggested elements are based on successful experiences as well as suggestions for improving the current program.

Program Objectives Relevant to All

The objectives identified by participants for District B are consistent with the general goals set forth for public-school Indian language programs on the Flathead Indian

Reservation. One goal that comes across loud and clear is that the public-school program should aim to supplement language-revitalization efforts at home, the immersion school, and other educational opportunities in the community. None of the local Indian nor White participants expect the public school alone to help students develop Salish fluency, but the recurring belief is that the school can help in partnership with tribal entities. An administrator {B6} explains that "the public school will never be able to do it all, and I don't think we should."

Educators and parents {B1, B8, B13, B15, B10, B16, B17, B20, B21, B28} in this district believe that the realistic goal of a Salish-language program is to help all students who choose to participate develop basic interpersonal-communicative competence, the ability to conduct simple conversations in Salish, by the end of the K-12 Salish-language program. Some participants {B8, B12, B20, B25} hope that through learning the local heritage language, children will develop a sense of belonging in the local community and a connection to the place they live. Others {B18, B19, B22, B26} trust that such a program helps all children become aware of existing cultural and language diversity in this world.

Moreover, the local administrators {B7, B8} believe that one important reason for implementing a Salish-language program in the school is to create an affirmative environment for Indian students. For Indian students, Indian parents' {B1, B28} believe that the program will help develop a wholesome ethnic identity based on knowledge of their heritage which is not alive anymore in most homes. For White kids, both Indian and non-Indian participants hope {B6, B10, B17, B23, B24, B27, B28} that exposure to the

Native language will lead to an acknowledgement of the value of the local Indian

heritage.

A Service For All

In this district, all but one {B1} of the supportive participants believe that Salish-

language programs must be designed for all and available to all. An administrator {B8}

acknowledges that it is the wish of Indian-education leaders to integrate all programs for

Native Americans into regular days. The participant explains that "the wisdom of that

has come home for me over these years.... It's one of the reasons we have been able to

maintain the programs."

Since Salish has been a standard part of the literacy-enrichment grant program

and parents are not allowed to "cherry-pick," the administrator has been able to

"perpetuate the funding consistently and persistently over a long period of time." The

administrator {B8} maintains that it is crucial for every student to be participating. This

way, the program can be justified. "If it serves a tiny part of the population, the school

board may decide to cut it," the participant explains.

From the school board's perspective, all programs have to be perceived as fair and

equal. All programs must benefit all. Otherwise, an administrator {B8} presumes that "it

might even violate the law if it were perceived as a form of segregation."

Offering an Arrangement Based on Compromise

Given the available human and financial resources, some participants {B5, B7,

B11, B20} believe that the current arrangement is optimal and the focus should be on

improving the quality of Salish instruction rather than increasing the quantity. However,

some {B1, B4, B9, B10, B12, B17, B21, B28} felt that "it just doesn't seem to be

enough"--especially at the elementary level. Some participants (including parents and teachers) believe that if children were exposed to the language more regularly, they would benefit from it more. Therefore, a couple of teachers {B10, B21} suggest that K-6 students should have Salish for at least 15-20 minutes every day. A Salish teacher {B10} maintains that "the key is every day." Even though increasing the frequency is not viewed as critical by all, the majority of parents and teachers, an administrator, and school board members {B1, B8, B10, B11, B12, B13, B14, B15, B16, B18, B21, B22, B24} indicate that they are open to the idea of increasing Salish time at the elementary level as long as it remains optional in high school.

Since a couple of administrators {B5, B7} perceive little room for increasing Salish class time, a former NAS teacher {B15} suggests an alternative to the "everyday" option. The participant proposes a compromise that entails 20 minutes twice a week for kindergarten, first grade, and second grade, half an hour twice a week for third grade, and 40 minutes three times a week for forth to sixth grades. What would be the additional resources required for this proposal? If teachers and parents agree to increase Salish time, what do they agree to give up from the current curriculum? Or, instead of replacing one with the other, is it possible to combine certain parts of the mainstream curriculum with Salish education?

Active and Interactive Approaches

In this district, both educators and parents {B8, B7, B16, B18, B19, B20, B21, B25, B26} strongly believe that innovative, active, and interactive approaches would enhance Salish instruction. An administrator {B6} maintains that the selling point of Salish education is learning the language in the local cultural and natural environment.

Along the same vein, parents {B18, B25, B26} suggest moving the Salish class out of the classroom. Instructional strategies that they find most appealing include activities in the woods, field trips to culturally significant sites, and other community cultural events. The White parents {B18, B25, B26} also believe that the involvement of respected Indian elders would be a significant element of Salish language education and that their non-Indian children would learn a great deal from the elders. To appeal to learners, a teacher {B19} stresses the importance of "touching kids with things that are cool."

In terms of instructional strategies, "entertaining" and "engaging" are the key words that capture what participants envision as effective. The mainstream classroom teachers {B20, B21} in this district highly recommend the adoption of Total Physical Response (TPR) for teaching Salish. One of the teachers contends that "it is essential for the Salish teacher to instruct in a way that would tie the language to all the senses." She explains that some children tend to be more visual and some are more kinestic. Therefore, instruction strategies need to be "multisensory." A White supportive community member {B25} agrees that an effective way to teach the language would be to relate the language to body, mind, and soul. Instruction should be conducted through hands-on activities. Instead of listening and repeating words, educators suggest {B6, B19} that children should be learning the language through singing, drumming, motions, and actions.

Along with fun activities, local educators suggest incorporating cooperative learning, immersion, and literacy development into Salish language education. For many years, a couple of mainstream educators {B8, B20} in the district have been urging the adoption of immersion in Salish classes. They believe that to maximize the benefits of

the limited time available for Salish instruction, everything should be in Salish and student should be talking to each other in Salish during Salish classes.

A Salish-language teacher {B12}, who lives in District B and teaches in another district, recommends including writing in learning Salish. This teacher believes that practice in writing Salish in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) would facilitate Salish acquisition. Along the same vein, a mainstream teacher in the district developed a series of big books that aimed to help children recognize Salish words written in IPA. According to a former Salish NAS teacher {B14}, a successful past experience involved having children write their own books in Salish. A school administrator {B8} asserts that Salish literacy development is meaningful if it facilitates oral-Salish acquisition.

The arising questions are: How can one convince the Salish teachers of the importance of adopting new approaches? How to persuade them to try? What are the sources of support for designing and implementing the suggested entertaining, engaging, communicative Salish-language activities?

An Integrated Progressive Curriculum

Local teachers, administrators, and parents {B8, B18, B17, B20, B21, B28} agree that a "step-wise," progressive curriculum is needed. They suggest that the curriculum be designed in a way that allows students to make progress in Salish across grade levels. Specifically, the participants perceive a need for an enriching the Salish-language curriculum with contents that are "beyond just words for colors and numbers every year." This perspective is consistent with the non-district-specific comments offered by leaders and educators at the reservation level. Nevertheless, there is a split in opinion in this

district regarding Salish curriculum content. Most parents {B1, B18, B25, B26} opt for cultural studies, while educators tend to emphasize {B5, B20, B21} academic content.

Local non-Indian parents {B6, B18, B21, B22, B25, B26} refer to the traditional values (e.g., respect and family), cultural beliefs (e.g., coyote stories), and philosophy of caring for the earth (e.g., visions of relating to the land) as the "attractive part" of Salish education. The implication is that parents would be more interested and supportive of their children's learning the Salish language if the curriculum content focuses on these cultural aspects. On the other hand, a mainstream teacher (a strong supporter of Salish education) {B20} proposes that Salish teachers reinforce mainstream academic content (e.g., math, social studies, reading and writing in Salish). Other advocates of Salish-language education, including a mainstream teacher, a school administrator, and an Indian-parent leader {B21, B8, B28}, envision a focus on "critical life language" such as "directional phrases" and "expressions for interpersonal communication." The participants concur that this should be the objective of the K- 6 Salish language program.

These preferences are not mutually exclusive. The question is how the three areas can be combined in an integrated, progressive curriculum.

Two-way Reinforcement

A number of participants in this district, including administrators, teachers, school staff, and parents {B1, B4, B6, B7, B8, B16, B19, B20, B21, B24, B28} stress the importance of reinforcing Salish learning throughout the curriculum as a way of enhancing the outcome of limited amount of Salish instruction. The mainstream teachers {B19, B20, B21} accept the responsibility of helping to preserve the local heritage. The teachers propose infusing Salish language into Native American Studies, Language Arts,

History, Social Studes, Math, Science, PE, and Art. The suggested ways of

implementing the proposal include:

-use multimedia (e.g., Salish CDs, videos, and tapes);
-rotate a Salish-speaking language aide in multiple classrooms so that teachers can
consult with the language aide throughout the day regarding delivering, planning, and
designing Salish lessons;
-pair mainstream teachers with Salish speakers so that they can team teach regularly;
-invite Salish elders to be guest teachers regularly; and
-provide mainstream teachers with Salish-language training so that they can use
functional words, phrases, and expressions in the classroom.

The teachers {B19, B20, B21} indicate that training in reinforcing a second

language in the classroom is necessary. First of all, they feel that they need to learn some

Salish themselves in order to implement integration. To meet this demand, Indian

teachers, the public-school administrator, and White teachers themselves {B8, B10, B11,

B20, B21} agree that the most efficient and effective way to learn enough Salish to

reinforce children's learning of the language is for mainstream teachers to learn along

with children during Salish classes. The administrator indicates that, in fact, it has

become a requirement of the bilingual-education grant programs that aim to help children

improve English literacy skills and develop Salish-language proficiency. Apart from

learning the language along with the children, the mainstream teacher can also serve as a

role model as well as an authority figure that assists the elder to keep kids on task and

facilitates classroom management during the precious, short period of Salish time.

In addition, the teachers point to the need for coordination between the Salish

teacher and the mainstream teacher. For instance, an elementary teacher {B20} requests

that the Salish teacher "comes up with some Salish phrases that describe what is being

covered in the regular classes." This way, mainstream teachers can use some Salish in

delivering their lessons. At the same time, the Salish teacher can reinforce skills and

concepts covered in the mainstream classes. The elementary teacher {B20} suggests that mainstream teachers put a note in the the Salish teacher's mailbox requesting reinforcement of specific topics. For example, the note could read, "I am teaching map reading and subtracting this week. Could you use Salish with the children on these topics?"

The teachers {B14, B20} realize that the suggested two-way reinforcement requires "one-on-one coordination." Therefore, better rapport and communication between the Salish instructor and teachers is vital. To motivate mainstream teachers to be involved, a teacher {B21} claims that a personal invitation from the Salish teachers would be more effective than a top-down mandate. An elementary teacher {B21} would like some administrative assistance so that more time is available for coordinating and developing lessons integrating Salish. An Indian teacher {B15} suggests hiring a local person who can go from school to school to facilitate integration.

In implementing these ideas, the remaining questions are: Can this local coordinator be a member of the suggested language commission? What kind of support do Salish teachers need to meet the demand of coordinating with mainstream teachers? What kind of curriculum would facilitate the suggested integration?

Affirmative School Environment

Some local educators and Indian parents {B1, B4, B8, B20, B21, B28} envision a school environment where Salish is used consistently by students, teachers, and staff members. To Indians {B9, B10, B11, B13, B15}, it makes a huge difference if teachers and administrators think Salish-language education is important. A Salish teacher {B10}

contends that "if teachers learn the language, it will motivate students to learn and it will motivate parents to learn with their children."

To convey to parents that the school values the language, an elementary-school teacher {B21} suggests that classroom teachers could include Salish in handouts to be sent home. In addition, another elementary teacher and a former NAS teacher {B15, B20} agree that it is important for mainstream teachers to show interests in students' families and their culture and to attend community cultural events.

Around the school, participants {B3, B5, B15, B20, B27, B28} suggest a number of ways of supporting Salish learning and creating domains for the use of the language. For instance, administrators, teachers, and staff could try the following strategies:

-encourage the use of the language in the hallway, on the playground, at lunch line;
-require/encourage students to ask to go to the bathroom and make routine requests in Salish;
-post Salish signs around the school in addition to the gender signs outside the bathrooms;
-post common Salish phrases on the poster board;
-put a Salish word a day, a word of the week, or a topic of the week in the announcement by the secretary;
-create a Salish-only snack shop;
-invite elders to say a prayer at the beginning of basketball games;
-organize Salish-language mentoring groups to allow fifth graders to mentor first graders in small groups;
-use Salish in prep-rally;
-sing Salish songs in elementary classrooms;
-organize half-time Salish performance at games; and
-use Salish at community PowWows, community dances, and community dinners.

In this district, nearly all participants (Indians and White) appear to be open to these ideas. The challenge is to motivate students to practice the language in the suggested domains. A school-board member {B24} cautions that "Salish is an adult thing." A long-time staff member {B3} believes that a reward system will motivate children to use the language with adults in the school setting. For instance, children who practice Salish with

an adult in school can be awarded "good kid tickets" for movies or prizes. Or, adults can give children who try to practice Salish tokens to put in a jar, and the classes that fill up the jar will have pizza parties or the like. The key is to provide opportunities and make it rewarding for children to use Salish.

The remaining questions is: who should initiate the suggested efforts? The Indian community appears to rely on the school administration to convince all staff to use the language more regularly in school. A school-board member {B24} agrees that the school administration should be doing the marketing. The participant contends that "the administration needs to convey a perception that Salish is a good thing… School administration needs to communicate with the school professional staff, and staff needs to communicate with students about the importance of the language to Salish people and the need to preserve it." On the other hand, an administrator {B7} cautions that "for it [Salish-language education] to take off you have to have the stakeholders buy into the whole thing." Although some {B21, B3} suggest that Natives have to take the lead, an administrator {B7} points out that the majority of the stakeholders--the teachers--are non-Native. The administrator reckons that "for the non-Natives to mandate to the Natives, it's not going to work. For the Natives to mandate to the non-Natives, it's not going to work either. It has to be collaboration based on open communication." Therefore, this administrator proposes forming a focus group, involving both Indians and non-Indians, whose primary goal is to facilitate implementation of the suggested ideas.

Gaining support and initiating actions, an administrator {B6} maintains, is mainly "a salesmanship job." The salesperson needs to "bring out the attractive parts" and remove any uncertainty and fear that parents might have. According to a school- board

member {B24}, Salish-language advocates should "assure parents that the Indian perspective is not replacing the perspective in place, but adding a wider perspective from local areas and a comparative perspective" to the mainstream curriculum. Another school-board member maintains {B23} that "if integration is perceived as addition to rather than substitution from the core curriculum..., you would have a much better reaction."

Furthermore, a mainstream teacher (an active member of the Leadership Council formed by teaching staff) {B19} points out that "if the staff buy into the idea, the idea will fly." Therefore, a school board member {B22} suggests, promotion should start from collecting input from the "Leadership Council." Apart from consultation, "personal invitations" from the Salish people is another suggested approach for winning support from teachers. A teacher who has served in District B for over 20 years {B21} suggested that "if the Salish teacher invites teachers to learn more Salish and use more Salish with the children, the teachers are much more likely to respond to the personal requests than to House bill whatever."

At the same time, school-board members have to be convinced that using some Salish in the school is important. The question is: how? According to a school-board member {B24}, the board "is influenced by the superintendent's report. School-board members rely heavily on the superintendent's analysis and information provided. In other words, convincing the superintendent is a first step. Another school-board member {B22} maintains that ideas would need to be presented effectively by someone they trust--such as the grant writer in the district who has demonstrated commitment to the well-being of all students over the years. In addition, the school-board member adds, "ideas

need to come across as simple and not imposed." Along the same vein, an Indian-community member (a former teacher) {B9} states that "consensus in the community would be crucial...Don't sneak it in. Don't push it in." The belief is that "open discussion" is a key to eliciting community support.

Concerted effort is required to create an affirmative atmosphere in the school. What can be done to ensure that mainstream teachers, Salish teachers, administrators, staff, and school-board members are all on the same page in promoting Salish education? What is the role of IEC in this regard? How can a language commission on the reservation collaborate with a local IEC to accomplish the suggested tasks?

Indian Community Demand

Local administrators, a teacher, staff members, and a school-board member {B3, B4, B6, B7, B15, B24} testify that the school administration is prepared to respond to community demand and concerned parents' desire to expand and upgrade Salish-language education in the district, although the administration seldom takes the initiative to come up with action plans. A school board member {B24} maintains that if there are enough children who would like more opportunities to learn the Salish language, the school board would consider supporting it." A couple of long-time staff members {B3, B4} observe that "if there are several parents who demand more opportunities for Salish language, the administration is likely to listen to parents' suggestions." Also, one of the staff members {B3} affirms that "if kids are trying, adults would respond to kids." If advocates want Salish to be required in the high school, an administrator {B6} believes, "Indian parents' demand will make it happen...."

Based on an understanding of the administration's intension, a White teacher {B21}

calls for more push from the community. An Indian teacher {B15} concurs that "concerted effort, a louder voice, needs to come out from the Indian community." Referring to the local demand for Salish-language education, the two widely respected Salish-language teachers in the district {B10, B11} insist that "[Indian] parents should be responsible" and "[Indian] parents have to want it." Along the same line, school administrators {B6, B7} emphasize that an "IEC [Indian Education Committee composed of Indian parents] needs to communicate that demand to the school administration." A school-board member reveals that "the school board listens to IEC quite strongly...Pressure has to come from a stronger IEC." In this regard, a former Indian teacher {B15} proposes that, if necessary, the local IEC should "use the law to demand more language be used in the school environment."

In addition to parents' demands, a school-board member {B24} maintains that "student interest and commitment from the Indian people" are crucial for influencing the local school-board's position in supporting Indian-language education. An administrator {B5} agrees that "the passion and vision from the community is what would convince."

Obviously, the power of students' voices and parents' suggestions cannot be underestimated. If local demand plays such a vital role in maintaining Salish-language education in the school, the next important question is how to mobilize the community to express their desire to expand and/or upgrade Salish education?

Complementary Opportunities

Participants' comments consistently reflect the belief that the classroom-based Salish-language education is only a piece of the whole picture. Many {B1, B2, B5, B7, B8, B9, B16, B18, B19, B20, B21, B22, B23, B24, B27} believe that students would need additional learning opportunities to become proficient in the language. A teacher {B15}

notes that "those who are interested and gifted in learning the language need a place where they are able to grow more." An Indian parent {B1} proposes an after-school Salish program. An administrator {B8} supports that idea and affirms the possibility of supporting a program that lasts about one hour three times per week with the new Bilingual-Education grant and the Twenty-first Century Learning Center grant funding. The target is suggested to be a voluntary, highly interested group of elementary students. The hope is that effective intensive training in the language will occur in a small-group setting.

Home is another place where learners can grow and their language can be reinforced. Since most parents do not know the language, opportunities for parents to learn the language would be necessary for them to support children's learning. An Indian parent {B1} suggests that evening and weekend classes for local Indian parents and families offered by the local school and on-line Salish courses offered by the local tribal college would be helpful.

Apart from after-school programs, home, and cyberspace, a fourth, complementary, domain is the community. A community member {B25} proposes establishing a community multigenerational, multicultural learning center where the language is used. It could serve as the Salish-only place in the community--a necessary oasis for nurturing the language learner.

The remaining questions include: Whose responsibility is it to create and maintain each of the suggested learning and use domains? How can one ensure that each of the suggested domains complement and build on one another? What is the role of a language commission in setting up such actions?

Tribal Leadership

At the district level, administrators and school board members {B6, B7, B8, B24} are relying on leadership from the Tribes. They believe that the Tribes should provide trained and certified teachers, recruit and motivate tribal members to be teachers, and coordinate efforts among different entities. A school-board member {B24} explains that the "Tribal Education Department should be getting it [language education] set up. The school should be the place for it to be actually implemented." Educators in this district {B7, B8, B19, B20, B21} are looking to the Tribal Education Department for leadership, and staff members {B3, B21} within the school are waiting for Natives to take lead to use more Salish in the school.

Local administrators {B7, B8} emphasize that collaboration between Indian educators and mainstream teachers is essential in implementing Indian education (including Salish language education). Collaboration in this case means greater input from tribal entities. One of the administrators {B7} explains that classroom teachers are afraid of making mistakes and are not knowledgeable regarding where and how to help with Salish education. Although Indian educators and Indian-education advocates {A1, R3} insist that the responsibility lies in teachers, a local Indian parent leader {B28} asserts that it is time for Indian people to be more proactive in collaborating with classroom teachers. Instead of waiting for teachers to come to the Tribal Education Department for help, the Indian parent proposes that, tribal representatives, such as IEC leaders, need to reach out to the teachers and ask them: "What can we bring to you to help you integrate Indian studies into your classroom?"

This proactive attitude would be a first step toward bridging the existing gap between classroom teachers and tribal education units. The arising question is: Who in the Tribes should take on the step of actually reaching out to teachers systematically? Can it be part of the responsibility of a language commission?

Summary

District B, nestled in an open-minded community, is perceived as supportive of Salish-language education. There is no indication that any non-supportive force in the community is obstructing Salish-language education in the schools. Teachers do not express worries about any parent objection to the Salish-language program. One of the keys to such overwhelming support in the district is the design and packaging of the bilingual-education program. First of all, the Salish-language program is mainly sponsored by external grants. It is not replacing other programs; rather it adds to the current offerings. The grant programs benefit not only Indians, but all students in the district. The grant writer strategically and skillfully combines Salish-language maintenance and high-levels of English-language literacy as dual goals of the comprehensive school program of bilingual education. Salish is not perceived as taking away from mainstream education, but as enhancing students' cultural literacy.

Discussion

The combination of Salish-language maintenance and high-levels of English-language literacy is important for helping students develop the fluid identities that facilitate effective and meaningful participation in diverse societies. While such duality has helped gain support from Indian and non-Indian parents in a mixed school district, additional actions steps are required to break the logjam that is hindering an upgrade of

the quality and quantity of Salish-language education in the district. The following

discussion is based on the researcher's analysis and insights from relevant literature.

Emphasis on Fluid Identities

To White students, according to the administrator, "learning Salish primes the

pump for future language learning and teaches critical cultural sensitivities that cannot be

gained in other ways." To Indian students, strong English-literacy skills plus proficiency

in their heritage language facilitate navigation in both their ethnic community as well as

the larger society. With proficiency in both languages and the cultures conveyed through

the languages, Indian students do not need to choose between associating with either

Indians or mainstream Americans. With dual-language competences, they can identify

with both groups and participate effectively and meaningfully in both worlds. Locally,

these skills and opportunities have not been discussed enough. Insights from

bilingual/bicultural studies scholars at the national level, such as Isabelle de Courtivron

(2000), director of the Center for Bilingual/Bicultural Studies at Massachusetts Institute

of Technology, can help refine the objectives of an Indian-language program at the local

level. For instance, de Courtivron (2000) points out that today's students need to learn to

accept the blending of national and ethnic identities, and that ethnic minorities need to

learn to "switch from one to another identity without fear that they will lose any" (p. 5).

de Courtivron (2000) urges educators to "teach students how to think about, and through,

this new fluidity" (p. 4).

Furthermore, the Salish/English dual focus, as a school administrator {B8}

explains, "helps both Indian and non-Indian students understand how to navigate as a

minority in a different culture.... They can compare and contrast their own values and

understandings with those of other cultural groups." Along the same vein, de Courtivron (2000) contends that "having a deep experience of at least two cultures is to know that no culture is absolute; it is to realize that social, political, and linguistic realities could be arranged in numerous other ways." In addition to such realizations, de Courtivron (2000) believes that intercultural-communication skills, the ability to interact with others who are from different ethnic groups, historical awareness especially of the place in which one resides, and analytic competence in cross-cultural contexts are some of the most important tools that educators can provide students in today's globalized world (see also Koehn and Rosenau, 2002). These goals might be implied in the rationale behind the Salish/English bilingual program in District B, but emphasizing such goals explicitly will bring about clarity that will empower future promotion and implementation efforts at the district level.

Breaking the Logjam

Currently, a vital force is missing in helping to revitalize the Salish language locally. Participants point out that there is not enough of a push for expanding and/or upgrading the Salish-language program in District B. Administrators perceive little demand for more Salish learning. Parents do not desire more Salish teaching of the same kind. Teachers (both mainstream and Salish) are not motivated to bring about change. Advocates are afraid to make suggestions. Although the current supply and demand appears to be reaching balance, the language program is not at its optimal level in terms of outcomes. Although the program in District B is perceived as one of the best, it has not met the expectation of producing functional or communicative proficiency in Salish

learners. From this perspective, there is room for expansion and/or upgrading. The question is: how to break the logjam?

From my perspective, breaking the logjam requires a series of action steps. As some participants point out, parent/student demand is essential because the school administration reacts to stakeholders' demands. The school's response to the demand will create a need for partnership between Indian and mainstream educators. Once a constructive partnership sets in, positive change is likely to occur. The remaining questions are: How to create local demand? How to mobilize a grassroots movement? I agree with participants that marketing is a key. Effective marketing serves to motivate people to learn. The desire to learn creates a demand for more and better services. In response to that desire, the school community will have to find ways to improve the current offerings. Increased support expressed by the school staff and an improved program will, in turn, improve the perception of Salish-language education and, hence, stimulate greater support for and interest in learning the language. As illustrated by Figure 1 below, marketing, demand, response to demand, and program improvement form an action cycle. Once this action cycle is set off, the chain effect can be expected to continue. Each of the action points can be a starting point.

However, instead of fulfilling one's own part in setting the cycle in motion, each party involved currently is waiting for others to take action. Indian educators and parents are waiting for the administrators and teachers to take the initiative, while the administrators and teachers are waiting for the Indian people to take the first step. For instance, Indian teachers and parents in the district maintain that mainstream teachers and administrators have to value the language and show interest in order to motivate parents

Figure 1

Action Cycle for Continuous Program Improvement

Marketing →Motivated Desire→Commitment→Demand→District Response→Partnership→Improved Program
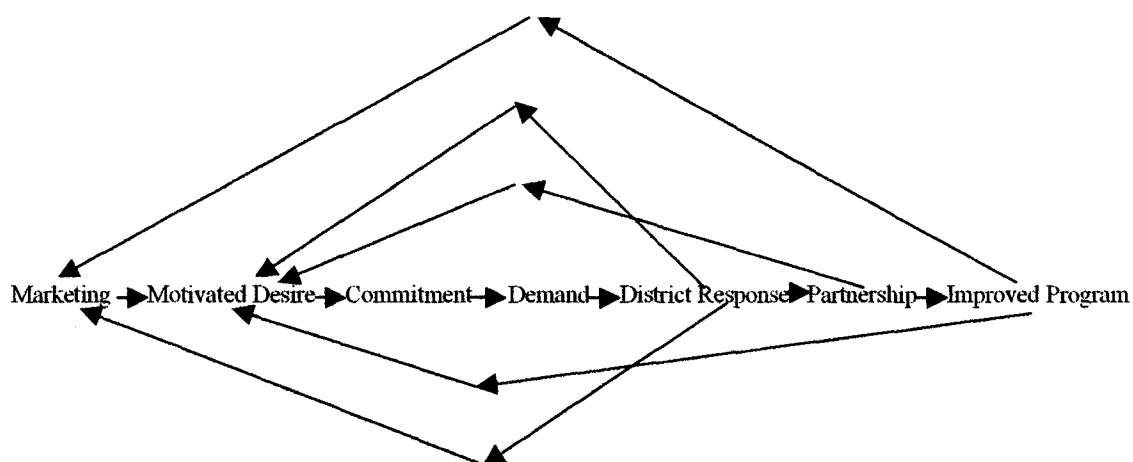
and children to learn it. Mainstream teachers, administrators, and school-board members contend that Indian people have to want it in order to convince them to support it. While Indian people insist that it is teachers' responsibility to assist the implementation of Salish education, teachers are counting on tribal leadership and guidance.

To break the logjam, I propose first promoting Salish-language education to all parents, second mobilizing Indian parents to demand improvements, third persuading administrators and teachers to support Salish education, and last motivating students to learn and use the language.

Marketing Steps

Table 2 below summarizes the marketing strategies suggested by the local

participants. Each category constitutes a major step. All four steps certainly can be

taken simultaneously. Nevertheless, given limited time and human and financial

resources, I propose treating the four major marketing steps as a sequence. Each step is

likely to set the stage for the next under the local conditions described by the

participants.

This list of suggested marketing strategies by no means is exhaustive. While few

would dispute the importance of marketing in pushing Salish-language education to a

new height, the remaining question is: Who should take on this task locally? Someone,

some group, has to kick off the process. What is the role of the local IEC in this regard?

How can a language commission at the reservation level support the process?

Quality and Quantity

District B is perceived to be on the forefront of Salish-language education because

of the availability of a K-12 Salish/NAS program and a school atmosphere supportive of

Salish-language learning. When questioned about potential areas of improvement,

participants suggest ways to upgrade the quality and increase the quantity of Salish-

language education in the district.

Quality. In terms of improving the Salish-language instruction, participants urge

that Salish teachers adopt a progressive curriculum and innovative active and interactive

instructional approaches. However, fearful respect for Salish-speaking teachers and

unwillingness to change have been blocking attempts to improve the quality of Salish

classes. To break through this logjam, one suggestion is to centralize Salish-language

Table 2

Marketing Steps

STEP 1: Market to All Parents
-touch people with personal stories about the importance of passing on the heritage -someone the community trusts explains the personal, family, and community benefits -present research evidence about cognitive benefits of bilingual education -make it clear that cultural enrichment is not replacing any part of the mainstream curriculum -help parents understand that the language is part of the connection to the place -provide financial incentives and job opportunities for students who develop language proficiency -offer language classes and Salish-culture classes for adults -link Salish learning with English language literacy development in school
STEP 2: Mobilize Indian Parents
-gather -communicate -outreach -campaign and lobby
STEP 3: Convince Counselors, Teachers, and Administrators
-Indian people develop friendship with teachers -express demand to administrators -extend personal invitations to teachers requesting their involvement -communicate needs to teachers -use a consultative approach to gain teachers' support for Salish education -explain to counselors how Salish learning connects to mainstream education and benefits to students -present simple ways of using Salish around the school
STEP 4: Motivate Students
-elicit encouragement from all sides, including school, home, and community -teachers communicate the importance of Salish learning to students -teachers try to learn and use some Salish in the classroom -reward students for practicing Salish with adults in school -involve non-Indian students -identify student leaders who can influence the rest of the student body -make Salish learning fun and meaningful -use hands-on learning activities

instruction under a tribal entity such as the Tribal Education Department. Individual school districts can subscribe to the service. This is an intriguing idea that, I believe, would solve multiple problems regarding the quality of instruction, curriculum, and materials. Nonetheless, a tribal education leader {R3} claims that non-speakers (regardless of their status in the tribal government) have no authority over the speakers. In order words, speakers themselves ultimately are the ones who determine the fate of the Salish language. Although "it is not my place to tell speakers what to do" (as non-Salish speaking participants put it), it is time for someone to explain to Salish-speaking teachers that the language will die in their hands (ironically) if the quality of Salish-language instruction remains unchanged.

Quantity. In terms of the quantity of Salish-language education, some participants conclude that it is close to the optimal level in District B. Local educators perceive little room for increasing Salish class time because of the demanding mainstream curricula. Nevertheless, if quantity is interpreted as the amount of language exposure, rather than the amount of classroom instruction, there is, in fact, plenty of room for improvement. One suggestion is to increase the number of teachers and decrease class size so that the teacher will be able to interact more frequently with each student. Another suggestion is to integrate some Salish into mainstream classes. The third suggestion is to provide language-learning opportunities outside of school.

Consistent with the local belief, indigenous-language education scholars urge the expansion of domains for indigenous-language use. For instance, Fishman (1997) asserts that "living languages are not primarily in institutions, but above them, beyond

them, and all around them" (p. 198). Therefore, learners must have "ample out-of-school and after-school informal interlocutors, places, and topics," and they must have "ample out-of-home interlocutors, topics, and places for informal use of the language" (Fishman, 1997, p. 193). While Fishman (1991) emphasizes the "family-neighborhood-community" domains, McLean (1997) affirms the importance of auxiliary classes for parents and children to take together.

Fettes (1997) suggests developing new domains for women to use their heritage language. For example, daycare centers, parent and family support groups, women-only literacy, health groups, classes in traditional crafts, career and education-related networks for women can provide "nurturing settings for primary discourse" (Fettes, 1997, p. 314). Other domains that penetrate everyday life include radio and TV. Peterson (1997) describes the role of radio in spreading the Navajo language. In addition to bilingual boardcasts of news, public-service announcements for ceremonies and community events, sports, Peterson suggests developing language-instruction radio programming targeted to younger audience. On the TV front, Anderton (1997) shares the success story of using public-access television to promote Oklahoma's indigenous languages. Outside of the home, the workplace is the high-impact domain. Palmer (1997) discusses the language of work. He proposes providing decent-paying career opportunities that allow the use of the heritage language in the workplace.

The possibilities for creating new domains for learning and using a heritage language are numerous. What would work in the case of Salish language revitalization? Salish-language educators first need to decide whether "diglossic bilingualism" (Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1991) is desirable. If so, what would be the desired functions

of the Salish language in relationship to the mainstream English language? Would it be

used for family communication, neighborhood socializing, community ceremonies,

and/or specific cultural events? Would it be used for literacy activities and academic

learning? Would it be used for broadcasting news and sports? Would it be the language

for conducting tribal business? Language planning as part of language-revitalization

efforts involves determining the domains for use of the Salish language. These decisions,

in turn, will shape what is taught through Salish-language education programs. Locally,

decisions regarding how to increase the quantity of Salish-language exposure and

language learning in District B should be closely tied to reservation-wide decisions

regarding desired domains for Salish-language use.

CHAPTER 7

A DISTRICT WITH MORE WHITE THAN INDIAN STUDENTS

District C: Breaking The Barriers

In District C, the Indian student population consistently is low. According to an administrator {C1} in the district, approximately 2% of the district population and 10% of the student population are tribal members. Among the 325 students enrolled in the district, only 30 students are identified as Indians. However, when counting those who are descendants of or related to tribal members, the number goes up dramatically. Therefore, the perception of the student school composition varies. For instance, one administrator {C2} believes that there are "more than 25%" Indian students enrolled in this district. While a school-board member {C4} quotes 20%, a teacher {C12} quotes 10-20% Indian students. On the other hand, a school-board member {C5} finds it hard to believe that there are 10% Indian students in the district.

Regardless of the exact number of Indian students and the definition of the Native/Non-Native classification in the district, all research participants agree that District C has been perceived as a White district on the Flathead Indian Reservation. A White participant {C1} describes it as "the oasis" in the middle of the reservation. An Indian participant {C10} describes it as "the irony" in the center of the reservation. According to an advocate of Indian education {C14}, District C historically had a strong anti-Indian population. Nonetheless, racial barriers are slowly breaking down. The barrier-breaking tool is education, even though currently there is no Salish-language education program or Native American Studies program in place.

The insights presented in first three sections below are based on 18 interviews with 17 supportive and non-supportive research participants. The fourth section will summarize the participants' input and interweave the researcher's comments. Participants include three school administrators, a widely respected school staff member, three members of a school board composed of non-Indians, three White grandparent and parents, three White teachers, the only Indian classroom teacher, an Indian parent who is involved in classroom teaching, an Indian community activist, and a White Indian Education Committee leader. Eleven of the 17 participants are open to including some form of Salish-language education in the school and five perceive no room for it.

Local Facilitating Factors

Reservation-wide language- and culture-revitalization efforts have been facilitating the barrier-breaking process in District C. For example, participants from this district {C1, C2, C3, C7, C13, C14, C15} point out that the Indian-Education-For-All state legislation, the Rural Systematic Initiative grant program for training teachers to integrate Native materials, support from Indian scientists at the local tribal college and their eagerness to speak in the classroom, the Public Instruction Related (PIR) Day organized by Tribal Education Department every year, resources available at the Tribal Education Department, and the higher-education opportunities at the local tribal college have helped change the attitude of community members in District C toward Indian education. Locally, a popular Indian Club and an influential Indian Education Committee (IEC) led by proactive individuals are the catalysts in the district.

Proactive Individuals

In the school district, a few individuals have been trying to break down racial tensions, stereotypes, and the red-neck image through various means. Their efforts have shed positive light on learning about the local Indian heritage. One of the most "instrumental" individuals, in the words of an Indian advocate, is a woman who is well-liked by Whites and is widely respected by Indians, although most participants indicate uncertainty regarding her ethnic background. This individual has been successful in helping students become interested in learning about the local Indians through field trips and after-school Indian art and craft activities. Nearly 10% of the student population of the district are members of the after-school Indian Club that she supervises. On average, about 40-50 community members attend the weekly Family Night that she organizes to bring community members of all ages together to learn Indian crafts. When asked about the secret of her success, participants {C1, C10, C12, C14, C15} refer to her warm personality. Teachers and administrators {C1, C2, C9, C12, C13, C14} compliment the way she relates to students. A teacher {C9} attributes her success to the welcoming, hospitable atmosphere she creates at student gatherings. Reaching out to teachers and students leaders who serve as role models in the school also contributes to her success. When asked about advice for keeping students interested in Indian Club, she replies that "respect is the key. When you respect them, they respect you and they respect each other."

Another individual who has been working hard on breaking down barriers in the district is a strong advocate of Indian education, although she is not an Indian herself. This individual possesses clear vision and goals in terms of promoting the learning of

local Indian culture and language. She believes that if supporters of Indian education "keep breaking barriers, keep pushing for it, keep wanting it," the school will have to respond and change gradually. She has been playing a leadership role on the Indian Education Committee and the school board of the district. Her willingness to be at the forefront has been instrumental in the change process. Despite resistance from conservative school-board members in the district, her advocacy has been helping to maintain checks-and-balances in decision making with regard to the school.

The former superintendent (who resigned at the end of 2002/2003 academic year), teachers, and students also have contributed to breaking the barriers. For instance, the former superintendent responded to IEC's request to require all teachers to report on lessons and activities related to Indian education that they implement throughout the year. All teachers now have to demonstrate how they have integrated Indian studies by turning in a report in December and April. An IEC member {C14} observes significant change in teachers' level of commitment to integrating Indian education in the mainstream curriculum. According to a teacher {C13}, "a lot of teachers promote Indian Education through integrating materials about Indians into their classrooms." Teachers and parents {C5, C7, C9, C13} indicate that students respond with positive attitudes and, as a result, their parents have no objection to the current integration of Indian education. Among the students, educators in the district {C1, C3, C12} notice that the "nice kids" who have been active in Indian Club have exerted a positive influence on their peers with regard to learning about Indian heritage.

Popular Indian Club

The Indian Club in District C is one of the most successful on the reservation. While Indian Clubs in other districts are shrinking or even disappearing because of lack of interest, the Indian Club in District C is growing. It is composed of about 10% of the student population. According to a parent {C15}, "the Indian Club has made a break through.... Eight years ago, the student leaders started breaking barriers.... You need that catalyst." Student leaders joined the club and other students followed. A teacher {C12} attests that "the kids there [at the Indian Club] are good kids." The Indian Club is run in a way that allows students to take on leadership roles. Student members of the club are in positions of taking initiative, making decisions, contributing, and enjoying the fruits of their efforts. For instance, every year they raise funds through different events (e.g., Indian Taco Dinner) to cover their expenses for an annual field trip to a historical site that is significant to local Indian people. Moreover, student members hand-made about 50 moccasins for Headstart children on the reservation last year. Such contributions to the local community gained media attention for the school and, hence, enhanced the district's reputation. Despite its novelty, few community members in District C spoke against the event. The success of the Indian Club has shed positive light on Indian education.

Influential Indian Parent Committee

For some parents and teachers, the small number of Indian students enrolled in the district is not an acceptable reason for avoiding Indian education. The few Indian grand/parents joined by supportive White teachers form the Indian Education Committee of the district. Its unique composition has proved to be advantageous in a district like

District C. The White members of the committee play an important role in navigating between the White community and the Indian community.

The Indian Education Committee operates not only as a support system for the 30 or so Indian students in the district, but it has been proactive in promoting Indian education in the community. It sponsors an adult Indian craft class attended by mostly White community members. Among local White educators, IEC has been influential in changing attitudes toward Indian education. IEC's demand for implementing the revived state law (Indian Education For All) has impacted school policy with regard to integrating Indian education. Committee leaders have been active in informing teaching staff of the goals of the new state law. IEC members reach out to teachers by inviting them to be involved in meetings and cultural activities. The committee set out to support teachers by putting NAS materials in the library and offering to help teachers obtain needed materials and arrange requested Indian guest speakers.

IEC also has been able to ensure the appropriate use of Title VII funds and Johnson O' Malley funds in the district. The committee's decision to buy books in the area of Native American Studies for the school library has been unobtrusively effective in breaking down the anti-Indian barriers through education. According to the chair of the Committee {C14}, the school administration allocated thousands of dollars to buy books about American Indians and these books have been frequently checked out by students, teachers, and community members. The Committee also allocated part of these funds to support the Indian Club, which has become a major Indian education domain in the district.

Changing Attitudes

Despite the lingering of a deep-rooted conservative mentality, the atmosphere and the culture are changing slowly in the district. An administrator {C1} points out that "the more people move here, the more change occurs." A White parent in her 30s {C7} maintains that "the local tribal college has influenced the attitude of the younger generation. Most people of my age who have attended the local college...would be open to learn about the Native Americans." A White grandparent {C15} reports that "ten, fifteen years ago, a lot of people in the community would not make moccasins. But, things are changing a lot."

In the school context, an administrator {C1} notes that "most [teachers and parents] understand that we live on the reservation.... We have to go through these things, jump these hoops, put up with these things." According to the administrator, each year there are only one or two anti-Indian parents who complain about the integration of Indian materials in the classroom. A White parent {C7} observes that:

> The gap between Indians and Whites is getting smaller. There is even
> less of a gap in my children than when I went to school here. When I
> went to school, there were only a few [Indians]. There are many now.
> They play together. They learn together. They are friends."

The change of political atmosphere state-wide also has facilitated the change locally. A member of the 100-% White school board {C4} remarks that "it's hard to change the school board's attitude unless it becomes law." According to a White teacher {C13}, the school board knows that teachers are integrating materials about Indians into the mainstream curriculum and "they are not against them." An administrator affirms that "the law" is a key to bringing about acceptance of Indian education in a conservative district such as District C.

Local Obstacles and Suggested Solutions

District C, unlike the other two selected districts, does not have a Salish-language program in place. Obstacles obstructing the improvement of a Salish-language- education program are not the district's immediate concerns. The district needs, first, to cross over hurdles that are hindering inclusion of (at least some) Salish-language education in the school. The three main hurdles that participants consistently mention are (1) the racism that exists in the community, (2) lack of support for Indian-language education, and (3) lack of financial resources for academic demands that are additional to basic education.

Change the Conservatives by Educating the Young

An administrator {C1} describes District C as a red-neck, conservative, cowboy, Western, ranching community. An Indian community member {C10} reports that District C has been known as an anti-Indian community. A White school-board member {C6} refers to the situation as one in which:

> There are a lot of strains, such as water, the Bison Range....There is always a line [between Indians and Whites], a lot of resentment with the tribe, a lot of people are mad at the tribe, [and] a lot of people around here feel that the tribe is being unfair to them. We are not getting a fair share...."

Regarding public education, a parent declares that "I would like to say yes to Native Studies in school, but then why not keep the things they [the White residents] can do here locally (e.g., drug testing, phone services, banking).... When the Tribe takes away from the White's livelihood, they become resentful, and they don't want to have the tribal culture and language in the school. You can't separate hard feelings caused by other issues from education." Thus, resentment constitutes the underlying cause of objections. Although some claim that attitudes are changing, deep-rooted resentment still

exists. For instance, a school-board member {C6} who was born and raised on a ranch in District C expresses in the interview that "I hate the Indian-preference thing.... There is awful lots of resentment. You don't know what it's like to have to deal with it on a day-to-day basis." This widespread sentiment represents one of the challenges faced by barrier-breakers in District C.

In the school context, an administrator {C2} explains a different aspect of the barrier. From this vantage point, "conservatives are worried about academic skills, but not how you feel." For example, conservatives ask, "Can you do science? Can you balance your checkbook?" The administrator urges that students "leave [their] ethnic background at the door, leave that behind, come in, and focus on getting good skills."

A school-board member {C6} views Indian education as "privileges to Indians only," and "it is undesirable and unacceptable." While some see learning about local Indians as an "Indian-preference thing," an Indian community activist maintains that "now it's time for them [Whites] to learn about me after we have been taught the European heritages for over a century."

The "Flag Incident" that every participant mentioned reflects the deep divide between Indian-education supporters and Indian-education opponents in the district. Several years ago, IEC and a couple of Indian student leaders proposed to the school board that the Salish-Kootenai Tribal flag be hung in the gym as in every other school on the Reservation. A school-board member {C4} describes the proposal as one that "somebody try to shovel down people's throat." On the other hand, IEC representatives perceive the reaction of the school board as "outright closed-mindedness." With the support of the Tribal Council, the Tribal Education Department, other tribal entities, the

American Civil Liberty Union, and with media attention, the majority of the school-board

members voted for allowing the tribal flag to be hung after what a school-board member

{C6} describes "a pretty ugly" dispute. An IEC member {C15} reports that "some

community members are still very upset about the flag."

Barrier-breakers need to figure out how to remove anti-Indian sentiment. How

can the antagonistic relationship between Indian supporters and Whites be improved?

How can a school environment that promotes respect for Indian people and their

heritages be created? A young teacher {C9} believes that the atmosphere will change

and the inter-racial relationship will improve "when old timers die out." A white Indian-

education advocate {C15} and an Indian community member {C10} maintain that

"education is the key for breaking the barriers." The Indian-community member

advocates "changing the impact of negative attitudes of the older generation by educating

the young." The White IEC leader {C14} concurs that "getting kids involved...will

educate their parents." Based on past experience, the participant advises, "do it carefully,

lightly, just not push it on them, take baby steps...."

In addition, a school administrator {C1} points out the need for the school and the

teachers to build relationships with Indian parents. This participant proposes that a tribal

liaison be entrusted the task of building relationships between the tribe and the school and

between the school and Indian parents. An Indian-community member {C10} stresses

the effectiveness of home visits by teachers for the purpose of breaking stereotypes on

both sides. The remaining question is: Who should take on the responsibilities expected

of "a tribal liaison?"

With regard to reaching agreement over issues related to Indian education, a White school board member emphasizes the importance of providing the community with information regarding the benefits of any proposed Indian education efforts. The participant suggests that advocates "take extra efforts to communicate in a way that ...[White school board members] don't feel being forced." The remaining questions are: what kind of information would convince the community of the benefits of Indian language learning? What do community members look for in terms of educational benefits? Who can play the role of an effective communicator in this regard? Who would the community trust?

Rely on Supportive Teachers

In a "White district" like District C, support for Indian-language education is slim. There are few Indians living in the district, and fewer Salish or Kootenai speakers. All but one of the public-school educators, including teachers and administrators, are Whites in the district. According to a school administrator {C1}, "the 2% Natives who live here don't necessarily want language and culture in the school. Those who do send their kids to other districts." A White advocate of Indian education {C14} describes the struggle with the frustrated comment "I am not going to fight the battle by myself.... Some more people need to be involved, be willing to be at the forefront."

Among the participants, including those who indicate support for integrating Indian education in the classrooms, few express support for learning an Indian language in the public-school classroom. Administrators and school board members {C1, C2, C4, C5, C6} believe that "school is not the place" and "they [Indian students] can learn it someplace else." An administrator {C2} is worried that learning an extra subject will

distract students from learning the basics required for standardized testing. A school-board member {C4} perceives "no practical use" of Indian languages. Another school-board member {C5} indicates that he would rather have his son learn other languages. His belief is that Indian-language courses are not for college-bound students. If the community's inclination is for a college-bound academic program that helps students achieve on standardized testing, is it possible to promote Indian-language learning in connection with academic benefits?

Knowing the community's attitude toward Indian education and the likely objection to adding a separate class, several participants {C3, C9, C10, C13} refer to the possibility of integrating Indian Studies, which could include language learning, into the regular curriculum by mainstream teachers. A teacher {C13} explains that "integration would be feasible because it's up to the teachers." An administrator agrees and reveals that "there is certain amount of integration going on now we don't know about." A school-board member {C4} agrees that "if it's the teachers' initiative to invite Salish speakers to come to the classroom, parents and the school-board members would find it acceptable." If the responsibility lies on teachers' shoulders, what support would they need to implement integration effectively? One teacher {C13} suggests that if audio or video materials in the local Native language were available, he would use them in his classroom.

Then, the emerging question is how to convince teachers regarding the benefits of exposing all students to the local heritage language? How can teachers be motivated to integrate materials related to the local heritage language? An administrator {C1} believes that the long-term solution is to "bring in teachers with the philosophy [of

supporting Indian education]." The belief is that injecting new blood is more feasible than making changes internally in a conservative community. In the meantime, a school-staff member {C3} points out, the key solution is education. The immediate questions are: What kind of Indian-language training would be needed for teachers who are working in reservation schools? Who should be responsible for training teachers and producing materials for training teachers? Who should be responsible for producing language materials for teachers to use in the classroom? The long-term question is: What kind of multicultural education would be needed at the teacher-education level?

The local IEC plays the role of supporting and motivating teachers in implementing Indian education. In addition, IEC members {C3, C14} propose that the school administration require all teachers attend the annual tribal PIR day. This would be the place to start educating teachers on the importance of exposing students to the local heritage language. How else could the Tribal Education Department help in training and supporting teachers in integrating Salish materials?

Seek Tribal Support and Grant Funding

To mainstream educators, school board members, and White parents in the district {C1, C2, C3, C4, C5, C6, C7, C8, C13}, the school budget has been so tight that adding Salish-language learning looks impossible. A school-board member {C6} insists that "we are a Class C school. We can't do the same things the big guys can do. [We do have] enough resources to do the basics. [We] can't afford extra demand." In the same vein, a school administrator explains that "because of low Native enrollment in [District C], we receive little money from Impact Aid, which amounts up to 40% of the central budget of some other districts on the reservation. We've got a $9000 Title VII fund and

little JOM (Johnson O'Malley Fund)." From the stakeholders' point of view, a parent {C7} laments that "the last year or so the community has been concerned over the Art Department and the Music Department. Due to lack of funding, they cut those two departments...." Another parent {C8} reveals that "I would hate to see Salish or Native American Studies offered above other things...." An administrator {C1} explains that "limited financial resources force the school to focus on the basics. [it is] a matter of financial choices.... We would rather have Advanced Physics [than Salish]." A school-board member {C5} concurs that if there were "a choice between Salish or another subject or language, Salish would be the last one I would support." Even a teacher {C13} who is supportive of Indian education shares the basic-education perspective. This participant feels that "losing the language is losing the culture. I hate to see that, but a real good basic education comes first." Another parent {C7}, echoing the same belief, maintains that the core must come "first when you are stretched for money. Learning cultures is really good, but we need math, reading, art, music—a well-rounded education first—the bottom line."

Based on personal understanding of the district's budget concerns, a teacher speculates {C9} that "they [the school district] would never put in any money to hire an extra teacher [to teach Salish or Indian studies]. If somebody came and gave us...the money [and say] please hire somebody, they would be more open." A school-board member {C5} estimates "zero chance" that the school would allocate any money for hiring an extra teacher for teaching Indian language or NAS. An IEC leader {C14} describes the situation as one that "would take a miracle for anything to happen if it requires funding from the school budget."

Participants {C2, C3, C5, C4, C7, C9, C10, C13, C14} perceive relying on the regular teachers as a feasible solution to the budget constraint. The arising questions are: What kind of training and support do the teachers need to implement Indian education? Who should provide the training and support? In response to these questions concerning feasibility, a teacher {C13} and an administrator {C2} refer to the training model offered by the Rural Systemic Initiative at the local tribal college as an appealing and helpful solution. In other words, the participants believe that teacher training should be offered by a tribal entity and materials should be provided by the Tribes for classroom use. Moreover, if teachers are paid to attend training workshops, they are more likely to be willing to give up part of the summer for the training. The current grant administrated by the Rural Systemic Initiative focuses on integrating Native materials written in English into math and science curricula. The remaining questions are: Who in the Tribes should be responsible for writing grants and organizing training to help teachers integrate Indian language(s) in selected subject areas? Is there someone who is committed to the task on a long-term basis? What would be the role of a language commission in this regard?

An IEC leader {C14} believes that the IEC could also search for grants themselves to fund a Native American teacher in the district. Who is in a position to facilitate such grassroots efforts? How can a language commission help in this regard? Given the competitiveness of grants and the limited funding available, a couple of IEC members reckon that it would be more realistic to maximize the benefits of the more reliable Title VII and JOM funds. These funds would not be enough for a whole program, but adequate for supporting interested individual students to take advantage of

learning opportunities elsewhere, such as evening classes and distance classes offered by the tribal college and other tribal-education units.

On the other hand, some parents, teachers, and school-board members {C4, C5, C7, C9, C13 C15} suggest that "if the Tribe pays for it, that will be great." A tribal-education leader {R3} suspects that this is not an honest remark, but just another excuse. If the community honestly welcomes tribal financial support, will the Tribe (i.e., the Tribal Council or the Tribal college) be willing to invest in barrier-breaking in a White district that does not receive enough Title VII, Impact Aid, and JOM funds for the community to agree on paying for an Indian-studies or Indian-language teacher?

Suggested Program Elements

District C "is not there yet," a couple of participants declare {C10, C14}. They believe that the community of District C would not accept a full-fledged Indian-language program or a Native American Studies program at this point in time. However, the advocates {C10, C14} maintain that Indian education in the form of integration should continue. The task at the moment is to develop the vision and mission, build up interest, and lay the groundwork for a feasible program. The framework elements required for this gestation stage include long-term goals, integration, framing, outreach, external funding, external support, and joint school efforts.

Long-Term Goals

A school administrator {C2} wonders "how many more generations it's going to take" for the community to accept fully Indian education in the school. While being aware of the hesitancy existing in the district, Indian-education advocates {C3, C10, C14} believe that if they continue to work on breaking down barriers, raising awareness,

and nurturing interests among the young, the Salish-language learning and Native American Studies will become parts of the mainstream curriculum in a few years.

The Indian-education advocates {C3, C10, C14} concur that their primary objective has been "breaking down the barrier little by little." They trust that through educating children about the local Indian heritage, the young generation will grow up with open minds and will, in turn, educate their parents to value all cultures. Their hope is that Indian education will eventually "remove the prejudice and discrimination" that is deeply planted in the community.

From the perspective of IEC members {C3, C11, C13, C14}, the main goal is to raise "awareness." An Indian parent {C11} asserts that "they [District C residents] live here. They should know something about the Tribes and the reservation." A school administrator {C1} hopes that awareness will bring about "acceptance and tolerance." A school board member, an IEC leader, {C14} believes that "awareness will increase interest."

The perceived feasible goal is to "get kids interested so they will seek learning opportunities available elsewhere on the reservation." "The school's role is to make it interesting, positive, helpful, and to stimulate interest," a parent maintains {C8}. The local consensus is that Indian-language learning is for "enrichment" and "exposure" rather than the development of language proficiency. For instance, a couple of school-board members {C4, C5} contend that the goal of exposing children to an Indian language is to help widen their experience and knowledge. An administrator {C1} believes that Indian-language learning should facilitate "larger understanding of different people, cultures, and values." A teacher {C13} stresses that it should help children

respect all cultures and develop the ability to ask questions of different cultures. One of the school-board members {C5} points out that the goal should be to "get kids to think in a different manner."

If enrichment and exposure are what appeal to educators, parents, and school-board members in the district, how would a language program or a language dimension in the mainstream curriculum be designed and framed to meet these goals? What should be taught in the language and with the language? Besides sounds and symbols, what about the communication style and way of thinking embedded in the language?

Integration

Most participants perceive integration as "the only possibility to get Indian education in the school." Some {C3, C10, C14} envision integrating Indian studies and language into every class starting at the elementary level. An IEC leader {C14} proposes integrating some Salish language into K-3 so as to "get those kids interested" before expanding to other grades. When asked about the acceptable amount of Salish instruction, two young White mothers {C7, C8} indicate that "fifteen minutes twice a week or an hour once a week would be fine." In terms of length of language exposure, the mothers find one or two years acceptable.

Participants envision that it is easier to integrate NAS widely into mainstream classes than to infuse the Salish language. For instance, an administrator {C1} explains that NAS has been integrated into social studies in 4th, 7th, and 11th grades. Recently, a teacher has included moccasin-making as part of learning geometry in math. Another teacher {C13} suggests "integrating Native knowledge as part of scientific knowledge…, but don't call it NAS." When asked about possible ways to infuse the language in the

school, the teacher {C13} suggests using audio materials (e.g., CDs) to introduce the Native names of plants in biology class, hanging up pictures with the language in the classrooms, and "posting a word of the day on the bulletin board along with a word of the day in French, Spanish, etc." To facilitate the suggested integration, who from the fluent community will be able to work with teachers to produce materials? Should the local IEC and/or a tribal entity operate as a proactive liaison? How can a language commission help in producing and distributing Salish-language materials for use and display in mainstream classrooms?

Framing

Indian studies or Indian-language education that is framed in terms of academic benefits for all students is more likely to be accepted in the district. The school administrators {C1, C2} repeatedly stress the district's "academic" focus and the superintendent mentions several times that all programs and activities must be beneficial to all. An acceptable program needs to be perceived as helpful in strengthening and reinforcing basic academic skills. Parents need to be informed of the cognitive benefits of learning a different language. An administrator {C2} points out that Indian studies has to be presented as "relevant and useful rather than another Indian thing." Then, the questions are: What are the linkages between Indian studies, including Indian-language learning, and mainstream subjects? Is it possible to align the NAS/language curriculum with the mainstream curriculum?

In addition, a school-board member {C4} suggests that Indian studies will be better received "if it is presented as multicultural studies." A parent {C7} agrees that "a multicultural perspective would be the best way." Along the same lines, an administrator

{C1} advises: "Don't target one language or one culture, [but] make it multicultural. We are a multicultural society even though we live on the reservation.... [Students need to learn to] relate local things to bigger issues. It's not just about local." Representing the anti-Indian mentality, a school-board member {C6} insists that all classes should include not only Native American, but diverse voices. In face of such resistance, another school-board member {C5} suggests presenting the Indian perspective as one of many perspectives so as to gain wider acceptance in the district. A teacher {C13} proposes framing Native American Studies as Western Montana History, in which the focus could be local history and cultures, including both the history of homesteading and local Indian history and language. While not willing to "compromise" her position regarding the importance of Indian education for all, an Indian advocate {C10} concurs that an inclusive approach would be fair. She explains that "while learning more about who I am, I don't want them to forget who they are." On the other hand, an IEC leader {C14} is worried that "if you keep pulling everything else in the Montana History class, the class will never stay focused on tribal history." The emerging questions are: How can one ensure the balance of all voices? What would be the right balance between diversity and Indian education? What are the features of a curriculum that educate about local Indian heritage while allowing for comparisons with White students' heritages?

Outreach

Indian-education advocates {C3, C10, C14} in the district strongly believe that educating the young would be the key to eradicating racism and discrimination in the community and to erecting mutual respect between Whites and Indians. The participants contend, therefore, that reaching out to children should constitute a key element of any

Indian-education program. For instance, the IEC chair mentions that "the more kids are involved, the more kids that are there, the more kids want it, the more chance we have as a whole program." Inviting student leaders to join the Indian Club has proved to be an effective outreach strategy. An administrator {C1} explains that students tend to follow the "good kids," and the "good kids" contributed to the unexpected success of Indian-Club activities over the past few years.

In order to reach out to students, activities that aim to educate students about the local heritage need to be appealing to children. A school-board member {C4} stresses that any successful program would have to be one that "excites kids and gets kids turned on." The question is: how? Participants {C3, C5, C7, C9, C11, C14} suggest field trips, art projects, dances, games, and storytelling by elders. An Indian parent {C11} insists that Indian-education activities should be optional and informal so as to minimize resistance. "Make it optional as much as possible" is a recurring comment. In this regard, a teacher {C13} recommends an after-school program as a non-threatening, non-pushy way to reach out to children.

Reaching out to children is an indirect way of reaching out to the community. If children enjoy it, parents would support it. For instance, a parent {C7} posits that "as long as my son is happy with it, I am okay with it." While trusting that "kids will change parents," IEC members {C3, C10, C14} also believe in being proactive. An Indian-community activist {C10} suggests using community meetings to raise awareness of Indian education. Through public meetings, educators could "inform and educate the public, express school support...and get the conversation going." The IEC chair {C14} urges making efforts to invite community members and teaching staff to participate in

Indian Club activities and the Family Night (where children and adults gather to learn Indian art and crafts). A couple of teachers {C9, C12} maintain that personal connections between Whites and Indians is key to motivate Whites teachers to invite Indians educators into the classroom.

An administrator {C1} asserts that "what District C community wants and values is the bottom line." Thus, a community-outreach dimension is vital for building grassroots interest in and, hence, the success of, an Indian education program. The arising questions are: Who should take on the responsibility of reaching out to the primarily White community? Who would be the trusted liaison(s) between the White conservatives and the Indian-education advocates?

External Funding

Given the academic priorities in the district, external funding would be essential for developing an Indian-education program. External funding is needed in two categories: (1) the part-time or full-time salary of an Indian-studies/language teacher and (2) teacher training to help mainstream teachers integrate Indian studies into their regular classes. Both an IEC member {C14} and a school-board member {C5} predict that if a program does not affect the school budget, the school board and administrators will say "yes" to a proposal.

A school-board member {C4} speculates that "80 % of the community would accept a teacher or a trainer sponsored by the Tribes." If the Tribes send an Indian-studies/language teacher, a school administrator {C2} suggests, the school can offer an Indian studies/language elective course in high school and middle school as part of the fulfillment of state fine arts requirement. Parents and IEC members {C3, C5, C7, C8,

C14} express interest in having a teacher sponsored by the Tribes to expose elementary students to some Salish language along with Indian art and crafts. Would it be financially feasible and politically worthwhile for the Tribes to provide an Indian studies/language teacher in a district that would otherwise have no Indian-education program? How can the local tribal college help in this regard?

Most participants consider training current classroom teachers to integrate Indian studies into the mainstream classes as the needed first step in promoting studies of the local heritage in the district. In addition to the training provided by the local tribal college, administrators and teachers {C2, C13} would like to receive training locally. An administrator {C2} suggests that the local tribal college send a trainer to deliver training at the school. He explains that having people "doing some training and going to the classroom is part of building trust.... [If training and integration can be] worked in gradually, people see it's not so bad after all." Convenient local training opportunities are likely to motivate teacher involvement. Other incentives that participants {C2, C13} mention include renewal credits and financial incentives as rewards. The question is who should be responsible for designing, arranging, and implementing teacher training? Some suggest the Office of Public Instruction. Who should be working with OPI in providing training to teachers on the individual reservations? What about training at the local level? Should the responsibility lie with the Tribal Education Department, the tribal college, or a language commission?

External Support

Besides funding, a district like District C needs external support in terms of determining what to teach, how to teach, and who to teach. A school board {C4}

member suggests joint-school efforts. For instance, an elective Native American Studies class, an elective language class, or summer-language camps could be co-offered with nearby districts.

Local educators {C1, C2, C9, C13} indicate they know little about Indian-language instruction. With regard to integrating Indian studies/language into mainstream classes, an administrator {C1} insists that "standards need to be set by the Tribes...and teaching resources need to be provided by the Tribe." A teacher {C13} maintains that "a well-done curriculum is needed so that teachers don't have to re-invent the wheels." This participant, who has been involved with the teacher training provided by the local tribal college, suggests an "curriculum with topics that can be integrated in different subject areas (e.g., plants, information for chemistry, information for physics)...such as a package in science with lessons and resources."

While insisting on tribal involvement in promoting Indian education in the district, participants {C2, C4, C9, C14} warn that the involvement must play out in ways that would not be perceived as "forced," "mandate," or "behind doors." A school-board member {C4} declares that "we resent mandates. We resent it when the state, tribal, or federal government put a thumb on the school board and on the teachers.... They are taking education away from all students." Both supporters and non-supporters {C1, C3, C4, C6 C7, C10, C13, C14} stress the importance of open communication with the school board and the community and the importance of allowing teachers to take the initiatives in supporting the implementation of Indian education in the school.

From the local perspective, the Tribe(s) should help. The arising questions are: Who in the Tribe(s)? Which tribal entities? Would a language commission be able to

play the role? What are other ways school districts on the reservation can support one another?

Summary

District C is perceived as an anti-Indian, racist, conservative district. However, the local Indian Education Committee members and proactive individuals continue to break the barriers and change attitudes through education and outreach. As indicated by the popularity of the Indian Club, students have showed interest in Indian-education-related activities. Given students' positive response, parents are beginning to accept the Indian cultural activities that teachers integrate into the mainstream curriculum. To further reduce resistance among parents, one suggestion is to frame Indian studies or Indian-language education in terms of academic benefits for all. While gaining local acceptance is an immediate concern and a long-term goal, securing external funding and tribal support in determining what to teach, how to teach, and who to teach is a crucial step yet to be taken.

Discussion

As far behind as the district is in implementing Indian language education, there are lessons to be learned from the experience of District C. In a predominantly White, conservative, district, the keys to progress are to take advantage of cracks of openness, to rely on the mass media and influential Whites as change agents, and to integrate language education into the mainstream academic curriculum creatively. The following discussion is based on the researcher's analysis and insights from relevant literature.

Cracks of Openness

Since district budget constraints limit the availability of course offerings in art and culture, parents and educators are likely to accept educational contributions that are free. The high turn-out for Family Night where community members gather to learn Indian art and craft, indicates that a major part of the community is hungry for art and cultural enrichment. From this vantage point, the small school budget has ironically opened a door for tribal influence. The Tribes can perceive this openness as a hurdle or as an opportunity for change.

Furthermore, parents and school board members appear to be open to multicultural education or diversity learning. Tapping into such interest, Indian-education advocates might want to consider taking one step back, so to speak, to explore ways to educate all members of the community about the advantages of diversity in bridging the divide between Whites and Indians. A thorough examination of the meaning of diversity will help broaden the community's perception of diversity and multiculturalism and, hence, blur the line between Indians and Whites. Such efforts will set the stage for Indian education as part of the multicultural education desired by participants.

The National Coalition Building Institute offers a prejudice-reduction workshop model that would make a difference in a community like District C. The Prejudice Reduction Workshop Model has been developed by Cherie R. Brown (NCBI, 2004). The training activities designed by Brown involve prompting participants to fine tune the definition of diversity, confront stereotypes about one's group and other groups, and listen to and be listened to by one another (NCBI Leadership Training Institute, 2003).

The workshop opens with an activity that helps participants realize everyone belongs to multiple groups that span a wide range of diversity (e.g., age, gender, marital status, weight, ability, religion, sexual orientation, economical background, addiction, health condition, etc.). If members of a polarized community like District C begin to perceive their association with one another through linkages that are above and beyond racial lines, they will discover new alliances across the age-old divide between "we" and "they." The workshop model is designed to create a safe, respectful environment for each participant to "vent" suppressed and censored feelings and attitudes toward groups with which one does belong and does not identify. During the workshop, everyone is given the chance to share; and, hence, everyone has the obligation to listen to others. This format can be an effective, feasible form of "open communication" that research participants in District C and other districts on the reservation are calling for. The assumptions of the workshop design are (1) speaking out and being heard facilitate healing and (2) listening to personal stories (often loaded with tears) facilitates understanding and attitude change. This type of workshop can be offered for students and staff as part of multicultural education/training in the school. As research participants in District C point out, starting young paves the way for future improvement. At the same time, adult groups such as the school board and teaching staff will greatly benefit from such constructive forms of "open communication."

Local Indian-education advocates are hoping for the eradication of racism and discrimination through education about Indians. Anonby (1999) argues that language revitalization is part of a greater societal movement. Fettes (1997) maintains that indigenous-language promotion needs to be linked with critical literacy. As pioneered by

Paulo Freire, critical literacy teaches people how to filter the discourses to which they are

exposed and to develop alternative accounts in which their own experience is central.

The Prejudice Reduction Workshop Model developed by Cherie R. Brown is one

effective way to bring about critical literacy.

Mass Media as a Change Agent

In District C, education apparently is one vital change agent. Less directly, the mass

media is another available change agent. Reflecting back on the "Flag Incident,"

participants agree that media attention played an instrumental role in keeping anti-Indian

forces in check. A school-board member {C4} indicates that avoiding "a possible front-

page story in the *Missoulian* about how racist District C is" constituted a deciding factor in

his vote in support hanging the tribal flag in the gymnasium. Community members seem to

be eager to shed the "red neck" image. In the interviews, several participants {C6, C9, C13}

express frustration about the fact that the perception of District C as "racist" remains. A

teacher {C13} protests that "people have such a negative attitude about District C;

sometimes they don't see the good that we do and the kids do." Therefore, media reports

that showcase "the good" efforts made by students and teachers serve as public

acknowledgement of those efforts, which, in turn, stirs up local approval for those efforts.

At the same time, media coverage serves to deter opponents from undercutting what is

widely approved by the public. For instance, newspaper reports praising the District C

Indian Club's efforts in making 60 pairs of moccasins for Headstart children on the

Reservation won widespread local support for the Indian Club. All participants, including

even the Whites who remain upset about the "Flag Incident," express pride for such efforts

made by the Indian and White students in their school district. The media coverage at the

regional level has raised the status of Indian education locally. As Nicholson (1997) points out, in the process of language revitalization there is a real need to market the language to lift its social status not only among learners but among the general population (as indicated in the case of Maori- language restoration). In the case of image-conscious districts such as District C, involving the mass media seems to be an effective strategy in generating and harnessing goodwill toward Indian education in the community.

Influential Whites as Change Agents

Another lesson that can be learned from the experience of this overwhelmingly White district is the vital role played by influential Whites in promoting Indian education. In other districts, Indian education is an area most White educators fear to tread. "It is not my place" to be proactive is a common mentality among White educators on the reservation. In District C, because of the small number of Indians, supportive Whites actively take on the task of promoting Indian education in the district. The Indian Education Committee is composed of mostly White educators. All teachers but one are White. When asked whether the well-liked supervisor of the popular Indian Club is White or Indian, most responded "I don't know." In some ways, it is easier for Whites to accept Indian education as a form of cultural enrichment if it is promoted by non-Indians. Otherwise, as an administrator {C2} points out, it would be perceived as "another Indian thing forced down my throat."

Non-Indians who are accepted by both the White community and the Indians in the district are the influential change agents in promoting Indian education. As a result, the partnership between Indians and non-Indians takes on a dynamic that is different from the one required for districts with a higher proportion of Indian students. In a mostly White district, perhaps it is more strategic for Indians to stay low-key and support White advocates

who work in the forefront than to be aggressive grassroots activists demanding change in the district. The partnership between Whites and Indians, in this case, is one of local leaders and external support respectively. Turning upside down the notion of Indians as the insiders and Whites as the outsiders appears to be beneficial in this context.

Needed Academic Linkages

Unlike the other two selected districts, District C receives minimal funding designated for Indian students. For instance, districts with higher Indian student enrollment support their Indian language and Native American Studies programs with Impact Aid, Johnson O'Malley, Title III—Bilingual Education Program, Title VII—Indian Education Program, and other competitive grants such as Native American and Alaskan Children in Schools Program for their Salish-language and Indian-studies programs. It is understandable that a district like District C can spare little extra funding for programs other than the basics. With limited resources, administrators would rather focus on core academic learning that helps students to perform in standardized testing. Parents would rather support music, art, physical education, and computer class that they consider to be basic to an all-rounded education.

For Salish-language education to happen in such districts, some creative combining and integrating have to occur. Indian studies, including Indian-language education, needs to be tied to the mainstream academic curriculum. Fox (2002) proposes an inspiring "Integrated Approach" that is worth considering for adaptation in this context. She suggests integrating Indian studies topics/themes into reading, language arts, math, social studies, career education, and science. In her curriculum guides, Fox (2002) demonstrates how Indian-related themes and topics, materials, and activities are aligned with mainstream

content standards. Although the primary objective of the proposed integrated curriculum is to facilitate integration of Indian studies into the mainstream classrooms, Fox (2002) explains that it also provides a context for Indian language instruction. Her curriculum guide is not tribe-specific. A Salish curriculum aligned with Montana state standards is needed for districts located on Salish lands. If Salish education helps reinforce learning as measured by state standardized testing, educators and stakeholders in District C would be likely to find the education efforts acceptable and feasible.

Furthermore, Fox (2002) includes ideas for art activities in her proposed integrated curriculum guide. Can art be combined with Salish cultural and language learning in districts such as District C? Along the same lines, can music, technology, and physical and health education be combined with Salish cultural and language learning? For instance, although Salish songs and drumming might not be exactly what parents expect from a music class, activities that teach rhythms and tones meet some of the goals of a music class. Although Salish-interactive language computer programs might not be all that students want from a technology course, those programs can be designed to allow for practice in certain computer manipulations. Although Indian games may not be common PE activities, they provide students with opportunities to be engaged in some fun outdoor activities. To convince locals who are focused on basic education, explicit alignment with mainstream education objectives is essential. The local appetite, unsatisfied by limited resources for art, music, technology, and PE, is a crack of openness where external tribal investment can make a difference.

CHAPTER 8

SUGGESTIONS FOR BUILDING A COMMON CURRICULUM

Study participants point out the need for a common curriculum for Salish-language education on the Flathead Indian Reservation. The lack of a progressive common curriculum that guides teachers to help learners advance their language proficiency by grade level is perceived by participants as one of the main stumbling blocks that are hindering full Salish-language revitalization. For instance, in District A, educators suggest using a written curriculum to end isolation of the Salish program. The participants contend that a written curriculum will allow for sharing of information about Salish classes among mainstream teachers, parents, and school-board members. In District B, Indian-language advocates call for a language curriculum that assists children to develop communicative proficiency. In District C, Indian-education supporters believe that a common curriculum can help teachers integrate some language, along with Indian studies, in mainstream classrooms. What does the term "curriculum" mean in the context of Salish-language education? What kind of "curriculum" would meet the needs of Salish-language teachers, mainstream teachers who would like to support Salish learning, and students who are enrolled in Salish classes? What dimensions should a "curriculum" include so as to enhance Salish teaching and learning? This chapter sets forth a curriculum configuration based on participant suggestions and relevant literature.

Definition

The idea of a common "curriculum" conveys a number of possibilities. According to Wiles (1999), the term "curriculum" can mean a selected subject matter for learning, a learning plan, a school experience, or a planned learning outcome. On the

Flathead Reservation, a tribal-education leader {R3} contends that "the word curriculum presents a problem [because] different people mean different things." This participant observes that some local people use "curriculum" to refer to a collection of teaching resources; some use it to refer to detailed lesson plans, and others use it to refer to teaching methods. The definition used in a study about new teachers' experiences with curriculum and assessments led by Susan Moore Johnson, professor at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, appears to encompass the needs expressed by participants in this dissertation study. In "Lost at Sea: New Teachers' Experiences with Curriculum and Assessment," Kauffman, Johnson, Kardos, Liu, and Peske (2002) define "curriculum" as:

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

An "operational curriculum" that a teacher can follow week-to-week or day-to-day is more desirable than a topical curriculum (Kauffman, et. al, 2002, p. 275). Educators involved in Indian education on the Flathead Reservation express the desire for specific curricular guidance. They hope to adopt or adapt lessons and materials that have been proven successful for teachers before them. In other words, a Salish-language curriculum should specify content along a time line and suggest ways for teaching specific content. However, a tribal-education leader {R3} cautions that the common plan must not be "prescriptive." It should allow for flexible use of teaching methods.

Functions and Benefits

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

Consistency Across Salish-language Programs

As participants point out, a common curriculum is needed to unify programs offered in the community, the public-school system, the tribal high school, and the tribal college. A pre-K to 16 curriculum will allow all programs to build upon one another. For instance, Salish programs in public schools can aim to develop further the skills and knowledge that children acquire through Headstart programs and the immersion early-childhood program. Moreover, public-school programs can serve to prepare learners for advanced language development at the local tribal college.

Within the public-school setting, a common curriculum is needed to standardize Salish programs across school districts. According to a school administrator and a tribal educator, student mobility is high on the Reservation. If all Salish teachers adopt the same curriculum, continuity in learning can be maintained even when students move between districts.

Consistency Between Salish Classrooms and Mainstream Classrooms

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

Consistency Between Language Education and Native American Studies

Two-way reinforcement can also occur between mainstream classes and a NAS class and between a language class and a NAS class. The on-going state-wide discussion regarding ways to implement Indian Education For All law focuses on integrating NAS into the mainstream curriculum. This focus is relevant to districts such as District C where the predominantly White community is not ready, as participants indicate, for a separate NAS program. In districts with a student body that is comprised of at least half Indians, such as District A and District B, the discussion has moved beyond integration into including a K-12 NAS program as part of basic education for all. In District B (where a NAS program is in place), educators suggest that Salish learning be reinforced

in NAS classes that are conducted in mostly English. One proposal is that Salish teachers

cover selected concepts, topics, and/or themes that are part of a NAS curriculum, but only

in Salish. Sandra Fox (2002), a nationally-known Indian educator recommends that

Indian studies and language courses be organized around the same unit topics so that the

two can complement each other. Fox (2002) maintains that Indian-studies topics provide

structure and substance for language instruction.

Furthermore, a common curriculum that is designed to embody both language

education and NAS and, at the same time, to be aligned with mainstream content

standards will facilitate three-way reinforcement among the Salish class, the NAS class,

and mainstream classes. Figure 2 captures the suggested three-way linkages.

Figure 2

Three-way Reinforcement
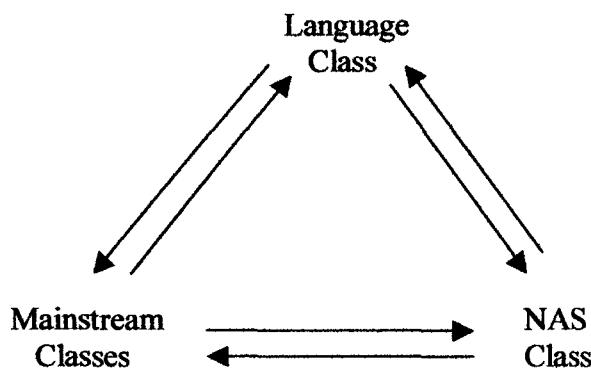
Consistency Between Teaching Training and Teaching

A common curriculum will facilitate teacher professional development and

teacher preparation. According to Wattenberg and Hansel (2002), studies that examine

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

Moreover, a common curriculum that interweaves experienced Salish teachers' input will pave the way for the next generation of language teachers. New teachers will not need to re-invent the wheel; instead, they can concentrate on building onto the current foundation. If all language teachers use the same curriculum, they can share teaching materials and instructional ideas and collaborate on refining the curriculum continuously. To facilitate teacher preparation, the suggested common curriculum can include insight into how students acquire the Salish language as a second language, the potential difficulties students may have along the way in developing communicative proficiency, and the instructional strategies that are particularly effective for teaching certain aspects of the language.

Dimensions

Concepts, Topics, and Themes

A former Salish- and Kootenai-language college teacher {R7} advocates the use of a "concept-based" approach for planning language lessons. He suggests that language teachers "choose specific concepts in the language that clearly demonstrate what it is that you [the teacher] want them [the students] to understand [about] the other [such as the

Salish] perspective." He explains that this approach allows language teachers to "take concepts that [mainstream] teachers are teaching and,…step back, and look at them from the Salish perspective." In addition, "concepts" can be grouped under "topics" and "themes." Concepts, topics, or themes can serve to link the Salish classroom with the mainstream classroom. For example, the Salish concept of caring for the mother earth can be included in a thematic social studies unit or science thematic unit that addresses topics related to environmental protection.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

acquisition will provide insights into efficient ways of bringing about oral proficiency by exposing learners to a target language systematically.

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

Language Standards and Benchmarks

Language content and performance benchmarks and standards for pre-K to 16 can shape the development of a detailed language-acquisition plan and vice versa. Carefully developed language benchmarks and standards, as participants suggest, are necessary for guiding learners to progress from a beginning level to an advanced level of language proficiency through a preK-16 language curriculum.

The *Montana Standards for World Languages* (1999) serves as a helpful reference for developing content and performance standards for specific Indian languages. They include five content areas: communication, cultures, connections, comparisons, and communities. These content standards address all of the three thematic foci proposed by study participants. Content standards 1, 2, 3, and 9 address the everyday context. Through studying a language other than English, learners should be able to "engage in conversation" with speakers of the target language, "provide and obtain information, express feeling and emotions, exchange opinions," and "convey...ideas to listeners...for a variety of purposes" in the language. Content standards 2, 3, 5, and 7 address the academic context. Through studying a second

language, learners should be able to "interpret written language...on a variety of topics," "convey...concepts...for a variety purposes," "further knowledge of other disciplines," "recognize different languages use different patterns, and apply this knowledge to their own language." Content standards 4, 6, 8, and 9 address the cultural context. Learning a minority language allows learners to understand "the relationship between the perspectives, practices, and products/contributions of cultures studied and use this knowledge to interact effectively in cultural contexts," acquire multicultural perspectives "through authentic materials...within cultures," understand "the concept of culture through comparisons of the culture studied and their own" (*Montana Standards for World Languages*, 1999, p. 1). These content standards capture the benefits of learning a second language, including Indian languages, that are consistent with reasons presented by study participants for advocating Salish language education. They also are aligned with the public-school Indian-language program objectives suggested by participants. Therefore, these content standards can be easily adapted for a common Salish-language curriculum, guiding the design and implementation of language teaching units and lessons that aim to benefit all students (both Indian and non-Indian).

The Montana performance standards for world languages include four language proficiency levels (advanced, proficient, nearing proficiency, and novice) for Grade 4, Grade 8, and Grade 12. These distinctions are consistent with study participants' hope that learners can progress from one level of language proficiency to the next and eventually reach communicative competence. Thus, the adaptation of these performance standards in a Salish-language curriculum will help clarify expectations and goals for language teaching and learning. Such clarity allows for language-program evaluation,

and, hence, for identifying interventions that are necessary for helping all learners advance toward proficiency. Clear goals also allow for pinpointing the professional-development needs required for enhancing the effectiveness of language instruction. Explicit expectations that are endorsed by the school and the Indian community can serve to motivate learning and teaching.

Nevertheless, the K-12 Montana Standards for World Languages provides only the basis for a specific set of language benchmarks and standards for a pre-K to 16 Salish-langauge common curriculum. More specific benchmarks, along with a systematic Salish-language acquisition plan, need to be developed for each grade level.

Native American Studies Content Standards

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

Mainstream Content Standards

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

Activities, Assignments, Materials, and Resource Persons

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

experts, such as experienced indigenous-language teachers from other reservations, literacy-development experts, and second-language educators, and ideas from relevant teaching guides and research literature also are helpful in enriching this dimension of the suggested operational common curriculum.

Summary

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

The curriculum dimensions suggested by district-based and non-district-based participants form the configuration for a common language curriculum (see Table 3). To develop a detailed operational curriculum fully, further research is required to gather input regarding the following areas:

- topics and themes distribution from preK to 16 (i.e., which topic or theme should be covered at which grade?);

- a progressive language-acquisition plan (i.e., what aspect of the language should be taught at which grade?);

- key Salish "concepts," cultural constructs, or perspectives related to each topic or theme;

- common words, key vocabulary, expressions, and language patterns associated with each topic or theme;

- instructional strategies for delivering lessons about each suggested topic or theme;

- activities and assignments designed for each topic or theme; and

- teaching and learning materials based on each topic or theme.

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

Table 3 Suggested Configuration for a Common Indian-language Curriculum for PreK to 16

Grade Level	Timeline	Themes	Specific Concepts or Topics	Language Acquisition Plan	Language Performance Standards	Language Content Standards	NAS Content Standards	Mainstream Content Standards	Key words & Expressions	Suggested Activities	Suggested Assignments	Available Materials	Resource Persons
Pre-school	September-November	Everyday (Focus on everyday language at the pre-literacy level)					N/A	N/A					
Kinder-garten	September-November	Everyday		Based on K-12 Montana Standards for World Languages	Based on K-12 Montana Standards for World Languages	Yet to be developed (It can be tribal specific.)	E.g., Social Studies Content Standards, Science Content Standards, etc.						
		Cultural											
		Academic											
	December-February	Cultural											
		Everyday											
	March-May	Everyday											
		Cultural											
		Academic											
	[etc.]	[etc.]	[etc.]										
College years													

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

Can educators of mixed school districts, Indian people, and their White neighbors living on Indian reservations agree to accept and nurture indigenous-language education programs in the public-school system? Although the common perception is that public-school Indian-language programs are not producing fluency in any Indian language, the research participants in this study have identified important reasons for providing Indian-language learning opportunities in public schools. Most agree that public-school programs play a complementary role in overall language-revitalization efforts. Public schools should not and cannot bear the full responsibility of passing indigenous languages on to the next generation, but language revitalization in the midst of cultural confluence in today's U.S. society would not be complete without the help of public schools. A common belief among study participants is that public-school Indian-language programs should aim to supplement the language-revitalization efforts of the home, the immersion school, the tribal school, the tribal college, and other learning opportunities in the Indian community. The existence of Indian-language programs in the public-school system also serves to validate Indian heritage.

Carefully designed and effectively implemented education programs can promote interest and facilitate development of language and cultural competence among a large number of learners. In an effort to identify critical and acceptable components of such programs, this study gathered grassroots input applicable to school districts with a mix of Indian and White student populations located on Indian reservations. This chapter

summarizes the research findings, presents a general framework derived from the findings, re-visits remaining implementation questions, and suggests areas for further research.

A Framework for the Selected Research Sites on the Flathead Indian Reservation

Research participants identified interacting constraints and facilitating factors that affect the design and implementation of Indian-language education programs in mixed districts on the Flathead Indian Reservation. They suggested approaches for dealing with existing obstacles and ways to include the perspectives of both local Indians and Whites and of both supporters and non-supporters of Indian-language education in public schools. They also proposed key program elements that accommodate the socio-economic, political, cultural, linguistic, and educational conditions faced by mixed districts on the reservation. Some of their suggestions apply to Indian-language-education programs in public schools on the reservation in general, while others are specific to District A (a district with a student body that is half Indian and half White), District B (a district with more Indian than White students), or District C (a district with more White than Indian students). Table 4 summarizes these findings. The first column of Table 4 summarizes non-district-specific suggestions that are relevant to all mixed schools across the reservation. The second, third, and fourth columns summarize input specific to the selected districts.

Table 4

Salish-Language Program Framework for Mixed Districts on the Flathead Indian Reservation

	Flathead Indian Reservation	District A (District with about half Indians)	District B (District with more Indians)	District C (District with fewer Indians)
Facilitating Factors	• Desire to revitalize Salish • Written records and some basic materials in Salish • Salish-language instruction programs • Salish teachers in public schools • Constructive engagement between Indian and non-Indian supporters • Federal funds • Amiable political atmosphere	• A rooted program • Supportive administrators, teachers, and Indian parents • Indian-Education-for-All committee	• Grant funding • Supportive school environment • Open-minded community	• Proactive individuals • Popular Indian Club • Influential Indian Education Committee • Changing attitudes toward Indian education
Obstacles	• Loss of economic value of the language • Lack of domains for use of the language • Not a top priority • Shortage of language teachers • Lack of support for language teaching & learning -lack of teacher training -lack of models -lack of common curriculum -isolation -lack of materials -lack of community support for children • Lack of coordination and leadership • Lack of unity within Indian community • Tension between Whites and Indians	• Antagonistic relationship between Whites and Indians • Peripheral status of the language • Lack of mission & expectations • Lack of reason to expand • Lack of parental support • Lack of funding • Lack of consensus regarding teacher qualifications	• Limited pool of trained young teachers • Lack of time • Fearful respect • Restriction on federal grants	• Perceived as a red-neck community • Few supporters for Indian-language learning • Limited Indian-education funding

Table 4 (continued)

	Flathead Indian Reservation	District A (District with about half Indians)	District B (District with more Indians)	District C (District with fewer Indians)
Suggested Approaches for Dealing with Obstacles	• Increase perceived value of the language -marketing -mobilizing • Support learning -creative teaching strategies -reinforcement -recruitment -incentives • Support teaching -increase the number of teachers -increase teacher training -centralize Salish-language instruction • Create domains for Salish-language use • Improve relationship between Indians and Whites -build trust -create partnerships • Collaborate with one another -horizontal coordination -vertical coordination -share financial burden • Establish a language commission -to lead -to support -to coordinate • Expand involvement -Whites related to Indians -outside experts in areas such as literacy development -non-fluent speakers and Salish learners as teachers	• Use open & honest communication between Indian parents and school administration -inclusive decision making -mediation • Help counselors and teachers understand the connection between Salish and mainstream programs • Circulate a written curriculum specifying standards and objectives • Facilitate coordination among Salish teachers • Combine Salish with academic learning and diversity studies • Invite and inform Indian parents • Replace activity classes with Salish • Elicit additional funding from the community, grants, & the Tribal government • Use speakers as language aides • Train Salish Class 2 teachers • Hire consultant to conduct training in collaborative communication	• Recruit young Indians and train them to be teachers • Integrate Salish into other classes • Increase learning through after-school program • Make it feasible for mainstream teachers to integrate the language -hire admin. Assistant -allow release time -provide materials • Shift supervision responsibility to the Tribes • Support Salish program with central budget • Mobilize local demand • Initiate marketing steps -market to all parents -mobilize Indian parents -persuade teachers and administrators -motivate students • Convince Salish teachers to adopt innovative instructional strategies • Increase quantity -decrease class size -create new domains based on desired language functions	• Educate the young to change their conservative parents • A tribal liaison to build relationship between the Tribes & the school and between the school & Indian parents • Inform community of benefits of proposed Indian-education efforts • Motivate and support teachers to integrate Indian education • Hire teachers who are supportive of Indian education • Rely on teacher training provided by the Tribes • Search for grants • Support only interested learners • Take advantage of community's hunger for art and cultural enrichment by providing free Indian arts & crafts activities • Conduct diversity training • Use mass media as change agent • Rely on influential Whites as change agents

Table 4 (continued)

	Flathead Indian Reservation	District A (District with about half Indians)	District B (District with more Indians)	District C (District with fewer Indians)
Proposed Program Elements	• Supportive role of public school -promote interest -validate the language -supplement other programs • Program objectives beneficial to both Whites and Indians -enhance cross-cultural understanding for all -enhance multicultural competence for all -enhance second-language awareness for all -enhance Salish language proficiency for Indians -enhance self-esteem for Indians -enhance cultural experience for Whites • Target population -for all young children -optional • Frequency -minimum 60 mins. per week -preferably daily exposure • Common progressive curriculum -benchmarks & standards -common lexicons for everyday, cultural, & academic context • Integration -integrated into mainstream classes -separate from NAS • Shared vision & mission -tribal commiment -community conciousness -hope and individual responsibilities	• Program objectives important to all • Benchmarks & standards • Affirmative atmosphere -responsive to all students' needs in school -value all heritages in classrooms • Salish courses separate from NAS • Bridges between Salish and the mainstream -classes -teachers • Inclusive but optional Salish courses • A room for Salish teachers and classes • Careful presentations of benefits -softer approach -consultative approach -assuring approach -appeals • Grassroots movement targeted at quiet majority • A comparative approach	• Program objectives relevant to all • A service for all • Optional in high school • Offering arrangement -20 mins. twice a week for K-2 -30 mins. twice a week for 3rd grade -40 mins. three times a week for 4-6th grade • Active and interactive approaches -hands-on -experiential -TPR & TPRs -immersion • Progressive curriculum -cultural studies -academic reinforcement • Two-way reinforcement -teacher training -coordination among teachers • Affirmative school environment -teachers use Salish -students are rewarded for using Salish -Salish integrated into school activities • Demands from Indian community • Complementary opportunities -home -after-school programs -Salish-only community center • Tribal leadership -teacher training & supervision -in the lead to use Salish around school	• Long-term goals -raise awareness to bring about tolerance -provide exposure to bring about interest • Integration -Start with NAS in mainstream classrooms -Add 30-60 mins/per week Salish to lower grades for a year or two • Framing -beneficial to all -academic -multicultural rather than Indian -local/Montana, including local Whites • Align Salish with state content standards • Outreach -create activities that appeal to children -make learning informal and optional -invite and involve teachers and community members • External funding -Indian teachers and training for mainstream teachers provided by the Tribes • External support -joint-school programs -standards set by Tribes -activities organized by the Tribes -open, well-publicized support

A General Framework

for Public-school Districts with a Mix of Indian and White Students

By comparing and contrasting the four sets of input (presented as four columns in

Table 4), one is also able to construct a general framework for public-school districts

with mixed Indian and White student populations. The reservation-wide facilitating

factors, suggested approaches to obstacles, and proposed program elements (along with

the regularities that emerge across the selected districts) constitute the core components

of an inclusive public-school Indian-language program framework applicable for mixed

districts within and beyond the Flathead Indian Reservation in Montana. Under this

general framework, components extracted and abstracted from participants' input

constitute conditions, actions, and program elements proposed for districts with

characteristics similar to the research sites.

Required conditions

The local conditions required for advancing Indian-language education in mixed

school districts are derived from the common facilitating factors identified for public-

school Indian-language programs on the Flathead Indian Reservation along with the

consistent facilitating factors recognized in the selected districts. First and foremost,

there needs to a desire to revitalize the indigenous language at all levels. Both top-down

initiatives and bottom-up support are essential. At the reservation level, tribal leaders

need to initiate language revitalization through the establishment of a cultural committee,

by granting official status to the language, and by financially supporting language-

education efforts. At the grassroots level, there needs to be a desire to learn, to use, and

to teach the language. As District A and District B participants point out, Indian parents' demands and expectations for effective Indian-language education and support from school administrators and teachers are crucial for planting a language program in the school system.

A coherent K-16 formal language-instruction plan that includes language-teacher training is needed to help students progress from beginner to proficiency levels. Such a language-education plan calls for the involvement of committed local educators and external experts in the areas of language revitalization and bilingual education. It requires support not only within local districts, but at state and national levels. Without federal funds, bilingual education is not likely to grow in rural schools. Limited budgets often force poor districts to prioritize mainstream education over Indian education. State mandates (such as Indian Education for All in Montana) and local Indian parents' demands and political influence can help move Indian education up on the priority list of local school districts. State support, such as approval of Class 7 teacher certification and the development of World-language standards relevant to Indian-language education, provides the impetus for school districts to include Indian-language programs as part of basic education.

Amiable political atmosphere at the state and reservation level, a supportive school environment, and an open-minded community (as in District B) are vital conditions for effective Indian-language education. Moreover, the experience of District C teaches us that grassroots efforts, such as the successful Indian club and proactive IEC, can bring about fundamental change from bottom up. Indian people need not feel alone

in pushing for change. Sometimes, effective change agents are non-Indians and non-locals, such as open-minded community members, teachers moving in from outside of the state, non-Indians who are well-liked by both Indian and White community members, and mass media that reaches beyond the local area.

Required Actions

Action steps required for facilitating Indian-language education in mixed school districts are derived from approaches suggested for removing reservation-wide obstacles and for addressing the main concerns identified in selected districts. While each district is faced with unique difficulties, there are concerns shared by all. Thus, the suggested approaches for dealing with general common concerns are likely to be applicable in mixed districts with characteristics similar to the selected study sites in terms of actions required for tackling existing difficulties or for preventing future problems.

A vital first step involves increasing the perceived value of the language. Marketing the language and mobilizing grassroots support for language education are identified as essential locally and beyond. In terms of initiating change from inside out, District A and District B participants emphasize marketing the benefits of language education to all parents, mobilizing Indian parents to demand improved language-education program, persuading teachers, counselors, and administrators of the value of fitting indigenous-language learning into mainstream programs, and motivating students to learn the language. The experience District C demonstrates how reaching out to the young and the wider community help increase the perceived value of Indian education.

Once an Indian-language-education program is in place, effective learning and teaching of the language requires support from all directions. In terms of support for learning, district- and non-district-based participants agreed that incentives and reinforcement have to come from the home, classroom teachers, and respected adults within the school and in the community. Educators in District A and District C point out that recruiting student leaders to be involved in language learning and hiring teachers who are supportive of Indian-language education are necessary steps toward creating an atmosphere conducive to learning the local heritage language. Furthermore, there is a reservation-wide call for adopting active and interactive instructional strategies that will facilitate language learning. Teacher training is required in this regard, but ultimately language teachers' willingness to replace traditional didactic teaching approaches with creative, active, and interactive methods determines the outcome of language education. Therefore, a needed action step is to convince and motivate speakers to try new ways of teaching. In the long run, as educators and administrators in District A and District B recommend, a tribal authority needs to recruit and train young, certified language teachers.

In terms of supporting current and future language teachers, tribal leadership is crucial. A required first step is for tribal leaders to determine the desired functions of the language as a complement to the mainstream English language. An agreement on desired functions is needed to determine the domains for use and practice of the language and, hence, the content and context of language education. Moreover, educators in individual districts tend to look to Tribal departments for guidance and support in terms of curriculum and material development, setting standards and expectations, and coordination between

tribal educators and classroom teachers. Who in the Tribes are in a position to lead, to support, and to coordinate district-based as well as reservation-wide language-education efforts? A widely-accepted action proposal is to establish a language commission, a language committee, or the like.

At the reservation level, actions need to be taken by a leadership group to improve relationships between Indians and Whites through creating and defining partnerships and to facilitate and expand horizontal and vertical collaboration between tribal and non-tribal entities, fluent speakers and non-fluent advocates, Indian leaders and non-Indian educators, and insiders and outside experts. At the district level, as the participants from District A point out, it is the responsibilities of Indian parents, school administrators and teachers to establish constructive, trusting partnerships through open, honest communication and to act proactively in terms of contributing to language-education efforts.

Required Program Elements

Program elements required for mixed districts are derived from a fusion of elements identified for Salish-language programs on the reservation in general along with common elements identified for the selected districts. The common agreement is that language programs in mixed school districts should play a supportive role in language-revitalization efforts. Although expecting public-school programs to help all children develop proficiency in the Indian language is not realistic in every district, the consensus is that a language program in mixed districts should aim to benefit both Whites and Indians. It is important for Indians that a program aims to help students, especially

Indian children, become communicatively competent in the heritage language and develop a solid sense of Indianness. On the other hand, it is important for Whites that a program enhances students' cultural experiences and multicultural competence.

In spite of the differences in focal objective, a shared consensus emerges that Indian-language education in public schools should be inclusive and optional. It should be designed for all, available to all, but not mandatory. In order to meet diverse needs and interests within mixed districts, participants proposed a common progressive curriculum to cover contexts ranging from everyday communication, cultural studies, to academic learning. Integrating language education into mainstream classrooms is a first step in districts (such as District C) where Indian-language education does not exist. It is a next step in districts (such as District A and District B) where a language program has been in place.

To facilitate integration and reinforcement by mainstream teachers, the standards and benchmarks required for a needed progressive preK-16 Indian language curriculum could be aligned with state- and/or national-content standards. Such alignment, along with the adoption of a comparative approach in designing and implementing language education, can help win support in mixed districts (such as District A and District C) where resistance to Indian education remains. As evident in District A's experience, without an affirmative school atmosphere, a grassroots movement targeted at mobilizing support from the quiet majority, and careful presentations of program benefits to all stakeholders, an Indian language program would not flourish. Additionally, without effective teaching approaches and complementary language-learning opportunities,

progress would be limited (as demonstrated in the case of District B). External

support, including tribal support and inter-school collaboration, is helpful in schools on

the reservation in general and is essential in districts with little federal funding (such as

District C).

Considerations Specific to Districts with Different Indian/White Ratios

Among the conditions, actions, and elements presented as required for mixed

districts, some demand more urgent attention than others in individual districts. Each

district is likely to have its own set of primary concerns. A comparison of the three selected

districts indicates that the Indian/White student ratio is a key factor determining the

priorities of a district. Thus, in addition to presenting common requirements, the general

framework highlights considerations specific to districts with a half Indian and half White

student body, districts with more Indian than White students, and districts with

predominantly White student populations.

The Indian/White student ratio in a district appears to correlate with the political

atmosphere surrounding Indian-education policies in the district, the orientation of

community members and educators toward Indian education, and the level of acceptance

regarding an Indian-language program in the school district. In a district with about 50%

Indian students, an Indian-language program is tolerated, but not necessarily perceived as

relevant to all. In contrast, a language program is likely to be accepted as a legitimate

part of the school in districts with preponderance of Indian students. Whites who live in

such districts often make a conscious decision to be surrounded by Indians, and, thus, the

political atmosphere in such districts tends to be less anti-Indian. However, resistance is

strong in districts with a minority of Indians. Even though they live on a

reservation, the White majority questions the relevance of Indian-language learning for

their children. Indian language-education is likely to be placed near the bottom of the

priority list when it comes to allocating limited resources in such districts.

Half and Half

In mixed school districts with about half Indians and half Whites, Indian-language

education is likely to be tolerated. Thus, the primary challenge is not so much

maintaining a program in the school as it is improving the image of the program and

attitudes towards the program. Efforts need to be made to ensure that the language

program is not perceived as "the Indian thing," relevant to only half of the student

population. It needs to be portrayed as a part of the school that involves both White and

Indian educators and students. Otherwise, as shown in the case of District A, the

language program is isolated, language learning receives little support in the school, and

students tend to associate negatively with Indian-language learning. A required action

step is for educators to create an affirmative school atmosphere in which all heritages

(both Indian and White) are valued and acknowledged explicitly. Marketing the

language program as an enriching learning opportunity designed to complement

mainstream classes will help reduce suspicion and fear that Indian education is taking

over mainstream education. Moreover, Indian-language education ought to be optional

in a district where half of the parents are likely to perceive no obligation to learn someone

else's heritage language. In order for an optional language program to be popular, it

needs to appeal to both the Indian half and the White half of the stakeholders in the

district. Most parents in such mixed districts are likely to appreciate the use of a comparative approach that allows learners to compare the Indian heritage embedded in the Indian language with the heritages of non-Indian students.

To balance the seemingly polarized interests and needs of the two halves, inclusion is a key. In the case of District A, Whites expressed the need to be included by Indians and Indians repeatedly conveyed the hope to be accepted by Whites. An inclusive language program needs to be built on inclusive decision making and consultation. For instance, local school administrators learned that inviting non-supporters to informative, consultative meetings concerning Indian education helps reduce suspicion, misunderstanding, and antagonism. At the same time, consultation is a step toward constructive partnership that is instrumental for meeting all needs. This two-way process requires both White educators and Indian parent leaders to communicate with each other in a collaborative tone rather than an antagonistic, complaining tone. Continuous open, honest, and positive communication has been identified as a crucial tool for building trust between Whites and Indians in such districts.

Predominantly Indians

In mixed districts with more Indian than White students, Indian-language education is likely to be accepted as legitimate. Resources for Indian education are available and few object to integrating the local Indian language into mainstream classrooms and throughout the school environment. The key question is how to carry it out effectively. Mainstream teachers are open to supporting language learning, but they need to know how. The school community is open to using the language in the hallway, the lunchroom, the playgrounds,

and at school events, but someone needs to take the lead. Some parents are open to having their children learn to speak the local Indian language. Language teachers need to be willing to use active and interactive approaches that help learners develop communicative competence.

The primary challenge in such districts is not so much about gaining acceptance, but about strengthening the impact of language education in the school. When openness exists, what is needed next is passion and vision. As community members in District B point out, Indian people's demands and leadership are needed for upgrading Indian-language education. At the grassroots level, a required action step is to mobilize Indian parents to clarify their shared expectations. If Indian parents expect the language to be used around the school, parent leaders and language teachers need to take the lead to use the language frequently with students, staff members, and teachers and to integrate the language in the school environment by such means as posting signs in school buildings and placing books in the library. If Indian parents expect children to develop communicative competence, tribal leaders need to convince language teachers of the goal and of the need to use instructional strategies that are effective for achieving this goal. Tribal support also is required in the areas of training mainstream teachers to reinforce language learning, training language teachers to assist learners in second-language acquisition, setting standards and benchmarks for language programs, and promoting the language locally and beyond.

In districts with mostly Indian students, White educators, parents, community members are in a position to accept and support Indian-language education, but it is not their place to determine how to carry it out. In order to improve and/or expand language

education, Indian people have to decide how much more they want to achieve. At the reservation level, tribal leaders need to take the lead to promote language learning and improve language instruction. Locally, Indian teachers and parents need to take the initiative to infuse the language throughout the school community.

Predominantly White

In mixed districts with few Indian students, an Indian language program that requires funding from the district's central budget is likely to meet with resistance. Thus, the immediate challenge is to gain acceptance for integrating some language education within the school. Realistic goals are not so much about achieving language proficiency as about raising awareness of and stimulating interests in the local Indian language.

The first action step is to instill in the community a positive attitude toward learning about the local Indian heritage. In a mostly White district, the advocacy of influential non-Indians who are respected by both Whites and Indians is crucial. As in the case of District C, the needed partnership between non-Indians and Indians is one that joins local actors and external support. The partnership in a mostly White district needs to take on a dynamic that is different from the one required for districts with high Indian populations. In a predominantly White district, it is more strategic for Indians to stay low-key and to support non-Indian advocates and educators who work in the forefront than to be aggressive grassroots activists demanding change.

Furthermore, in order for White parents to accept Indian language education in schools, it needs to be framed as a form of enrichment that taps into the interests of all.

As in District C, parents and educators are likely to perceive Indian-language learning as relevant and beneficial if it reinforces academic skills and prepares students for effective participation in the diverse US society and beyond. In addition, parents and students are likely to support Indian-language education if it is combined with desired learning opportunities that are not easily affordable with the tight local school budget. For instance, District C parents and students showed appreciation for Indian education that is combined with arts and crafts and field trips. The local appetite for learning opportunities, unsatisfied by limited resources for activity classes, offers a crack of openness where external tribal investment can make a difference. In mostly White districts, external support is essential because federal funding for Indian education is limited and expertise in teaching about local Indians is minimal.

Specific Framework Features

The distinct needs of districts with various Indian/White student proportions, along with the conditions, actions, and program elements required for mixed districts in general, provide the basis for a general Indian-language-education program framework with applicability in public-school districts with a mix of Indian and White students located on Indian reservations. Table 5 summarizes the general framework that emerged from the study.

Table 5

A General Framework for Indian-Language Education in Rural Districts with Mixed Indian and White Student Populations

Required Conditions	• Desire to revitalize the language -top-down initiative -grassroots support and interest • Written records and materials • A coherent K-16 formal language-education plan • Indians and non-Indians, insiders and outside experts, committed to help revitalize the language -Indian-language teachers in public schools -young learners and new teachers -linguists who help document the language -school administrators and teachers supportive of language education -grant administrators willing to link Indian-language education with English literacy development -proactive Indian-parent leaders and Indian-education advocates -widely respected, popular Indian Club supervisor • Constructive engagement between Indian and non-Indian supporters -State office of public instruction (OPI) as the state liaison through the service of a bilingual-ed specialist and an Indian-education specialist -tribal education department as the reservation liaison -Indian-education committee as the district liaison -agreements on Class 7 certification for Indian-language teachers and World-Language standards (including Indian languages) -collaboration among teachers • Federal funds -for the survival of a language program -for professional development of language teachers -for helping children to develop English literacy plus Indian language awareness • Amiable political atmosphere -Indians are becoming politically powerful -Indians are accepted as state legislators and local school-board members -Indian Education for All a state law • Supportive school environment • Open-minded community • Successful Indian club • Proactive district-based Indian-education committee • Change agents in addition to committed Indian people -people moving from out of state who are free from the historical baggage and are interested in learning about local Indians -influential Whites who are supportive of Indian education -mass media that reaches beyond the local area
Special Remarks	Districts with about half Indians ▸ Indian language education needs to be accepted as part of the school rather than as an "Indian thing." ▸ Involvement of both Indian and White teachers and students is needed to end isolation of the program.

	Districts with more Indians ▸ Indian people's demand for more and better Indian-language education is needed to upgrade the current program. ▸ Passion and vision guides future language-education efforts. ▸ Willingness to try new language-teaching approaches on the part of language teachers is a prerequisite for improvement.
	Districts with fewer Indians ▸ The advocacy of influential non-Indians who are respected by both Whites and Indians is crucial. ▸ A needed partnership between non-Indians and Indians is one of local actors and external support.
Required Actions	• Increase perceived value of the language locally and reservation-wide -market the benefits to all parents -mobilize Indian parents to demand for improved service -convince teachers, counselors, and administrators of the value -motivate students to learn -reach out to community members -inform and include the quiet majority -educate the young to change the mentality of the old -publicize successful efforts and efforts that improve a district's image • Support learning -use active and interactive teaching strategies -set standards and expectations -reinforce learning in mainstream classrooms, around the school, at home, and in the community -recruit student leaders who are likely to attract other students to learning the language -provide incentives and awards to encourage learning, use, and practice of the language -hire supportive teachers -provide extra support for interested and talented learners • Support teaching -provide incentives and support to motivate speakers to teach -recruit and train young Indian-language teachers -provide teacher training to speakers -convince speakers of the benefits of adopting active and interactive teaching methods -centralize Indian-language instruction -facilitate collaboration among language teachers -facilitate coordination between language teachers and mainstream teachers by providing administrative assistance and released time -provide mainstream teachers with training and materials for language reinforcement in mainstream classrooms -involve mainstream teachers in IEC, which serves as a liaison and a support system • Create additional domains for language exposure, practice, and use -types of domains determined by types of desired language functions -mainstream classrooms (academic context) -after-school language programs (academic, cultural, and/or everyday contexts) -snack shop, lunch room, hallway in the school (everyday context) -community centers (intergenerational and intercultural context) -selected ceremonies (cultural context) • Improve relationship between Indians and Whites -build trust through open/honest communication -define partnership -use inclusive decision making

	-consult with each other -hire mediation consultant to help resolve conflicts -conduct diversity training and Prejudice Reduction Workshop -need a tribal liaison to build relationship between Tribe and school, between school and Indian parents -provide school staff and Indian parents with collaborative communication training • Collaborate with one another -coordinate horizontally among teachers, among schools, among IECs, among tribal entities, among language advocates -coordinate vertically among immersion school, public school, tribal school, & tribal college; among politics of the state, the tribe, and the community; among national Indian education organizations and local advocates; among tribal leaders and young educators -share funding responsibilities among the schools and the tribe • Expand involvement -involve Whites related to Indians -involve outside experts in areas such as literacy development, bilingual education, marketing, etc. -involve non-fluent speakers and Salish learners in language-teaching capacities • Establish a language commission -to lead -to support -to coordinate
Special Remarks	**Districts with about half Indians** ‣ Continuous open and honest communication is required to reduce fear and end suspicion. ‣ Inclusive decision making and consultation are especially important for balancing polarized needs and interests. **Districts with more Indians** ‣ Strengthening the impact of local language education is required for overall language revitalization. ‣ Indian people need to make the land to use the language around the school. **Districts with fewer Indians** ‣ Instilling in the community a positive attitude toward learning about local Indian heritage is a required action step. ‣ Indians strategically stay low-key and support non-Indian advocates and educators who work in the forefront. ‣ Language learning needs to be promoted as a form of enrichment that taps into the interests of local students and parents.
Required Program Elements	• Supportive role of public school -promote interest -validate the language -supplement other programs • Shared vision and mission -commitment to revitalize the language -tribal leadership in teacher training, materials and curriculum development, and using and promoting the language around schools and in the Indian community -community consciousness -hope -individuals' willingness to take on responsibilities • Program objectives beneficial to both Whites and Indians -enhance cross-cultural understanding for all -enhance multicultural competence for all -enhance second-language awareness for all

-enhance proficiency in the Indian language for Indians
-enhance self-esteem for Indians
-enhance cultural experience for Whites
• Target population
-targeted at young children
-available to all at elementary, but allows parents to pull out their children
-optional in high school
-honors classes for interested, talented students
-extra-curricular activities for interested students
• Frequency
-a minimum 60 minutes per week
-preferably daily exposure
-increasing exposure by grade levels
• Common progressive curriculum
-benchmarks and standards
-common lexicons for everyday, cultural, & academic context
-multicultural perspectives
-comparative approach
-aligned with content standards
• Effective instructional approaches
-immerse learners in the language
-design hands-on learning activities
-make learning experiential
-allow for learning through all senses
-adapt ESL and foreign language-teaching strategies
• Integration
-integrate some language use and language learning into mainstream classes
-separate from NAS for education and political reasons
• Affirmative school atmosphere
-responsive to all students' needs
-value all students' heritages
-words and expressions in the language used by educators around the school
-reward students for using the language around the school
-integrate words, expressions, songs into everyday routines, school events, and ceremonies
• A permanent room for Indian language classes
• Careful presentations about the language programs
-softer approach
-consultative approach
-assuring approach
-appeals
• Complementary learning opportunities
-home
-after-school programs
-joint-school programs
-mentor-apprenticeship programs
-community center where the language is used
• Support external to the district
-inter-school collaboration
-tribal investment
-objectives and standards set by the tribe
-training provided by the tribe

Special Remarks	Districts with about half Indians • A school atmosphere in which both Indian and mainstream cultures are acknowledged explicitly is important. • Program design and implementation ought to be inclusive and optional.
	Districts with more Indians • Effective instructional approaches are required to produce language proficiency among learners. • Tribal leadership in teacher training and supervision is required for change to occur. • The language needs to be integrated throughout the school in order to help learners develop proficiency.
	Districts with fewer Indians • A realistic goal is to raise awareness of and stimulate interest in the local Indian language rather than to develop language proficiency. • To appeal to White parents, language learning needs to aim at reinforcing academic skills and preparing students for effective participation in the diverse US society and beyond. • Language learning needs to be combined with desired, but unavailable, activity classes and learning opportunities. • External support is essential because of limited federal funds for and expertise in Indian education.

Value of the Study

The Salish-language-education program framework and the general Indian-language education framework for mixed districts are derived from grassroots input. The premise of the study is that local leaders, actors, and stakeholders know best what are desirable and feasible in their public-school districts. Although the study is based on what community members already knew, on an individual basis, most participants indicate a lack of thorough understanding of co-existing perspectives. Misunderstanding also exists among groups. On the basis of 101 interviews, this study serves to illuminate the common ground hidden in disagreements.

In this study, each of the theoretically relevant research participants contributed a piece to the whole picture. Individuals perceive the issues related to Indian-language education in public schools from different angles. The Indians' point of view often is different from that of the Whites. Supporters perceive possibilities that non-supporters

overlook, while non-supporters perceive constraints that supporters need to understand. Educators and community leaders usually agree on the objectives of Indian education, but differ in their advocacy of means for achieving the goals. Stakeholders' concerns influence policymakers' priorities and vice versa. Weaving input from members belonging to each of the relevant groups allows the researcher to compose an inclusive framework that is likely to be acceptable to most, if not all.

Given the diverse needs and interests that exist in mixed districts, achieving agreements concerning an education-program framework is not an easy task. While it has not been possible to bring all parties together to develop a language-education plan, the researcher plays the role of a facilitator in the process of searching for common ground and compromises among influential leaders and actors. As an outsider, the researcher detects common ground to which some participants are blinded by their antagonistic attitudes toward one another. As a go-between, the researcher is in a position to test the limits of all parties involved and figure out what it takes to move each party to points of agreement. As an investigator, the researcher occupies a vantage point from which to explore alternatives that accommodate the diverse perspectives of key actors. For example, White educators and parents suggest framing Indian education, including language education, as a part of multicultural education or comparative studies so that it is relevant to all. Indian leaders express hesitancy toward such an approach because some believe that Indian studies would be buried underneath the study of multiple cultures. With understanding of the concerns of both sides in mind, the researcher proposes an approach that focuses on studying local Indians and, at the same

time, includes assignments that allow students to compare what they learn about Indian heritage with their own and their neighbors' non-Indian heritages. In follow-up interviews, both Indian and White educators and leaders found such place-based multicultural education, using a comparative approach, an acceptable suggestion. This is an example of how researcher advocacy, based on grassroots input, contributes to the construction of a framework of agreements.

The interviewing process, shaped by the constant comparison method, is not only a research method for collecting grassroots input, but a tool to inform, to educate, to explore, to influence, to persuade, to gain trust, and to empower. Consulting (in the form of interviews) with participants of diverse perspectives is an act of inclusion that is vital for achieving agreements in mixed districts. Questions that evolve through one-on-one interviews with members of diverse groups serve to clarify and inform participants of the existing range of needs, concerns, and expectations. Interviewing allows participants to express their opinions as well as to learn about others' perspectives through the questions asked. Although I conduct all interviews individually, through the exchange process, participants feel heard and at the same time are required to listen to others' positions. Interviews, functioning as indirect (third-party directed) dialogues among diverse groups of people, facilitate mutual understanding that is required for building trust among all parties involved. Individual interviews that elicit suggestions, and comments on others' suggestions, operate to acknowledge the feelings and beliefs of all, while providing a testing ground for innovative ideas. The quest for suggestions pushes participants to think creatively and to brainstorm for alternatives. Questions seeking acceptance of new

proposals serve to educate and to provoke. Constructive disagreements allow for refinement of the persuasion needed to bring about agreements. Indirectly, therefore, the research process functions as a form of collaborative negotiation among diverse groups. This process is as useful as the research product. While the product (the program frameworks) serves as the blueprint for collaboration, the process of building the framework based on grassroots input (interviews shaped by constant comparison) initiates an equally valuable process of collaboration and, potentially, of shared-consciousness building.

The abstract framework is relevant to mixed districts in general. The research process used in this study on the Flathead Indian Reservation can be adopted or adapted to seek district-specific answers to feasibility questions required for applying the framework in other districts. One should be aware, however, that action research kicks off a process that not only yields workable guidelines, but stir up commotion. As one research participant points out, the interview process operates to move the Indian-language education issue from the back of a participant's mind to the center of attention. According to another research participant, since the onset of this study, discussion about Salish-language education is being heard around the Flathead Indian Reservation more frequently than before.

Is There Hope?

Is there hope that the remaining indigenous languages will survive? There certainly is hope. As indicated in the resulting frameworks, a number of concrete steps can be taken to break the logjam and energize district-based and reservation-wide language-revitalization efforts. However, the list of required action steps is long and

many of them require giant steps. In order to implement the proposed steps, a series

of implementation questions arising from the study need to be answered (see Table 6).

For instance, who should lead? Who should coordinate? There needs to be a group of

people who concentrate on overseeing all dimensions of language revitalization. If such

a group exists, nearly all of the remaining implementation questions can be addressed.

Thus, as in the case of Salish-language education, first and foremost a language

commission, a language-leadership group, or the like, needs to be established. If there

are five to ten committed people who work full time on leading and coordinating

language education efforts, most of the research participants' suggestions can be carried

out. For example, the language commission can be the entity that anchors the following

tasks suggested by participants:

-Set annual reachable goals;
-Map out a reservation-wide program and a common curriculum;
-Establish standards and benchmarks for language programs;
-Come up with a plan for K-12 public-school programs;
-Develop curriculum and materials for public-school programs;
-Support Salish-language teachers in various public-school districts;
-Find ways to make sure the language is integrated in all tribal offices;
-Reach out to and recruit potential learners;
-Facilitate collaboration among language teachers in developing curriculum and
materials;
-Facilitate coordination among the immersion school, the public school system, the tribal
school, and the tribal college;
-Support remaining speakers in teaching the language;
-Provide training to potential teachers, including semi-fluent speakers;
-Support mainstream teachers in developing materials for reinforcement in regular
classrooms;
-Coordinate intra- and inter-school extra-curricula activities;
-Market the language throughout the reservation and beyond;
-Promote use of the language at sports events, community PowWows, community
dances, community dinners, and community gatherings, etc.
-Create and maintain domains for language use;
-Hold the Tribal Council accountable for carrying out the language policy; and

-Secure funding from the Tribal Council and other sources to expand language education.

This list is by no means exhaustive. As captured in the program frameworks derived from this study, language education does not happen in isolated classrooms but needs to be infused throughout the school, the community, and the reservation. The life of individual language programs depends upon the health of the language, the bonding of multiple entities, and the strength of support—both reservation-wide and beyond. The expertise required for attending to all dimensions of language education encompasses administration, marketing, networking, human-resource development, management, instruction, curriculum and materials development, program design, organization change, and research (See Silverthorne, 1997). As the leadership group, the language commission must possess the required expertise and/or the abilities to harness the needed expertise locally as well as externally (if necessary).

In the case of Salish-language revitalization, a major stumbling block is forming the leadership group. Participants explain that finding the right people to lead has been difficult throughout recent history. Currently, the impetus for collaborating on language education and revitalization is missing. A tribal-education leader called for an intentional agreement among speakers and cultural leaders that a language commission or the like is valuable and should be established.

Table 6

Remaining Implementation Questions

Flathead Indian Reservation
• What kind of training and planning would it take for reinforcement to occur in the mainstream classroom? • Who should be responsible for setting up Salish radio station, producing Salish TV programs, putting up Salish signs in the community, etc.? • Who should be responsible for recruiting? What support system is needed for the recruited learners? • Who should take the initiative in nailing down agreements? Who should facilitate implementation of the agreements? • How to convince the Tribal Government to invest more in language revitalization efforts? Who should take on the responsibility of presenting needs? • What are the steps for facilitating a final agreement on who should be doing what? Who should be responsible for outlining the shared responsibilities and gain commitment from individual entities for each task? • Who should define the role of each entity? How? What kind of coordination system will allow for fair contribution from all and for tapping into existing expertise? • Who should take the initiative to reach out and coordinate with others? • How to coordinate existing Salish-language programs so that they build upon each other? • How to strengthen the partnership between public schools and tribal entities? What are the steps for clarifying responsibilities? • How to bring about coordination among committed individuals so that they can build upon one another's efforts?

District A (district with about half Indians)
• How will grassroots local efforts fit in with reservation-wide language revitalization efforts? • Who should initiate open, honest communication between the schools and the Indian community? • How to facilitate coordination between Salish teachers and mainstream teachers and between Salish teachers and NAS teachers? • Who in the Tribes or the local Indian community should set standards for Salish language learning? • Who should set the goals? How to hold teachers accountable in terms of reaching standards? • Where should promotion of the language begin? • What are Indian parents expected do in the process? How can Indian parents make a difference in terms of policy making? • How will the suggested integration and coordination work? What is the role of a language commission in facilitating such efforts? • Who should set the benchmarks and standards for Salish language education? What would be appropriate expectations for a public-school language program? • What persons are in a position to initiate activities that will bring about an affirmative atmosphere? • Who should take on the task of promoting the language in the school? How should local efforts be tied to reservation efforts in affirming the values of the language and language learning? • Who should be responsible for initiating and coordinating activities and programs offered by different entities? What is the role of a language commission in this regard? • Who should be responsible for marketing and recruiting? • How would marketing at the local level fit in with reservation-wide efforts? • Who is in a position to organize grassroots movements? Who should take on the responsibility?

Table 6 (continued)

District B (district with more Indians)
• Who should have authority over the speakers? How to convince the speakers to modify instructional strategies?
• Who should be responsible for recruiting and training?
• Who in the Tribes should train teachers? Who in the Tribes should be responsible for preparing materials for mainstream teachers?
• How to secure agreement from the Indian community and the tribal government to focus their investment in early-childhood Salish-language education? Who should shoulder the responsibilities of initiating and implementing the plan?
• What are the sources of support for designing and implementing the suggested entertaining, engaging, communicative Salish-language activities?
• What kind of support do Salish teachers need to meet the demand of coordinating with mainstream teachers? Who can be the coordinator?
• What can be done to ensure that mainstream teachers, Salish teachers, administrators, staff, school members are all on the same page in promoting Salish education? What is the role of IEC in this regard? How can a language commission on the reservation collaborate with a local IEC to accomplish the suggested tasks?
• Whose responsibility is it to create and maintain each of the suggested learning and use domains? How to ensure each of the suggested domains complement and build on one another?
• Who in the Tribes should take the next step of actually reaching out to teachers systematically?

District C (district with fewer Indians)
• How to tap into the change and speed up change? How to bring about change positively?
• What do community members look for in terms of educational benefits? Who can play the role of an effective communicator in this regard? Who would the community trust?
• What kind of Indian-language training is needed for teachers who are working in reservation schools? Who should be responsible for training teachers and producing materials for training teachers? Who should be responsible for producing language materials for teachers to use in the classroom?
• What kind of multicultural education is needed at the teacher-education level?
• Who in the Tribes should be responsible for writing grants and organizing training to help teachers integrate Indian language(s) in selected subject areas? Is there someone who is committed to the task on a long-term basis?
• Who is in a position to facilitate grassroots efforts?
• If the community honestly welcomes tribal financial support, will the Tribes (i.e., the Tribal Council or the Tribal college) be willing to invest in barrier-breaking in a White district that does not receive enough Title VII, Impact Aid, and JOM funds to afford an Indian-studies teacher?
• Who in the Tribes should be responsible for providing external support for the local district?
• Who should take on the responsibility of reaching out to the White community? Who would be an appropriate liaison between the Whites and the Indian-education advocates?

While speakers are expected to be responsible for language education, they do not necessarily possess the required expertise nor the energy to attend to all dimensions of language revitalization. The strength of the remaining elderly speakers needs to be savored and saved for supporting advanced learners to develop fluency. The rest of the issues can be dealt with by non-speakers, non-Indians, and perhaps non-locals. Entrusting language revitalization efforts to a language commission calls for a re-definition of "outsiders." Instead of relying solely on the few speakers to save the language, the burden needs to be shared by devoted individuals with a wide range of expertise—even though some of them culturally might be considered outsiders. What would help this group enhance language education? What elements do they need to consider? What steps should they take? What questions do they need to ask? What are the possibilities? What should they avoid? What should be their priorities? This study compiled a multitude of suggestions to consider. Hope lies in the fact that the remaining languages have not yet died. Steps can be taken that will bring them back to health. For the suggested steps to be realized, it takes leadership and will.

Is There Will?

Is there will to revitalize indigenous languages? This is an important, but difficult question to answer. In the case of Salish language, some say "yes" and some say "not enough." The next question is: what is enough? The program frameworks derived from this research study call for individual commitments, an affirmative atmosphere within districts, and reservation-wide collaboration. The impact of public-school language programs will be minimal if there is a lack of will to revitalize the language among

individuals and the desire is not shared reservation-wide. For public-school programs to be a helpful part of the overall revitalization efforts, mobilization needs to occur at all levels. For language revitalization to happen, every believer, every school on the reservation, and every tribal entity needs to contribute to the process. Therefore, marketing is vital. In the case of Salish-language education, marketing is urgently needed.

Indian people need to include Salish language as part of their daily lives. White residents on the reservation need to accept it as part of the local surroundings. School children need to perceive it as something "cool." How can this level of popularity be accomplished? There are lessons to be learned from how products such as Coca Cola, Kodak, and Nike become popular (Nicholson, 1997). Perhaps, what would change attitudes is constant bombardment of messages conveyed through billboards, advertisements, TV and radio commercials, posters, and the voices of popular idols. For example, speaking Salish will likely become "cool" if a respected figure, such as a nationally-acclaimed artist or an internationally-known athlete, uses a few Salish expressions and urges fans to learn the language on a TV commercial that runs once every two hours during peak show times. While this specific approach is not likely to be feasible, this kind of aggressive marketing is needed to mobilize public support and, hence, to turn the fate of indigenous languages around. If a language is perceived positively by most and is accepted as a natural part of local life, resistance will be reduced and the desire to learn will rise. When demands for language education exist, language programs will become a priority. Major obstacles, such as lack of funding, lack

of motivation, lack of domains, and lack of time, spring from the fact that Indian-language learning is not a priority. If it becomes the priority of parents and students, these obstacles will subside in the face of community demands. To build up such demands, marketing is a required first step. If there is interest, there will be will. If there is will, there is hope that the languages will live.

Proposed New Direction

Marketing determines and, in turn, is determined by, the desired image of the language and language education. What would appeal to potential learners and supporters in the new millennium? A language of the old, a language of the past, and language education that is irrelevant and useless for most would not be popular. For instance, the research participants in this study who perceived Salish in these ways tend to be unsupportive of language programs in schools. In contrast, a language of the young, a language of the place, and language education that prepares students for global living would appeal to most of the participants. Salish-language-education advocates desire to recruit young language teachers whom they believe will change the perception of the language and energize language learning. The language-education-program frameworks based on grassroots input presented here call for a language-teaching approach along with a language curriculum that connects Salish-language learning to children's lives. The implication is that Indian languages need to take on a new image and Indian-language education needs to head in a new direction in order to reverse the trend. In school districts with a mix of Indian and White student populations, framing

language learning as part of place-based multicultural education using a comparative approach will steer Indian-language education in a promising direction.

Multicultural Education

In the selected mixed districts, Indian leaders would like all students to learn about the local Indian heritage, while White parents perceived preserving Indian heritage as irrelevant to non-Indian students. If Indian education (including language learning) is to be relevant and beneficial to all, the overarching goal of a language program should aim to help all learners develop multicultural competence that is applicable in the mixed community, the diverse U.S. society, and the globalized world. Indian-language education can be framed as a form of multicultural education that aims to achieve such a goal. For instance, as participants point out, Salish-language education promotes interest in cultures other than the mainstream. Teaching a language other than English introduces students to a perspective outside of the one in which they grew up. Learning a minority language allows learners to develop cross-cultural sensitivity and become aware of diversity existing in the world. Being exposed to a local Indian language helps students appreciate the fact that "my" way is not the only way. Such understanding prepares learners to accept differences among cultural groups and to live peacefully and work collaboratively with people of diverse backgrounds locally and beyond. The benefits of such multicultural education are relevant not only to Whites who live on the reservation, but to Indian students as well. While White students are surrounded by non-Whites, Indians constantly move between their Indian community and the mainstream society. Moreover, the line between Whites and Indians is blurred by globalization. We all live in

the midst of transnational exchanges and interflows. Today's students need to learn to handle the fluidity of identities and associations (de Courtivron, 2000). Educators of the Twenty-first Century need to prepare all students to participate effectively and meaningfully in diverse local and global environments. In the context of mixed schools on rural reservations, Indian-language education as a form of multicultural education is the place to start.

A Comparative Approach

Through learning an Indian language, students gain an understanding of the culture, the worldview, and the communication style embedded in the language. If Indians learners are guided to compare their Indian perspective and their unique style with those of the mainstream, they will be able not only to distinguish their Indianness, but to develop cross-cultural understanding that allows them to move comfortably between the mainstream society and the Indian community without the need to choose to belong to only one or the other. If White learners are guided to compare the local Indian heritage with that of their own, they will gain an understanding not only of the place, but of their own selves as shaped by the mainstream White culture. Furthermore, comparison can reach beyond Indian and White to include finer distinctive heritages (e.g., Irish and Scottish heritages within the mainstream culture and Salish and Pend d'Oreille within the local Indian culture). Inclusive multicultural education for educating global citizens needs to supersede the division between Whites and Indians, "we" and "they" (Banks 1991, 1997). Students can think globally while learning about local Indians if the Indian-

education program (including language learning) can be garnished with a comparative dimension.

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

Place-based Education

How can the local teach us about the global? What is the link between education about the place and education about the world? What is the relationship between local

Indians and global citizens? How can we avoid letting Indian education be buried by comparative studies? A place-based approach to multicultural education provides the key.

Learning occurs through experience (Dewey 1938), and experiences are contextualized in a local place. Face-to-face local interactions that involve all senses are powerful place-based learning vehicles for facilitating skill development (Hannerz, 1996). The local is the place where multicultural competencies required for global living are nurtured, tested, and applied. Immersion in a local environment that allows for daily interactions with persons of diverse backgrounds is a form of multicultural education for enhancing competencies applicable in cross-cultural contexts. Thus, Indian education can be framed as a form of place-based multicultural education designed to help learners develop transferable cross-cultural competencies through experiencing a local Indian culture. For instance, learning about local Indian history helps students discern effective cross-cultural transaction strategies based on past successful and unsuccessful experiences as well as the collaborative ability to articulate new and shared cross-cultural syntheses. Analyzing contemporary issues from the local Indian perspective is a learning process that contributes to the development of flexible ability to employ an extensive and complex range of multicultural accommodative strategies and interaction paths and the ability to overcome conflicts and accomplish goals when dealing with multicultural challenges. Participating in local Indian cultural events and traditional practices allows learners to develop confidence in self and others' cultures, the ability to manage multiple identities, the ability to relate to and maintain positive interpersonal relationships with people of diverse backgrounds. Learning

an Indian language from local speakers facilitates development of the ability to listen to and discern different cultural messages, the ability to engage in meaningful dialogue with non-native English speakers, and the ability to resolve communication misunderstandings across different communication styles (see Koehn & Rosenau, 2002).

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

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

Limitations and Further Research

The resulting Salish-language-education program framework and the general Indian-language public-school program framework for rural districts on Indian reservations with a mix of Indian and White student populations is derived from inputs shared by Indians and Whites, educators and parents, policymakers and stakeholders, and supporters and non-supporters. One limitation of such frameworks is that they may not

present an ideal picture from any one perspective. For instance, some supporters

wish for total language immersion in the public-school classrooms and some non-

supporters would rather keep Indian education outside of the public-school system.

Nevertheless, the study searches for objectives, approaches, arrangements, and action

steps that are acceptable to most (if not all) when the ideal is not feasible given prevailing

financial, social, cultural, historical, and educational conditions. Creating common

ground requires creativity and collaboration and, sometimes, compromising and

willingness to accommodate others' needs. The implication is that one does not always

win everything one hopes for. A framework of agreements can lead to positive steps

even though the targeted change may not meet the ideal for some. Some progress is

better than no progress. Actions leading to improvement are better than inaction because

of disagreements. As Fishman (1991) points out, "smaller victories earlier on will do much

more for the eventual larger scale and longer-term success of pro-RLS (reversing language

shift) efforts than will lack of success vis-à-vis more grandiose but impossible goals" (p.

13).

Another limitation of the study is that the suggested action steps included in the

resulting frameworks do not always remove, but only minimize, the impact of existing

obstacles. Moreover, not all obstacles have been addressed fully. Some questions remain

unanswered. Further questions spring from every suggestion. The resulting frameworks

are not complete blueprints that include a solution for every existing problem. The

suggested action plans require refinement based on insights gained from testing the

frameworks at the selected sites and beyond. Issues (e.g., ways to link English-literacy

development with Indian-language instruction, types of language materials needed for teaching and reinforcement, and teacher-training approaches for effective language teaching and place-based multicultural education) that have not been fully addressed require further attention by stakeholders. Unanswered implementation questions (e.g., What is an appropriate procedure for forming a language commission? What are acceptable ways to distribute funding within a district and the tribal government? What are effective grassroots mobilization tactics?) need to be answered by committed actors in specific districts.

Furthermore, Indian-language education in public schools is only a piece of overall language revitalization. Even if progress occurs in the public-school setting, revitalization still may not happen. Participants of this study agree that public-school programs play a supplementary role. While the impact of other language-education efforts (e.g., those of private immersion schools, tribal-school language programs, tribal-college language courses, and cultural committees) depends on the assistance of public-school programs, the success of public-school programs, in turn, depends on the vigor of efforts outside the public-school system. Therefore, in order to be complete, the action frameworks derived from this study need to be linked to parallel frameworks directing non-public-school programs. Further research is required in this regard.

In conclusion, the frameworks that emerged from this study present guidelines for action derived from grassroots input. When there is hope, when there is will, and when there is a new way, what is needed is action.

Appendix

Participant Information and Consent Form

Title: *Revitalizing American Indian Languages: Grassroots Bilingual-Education Innovations for Rural School Districts with a Mix of Indian and White Student Populations*

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Instruction: This consent form may contain words that are new to you. If you read any words that are not clear to you, please ask the interviewer to explain them to you.

Purpose: The purpose of this interview and the follow-up interview(s) is to learn about diverse local perspectives on educational efforts in revitalizing the Salish language. You have been chosen to be interviewed because your current and/or past experiences and contributions in the field of education are likely to allow you to offer valuable insights and suggestions.

Interview Procedures: If you agree to take part in this interview, you will be asked a series of questions regarding the possibilities of teaching both English and the Salish language in public schools. You will be asked to come up with innovative ideas for dealing with potential obstacles. I will contact you again within the next 12 months for at least one follow-up interview. Follow-up interviews will be conducted in person, by phone, or via e-mail to obtain further suggestions from you and/or verify interpretations of the information/ideas you have shared with the interviewer. Interviews can take place in an environment that is comfortable to you. Each interview will last for about an hour. Interviews may be audiotaped.

Benefits: Although the outcome of this study may not benefit you directly, your input may help local educators and policy makers explore potentially feasible solutions to the diminishing use of the Salish language and identify community benefits of bilingual education.

Confidentiality: The record of your input will be kept private and will not be released without your consent. Your signed consent form will be stored in a locked cabinet separate from the record. Only the researcher and her faculty supervisor will have access to the record. The record of your input will be stored in a locked file cabinet. Your identity will be kept confidential. Each interviewee will be assigned a code number and will be referred to by his/her assigned code number in all written records and reports. The codes/names will be stored in a locked cabinet separate from the data. If your input is integrated into a publication or a presentation for an academic conference, your name will not be used. The audiotape will be transcribed without any information that could identify you. The tape will then be erased. Presentation and publication drafts will be submitted to the Salish Cultural Committee for review and comments. A copy of the final dissertation and all related publications will be sent to the Cultural Committee and the Tribal Education Department.

Liability Statement: Although the interviewer does not foresee any risk in taking part in this interview and the follow-up interview(s), the following liability statement is required in all University of Montana consent forms.

> In the event that you are injured as a result of this research you should individually seek appropriate medical treatment. If the injury is caused by the negligence of the University or any of its employees, you may be entitled to reimbursement or compensation pursuant to the Comprehensive State Insurance Plan established by the Department of Administration under the authority of M.C.A., Title2, Chapter9. In the event of a claim for such injury, further information may be obtained from the

University's Claims representative or University Legal Counsel. (Reviewed by University Legal Counsel, July 6, 1993)

Voluntary Participation/Withdrawal: Your decision to take part in this interview and any follow-up interview(s) is entirely voluntary. You may decline to answer any question(s). You may refuse to take part in, or you may withdraw from, any of the interviews at any time without penalty.

Questions: You may wish to discuss this with others before you agree to take part in the interviews. If you have any questions about the study now or any other time, contact Phyllis Ngai at (406) 721-4691. If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research participant, you may contact Jon Rudbach, the Chair of the IRB, through the Research Office at the University of Montana-Missoula at 243-6670.

Participant's Statement of Consent:

I have read the above description of this study. I have been informed that my input will be kept confidential. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. Furthermore, I have been assured that any future questions I may have will also be answered by the researcher. I voluntarily agree to take part in this interview and any necessary follow-up interview(s). I understand I will receive a copy of this consent form.

_____
Printed Name of Participant

_____
Participant's Signature

_____
Date

I agree to be audiotaped.

_____   _____
Participant's Signature   Date

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