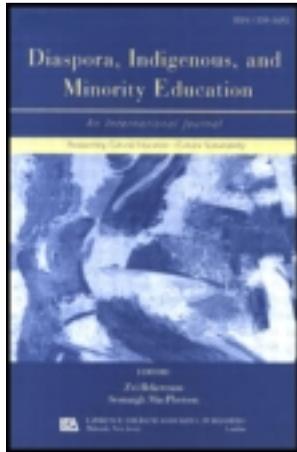


This article was downloaded by: [Ofelia García]

On: 05 February 2012, At: 21:06

Publisher: Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/hdim20>

Insufficient Language Education Policy: Intercultural Bilingual Education in Chiapas

Ofelia García^a & Patricia Velasco^b

^a Graduate Center, City University of New York, USA

^b Queens College, City University of New York, USA

Available online: 09 Jan 2012

To cite this article: Ofelia García & Patricia Velasco (2012): Insufficient Language Education Policy: Intercultural Bilingual Education in Chiapas, *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education*, 6:1, 1-18

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15595692.2011.633129>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Full terms and conditions of use: <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The accuracy of any instructions, formulae, and drug doses should be independently verified with primary sources. The publisher shall not be liable for any loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand, or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

RESEARCH

Insufficient Language Education Policy: Intercultural Bilingual Education in Chiapas

Ofelia García

*Graduate Center,
City University of New York, USA*

Patricia Velasco

*Queens College
City University of New York, USA*

Based on ethnographic fieldwork research of the authors in schools in Chiapas, Mexico, the article provides an overview of efforts being made to address the unique educational needs of Mexico's Indigenous populations through intercultural bilingual education programs. The article examines the Indigenous teachers' commitment to intercultural bilingual education, as opposed to their incomplete understandings of bilingual teaching practices and biliteracy practices. In so doing, the article questions the efficacy of top-down language education policies when they are State reactions to bottom-up efforts of revolutionary movements, such as the Zapatistas. Given the historical and socioeconomic oppression of the Indigenous populations in Chiapas, intercultural bilingual education acts only as a palliative, leaving the Indigenous peoples without the structural incorporation into the economic and political life of Mexico for which they struggled.

Bilingual education has been hailed as a way to meaningfully educate those who have been excluded from educational systems that function only in the dominant language of the state (for a review of such efforts, see Baker, 2006; see also, García, 2009a). This article is about one such educational effort conducted in the southernmost state of Mexico—Chiapas. It describes the hard work of Indigenous Mayan educators in intercultural bilingual education programs in Chiapas.

Correspondence should be sent to Ofelia García, Graduate Center, Urban Education and Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Literatures and Languages, City University of New York, 365 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10016, USA. E-mail: ogarcia@gc.cuny.edu

However, the article questions the validity of enacting bilingual education policies on behalf of language minorities by centralized and corporate States without the sociopolitical conditions to support and promote local control of educational practices (for a similar position on the need for bottom-up appropriation, see Hornberger, 1996, 2008; King, 2001). We emphasize here how the lack of *social* and *cultural capital* (Bourdieu, 1991) among the Indigenous communities in Chiapas functions *within intercultural bilingual education programs* to reproduce Mexican social and economic conditions. Although granting language rights to Indigenous communities is important (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1994), even progressive language education policies for disenfranchised populations cannot make up for years of neglect and for the lack of political participation and empowerment of Indigenous people. As we show, this is manifested in the difference between the positive beliefs that Indigenous teachers hold about intercultural bilingual education and the reality of their language and literacy teaching practices. We start here by presenting the socio-historical context for our ethnographic study, briefly describing the language education policy in Mexico before focusing on Chiapas.

THE CONTEXT

Mexico

In 2008, Mexico's Indigenous population was about 12 million, and constituted about 11% to 13% of the population in the country (Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas [i.e., National Commission for the Development of the Indigenous Peoples; CDI], 2008). The CDI has identified 68 Indigenous language groups in Mexico, grouped into 11 language families and with 364 dialectal varieties that may be mutually unintelligible. Náhuatl is the Indigenous Mexican language that has most speakers (~ 1.4 million). It is followed by Yucateco Maya (~ 750,000 speakers), Mixteco (~ 425,000 speakers), Zapoteco (~ 400,000), and then in fifth and sixth place, respectively, Tzeltal (~ 370,000) and Tzotzil (~ 330,000)—the main Mayan languages of Chiapas. The introduction of these languages into education has been the result of language policy recently developed by the Mexican state.

Article 2 of the most recent Mexican constitution (Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos [Political Constitution of the United States of Mexico], 1995–2009) reaffirmed the pluricultural nature of the Mexican state that was first identified in the fourth Article of the 1992 national constitution (Federal Government Documents, 1992; Proposed 4th and 27th Articles). In March 2003, the *Ley General de Derechos Lingüísticos de los Pueblos Indígenas* [General Law of Linguistic Rights of Indigenous Peoples] declared Spanish and 63 Indigenous languages as National languages (Álvarez-Sotelo, 2002) because of their “historical origin,” and affirmed them to have the same value in the territory in which they are spoken. Article 11 of said legislation declared that all Indigenous children must have access to compulsory intercultural bilingual education during the initial years of schooling. The selection of the term *intercultural* over *multicultural* or *bicultural* in connection to bilingual education programs in all of Latin America points to the intent of acknowledging the “otherness” and separateness of others' cultures while at the same time fostering cross-cultural understandings among Indigenous peoples, and also among Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples (Esteva, 2002; Muñoz-Cruz, 2001, 2002; Podesta Siri, 2004; Schmelkes, 2004).

The adoption of intercultural bilingual education signals a clear shift away from prior Mexican language education policy that insisted on schooling only in Spanish as a way of integrating Indigenous peoples into the national mainstream (Aguilar Nery, 2004; García Segura, 2004; Hamel et al., 2004; Heath, 1972; Mena, Muñoz, & Ruiz, 1999; Stavenhagen, 1979). Instead, intercultural bilingual education is a response to the very low attainment of Indigenous students in Mexico (Coronado-Malagón & Mena-Ledesma, 2010; García Segura, 2004; Hamel, 2008; Instituto Estatal de Educación Pública de Oaxaca [State Institute of Public Education of Oaxaca], 1998, Patthey-Chavez, 1994). Indigenous Mexican students are twice as likely to fail a grade in school, and only 12.6% have completed secondary education (8th grade), compared to 21.7% of the general population. Although the illiteracy rate of the general Mexican population is 8.5%, the illiteracy rate of Indigenous Mexicans is 31.5% (Hall & Patrinos, 2005).

Chiapas

In the southernmost state of Chiapas, where 60% of all speakers of Mayan languages reside, intercultural bilingual education programs have been developed and implemented. Almost 40% of the population in Chiapas speaks one of 12 Indigenous languages (and mostly Mayan languages; Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática [National Institute of Statistics, Geography and Information Technology], 2005). The most common Mayan languages spoken in Chiapas are Tseltal and Tzotzil (Dirección General de Educación Indígena [General Directive of Indigenous Education; DGEI], 2008; Schmal, 2004), which are both mutually intelligible. Other Western Mayan languages spoken in Chiapas, in order of importance, are Ch'ol, Zoque, Tojolabal, Q'anjob'al, and Mam (DGEI, 2008). What makes the Chiapas Indigenous population significant is that only 63% of them are bilingual (Schmal, 2004). The fact that almost 40% of the population is monolingual in Indigenous languages means that the majority of children in Chiapas are monolingual when they arrive in schools. Education was solely in Spanish until the 1990s, when Indigenous children often dropped out by the end of the first grade (Bertely Busquet, 2007, 2009).

On January 1, 1994, the Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional [Zapatista Army of National Liberation] (EZLN) led a revolt against the Mexican government, occupying four towns, including San Cristóbal de las Casas. The revolt coincided with the day that the North American Free Trade Agreement was to take effect. The Zapatistas rose up against neoliberal policies that ignored the social needs of the Indigenous population and demanded recognition of the autonomy of the country's Indigenous peoples under the slogan, "Never again a Mexico without us" (Bertely Busquet, 2007). The demands included the right for all to "jobs, land, housing, food, health, education, independence, liberty, democracy, and justice and peace" (Russell, 1995, p. 36). With regards to Indigenous education, the EZLN had five explicit demands:

1. An end to illiteracy.
2. Better free schools, including universities.
3. The officialization of Indigenous languages and the teaching of these languages in all schools.
4. The university preparation of Indigenous teachers who would serve their communities.
5. Provision of free uniforms, shoes, food, and all other school materials to Indigenous students (Maldonado Álvarez, 2002).

However, as Maldonado Alvarado has shown, the Zapatistas never specified what would be the adequate content and practices of an Indigenous education.

On February 16, 1996, the San Andrés Accords were signed between the Zapatista movement and the government of Mexico. Representatives of all Indigenous communities broadly discussed the Accords, and they were translated into 10 languages. The agreements approved Indigenous autonomy over local governments, as well as over natural resources. Besides an inclusive agrarian policy, the linguistic, cultural, and ethnic pluralism of Mexico and Chiapas were recognized. Although the government subsequently ignored the Accords, the dialogue that it promoted raised the level of social consciousness in both Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities.¹ In 2001, the general coordination of Bilingual and Intercultural Education [Coordinación General de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe] (CGEIB) and the DGEI were finally established.

A transitional bilingual education policy was developed by the CGEIB to be used in all Indigenous schools. A 1999 document lays down the language education policy (DGEI, 1999). During the first cycle of primary education (1st and 2nd grade), the *lengua originaria* (original language) would be used 80% of the time. The second cycle of primary education (3rd and 4th grade) would use the *lengua originaria* 50% of the time, and Spanish the other half. Finally, in the third advanced cycle (5th and 6th grade), 80% of the time would be devoted to Spanish with the Indigenous language used only 20% of the time (S. Schmelkes, personal communication, April 25, 2010). This was the context in which our study was conducted, and the subject of the next section.

THE STUDY: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Our ethnographic, multiple-site case study of intercultural bilingual education in Chiapas was guided by three empirical questions following Spolsky's (2004) framework:

- What are the beliefs about intercultural bilingual education among Indigenous educators in Chiapas?
- What are the literacy practices in schools and what do these say about language and society in Chiapas?
- How are the beliefs, practices and top-down policy management negotiated in Chiapas?

Our study uses an *ecology of language policy* paradigm (Haugen, 1972; Mühlhäusler, 2000), positing that there is an interaction between language education policy and the psychological, sociological, political, and economic context of speakers and educators. The ecology model has often been criticized for a disinterest in the language rights of marginalized communities (e.g., see Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996). In this study, however, we start with an explicit commitment to the rights of Indigenous peoples to their language and cultural practices in schools. However, we study these rights, demands, and desires within an ecological framework that takes

¹Although the government did not comply with the San Andrés Accords, some of the Zapatista autonomous authorities have been brought together in Zapatista-organized areas known as Caracoles. Our study was not conducted in these areas.

other factors into consideration. We look here at the fluxes that feed language education policies and practices in Chiapas in schools, as they adapt in response to the interaction between the internal affective and cognitive ecosystems of Indigenous educators and students and external social and political ecosystems (de Bot, Lowie, & Verspoor, 2007). For this study, we consider the context, the here and now of sociological, political, and psychological import, as an intrinsic part of language education policies, not as a background against which action takes place.

We document here how the classroom is a complex, dynamic system in which agents (educators, students, communities, government agents), elements (curriculum and resources), and contexts (the sociopolitical life of Chiapas) are interrelating. As we show, language education policies provide a structure or text that then engages educators and students in behaviors situated in their own local contexts of the classroom (García & Menken, 2010; Menken & García, 2010).

To carry out this study, we visited schools in four different Indigenous communities during the Fall of 2008. Each of the two researchers observed instruction in one classroom during an entire day, in a total of 14 classrooms. We also jointly interviewed 16 Indigenous educators, and spoke with children, teachers, and families in the communities. The findings that we report are based on our observations and interviews. To do this, we combined ethnographic observations in classrooms with active modeling of teaching strategies when appropriate, assuming roles as participant-observers. We call our research design *participatory collaborative research*. It differs from *participatory action research* in that the teachers and communities were not participants in the research. Rather, the teachers and researchers formed a collaborative team in which the teachers helped the researchers make sense of the communities, the students, and their teaching practices while the researchers helped them re-imagine their teaching practices.

Our participatory collaborative research also included additional professional development sessions in which the researchers exchanged experiences and understandings as bilingual educators with Indigenous teacher educators. Those sessions took place in the Casa de la Ciencia [The House of Sciences] (now known as Innovación Educativa [Educational Innovation]). One of us, Velasco, was the founder of Casa de la Ciencia in 1994, and was involved in its development for over one decade. Casa de la Ciencia is an institution that provides literacy and science professional development to Indigenous teachers (Saldívar Moreno, Micalco, Méndez, Santos Baca, & Avila Naranjo, 2004). Casa de la Ciencia also made the initial contacts for the visits to the schools in the four communities chosen because they had well-developed intercultural bilingual education programs. Bilingual staff of Indigenous backgrounds from the Casa de la Ciencia often accompanied us to the schools because neither of us is a speaker of a Mayan language.

Portrait: Indigenous Communities and Schools in Chiapas

We visited schools for Indigenous children in three rural Indigenous communities and one school in the town, San Cristóbal de las Casas. All the schools had implemented intercultural bilingual education programs, and children and educators were all Indigenous.

The three rural communities were made up of families, 18 to 27 in number, which had moved to the land in order to farm. The roads to reach these communities from San Cristóbal de las Casas, the nearest town, were mostly unpaved. By car, it was possible to reach these communities in approximately 2½ hr. Two of the communities were Tseltal-speaking, and one was Tzotzil-speaking.

The families in each of the communities were often related to each other, and lived in close proximity. They were also very large, often consisting of more than five school-aged children. The families tilled the land, growing mainly corn, but also black beans; and they had a few animals. They lived in wooden houses they had built; sometimes they had two houses—one for cooking with a dirt floor and another in which to eat and sleep. In all cases, the houses had electricity, but no running water. The families gathered rainwater to drink, bathe, and water the fields. Inside the houses, one would typically find a table to eat, hammocks to sleep, and an altar to the Virgen de Guadalupe, with plants and liquor as offerings. Alongside the altar, a television or stereo equipment was often found.

Our visits took place in October. The girls were dressed in traditional garb—different in each community. Most of the children wore sweaters. However, many of the boys were barefoot, and most children who did have shoes wore sandals without socks. The books in their sacks were wet with the humidity of their environment, but well kept.

The schools had been built precisely to serve these families, so they were not institutions separate from the communities. From the school windows, one could see the families cultivating their land and tending to their goats, cows, and hens. The schools were in the center of the community, occupying an important place, often alongside the church. The fact that the schools were open and that the children played outside in the basketball courts, so typical of all Mexican schools, made them physical continuations of the community. The school was not only in the community, it was the community.

On a particular day, the supervisor of Indigenous education for the region, a Tseltal speaker, accompanied us on a visit to a school. He had been the President of the municipality, and seemed to be related to most of the people we encountered. As we went up and down the mountain, he stopped not only to speak to many, but also to give rides to entire families in the back of our truck.

Because school is such an integral part of the community, children are often left alone in the school, as teachers visit families. For example, on another day, we were told that a child had written a story that received first place in a national competition of Indigenous children narratives. The award would be a trip to Mexico City for both the teacher and the child. The teacher, who had never gone to Mexico City, wanted very much to go. He asked us to accompany him to the child's home to convince the father to sign the paperwork. We left the children in the playground for the entire time of our visit to the child's house—approximately one and a half hours. However, because the school is such an integral part of the community, the children were not left alone in an institution, they were left within the community, as they often are when school is not in session.

The schools that we visited in these rural communities had some similarities and some differences. All were schools that only went up to the sixth grade. All had multilevel classrooms, most often with one teacher for Grades 1 through 3 and one teacher for Grades 4 through 6. One of the teachers in all the schools also served as principal of that school. Although some of the classrooms were built out of wood planks that let rain in, others were made from cement blocks.

The teachers were often from the community itself. Sometimes they now lived in the city, commuting to the school once per week, during which time they would live with the family of some of their students, or even in the school itself. All were speakers of Tseltal or Tzotzil, although often there were teachers who spoke one language in a community that spoke the other. The mismatch between language and community has to do with the way in which teachers are

selected. Teachers with more years of experience have seniority in selecting school sites. Thus, senior teachers often teach in communities closer to towns and cities. The most inexperienced teachers are usually placed in remote communities, regardless of whether the language they speak is spoken in the community they serve.

The children in the three rural communities we visited are fluent speakers of Tzotzil or Tseltal. When they enter first grade, most of the children are monolingual in either of these Indigenous languages. Most do not understand Spanish, with the exception of the few that have televisions. In the upper grades, the passive knowledge of Spanish gradually gives way to active production of Spanish. However, it is clear that Spanish is spoken as an additional language with different degrees of fluency among all the children in the school.

We also visited a boarding school for Indigenous children in San Cristóbal de las Casas. This school was very different from the others in that there was no sense of community. Very poor families left their children in the school so that they could work during the week. Often, the children went home on the weekend. Despite the efforts of the Indigenous teaching staff, this school offers a marked contrast to the others, and suggests the importance of community to educate. Despite a solid concrete school building, more teaching materials, better Spanish proficiency among the children, and the luxury of one grade per class, this school offered the least opportunity for a meaningful education.

Because this school was in a town, it had an older teaching staff than the rural schools visited. The teachers in this school had more experience, but interestingly, they also had the least academic and professional preparation. In the last decade, the training of Indigenous teachers has undergone major reform and today requires that teachers have an undergraduate degree from the Indigenous teacher-training institution (Universidad Nacional Indigenista de Chiapas de Lengua y Cultura [National Indigenous University of Chiapas' Language and Culture]). This reform was necessary because, in the past, Indigenous teachers were able to teach with a third-grade education. Thus, the older teachers in this more urban boarding school, who began teaching before these reforms, do not have the same preparation as those in rural areas.

We have organized our findings gleaned from observations and interviews into two main topics: (a) teachers' beliefs about the role of the Indigenous language in the education of children and (b) the description of actual language and literacy practices that we observed in the schools.

FINDINGS

Beliefs: Commitment but Low Expectations

The 16 teachers we interviewed for this study expressed deep commitment to Indigenous education, and to the use of Indigenous languages in teaching these children. Their attitudes are very positive, and they express great dignity in their profession and certainty in their own efficacy. For these teachers, intercultural bilingual education is a matter of pride, of survival, and of struggle. They often recount how difficult the path has been, and how they started to teach in Indigenous communities:

. . . debajo de los árboles. El pizarrón era una tabla. Iba a una comunidad lejos, por la montaña; No había comunicación, debajo de un árbol, con las palmas, las casitas.

[. . . underneath the trees. The blackboard was a board. I went to a far away community, somewhere in the mountain. There was no communication, underneath a tree, with the palm trees, the little houses.] (J., October 24, 2008)

What they have today is a lot better than what they have had in the past.

These Indigenous teachers often express the very important role of teaching *en lengua* for the future of these children:

La lengua es importante para ayudarlos [los niños], para participar más, para tener más confianza, para expresar lo que quieren decir y lo que no quieren decir. Si no, el niño se aburre, no escucha, hay problemas de disciplina. Si no, que hable el maestro, y el niño, nada. Si sólo le decimos aprende, eso es vacío, no tiene significado.

[(Our) language is important to help them (the children), to participate more, to have more confidence, to express what they want to say and what they don't want to say. Otherwise, the child gets bored, doesn't listen, there are discipline problems. Otherwise, the teacher speaks, and the child, nothing. If we only tell him/her to learn, that is empty; it doesn't have any meaning.] (E., October 21, 2008)

Hacen falta las dos lenguas para poder explicar bien. Les digo, ¿entendieron? y entonces empiezo a hablar en lengua.

[To really explain, you need the two languages. I usually tell them: Did you understand? And then I start speaking Tzotzil.] (O., October 22, 2008)

However, teaching *en lengua* is not only important for the students' education, it is also important for the group's own survival as a race, as a group that are the original inhabitants of the land. One teacher explained:

Es importante para levantar nuestra raza. Todos somos iguales. Lo diferente es el vestir y nuestro idioma. Tenemos la misma sangre. No es cierto lo que nos inculcaron. El indio no existe. Los aborígenes somos los habitantes originales.

[It is important to improve our race. We're all the same. What is different is our clothing and our language. We have the same blood. It is not true what they (the White men) taught us. The Indian does not exist. The Aborigines, we're the original inhabitants.] (C., October 24, 2008)

Yet, beyond their tremendous pride in their language and culture, the Indigenous teachers in these schools tolerate the sociopolitical conditions of the community and the socioeconomic situation of their students. They have few expectations for these children beyond what exists right now. When we question them, they say that the children finish sixth grade and then stay home or go to the United States, mostly to the state of Florida or to Cancún, Cozumel, or Tijuana. This statement, by one of the Tseltal-speaking teachers, was typical of their attitude:

Después de aquí, se quedan o se van. Muchos continúan siendo parte de la comunidad aquí, ayudando a la familia. Otros tienen más suerte y parten para allá.

[After here, they stay or they go. Many continue being part of the community here, helping their families. Others are more fortunate and leave for there (the United States).] (E., October 30, 2008)

Rockwell and Gomes (2009) pointed out how, unlike other Latin American countries, Indigenous rights in Mexico "were effectively subsumed within the strongly centralized and corporate state" (p. 100). This may be the reason why, despite the Indigenous teachers' strong commitments to the improvement of the lives and educations of these children, they often accept

whatever is provided to them, however inadequate. This was evident in our observations at the schools.

One of the communities we visited, for example, had a *tele-secundaria*—that is, a secondary school with television transmission of lessons. At the time we visited, however, the television was not working and, although the *Secretaría de Educación Pública* (i.e., the Mexican Ministry of Education [SEP]) had been notified, the teachers were not optimistic that it would be fixed in the near future.

The Indigenous teachers endure the poor conditions in their classrooms. For example, although Mexico has introduced the *Enciclomedia* system, an interactive whiteboard with a computer distributed to all fifth-grade classrooms in the country, only one of the schools we visited had it. Sadly, the interactive pencil was broken, and neither the teacher nor the supervisor had hopes that it would ever be repaired. The teacher merely used the equipment as an overhead projector, projecting the same exercises from the book onto a screen.

Although the SEP has developed adequate texts for public school Spanish-speaking students, these texts are clearly not appropriate for Indigenous children who are learning Spanish as an additional language (we exemplify evidence of this later). Yet, the same text is distributed to all schools, as if these Indigenous children were speakers of Spanish. Indigenous teachers have not been shown how to adapt this material for Indigenous learners of Spanish as an additional language. For example, we seldom saw teachers scaffolding the instruction; instead, teachers used the Spanish-language texts as if the children had sufficient cultural and linguistic background knowledge to make sense of what they were reading. We also seldom observed teachers using strategies important for the achievement of emergent bilinguals², such as introducing vocabulary prior to having students read, reading aloud, introducing the text, providing different levels of texts, or corroborating the students' understanding. The implicit understanding of these teachers was that students must read on their own from the textbook that corresponds to their grade level.

There were schools that did not have sufficient textbooks. The principals explained to us that the Indigenous schools are always the last ones to receive the texts, and their only recourse is to wait. The SEP has developed a reader in Tzeltal and one in Tzotzil. However, the teacher merely instructed the children to take out the Tzeltal and Tzotzil readers and read on their own, following the same pedagogical practice they used in Spanish.

The tension and contradiction between extreme pride and commitment in an Indigenous ethno-linguistic identity, and school practices that seem to respond to a Spanish monolingual ideology as imposed by the Mexican State, is apparent in classroom practices. The next section describes some of these classroom practices.

Practices: What Are They?

Although there is an intercultural bilingual education policy in Chiapas that determines the allocation of languages in instruction, we saw little evidence that teachers acted according to this language education policy or to any other. In each of the four schools, there was confusion about

²We name these students who are learning an additional language *emergent bilinguals* following García (2009b) and García and Kleifgen (2010).

what constituted bilingual education and bilingual pedagogy, and each teacher seems to have developed his or her own ideology and bilingual practices.

In some classrooms, some of the teachers seemed to randomly code-switch between Tzotzil, Tseltal, and Spanish. In the first rural school we visited, however, the teacher of the early primary years (1st and 2nd grade) attempted to separate the use of languages. He set out a typical Tseltal pot, an *oxom* with a red bow, whenever he was teaching literacy in Tseltal, which he did for one hour or so each day. Although the teacher was making some attempt to consciously use Tseltal, it was far from the 80% of the school day that the policy delineates. In the upper grades of the same school, however, the teacher had not even thought about bilingual arrangements, except to remember that she was supposed to teach Tseltal once per day (which she did or not). In another school, the fourth-grade teacher provided linguistic summaries, using Tseltal to supplement a lesson about the sense of taste in the Spanish-language Natural Science textbook.

It is clear that the fixed language allocation policy of the bureaucracy does not fit the language needs of either the teachers or the children. It is not enough to decree a policy without providing adequate instructional material. What is a teacher supposed to do for 80%, 50%, or even 20% of the time if there are no texts in the Indigenous languages or if the texts that do exist are not adequate? Although Tzotzil and Tseltal are frequently used in the classrooms we observed, they do not constitute an important object of study, and they are not used to teach significant academic content. In enacting intercultural bilingual education, the teachers were unsure of what constituted adequate bilingual practices in education. They only understood that having bilingual education made it possible for them to teach these children in both Spanish and the Indigenous languages. They considered that, in itself, as important for the future of their communities and of these children. Without a doubt, these teachers cared for these children and these communities, and the children cared for them. However, without more support, more education, and more professional development, the SEP is pursuing a policy with Indigenous teachers that parallels the ones they have used with books for these communities—they are just too few, too poor, too little, and too late.

Literacy Practices in Four Classrooms: Reducing, Silencing, Copying, and Memorizing

Despite the commitment the Indigenous teachers express, their classroom practices often show their inability to transgress the poor educational experiences they themselves have had, the inappropriate educational resources given to them by the Mexican government, and possibly their own linguistic insecurity. This section describes how this is manifested in the classrooms of four different teachers, and how these poor literacy practices exist regardless of the language of instruction.

Reducing in Tseltal. In the first classroom, Olga is the teacher of the third-, fourth-, and fifth-grade students. On a day that we observe, she uses a mainstay in the community—corn—as a way of teaching counting, observing, drawing, and writing, all in Tseltal. She shows the children different kinds of corns, as the children silently sit in rows. She occasionally asks a question requiring a one-word response, and the children reply in unison. She then divides the class into groups of four or five, and gives them a large sheet of paper. She asks them to draw the

corn that she gives them, to count the number of kernels, and to write a few descriptive words on the paper.

Although the lesson is carried out entirely in Tseltal, there is language reductionism in this classroom. The children are not verbally engaged in sustained description and conversation about the corn—a subject they know well. Their intense familiarity with corn comes to light later in the day when paramedics visit the school to vaccinate the children against tetanus. It turns out that most of the children help their parents to plant and cultivate corn, often enduring cuts in the process. Even so, the teacher does not make use of this Indigenous native knowledge, teaching about corn as if she were introducing it to non-Indigenous, urban children. Not only is the verbal interaction poor, the literacy practices are insufficient. Although children are allowed to work in groups, the task they perform is controlled, as they are required to write only the color of the corn in the appropriate drawing. The teacher does not write in Tseltal—or in Spanish, for that matter—nor does she read any material in Tseltal. The use of the Indigenous language does not in any way build the complex linguistic use in which children should be engaged. This has to do with the teacher’s own insecurity about her language use, both in Spanish and in Tseltal. In an interview, Olga explained that she grew up with parents and in a community where Tseltal was spoken “100%.” As a 12-year-old, she went to work as a maid in San Cristóbal where she learned Spanish “*medio masca’o*” (pretty chopped up). It was not until years later, when she attended an institute for Indigenous teacher training, that she learned to read and write Tseltal. Her linguistic insecurity leads her to control her own language use with the children, establishing a poor linguistic context in both languages for the children in her classroom.

Silencing in Spanish. In the urban boarding school, while the children read to themselves, many are reading out loud to themselves and copying from a Spanish-language textbook. The teacher stands passively in the corner. In this fourth-grade class, the children read the book that has been supplied by the SEP while the teacher, as the following vignette shows, follows the corresponding lesson plan she has been given. Today, the children are reading to themselves and copying a story titled, *Un Cuento Disparatado (A Crazy Story)*. In the story, Little Red Riding Hood, Puss in Boots, the Three Little Pigs, and Snow White all meet. In an urban context with Spanish-speaking children, this story would probably have been met with success; in this classroom, it turns out to be a disaster. As the researchers sit with individual children, it becomes evident that the children do not understand a word of what they are reading independently; they are merely sounding out the words. Because Spanish is a phonetic language, children seemingly read the text fluently, but they cannot comprehend the story. The Spanish language is not the only obstacle to their understanding. The traditional children’s fairy tales from which the reading takes its inspiration are also unknown to them.

On this particular day, we decided to enact some of the stories with the children, a way of modeling how to present the same material differently. During that time, we learned that only one of the students had ever heard of any of these stories because she had a video of the “Three Little Pigs.” To the rest of the students, however, these well-known storybook characters were complete strangers. No one had ever told them these classic fairytales; thus, the children could not make sense of the story they were assigned because it relied on cultural understandings they simply did not have.

Copying without literacy. In another Tseltal school, we found that the second-grade teacher was covering for the absent first-grade teacher. Instead of bringing the two groups together, the teacher went from classroom to classroom while children were instructed to copy from the Spanish textbook. The first-graders, not proficient in Spanish and not skilled writers, merely sat passively and quietly at their desks. The silence was deafening.

Because we had become aware of how much animals meant to these children, we decided to build on our previous “Three Little Pig” experience for our modeling intervention. We asked the teacher to bring the two groups together; and with volunteers (we ended up with four little pigs because one girl refused to sit down!), all of us enacted the story. We repeated the story a few times, each time with more verbal participation from the students. By the time the bell rang, the children were noisy and boisterous as they led us to the schoolyard, where they engaged us in playing their own game of a wolf that was looking for victims.

Memorizing without meaning. In yet another school, Nicolás, a talented teacher of the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades, believes he is using the latest strategies by individualizing reading. When we walk into the room, the children are reading individually from the Spanish-language reader. Each of them is reading out loud, decoding syllable by syllable, word for word, without intonation or respect for punctuation. Because there are three grades in this classroom, students are reading the text that corresponds to their own grade, but there is little comprehension of texts by students. When we ask individual students what they are reading, they tell the story of the drawings, which often have nothing to do with the text. The emphasis is on decoding fluency, not on comprehension. Further, while students are given texts appropriate to their grade level, there is no attention paid to the children’s developmental reading level.

This same approach is used orally. The teacher is very proud that his students can tell a story in Spanish, but it is not a fluent, comprehensible story that the students tell. Instead, the teacher calls on particular students who have memorized entire stories, none of them with any cultural relevance. One of the stories is about Perseus and Medusa. Another student tells a story he has memorized about a day in the countryside, a story told in the first person by a female character, Gabriela. In retelling, the boy does not even change the name of Gabriela or the gender in the story, using the feminine voice when ostensibly speaking about himself.

Biliteracy Practices: Where Are They?

Although these teachers are working with emergent bilingual students, their literacy practices are deeply monolingual and traditional—a product, perhaps, of their training. For example, in reading Spanish, they focus on decoding syllables, rather than on comprehension. Except for one classroom where we saw the teaching of Tseltal literacy to first- and second-graders by having them copy the names of objects while the teacher wrote them on the blackboard, we observed little evidence of the teaching of Indigenous literacy or of the use of Indigenous literacy in the teaching of Spanish literacy—that is, there was no evidence here of biliteracy being used or developed, even using the broad definition given to us by Hornberger (1990) of “any and all instances in which communication occurs in two or more languages in or around writing” (p. 213).

Some of the teachers themselves are not strong readers or writers in either language; and it is difficult, if not impossible, for them to model the behaviors and practices that can foster good reading comprehension and the ability to construct abstract written texts. We did not observe teachers either modeling or teaching reading strategies such as prediction, using the context to find the meaning of unknown words, or rereading when not fully understanding—strategies we often modeled for teachers.

In one school, the teacher had attended a workshop where they showed him how to use a language experience approach to promote students' writing. He distributed large poster papers and got students into collaborative groups. The students were told to write a story in Spanish and translate it into Tzotzil, or vice versa, using different colored pencils. All groups wrote stories about animals that had human qualities and never had names. The writing in Spanish was circular and repetitive, lacked punctuation and accents, and exhibited numerous features of poor bilingual development. Yet, the teacher did not work with individual groups as they were writing their stories, nor support the students in the construction of these narratives. He did not brainstorm with them about their ideas, nor ask them to revise their texts. He was, however, very proud of the students' work in Tzotzil.

We did not witness any telling of stories in any language, either by the teacher or by the students. In fact, there was very little conversation going on in these classrooms, although the children were extremely well-behaved and very respectful. Students were not encouraged to speak to each other or to speak up in class. The students were not encouraged to question, to evaluate information, or to compare and contrast. They simply read to themselves in Spanish (and very seldom in Indigenous languages) and copied. Curiously enough, the literacy practices observed relied more on the decontextualized and abstract language of written texts than literacy practices utilized in more literacy-intensive cultures and schools. The oral capacity of the children in the Indigenous languages was hardly used to negotiate literacy around written texts in Spanish. Thus, literacy in Spanish was not sufficiently developed, and literacy in Indigenous languages remained mostly nonexistent.

DISCUSSION

Interviews with the Indigenous teachers in our study reveal the enormous pride and commitment they have toward intercultural bilingual education. However, our observations of practices clearly show that the intercultural bilingual education that the children are receiving cannot radically alter the impoverished lives of these Indigenous communities. Despite the Indigenous educators' good intentions and the excellent relationship that they have with the communities and the children, they mostly fail to educate for success within their communities or Mexican society, either in *lengua* or in Spanish. It is clear that a language education policy handed down to Indigenous educators by a centralized State will not change the realities of the Indigenous communities. Yet, it has changed the realities of the educators themselves, now able to be employed as teachers and valued for their linguistic skills and cultural understandings. In some ways, then, intercultural bilingual education is contributing to the improvement of the community.

However, it is also evident that, up to now, intercultural bilingual education has been merely an instrument of control of the Indigenous population. Indigenous educators view

intercultural bilingual education as one of the triumphs of the Zapatista revolution. However, non-Indigenous bureaucrats view it as an easy compromise—one that turned the attention away from the larger social and economic inequalities that exist among the groups (Bertely Busquet, 2007).

The bottom-up efforts of the Zapatista resulted in a change in policy to include Indigenous languages in the education of these communities. However, without sustained efforts to continue to educate these Indigenous teachers, and to grant them greater participation and control of their educational plans and resources, their presence will not change the conditions of Indigenous communities. Indigenous children will feel better about themselves, their languages, and their cultures, but they will fail at being an asset to their communities or at becoming structurally incorporated into Mexican society. The use of Indigenous languages by committed educators is not enough. The true intercultural aspects that would allow for full control of resources and full participation in decision-making as equals are missing.

CONCLUSION

Intercultural bilingual education in Chiapas is an important step for the future of Mayan Indigenous populations and for other Indigenous groups in Mexico. Luis Enrique López (2005, 2006a, 2006b) reminded us that intercultural bilingual education in Latin America was the result of an Indigenous struggle to appropriate schools that were a state apparatus of privilege. However, López (2006b) added:

*La pregunta ahora reside en si el Estado estará dispuesto a construir propuestas educativas diferenciadas y si permitirá una escuela que comience reforzando lo indígena y sus instituciones y conocimientos. Mi sospecha es que cuando se asumió abierta y rápidamente la posibilidad de interculturalizar la escuela, en muchos casos, se pensó solamente en la necesidad planteada por el multiculturalismo de infundir un sentimiento de tolerancia, o incluso en recubrir de contemporaneidad el fracasado proyecto mesticista de antaño, y no en la posibilidad de re-imaginar y reconstruir el tipo de Estado vigente en América Latina, menos aún debió haberse pensado en lo que muchos indígenas americanos anhelan: **el reconocimiento del derecho a una ciudadanía étnica que esté en relación de complementariedad con la ciudadanía nacional de hoy.***

[The question now is whether the State is willing to construct differentiated education plans and whether it would allow the existence of a school that would strengthen that which is Indigenous, its institutions and understandings. I think that when the State openly and quickly accepted the possibility of an intercultural school, in most cases, it was only thinking of the multicultural need of spreading feelings of tolerance or even of modernizing the failed old mestizo project, and not in the possibility of re-imagining and re-building the type of State appropriate for Latin America. The State also was not thinking of what most Indigenous Americans desire: **the acknowledgment of the right to an ethnic citizenship that would be complementary to the national citizenship of today.**] (our emphasis)

It is clear that much work remains to be done. To succeed, intercultural bilingual education for the Indigenous peoples of Mexico needs to be linked to their improved sociopolitical and socioeconomic conditions as a people. In education, Indigenous communities need to have more control over their own resources: instructional materials in Indigenous languages that are comparable in quality, although not in content, to those that the SEP publishes in Spanish; instructional

material in Spanish as an additional language for these Indigenous children; curricula that well represent the values of respect, solidarity, and the living world of Indigenous peoples³; qualified Indigenous teachers who support the project of Indigenous citizenship equal to Mexican citizenship; and school buildings that are adequate.

For all of this to take place, intercultural bilingual education would really need to be intercultural. Right now, non-Indigenous Mexicans remain largely apathetic toward the Indigenous presence, and bilingual education is entirely one-sided. Racism and linguisticism continue to play a part in the contemptuous attitude toward Indigenous peoples and their languages. This has been a long-standing problem in Latin America, as documented in Hornberger's (1988) study of bilingual education and language maintenance in southern Peru, as well as by many other scholars (e.g., see López, 2008; Maldonado Alvarado, 2002; Rockwell & Gomes, 2009). For this to change, more Mexican children of all kinds would need to experience an intercultural education through which they could become deeply aware of their rich linguistic heritage, and thus be able to develop their plural ethnic identities within a 21st-century context. As long as Indigenous languages are considered legacies of the past, of backward people, and of rural isolated populations, bilingual education in Mexico will continue to be marginalized, and its effects mixed at best. As long as bilingual education in Indigenous languages/Spanish is considered only an Indigenous thing, and not a Mexican thing, it will not accomplish much. As one of the Indigenous educators told us: "*La educación intercultural bilingüe es interesante, pero también la cultura no-indígena debe conocer a la indígena*" ["Intercultural bilingual education is interesting, but the non-Indigenous culture should also know the Indigenous culture"]. The spaces for Indigenous languages and cultures have to be carved out not only in schools in the Indigenous community itself, but everywhere.

For such policies to be successful, these Indigenous communities need control over the resources and content of Indigenous education; different and rich resources and materials; better prepared teachers; adequate school buildings; and, especially, the sociopolitical and socioeconomic structures that will enable Indigenous peoples to fully participate in the economic and political life of their communities and of Mexico. The investment needed is huge, and it cannot limit itself to a language education policy of intercultural bilingual education.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We thank the staff of Casa de La Ciencia for making this research possible; and, in particular, we thank Elizabeth Santos Baca and María de los Ángeles Azuara Olascoaga (Aco). We also thank the teachers, children, and families of the communities for all they taught us. We are also grateful to Kathryn Carpenter, Sarah Hesson and Heather Woodley for their careful reading of the original manuscript, and the four very thoughtful reviewers. In particular, we are grateful to

³It is important to note that some efforts have been accomplished in this regard. See, for example, the booklet entitled *Los Hombres y Las Mujeres De Maíz. Democracia y Derecho Indígena Para El Mundo [Men and Women of Corn. Democracy and Indigenous Rights for the World]*, published in 2007, and developed by Tseltal, Tzotzil and Ch'ol educators of the Unión de Maestros de la Nueva Educación para México [Teacher Union of New Education for Mexico] (see Bertely Busquet, 2007).

the reviewer who provided us with valuable bibliographical sources in Spanish, which helped shape this revised article.

REFERENCES

- Aguilar Nery, J. (2004). Hacia una memoria argumental sobre la educación intercultural en México [Towards an argumentative memoir of intercultural education in Mexico]. *Revista Mexicana de Investigación Educativa*, 9(20), 39–59.
- Álvarez-Sotelo, G. (2002). *Iniciativa de la Ley General de Lenguas Indígenas. Compendio de iniciativas. Documentos de trabajo para los foros de legislatura. LVIII Legislatura* [Initiative of the General Law of Indigenous Languages. Collection of initiatives. Work documents for legislative forums. LVIII Legislative Session]. In Comisiones Unidas de Asuntos Indígenas y de Educación Pública y Servicios Educativos (eds.) (pp. 23–45). Mexico City, Mexico: Talleres Gráficos de la Cámara de Diputados.
- Baker, C. (2006). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.
- Bertely Busquet, M. (2007). Indigenous rights and intercultural citizenship: Introduction to a project with Tzotzil, Tzeltal and Chol in Chiapas, Mexico. *Conflict Resolution Quarterly*, 25, 71–78.
- Bertely Busquet, M. (2009). Educación ciudadana intercultural. Los educadores mayas de Chiapas en la construcción desde abajo de ciudadanía alternas [Intercultural citizenship education: Mayan educators from Chiapas in the alternative bottom-up construction of citizenship]. *Revista Interamericana De Educación Para La Democracia*, 2, 52–83.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Comisión Nacional para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas. (2008). *Catálogo de lenguas indígenas [Catalogue of indigenous languages]*. Mexico, D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas.
- Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos [Political Constitution of the United Mexican States]. (1995–2009). *Capítulo I, Artículo 2, Folio 8171*. Mexico, DF: Instituto de Investigaciones Jurídicas. Retrieved from http://info4.juridicas.unam.mx/ijure/fed/9/3.htm?s=http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Constitution_of_the_United_Mexican_States#Article_2
- Coronado-Malagón, M., & Mena-Ledesma, P. (Eds.). (2010). *Lengua y cultura en procesos educativos: Investigaciones en Oaxaca [Language and culture in education processes: Research in Oaxaca]*. Oaxaca, Mexico: Universidad Pedagógica Nacional.
- De Bot, K., Lowie, W., & Verspoor, M. (2007). A dynamic systems theory approach to second language acquisition. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 10, 7–21, 51–55.
- Dirección General de Educación Indígena. (2008). *Estadística por entidad [Statistics by entity]*. Mexico City, Mexico: Secretaría de Educación Pública. Retrieved from <http://basica.sep.gob.mx/dgei/flash/mapa-dgei30JUNIO.swf>
- Dirección General de Educación Indígena. (1999). *Lineamientos generales para la educación intercultural bilingüe para las niñas y los niños indígenas [General guidelines for the intercultural bilingual education of indigenous girls and boys]*. Mexico City, Mexico: Secretaría de Educación Pública.
- Esteva, G. (2002). Desafíos de la interculturalidad [Challenges of interculturality]. *Identidades*, 2(2), 4–19.
- Federal Government Documents. (1992). *Diario Oficial de la Federación [Official Daily of the Federation of Mexican States]* (Proposed Fourth Constitutional Article; Proposed 27th Constitutional Article). Mexico City, Mexico: Author.
- García, O. (2009a). *Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective*. Malden, MA: Wiley/Blackwell.
- García, O. (2009b). Emergent bilinguals and TESOL. What's in a name? *TESOL Quarterly*, 43, 322–326.
- García, O., & Kleifgen, J. (2010). *Educating emergent bilinguals. Policies, programs and policies for English language learners*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- García, O., & Menken, K. (2010). Stirring the onion. Educators and the dynamics of language education (looking ahead). In K. Menken & O. García (Eds.), *Negotiating language policies in schools: Educators as policymakers* (pp. 249–261). New York, NY: Routledge.
- García Segura, S. (2004). De la educación indígena a la educación intercultural bilingüe [From indigenous education to intercultural bilingual education]. *Revista Mexicana de Investigación Educativa*, 9(20), 61–81.
- Hall, G., & Patrinos, H. A. (2005). *Indigenous peoples, poverty and human development in Latin America, 1994–2004*. Washington, DC: The World Bank. Retrieved from www-wds.worldbank.org

- Hamel, R. E. (2008). Indigenous language policy and education in Mexico. In N. Hornberger (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of language and education* (pp. 301–313). New York, NY: Springer.
- Hamel, R. E., Brumm, M., Carrillo Avelar, A., Loncon, E., Nieto, R., & Silva Castellón, E. (2004). ¿Qué hacemos con la Castilla? [What do we do with Castile?] *Revista Mexicana de Investigación Educativa*, 9(20), 83–107.
- Haugen, E. (1972). *The ecology of language*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Heath, S. B. (1972). *Telling tongues—Language policy in Mexico: Colony to nation*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Hornberger, N. (1988). *Bilingual education and language maintenance. A southern Peruvian Quechua case*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Foris.
- Hornberger, N. (1990). Creating successful learning contexts for bilingual literacy. *Teachers College Record*, 92, 212–229.
- Hornberger, N. (Ed.). (1996). *Indigenous literacies in the Americas. Language planning from the bottom up*. Berlin, Germany: de Gruyter.
- Hornberger, N. (Ed.). (2008). *Can schools save Indigenous languages? Policy and practice in four continents*. Houndsmills, England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Instituto Estatal de Educación Pública de Oaxaca. (Ed.). (1998). *La educación indígena hoy: Inclusión y diversidad. Memoria del Seminario de Educación Indígena, septiembre 21–24 1997* [Indigenous education today: Inclusion and Diversity. Proceedings of Seminary of Indigenous Education. 21–24 September, 1997]. Oaxaca, Mexico: Author.
- Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática. (2005). *Censo de población y vivienda [Population and housing census]*. Mexico City, Mexico: Author. Retrieved from www.inegi.org.mx
- King, K. A. (2001). *Language revitalization processes and prospects: Quichua in the Ecuadorian Andes*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.
- Ley General de Derechos Lingüísticos de los Pueblos Indígenas. (2003). *Nueva Ley DOF 13–03–2003 [New Law DOF 13-03-2003]*. Estados Unidos Mexicanos. Mexico City: Diario Oficial de la Federación.
- López, L. E. (2005). *De resquicios a boquerones. La educación intercultural bilingüe en Bolivia [From loopholes to wide openings. Intercultural bilingual education in Bolivia]*. La Paz, Mexico: Programa de Formación en Educación Intercultural Bilingüe para los Países Andinos.
- López, L. E. (2006a). Cultural diversity, multilingualism and Indigenous education. In O. García, T. Skutnabb-Kangas, & M. Torres-Guzmán (Eds.), *Imagining multilingual schools: Languages in education and globalization* (pp. 238–261). Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.
- López, L. E. (2006b). *Desde arriba y desde abajo. Visiones contrapuestas de la educación intercultural bilingüe en América Latina [From the top and from the bottom. Complex visions of intercultural bilingual education in Latin America]*. Cochabamba, Bolivia: Aula Intercultural. Retrieved from http://www.aulaintercultural.org/article.php?id_article=1311
- López, L. E. (2008). Top-down and bottom-up: Counterpoised visions of bilingual bicultural education in Latin America. In N. Hornberger (Ed.), *Can schools save Indigenous languages? Policy and practice in four continents* (pp. 42–65). Houndsmills, England: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Maldonado Alvarado, B. (2002). *Los indios en las aulas: Dinámicas de dominación y resistencia en Oaxaca [Indians in classrooms; Dynamic of domination and resistance in Oaxaca]*. Oaxaca: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH).
- Mena, P., Muñoz, H., & Ruiz, A. (1999). *Identidad, lenguaje y enseñanza en las escuelas bilingües indígenas de Oaxaca [Identity, language and teaching in bilingual indigenous schools in Oaxaca]*. Oaxaca, Mexico: Universidad Pedagógica Nacional.
- Menken, K., & García, O. (Eds.). (2010). *Negotiating language education policies in schools: Educators as policymakers*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Mühlhäusler, P. (2000). Language planning and language ecology. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 1, 306–367.
- Muñoz-Cruz, H. (Ed.). (2001). *Lenguas y educación en fenómenos multiculturales [Language and education in multicultural phenomena]*. Iztapalapa, Mexico City, D.F.: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana.
- Muñoz-Cruz, H. (Ed.). (2002). *Rumbo a la interculturalidad en educación [On the way to intercultural education]*. Iztapalapa, Mexico, D.F.: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana.
- Patthey-Chavez, G. G. (1994). Language policy and planning in Mexico: Indigenous language policy. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 14, 200–219.

- Phillipson, R., & Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1996). English only worldwide, or language ecology. *TESOL Quarterly*, 30, 429–452.
- Podesta Siri, R. (2004). Otras formas de conocernos en un mundo intercultural [Other ways of knowing ourselves in an intercultural world]. *Revista Mexicana de Investigación Educativa*, 9(20), 129–150.
- Rockwell, E., & Gomes, A. M. (2009). Introduction to the special issue: Rethinking Indigenous education from a Latin American perspective. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 40, 97–109.
- Russell, P. L. (1995). *The Chiapas rebellion*. Austin, TX: Mexico Resource Center.
- Saldívar Moreno, A., Micalco Méndez, M. M., Santos Baca, E., & Avila Naranjo, R. (2004). Los retos en la formación de maestros en educación intercultural [Challenges in training teachers for intercultural education]. *Revista Mexicana de Investigación Educativa*, 9(20), 109–128.
- Schmal, J. (2004). *Chiapas: Forever Indigenous*. Houston, TX: Houston Institute for Culture. Retrieved from www.houstonculture.org/mexico/chiapas.html
- Schmelkes, S. (2004). La educación intercultural: Un campo en proceso de consolidación [Intercultural education: A field on the way to consolidation]. *Revista Mexicana de Investigación Educativa*, 9(2), 9–13.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (2000). *Linguistic genocide in education—Or worldwide diversity and human rights?* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T., & Phillipson, R. (Eds.). (1994). *Linguistic human rights. Overcoming linguistic discrimination*. Berlin, Germany: de Gruyter.
- Spolsky, B. (2004). *Language policy*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Stavenhagen, R. (1979). México, minoría étnica y política popular [Mexico, ethnic minorities and populist politics]. *Nexos*, 19, 13–25.

Ofelia García is professor in the Ph.D. program in Urban Education and the Ph.D. program in Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Literatures and Languages, Graduate Center of the City University of New York. She was formerly professor at Columbia University's Teachers College and Dean of Education at Long Island University. Among her recent books are *Bilingual Education in the 21st Century: A Global Perspective* (2009, Wiley/Blackwell) and *Educating Emergent Bilinguals* (with J. Kleifgen, 2010, Teachers College Press). She has published extensively on bilingual education, the education of language minorities, teacher education, and macro-sociolinguistic issues.

Patricia Velasco is an Assistant Professor at Queens College, City University of New York. She holds a doctorate from Harvard University, and has worked on literacy development and teacher training in different cultural and linguistic contexts. She has worked not only with bilingual students and teachers in the United States and Mexico, but also with hearing impaired children, as well as Maya Indigenous students in the Highlands of Chiapas.