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Indigenous education and heritage revitalization

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INDIGENOUS EDUCATION AND HERITAGE REVITALIZATION

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**INDIGENOUS EDUCATION
AND
HERITAGE REVITALIZATION**

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Chapter I: Introduction

Watching TV news reports, it is hard not to feel emotional when learning that Taiwan's local governments have been using legal force to evict indigenous people¹ from their shanty towns. The local government has promised to build a new community with low rent for these "illegal" inhabitants, but this so-called new hometown will be established in a remote area with very little economic value. This governmental decision has naturally not been welcomed by the indigenous people who will now have to travel a long distance for work. The indigenous people wish to obtain legal permission to stay where they are. There is rarely compromise, and rather conflict and tragedy in this kind of story in Taiwanese society, and this is a scene that has often played out throughout the history of Taiwan. As Theodore Schwartz's (1995:17) perspective that "ethnic conflict has usually been treated from the standpoint of political struggles for territory rather than from the psychocultural viewpoint of what occurs within individuals when they are confronted with the necessity of changing allegiance to a new master, adopting a new religion, or even acquiring a new language in order to participate in a dominant political society that is ethnically alien." For outsiders, without understanding the reasons why these people originally had to move from their homelands to the outskirts of cities to find work, the governments have forced them to move out, citing illegal squatting on national lands. This kind of scenario creates misunderstanding among outsiders with regard to indigenous peoples.

Indigenous people who have lived in the slums in urban peripheries for decades have identified that the settings in which they currently live are crowded, filthy, and lack reliable water and electricity (Terry Burke 2004; José Z. Calderón 2007). Given the choice, they have stated that they would rather return to their homelands, but they feel that they had no choice but to move to the cities to find work. With meager wages insufficient to pay high urban rent, they find themselves forced to live in slums. These people found that in the cities they were given odd looks by their neighbors, and ran the risk of their children growing up in an environment filled with discrimination. By living with groups of fellow indigenous peoples, they can look after each other and do not have to endure discrimination by non-indigenous peoples; they can live with a modicum of dignity. But what kind of conditions can help people live with dignity? When a dominant people is unable to identify with the difficulties of indigenous peoples, when prejudice and discrimination pervade a multiethnic society, and when unequal values take root in government policy and educational schemes, how can marginalized/oppressed peoples have the chance to live with dignity?

The problems faced by Taiwan's indigenous peoples, with regard to all the problems engendered by industrial-capitalist development around the world, can be viewed as being just one trifling matter among a myriad of issues to be dealt with. However, these Taiwanese issues epitomize the problems experienced by the world's indigenous peoples. To make a living, many indigenous peoples make arduous journeys, traveling far from home to seek employment opportunities in the cities, where they often find themselves

¹ Please refer to the Chapter II and Chapter VII to get more details about the reason why I choose to use the term "indigenous people" of this thesis.

unable to make ends meet. In the name of securing justice, they have to constantly coordinate with national governments, and struggle for basic human rights in order to gain proper education, accomplish language and cultural heritage revitalization, and live in a more acceptable environment. Perhaps you may wonder why indigenous peoples should receive special attention, given that the non-indigenous world is also replete with social problems and the issue of poverty is not the sole domain of indigenous peoples. In September 2010, I attended a demonstration that took place at the First Nations University in Regina, Saskatchewan,. The First Nations were protesting the Canadian government's plan to cancel post-secondary education funding. Some outsider people in attendance whispered among each other, wondering whether this demonstration was only a "political show." These whisperers seemed to be of the opinion that the Canadian government was not canceling the funding with any ill intent, rather it was for the ultimate benefit of all Canadian people. They also commented that since there is only a handful of indigenous students who meet the criteria for entering University, the local government did not need to spend too much in support of indigenous higher education. I agree that some of the speakers were overly pan-politicized and emotional, however I cannot agree with the Canadian government's perfunctory decision to renege on the basic educational rights that the Treaty peoples² deserve. The main point is not how many indigenous students can meet the criteria for university studies, but instead, without the seeds of hope, how can indigenous young generations be encouraged to value education? If the educational level of indigenous young generations is not elevated, then "indigenous problems" will continue to exist. A proposition from Tom Flanagan (2000) about one of the most powerful Canadian beliefs is that indigenous peoples were resident in Canada first, implied by the term 'First Nations'³, so they deserve unique rights including the inherent right of self-government. Unfortunately, ten years later, First Nation students face new financial challenges for higher education, and so Flanagan's proposition is still relevant today. In 2007, the "Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples" was proclaimed by the United Nations. The profound contribution of this declaration is the opening of the door for indigenous peoples participating on the political stage at an international level, as well as making indigenous voices louder and more visible in the global context. I do hope the good intentions of the UN can truly lead the development of this multicultural world in an equal, peaceful, and non-discriminatory direction.

² Treaties are the basic building blocks of the relationship between First Nations and the rest of Canada; there have been agreements made over time between First Nations and settler governments. Treaties are "based on the synthesis of two worldviews: the oral traditions (values and common laws) of the First Nations peoples and the written traditions (laws) of the Crown, who represented the newcomers...Treaties 1 through 11 were negotiated across Western and Northern Canada. Treaties 2, 4, 5, 6, 8 and 10 completely cover the area that is now Saskatchewan." (Office of the Treaty Commissioner 2008:10) That is, peoples who live in the Treaty regions benefit from the Treaties are named "Treaty peoples."

³ In Canada, Inuit, *Metis*, and the term Indian Peoples are recognized as Aboriginal Peoples in the Constitution Act of 1982. The term First Nations was adopted by Canadians in the 1970s to replace Indian, Aboriginal, or Native, and many 'Indian Peoples' prefer to be called 'First Nations.' The Fraser Basin Council offers an explanation that "the terms "First nations" and "Inuit" refer to those indigenous people who lived here before Europeans colonized the land. "*Metis*" is a term sometimes used to describe people of mixed ancestry – descendants of indigenous people and European settlers." However, there is much debate over whether to use terms of Native, Aboriginal, or Indian etc., and no doubt that the term identified by peoples themselves or recognized by national government is a fact of negotiating with political, cultural, and land rights.

Section 1: Motivation

Before I started teaching at an elementary school, I had not seriously thought about diverse cultural issues. Perhaps it is the atmosphere of Taiwanese society that unconsciously instills complex behavior models, value judgments, and political and cultural consciousness. Perhaps it is the result of Taiwan having undergone successive periods of colonization. When I was young, the Taiwan Southern Min speakers and Hakka speakers were seen as second-class citizens when compared to the ruling class that had come from mainland China after World War II. In comparison, the indigenous peoples were almost like aliens from the third world. Schools stressed the importance and authority of the national language – Mandarin Chinese – making children like me who had never learned or used Mandarin Chinese before entering elementary school become underachievers due to the language barrier, leading to shyness and a lack of confidence. Given that some prejudices are seen by most people as a matter of course, before I became an elementary school teacher I did not think there was anything wrong with the educational system, and I thought that learning Mandarin Chinese was vital, because those of a higher socioeconomic status were fluent in it. Many school teachers believe that the chief reason for student underachievement is insufficient effort, and do not know that many students' learning problems stem from an inability to fully understand the lessons and from coming from a background totally different from that of the dominant culture.

The first time I met my class of indigenous pupils, I was bewildered and disheartened by their low drive to learn. I heard from my colleagues that it was because these children were lazy or stupid, which is a common prejudice regarding indigenous students' learning attitudes. However, when I observed it from another perspective, it was not hard to see that they tended to be gifted in certain subjects and areas of talent. I then thought back to my own elementary schooling and the pain I had endured, and in comparing the situations I found many similarities between their experiences and mine, and recalled my sense of helplessness and unfairness. Because of my problems with language, my parents patiently helped me with my schoolwork using my native language, Taiwan Southern Min. Thankfully, when I was in 4th grade, I overcame my problems with learning. Looking at the circumstances most indigenous students have to go through, I recognize that there are large proportions of students living with grandparents or in single family homes who are plagued with problems like unemployment and poverty. How many indigenous children are fortunate enough to have parents with the time and ability to guide them through their schoolwork as my parents did? From my personal experience, I know the problems that non-dominant language speakers experience at school when the language of instruction is not their mother tongue, and understand what my indigenous students lack educationally. I hope to contribute more to the field of indigenous education, and as such I submit the findings of this study in the hope that the findings can provide an objective basis for the improvement of indigenous education.

What are the educational needs of indigenous peoples? Given that past colonial rule and education, which continues to this day, has forced indigenous culture to deal with problems including racial discrimination, poverty, unclear cultural identity and low self-

esteem, compounded by the modern circumstance of multicultural societies in single countries and the rising impact of globalization (Amilcar Cabral 2000), what essential elements should be incorporated into the concept and content of educational development?

From late June to mid August 2008, I visited *Rotorua*, New Zealand, to experience myself the lifestyle and culture of the *Maori* people. I remember that after stepping off the plane I took a taxi from *Rotorua* International Airport to the downtown area. On the way, the driver talked on and on with pride, as if he was an unofficial guide, about *Rotorua*'s unique geology and rich natural resources. As I was becoming mesmerized by his folksy and charming descriptions, he suddenly rolled down his window, and called out to a road worker who was taking a break and enjoying a beer by the roadside. He shouted "*Kia ora!*", which is a greeting in the *Maori* language. At that moment I was delighted by and appreciative of the White driver's friendly attitude towards a young *Maori* stranger. I was reminded of how, in 2006 when I was in Winnipeg, Canada, I conversely witnessed wide gaps between Caucasian and indigenous people in terms of economic activity, as well as serious problems with racial discrimination on the streets. However, several minutes later, the taxi driver told me with disdain in his voice that most *Maori* are poor because they are lazy. He described *Maori* as doing nothing all day, and not wanting to do anything, and claimed that they simply want to spend their days living off New Zealand's government welfare payments. In his opinion, *Maori* are not smart enough, so they would not do a good job even if they were to find work, as evidenced by the young man we had just seen drinking beer on the job. I felt great disappointment at these words, and realized that the problem of racial discrimination that has long pervaded colonized indigenous societies around the world has yet to disappear. The effects of discrimination cause many indigenous peoples to refuse to recognize their own cultural identities, lose motivation to learn their own languages, and have a serious lack of self-esteem. Even more alarming is that many indigenous peoples not only consider discrimination to be a matter of course, but even use this negative assessment as an excuse for an unwillingness to work to overcome their predicament.

The age-old political, social, economic, educational, cultural and lifestyle problems that have affected indigenous peoples continue to be passed down generation to generation. At the same time, the dominant peoples' misunderstandings and lack of empathy bring about discrimination and prejudice. Together, these create a vicious cycle, creating the situations described above. However, various opinions about 'good quality' or 'proper' education have emerged from both indigenous and non-indigenous peoples. This raises further questions for this study. First, as an outsider, what is my position in conducting research on the topic of indigenous issues? Secondly, what is the expected result of educational development in this multicultural world? Thirdly, are there specific points that education should fulfill within multiethnic countries? Fourthly, what should different peoples' attitudes be toward cultural interaction within multicultural countries? Finally, what is the role of indigenous peoples in education and heritage of their own communities and of the world?

Section 2: Methodology

Since the 1920s, the International Labour Organization (ILO)⁴ has been working with indigenous peoples and adapted the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Conventions No.107 in 1957 and No.169 in 1989. The two conventions aim to allow equal rights and opportunities for indigenous peoples, which have so far been limited. In 2007, the United Nations recognized the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, to affirm, reaffirm and recognize indigenous inherent rights on lands, traditional cultural knowledge practicing, education, languages, self-determination, living in dignity and non-discrimination etc. These examples of valuable and essential fundamental support have opened up potential legal discussion space for developing indigenous education and heritage revitalization.

My intention for this thesis is not to make a concrete proposal for designing or reforming indigenous education. Instead, it is my hope that this analysis may lead to concrete ideas about contemporary indigenous heritage education as a reference for educational reform in Taiwan. Another purpose of this dissertation is to not only explore the theoretical and practical dimensions of indigenous education models, but also examine the issue of identity and propose possible ways in which a national dominant society can understand, acknowledge, and appreciate cultural diversity. As an outsider, introducing the fundamental issues of decolonizing methodology of indigenous researchers and scholars, for example NorMan K. Denzin, Yvonna S. Lincoln, Waziyatawin Angela Wilson, Michael Yellow Bird and LinDa Tuhiwal Smith etc., will balance the Western theoretical influence.

The primary methodology of this study includes an examination of my recollection of my personal growth and schooling experience, supplemented by the thinking, inspirations and impacts of fieldwork and interviews. The fieldwork for this paper consisted of visiting and experiencing communities of indigenous peoples of Taiwan's 14 communities (in Taipei City, and the counties of Taipei, Yilan, Taoyuan, Hsinchu, Miaoli, Chiayi, Nantou, Taichung, Kaohsiung, Pingtung, Taitung, and Hualien), Rotorua in New Zealand, Oaxaca in Mexico, Winnipeg and Saskatchewan in Canada, and *Frysland* in the Netherlands. There are already quite impressive findings from research into indigenous education and indigenous heritage revitalization. Reading the ideas posited in such papers and using these to enhance the arguments in this paper have been helpful in clarifying my thinking, and have given me the chance to compare the differences between theory and practical experience. Besides this, the effects of colonization experienced by most indigenous peoples gave me material for analyzing and discussing the relationship between postcolonialism, decolonization theory and the culture and lifestyles of contemporary indigenous peoples. As for education, alongside the influences of globalization and discussions of bilingualism and multiculturalism, the fact that multicultural phenomenon in the countries of the world is becoming a normalized phenomenon has been of considerable help in the completion of this study.

⁴ The ILO is a specialized agency of the United Nations dealing with worldwide labor issues.

There is a further point which needs to be clarified. This thesis does introduce certain UN notions, policy-making suggestions, and declarations in respect of indigenous rights, education reform and development and heritage revitalization. It is not, however, the intention to give readers (the intended readership includes indigenous peoples, researchers, governments, politicians, NGOs and international organizations who share concerns about indigenous issues) an image that the UN's efforts on indigenous issues have had profoundly positive results. Rather, the aim is to draw attention to up-to-date information on this topic.

Moreover, I agree with the remark offered by Adam Kuper (2003:395) that "the indigenous-peoples movement has been fostered by the UN and the World Bank and by the fact the ideas behind the movement are very dubious, the motivation is surely generous...I am doubtful about the justice or good sense of most of these initiatives." Indeed, those who are concerned about issues of indigenous education and heritage revitalization must look more carefully into policies and ideas from 'top' level authorities, for example, the UN and national governments. The ideas in top-down policies are often far from the reality, and may even overlook local issues. In most countries, local governments still have to follow national policies for the development of school education. For these reasons, bottom-up efforts from indigenous peoples themselves will offer another perspective on this topic.

Reading

In accordance with the requirements of the objectives and methods of this study, the literature review is presented in two parts. The first part is an analysis of the theories of decolonization, postcolonialism, multiculturalism and bilingualism. From this I identify arguments that support this study and I comment on these usable resources throughout the paper to illustrate their practicality and value. The second part is a review of papers related to the topic of this study, inquiring into their research methods and reviewing the arguments and research findings made by others in their studies. This has been of great help to me in examining the value of the topic of this study.

Field Works

The reason why I selected Taiwan, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Canada, and Mexico as field works of this study is because of my concerns of Taiwan's indigenous education; the successful bilingual education experience in *Fryslan*, the Netherlands; *Maori* people bottom-up initiation on the development of *Maori* language nest; reserve education in Canada; the idea of indigenous teachers training programme in Oaxaca, Mexico.

Field Works: Taiwan

The ethnic composition of Taiwanese society is made up of Han Taiwanese, Hakka, and 14 indigenous peoples. Approximately 43,000 are indigenous people, corresponding to 1.9% of the total population. Although this number is relatively small, the indigenous peoples perform superbly well in terms of musical, cultural and sporting activities. The

name yuanzhumin (indigenous peoples) in fact is a collective term for 14 indigenous peoples: Atayal, Saisiyat, Bunun, Tsou, Rukai, Paiwan, Puyuma, Amis, Yami, Thao, Kavalan, Truku, Sakizaya, and Seediq. The languages of Taiwan's indigenous peoples belong to the Austronesian language family. Due to the assimilation policies of the different colonizers over the years, Taiwan's indigenous peoples' traditional religions have come to be mixed with Christianity, Catholicism and Taiwanese local religions.⁵ Despite this, most indigenous peoples still heed traditional taboos in their daily lives. In the past, they relied on natural resources for cultural and daily life, but nowadays, changes in the natural environment and Taiwanese governmental policies have forced them to give up their traditional ways of life and go to mainstream markets for their economic activities. Undoubtedly, they have faced significant issues⁶ arising from this change in situation.



The major inhabitants of Lanyu Island (Orchid Island) are the Yami people, one of Taiwan's indigenous peoples. This small island is surrounded by ocean, and thus there is a very strong connection between culture and natural environment, specifically both oceans and mountains.

Location: Lanyu Township, Taitung County, Taiwan.



The worldview of the Yami people is closely tied to the natural environment, they share the natural resources in harmony and balance. The idea of underground houses is the way how they live in peace to coexistence with the sea.

Location: Lanyu Township, Taitung County, Taiwan

⁵ On the one hand, indigenous peoples in Taiwan may go to church, while on the other hand they may still practice their traditional religious ideas and values to keep their traditional cultures alive. In this way, a balance has been struck between their traditions and the dominant world.

⁶ For example, they have less economically rewarding jobs or face unemployment, and they suffer discrimination from non-indigenous peoples.

The indigenous communities I visited are: Taipei City, including the school in which I taught; Taipei County (Atayal – Wulai Township); Yilan County (Atayal – Datong Township); Taoyuan County (Atayal – Fuxing Township); Hsinchu County (Atayal – Jianshi Township, Atayal and Saisiyat – Wufeng Township); Miaoli County (Saisiyat – Nanzhuang Township); Chiayi County (Bunun – Alishan Township); Nantou County (Atayal, Bunun and Seediq – Renai Township, Bunun – Xinyi Township); Taichung County (Atayal – Heping Township); Kaohsiung County (Puyuma – Namaxia Township, Rukai – Maolin Township); Pingtung County (Paiwan – Sandimen Township, Shizi Township, and Mudan Township); Taitung County (Amis – Chishang Township, Changbin Township, and Donghe Township, Yami – Lanyu Township); Hualien County (Kavalan – Xiulin Township, Truku – Xincheng Township, Wanrong Township).



Figure 1. The field works in Taiwan's indigenous communities.
Made by Berik Davies and Wen-Li Ke

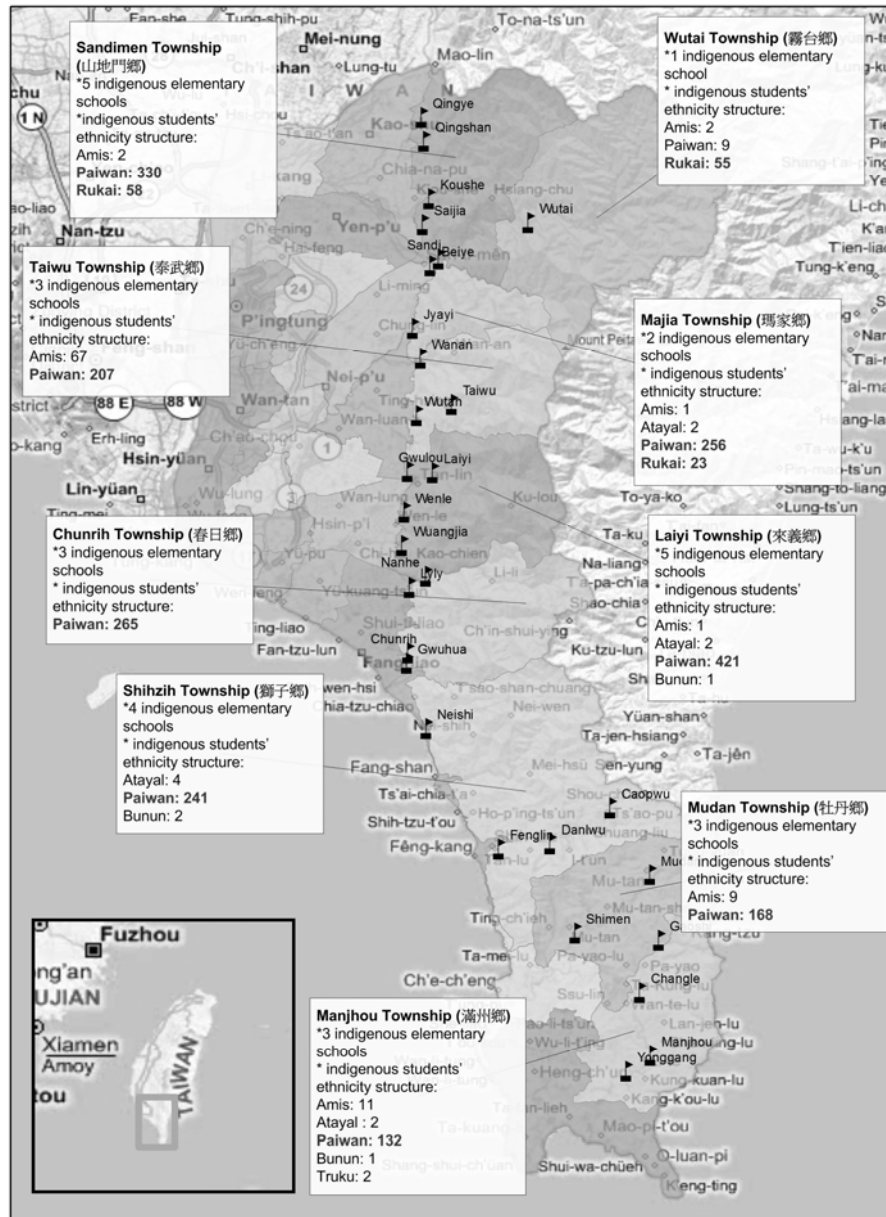


Figure 2. Indigenous peoples in the Pingting Township, Taiwan.⁷

Made by Berik Davies
 Data Arrangement: Wen-Li Ke

The notion of fieldwork in Taiwan was based on my own cultural background and long term real-life experience with Taiwan's indigenous peoples – my friends. The general “Taiwanese philosophy” which I’ve perceived and learnt from daily life communication and interaction between my own culture and other different peoples’ diverse cultures, has given me a strong knowledge base from which to conduct this research.

⁷ This map illustrated the reality of diverse cultures within Taiwan society. The reality is that “living together” is a very important philosophy for each specific people in Taiwan to learn and to practice.

Field Work: the Netherlands

In the Netherlands, *Fryslan* is the largest province (including water surfaces) and has its own culture and language: *Frysk*. This unique culture makes *Fryslan*'s bilingual speakers (Dutch and *Frysk*). On some occasions – at supermarkets, bakers, libraries – people use Frisian to communicate. (Helma Erkelens 2004)

In *Fryslan*, school education is flexible. In the past, bilingual education strengthened both *Frysk* and Dutch language skills. Recently, global trends have led English to become more and more important, and so trilingual education has been introduced into primary education. (Mercator 2008) If trilingual education is feasible, then bilingual education should be able to provide some beneficial referential or practical value for indigenous students in language learning and cultural revitalization.⁸ As such, the case study of Frisian education offers a valuable reference to this research.

Field Work: New Zealand

Due to a friend's kind assistance, I carried out field work experiencing *Maori* culture and language education in *Rotorua*, New Zealand. The name *Rotorua* comes from the *Maori* language, and it is located on the North Island of New Zealand. Nearly 40% of the total population in *Rotorua* identify them themselves as *Maori*. The reason I chose *Maori* education as one of the case studies for this paper is that the bottom-up action tried by the *Maori* themselves to initiate *Maori* language revitalization can provide help in methods and conceptual frameworks for developing indigenous education.

⁸ In the Netherlands, *Frysk* speakers are not recognized as indigenous people by the Dutch government, and they do not suffer from poverty or a lack of social justice issues. There are two major reasons why *Fryslan* education is included in the cases studies of this thesis: one is that the *Frysk* language does face a loss of its speakers and the bilingual experience; another is that trilingual education in *Frysk* can be a reference for developing indigenous language education.

Field Works: Canada

The case of indigenous education in Canada is quite complicated, and I have not attempted to analyze the history in detail. The most valuable aspect for this study is to learn how, after the Canadian government granted educational decision-making power to “Indian Control of Indian Education”, these schools planned and implemented their curricula and teaching. The fieldwork in Canada is focused on three regions: Winnipeg, Manitoba; the *Peepeekisis* reserve, Regina; and Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. Of particular note, the observations of First Nations education in Saskatchewan is useful for identifying the goals, form and content of indigenous education and whether expectations are met when educational decision-making rights are placed in the hands of indigenous peoples.



The Canadian Federal Government has broken the educational treaty rights of the First Nations by changing the Post-Secondary Student Support Program. On 22 September 2010, a peaceful demonstration was staged to send a strong message to the Canadian government.

Location: First Nations University,
Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada

Field Work: Mexico

Oaxaca, the second biggest state in Mexico, is rich in indigenous history and culture. The *Zapotecs* and *Mixtecs* are the majority residents here. Compared to other indigenous communities I have visited to around the world, the situation in Oaxaca is very different. In Oaxaca, indigenous peoples still live in a colonized mind and, therefore, reality. The people lack full social economic and mental decolonization on a national level, and even have a serious issue of “internal colonialism”. For this research, the most significant value of the field work in Oaxaca has been in recalling my past memories and experiences of indigenous issues and making a strong connection between knowledge gained from books and reality.



15 February 2010, Monday morning. It is time for school, but where is the classroom? Where are the teachers?

Location: Oaxaca City, Mexico

Section 3: Literature Review

In this section, a literature review is provided to serve as a framework for the research itself and the research questions. The review is divided into two major areas of related literature and theory discussion that include the following: culture and language; indigenous education; the UNESCO idea of education; postcolonialism; decolonization theory; bilingualism, as well as multiculturalism and interculturalism. The aim of this review is not to repeat what others have already written, but to examine the terrain and identify any literature gaps in order to provide a rationale for conducting this study.

3.0. Related Literature

I begin the literature review with an examination of knowledge that can contribute to this study.

3.0.0. Culture and Language

The study of Kendall A. King (2001) on the issue of language revitalization not only focuses on examining the reality of language revitalization in Saraguro communities⁹, but also seeks to outline the diversities of socioeconomic and culture of her research area. In the first chapter, besides defining terminology and describing the direction of her personal research, King gives a description of the relationship between language and cultural identity. In the following chapters she provides theoretical support for her thesis on the effects of the mutual influences of local community members, school education, and economic conditions on language revitalization. The author stresses again and again that language is a very important element in supporting the cultural identity of the speakers of a specific language. Among her research subjects, clothing and participation in indigenous cultural life are also components of ethnic identity besides language. She points out that when indigenous peoples, for economic reasons, are forced to alter their original economic livelihood, the economic activity can no longer identify the local indigenous people. As she explains, “the revitalization of these ‘cultural features that signal the boundary’ can change over time.” Naturally, after colonizers charged into indigenous communities and, as rulers, carried out cultural assimilation, no matter what country this took place in, most indigenous cultural heritages and languages faced extinction, and because of this, cultural boundaries have shifted. So, what efforts should indigenous language revitalization entail? The author believes that if the language speakers themselves lack a motive to develop, while outsiders have more passion in this area, the challenge is more difficult to overcome. Moreover, the creation of more opportunities for using the language in public and official occasions has become the key in whether or not it is possible to increase the number of speakers of a specific language.

The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice (Leanne Hinton and Ken Hale 2001) is treasured by many researchers and educators concerned with indigenous language revitalization. The book divides the topic of language revitalization into eight subtopics. The introduction in Chapter 1 summarizes nine steps in the process of carrying out language revitalization, allowing for adjustments to be made according to practical

⁹ Saraguro people live in the Southern Andes of Ecuador, their language is *Quichua*.

language circumstances and intended goals. The remaining eight chapters analyze the theoretical bases that support language revitalization and development, and provide real-life case studies that corroborate them. The book can serve as an excellent tool for developing language revitalization. However, although some of the cases studies described in the book have been carried out with success, one should brace his or herself for disappointment, because the majority of local and regional language revitalization proposals do not make it beyond academic meetings or conferences. For example, Anna Ash *et al.* (2001) state in their paper that the phenomenon of local language maintenance and revitalization is not a miracle, but is the contribution of a great deal of hard work on “behalf of diversity and essential human rights in the past and in the present” (Ash *et al.* 2001: 35). Leanne Hinton’s (2001) suggestion is to encourage people who want to revitalize language to carry it out without necessarily waiting for a perfect condition such as a well thought out action plan within the community. Once the project is has begun, the constant and continuous evaluative and re-planning constituents would help other essential relative functions develop.

3.0.1. Indigenous Education

I will now focus on the literature about *Maori* and *Fryslan* education, because I would like to emphasize the importance of bilingual/trilingual/multilingual education and intercultural education for this multilingual world and for multicultural nations. In addition, the contributions of the United Nations offers hope for worldwide indigenous peoples’ future development, and its ideas and blueprints of the indigenous intercultural bilingual education proposes a significant practical notion on the reform of indigenous education.

***Maori* Education**

There is a great deal of research and literature that focuses on indigenous education. Regarding the case studies in this research, Peter Caccioppoli and Phys Cullen’s paper *Maori Education* (2006) identifies three disadvantageous points for *Maori* students at the time in New Zealand’s educational system: 1) state schools were unable to truly help *Maori* students reach basic standards of academic achievement; 2) in many state schools, *Maori* students were abused; 3) unqualified principals, teachers and boards were often serving in state schools in which the majority of students were *Maori*. The authors offer feasible cases and recommendations for the improvement of *Maori* education. According to the authors’ examination of their research subjects, in New Zealand the state school system has failed both in terms of learning environment and the qualification of teachers. The authors believe that when the majority of teachers attribute the low academic performance of *Maori* students to low intelligence or worthlessness, then the schooling that *Maori* students receive can be considered an abusive environment. With almost every excellent teacher choosing to teach at “White schools,” so-called “Brown schools” are only able to hire the left over teachers who have low expectations of students’ learning achievements. This is also the chief reason why the authors stress that the mainstream state education system is unable to satisfy *Maori* students’ educational needs. However, in certain state schools with bilingual units, in which *Maori* parents provide

assistance in language teaching and in various teaching-related activities, there is more contact between teachers and the parents than in state schools without bilingual units or non-bilingual unit classrooms. This provides more opportunities for parents to participate in school education. In addition, the authors stress that the *Maori* early childhood education philosophy of *te Kohanga reo* (“language nest”) revolves around the preservation of language and empowering and supporting family (*whanau*). In 2005, the New Zealand Ministry of Education stated the following: “In 2002 results showed that *Maori* students in *Maori* immersion schools achieved significantly better in school Certificate and sixth form level English, science, mathematics and *te reo Maori* than *Maori* students participating in mainstream schools’ immersion programs.” (Caccioppoli and Cullen 2006:71) This provides us with an important viewpoint: that *te reo Maori* (*Maori* language) has an vital influence in improving *Maori* students’ academic achievements.

Sheridan McKinley’s (2000) paper *Maori Parents and Education* looks at the attitudes of *Maori* parents (*whanau*) regarding participation in their children’s school education, and its influence on their children’s academic achievement. At the same time, the study investigates *Maori* students’ performance in schools with different philosophies toward *te reo Maori* education, such as English-medium schools, English-medium schools with a bilingual unit, *kura kaupapa Maori*, and schools offering *Maori* language as a subject. McKinley found differences in academic performance and achievement in these different types of schools. The conclusion of the study is that for children studying in *Kura kaupapa Maori* schools, there is a more fluid communication and frequent interaction between parents and teachers and administrators. However, given the dominant status of the English language, many *Maori* parents still want their children to retain their ability to use *te reo Maori*, and to adhere to *Maori* values. Therefore, in the interest of raising their children to speak the English language fluently while at the same time developing their *te reo Maori* skills, most *Maori* parents choose to enroll their children in schools with a bilingual-unit.

***Fryslan* Education**

Regarding Frisian education, books and research data published in English are very limited and years apart in terms of publishing dates. One reason for this is that the *Frysk* language is still widely used in rural *Fryslan*, and so a considerable number of books on the subject are written in the *Frysk* language. In addition, *Fryslan* lack the serious poverty and oppressed issues faced by most other indigenous peoples in the world today, so *Fryslan* education is currently in the trial stage of trilingual education under the influence of globalization. In the early years of bilingual education, as stated in the 1986 publication *Far Away And Nearby* (Koen Zondag 1986), school curricula in the area reflect “societal assumptions and prevalence” and “bilingualism as a societal phenomenon.” (Zondag 1986:16) In the case of *Fryslan* the makeup of the population of the region, due to emigration and in-migration, means that *Frysk*, Dutch, and even English are used in the urban areas. Therefore bilingualism fits the diverse language reality in *Fryslan*. However, the bilingual education program not only fosters the mother tongue – the *Frysk* language – but also helps *Fryslan* children learn about their traditional

culture, history, and values through the *Frysk* language, thus helping to strengthen their cultural identity. In *Bilingual Education in Friesland: Facts & Prospects*, edited by Zondag (1993), one can learn that the language status of the *Frysk* language has gradually declined under the influence of the widespread use of the dominant language, Dutch, in practically all official institutions, including political, economic and educational systems. In the Frisian school education system, Frisian language learning lessons were at first offered after regular school hours, and several years later, Frisian language lessons were formally incorporated into the school curriculum as a subject, developing into *Frysk*/Dutch bilingual education. An important point that can be drawn from this is that it is equally important to teach both minority (indigenous) and dominant languages and cultures in minority (indigenous) school education. The book altogether consists of nine different research projects, and the facts it reveals underscore that when *Frysk* language learning is placed in a marginal position with limited learning hours, the challenges that must be faced in developing minority (indigenous) education within a formal educational system are difficult indeed. The researcher Ofelia Garcia (1993:25-37) believes that schoolteacher education philosophies must break free from the idea of the “instructor” and embrace the idea of the “educator” who is actively engaged in curriculum design and who understands the importance of language while working as a bilingual teacher. Regarding curriculum design, Alex M.J. Riemersma (1993:81-92) points out that a well-balanced curriculum of bilingual education helps students to develop a sufficient command of both languages.

3.0.2. The Education Idea of UNESCO

UNESCO has been working on the issue of worldwide education for a long time. Given the threat of extinction languages and cultures face due to political, economic, and other crucial factors, and given the concept of placing value on the diversity of languages and cultures in the world, efforts to increase human rights in linguistic and cultural respects have become correspondingly important. In addition, to realize the goal of developing Education for All (EFA), it is necessary to improve the “quality of education and expand educational opportunity for marginalized and underserved groups.” (UNESCO 2008:9) UNESCO also addresses the undeniable fact that modern “national” education systems are unable to help some students find employment after graduation, and are unable to solve the problem of elevating the learning quality of schools in rural areas or help students to succeed in national schooling. With the support of the findings of numerous studies, in 2008 UNESCO published a brochure of “*Mother Tongue Matters*” emphasizing the importance of the mother tongue as the instruction language in school education. The brochure lists several successful cases developed with the assistance of UNESCO, corroborating that “mother-tongue-based bilingual education significantly enhances the learning outcomes of students from minority language communities ... these programs also promote the identification of the minority community with the formal education process.” (UNESCO 2008:41)

Another UNESCO publication, *Education in a Multilingual World* in 2003, likewise sets its focus on promoting the importance of choosing a “proper” instruction language for school education. As a country’s population makeup moves toward greater diversity, the challenge of school education in a multicultural nation becomes more difficult. Under the premise of promoting rather than conflicting with human rights, the implementation of bilingual and multilingual education has become an important undertaking of UNESCO with regard to a multilingual world. However, UNESCO recognizes and respects the special educational needs of indigenous children with regard to their own cultures, values, languages, and traditions, and so UNESCO has released a special indigenous education handbook¹⁰ to emphasize the importance of developing early childhood education for indigenous children and providing quality education for indigenous peoples. Evidently, from the periodicals published by UNESCO, average readers can quickly learn that the international focus is on indigenous education, but this does not mean that the actual development circumstances are as rosy as the messages sent out by these periodicals would suggest. Of course, there is no doubt that as the countries of the world become increasingly multicultural under the effects of globalization, UNESCO’s promotion of mother tongue education and intercultural bilingual/multilingual education can exercise a positive influence on formal educational systems with regard to indigenous cultural heritage and language revitalization efforts.

¹⁰ UNESCO *UNESCO’s Work on Indigenous Education*, Section for Education for Peace and Human Rights, Printed in France.

3.1. Theory Discussion

Against the background of a global world and its multiethnic countries, the theories of postcolonialism, decolonization, bilingualism, multiculturalism, as well as interculturalism form a crucial knowledge base for this research.

3.1.0. Postcolonialism

The concept of postcolonialism first appeared in Frantz Fanon's book *Black Skins, White Masks* (1986). This elicited broad discussion in Western academia, and a theoretical framework was gradually formed through ongoing debate in academic circles. By examining this theory, a researcher can study and review the conflicts and contradictions with which one has been long familiar and which we have been compelled to take as a matter of course. It is important to examine how colonizers regard the colonized as the "Other" in order to advance their own political, economic, ideological and cultural control (see also Robert J. C. Young 2001 and Diana Brydon 2000). Therefore, we begin to identify the mechanisms regarding the nature and culture of the "Other" versus "Self." Brydon's following description identifies the relevance of the concept of postcolonialism to this present study:

The concept of postcolonialism has proven indispensable in enabling discussion of topics previously ignored, under-valued or studied in isolation: principally, the cultural and scientific productions of formerly colonized peoples across the globe, and the complex inter-relationships among economics, governance, society and culture within colonized locations. (Brydon 2000:20)

Most indigenous peoples in the world have been successively governed by colonizers. For instance, Taiwan's indigenous peoples have been colonized by the Dutch, the Ching Dynasty, the Japanese and the Republic of China. Undoubtedly, postcolonialism, whether pertaining to a country's diverse social and cultural structure or to the restoration of traditional indigenous culture and ethnic identity, provides a theoretical basis by which to seek solutions.

Definition

The category referred to by the term postcolonialism exists rather intangibly. It would be difficult to give a generalized definition that would fit the varied political, cultural, educational, and economic lives within all the world's countries (Bonnie Roos and Alex Hunt 2010; Daniel Carey and Lynn Festa 2009). In the case of Taiwan, which has been occupied by numerous colonial powers over the centuries, there is a significantly greater degree of marginalization among the indigenous population than there is among the other three dominant peoples – the Mandarin Chinese speakers, Taiwan Southern Min speakers, and the Hakka speakers. As such, it can be said that it is "true that discouraged citizens of free countries tell themselves that they (colonizes) have no voice in their nation's affairs, that their actions are useless, that their voice is not heard". (Albert Memmi 1965:91) Colonizers will deliberately disregard the various needs of different peoples, stating that it is reasonable to silence the voices of disadvantaged peoples. In such a case, a truly postcolonial society simply cannot exist in a multicultural country. From the explanations

of Young (2001) in his book *Postcolonialism*, one can see how, as explained by postcolonialism, the colonized have long struggled to obtain, through resistance against the colonial powers, positive roles in political, economic, and cultural systems which were established by domination. Young writes:

...postcolonialism — which I would prefer to call tricontinentalism — names a theoretical and political position which embodies an active concept of intervention within such oppressive circumstances. It combines the epistemological cultural innovations of the postcolonial moment of the conditions of postcoloniality. In that sense, the ‘post’ of postcolonialism, or postcolonial critique, marks the historical moment of the theorized introduction of new tricontinental forms and strategies of critical analysis and practice. Unlike the words ‘colonialism’, ‘imperialism’ and ‘neocolonialism’ which adopt only a critical relation to the oppressive regimes and practices that they delineate, postcolonialism is both contestatory and committed towards political ideas of a transnational social justice. (Young 2001: 57)

Thus, postcolonialism is a way to review and appraise, from the perspective of the colonized, the inappropriate measures and ideas brought forth by colonization by a dominant culture, and offers a way to construct an ideology stressing the subject culture of the colonized (Homi K. Bhabha 2000).

Under the elaboration and analysis of numerous scholars, besides issues of cross-national colonialism, the scope of postcolonialism also covers the topic of the colonization of a single privileged people over other disadvantaged people within a country’s borders (Gyan Prakash 1995). Therefore, postcolonialism, to a degree, can be used to explain, within a complex historical context, a shift in identity among diverse peoples in every single multicultural country, given the equilibrium of interdependence or unequal social status. The identity concepts of the colonizers and the colonized are in opposition, as “the bond between colonizer and colonized is thus destructive and creative...it destroys and re-creates the two partners of colonization into colonizer and colonized” (Memmi 1965:89). Considering the example of Taiwan, in the past when Taiwan was administered by Japan, Japan was the colonial power and Taiwan was the colonized land. Now, given the relationship between the Han Taiwanese and the indigenous peoples of Taiwan, the Han Taiwanese are the colonizers and the indigenous peoples are the colonized. The positions of the colonizers and the colonized will play different roles depending on time and location.

Postcolonial discourse is a complicated subject. It is concerned with the tangible and intangible power of language and the cultural heritage it obviously expresses and even imposes. Fanon, although not the first to argue this, described this connection well when he stated that “to speak a language is to assume a world, a culture” (Raymond F. Betts 1998:94). From his viewpoint it may be reasonable to say that there is an unseparated relationship between language, culture, and worldview. We may, therefore, reasonably introduce postcolonialism to assist in dealing with issues of indigenous language, culture, and education etc.

Cultural Issues

The meaning of culture to each specific people is not simply a manifestation of lifestyle and history. Rather, due to cultural practices happening in everyday life, every group of people forms a distinctive cultural knowledge and worldview.

Under postcolonial circumstances, the colonized are often in a contradictory state of mind. On the one hand, they find the culture and knowledge of the colonizers' homeland imposed on them, and on the other hand they have to preserve their own native culture (Justin D. Edwards 2008). Bearing this in mind, one needs to rethink the way in which cultural identity is constructed, especially in this globalized era. As times and societies change, the postcolonial subjects also constantly change and seek their personal and cultural identity and position. In other words, postcolonial subjects seek an answer to the question "who are we?" By positioning and identifying themselves through past declarations, they proceed to identify themselves as "Self" and choose to define who the "Self" is. (see also Schwartz 1995)¹¹ Thus, the colonized subjects need to continually renew and find their own position, so that their subject identity can produce action in the historical context of the political and social culture.

With respect to cultural position, the standpoint of postcolonialism posits that in different times, settings and political situations, the colonized peoples show differences in self-positioning (Ania Loomba 1998). Therefore, in a postcolonial era, the colonized need to constantly re-position themselves, because their cultural identity is floating. Memmi (1965) has described how the colonized have over time lost their knowledge of how to, as well as their understanding of why they should, actively participate in history. Memmi explains that

"no matter how briefly colonization may have lasted, all memory of freedom seems distant; he [the colonized] forgets what it costs or else he no longer dares to pay the price for it." (Memmi 1965:92).

With reference to self-identity and cultural identity, postcolonialism pays attention to differences in and diversity among subject identities, as well as to the problem of collective memories from the colonial period. However, after colonizers employed various methods to destroy indigenous peoples' cultures, the cultural memories of contemporary young-generation indigenous peoples have mostly been built by the dominant world. With three generations with different indigenous collective cultural memories and identities gained from living in different times and places, there is a disconnection between the memories of the indigenous elders (the culture and language keepers), the indigenous adults, and the youngsters. Another case "diaspora", is the scattering of people of a certain ethnicity to many locations, with each individual preserving collective memories of the past. An imagined concept of community is created,

¹¹ [...] there is evidence that identity is always problematic and consequently dynamic, not only in modern, rapidly changing societies but in primitive ones as well. It becomes problematic in new ways under culture contact, domination, and acculturation, but it is not created anew. [...] Individuals or groups seem always to confront the question of their identity – of what that identity implies and of what they must do to validate their own and others' sense of that identity. (Schwartz 1995: 69)

and through means of rediscovering self-subject identity, past coercion and oppression of the colonized can be identified, and the past can be re-shaped and re-positioned. The phenomenon of postcolonial diaspora not only signifies the process of a return to a simple culture of the past, but also an awareness of current cultural heterogeneity and diverse hybridity. Through the constant changes in diaspora identity and re-positioning, it is possible to gain a cultural basis with unique qualities. With the wave of immigration formed by economic globalization, almost every country unavoidably needs to consider how to put all its peoples on the same path toward an equal and just postcolonial era, whether the people are indigenous, diaspora or immigrants.

Language Issues

The importance of language is in the fact that, besides being an important medium for communication between human beings, for speakers of each individual language it is a part of their culture, and it is the main “ingredient” of the language speakers’ culture, worldview, and knowledge (Máiréad Nic Craith 2007; Ismail S. Talib 2002). Therefore, in assimilation policies, early colonizers employed various means of forcing the colonized to learn and use the dominant language. Once the colonized had lost the ability to use their native language, it became much easier to force them to abandon their traditional cultures, religions, and ways of life.

For example, the indigenous peoples of Taiwan traditionally use their mother-tongues as medium of communication when learning their own material and spiritual cultures. The language, through images and symbols, gave them their view of the world. However, when the indigenous peoples were forced to undergo the education of the colonizers, they found that the instructional language of dominant school education was not their indigenous languages. Mandarin Chinese became the main determinant of a child’s progress up the ladder of formal education.

Thus, regarding the issue of language under postcolonialism, Bhabha offers this viewpoint:

[It] forces us to rethink the profound limitations of a consensual and collusive ‘liberal’ sense of cultural community. It insists that cultural and political identity are constructed through a process of alterity...The time for ‘assimilating’ minorities to holistic and organic notions of cultural value has dramatically passed. The very language of cultural community needs to be rethought from the postcolonial perspective, in a move similar to the language of sexuality, the self and cultural community.... (quote from Duncan Ivison 2000: 2026)

Therefore, through the discussion of postcolonialism, I believe it is necessary and valuable to return educational rights to the colonized, indigenous peoples or minorities, whose native languages are moribund due to the education systems of the colonizers. Developing bilingual education within the national education system is the most beneficial means of doing so.

Educational Issues

As previously described, one can use postcolonialism to criticize and question issues of injustice and inequality experienced by marginalized peoples within multicultural countries. This includes depriving a people's inherent linguistic and cultural rights, cultural discrimination and improper education. In the study of postcolonialism, criticisms are raised regarding the cultural methods used by ruling classes in schools, homes, churches, and the media to further hegemony. For instance, the traditional values and lifestyles affecting the colonized, the legality of the formation of hegemony, and factors leading to the submission of the colonized to the rulers are all included within its scope.

As for education in schools, in setting and implementing of educational policy, dominance is applied as a "legitimate" model of cultural hegemony, requiring institutions relating to schools to cooperate in such measures (M. Crossley and L. Tikly 2004). However, one of the principal contentions of postcolonialism is the discussion of the relationship between the knowledge and rights of the colonizers and the colonized. In other words, postcolonialism stresses the importance of repressed knowledge as well as the "legal" authority that is invisible yet controls the colonized. Because of this, knowledge which had been neglected or hidden is brought to attention, while at the same time a theory-based direction in which to address topics of minority or indigenous educational research can be found. Thus, viewed from the standpoint of postcolonialism, the colonizers should make use of the resources once used by the dominant government to control the "Others" to instead find conditions beneficial to the colonized and adopt strategies to effectively solve the problems of their long-term marginalization in education. By making use of the standpoint of postcolonialism, one can take a more in-depth look at these deep level problems of cultural and educational positioning, in order to solve domestic educational problems (integration, innovation and hybridity). At the same time, policy-makers or governments can seek means to solve the common problems of difference within the education of indigenous cultures in the face of globalization.

The effects of the long-term subjection of contemporary indigenous peoples to colonial regimes and the problem of low socioeconomic status have not improved. In order to advance one's position, members of dominant groups often recognize the importance of and utilize higher education. However, the educational policy set by the dominant governments is not simply unable to solve the problems indigenous peoples face; on the contrary, it has become a tool for the destruction of indigenous peoples' culture. Therefore I wonder to what degree people can seek justice through reflection and movements in a supposed postcolonial society. Just imagine: if there is only one dominant educational system existing in multicultural countries, after several decades the people will not know how to use the (globally) dominant languages, but only appreciate and have nationally dominant cultural knowledge. As a consequence, many people may choose a national or international identity that is advantageous to them, but not a cultural identity. In order to build equal and just values within multicultural countries, the potential contribution of indigenous cultural knowledge, community values, art, oral literature etc. to the education and the nations is undeniable.

In 2007, the United Nations adopted the *Declaration on Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, which reminded the countries of the world that they should recognize and respect indigenous rights within their borders. Oddly enough, this declaration has not been recognized by all UN member states, for example Canada and China, but has been welcomed by some non-UN member states, such as Taiwan. Because of the UN's support of and attention to the rights of indigenous peoples, indigenous peoples can contribute their voice to the official international stage. This shift reflects the idea that perhaps there is no need to be overly inflexible when addressing questions such as whether the postcolonial era has arrived and which countries have achieved it.

3.1.1. Decolonization Theory

The end of colonial governance, for example the end of the British Empire's colonization of Hong Kong, or the successful restoration of local rule, such as in Taiwan in 2000 when the Democratic Progressive Party successfully replaced Kuomintang rule, undoubtedly heralds many changes. However, most modern formerly-colonized countries remain unable to completely shed the influence of the thinking of the past colonial rule with regards to social, political, cultural, and philosophic contexts, as well as their official governmental systems. This represents a major challenge for government and education systems. Due to the influence that these two areas have on the colonized, colonial ideas are deeply rooted in their minds, thoughts, and hearts. Postcolonialism¹² offers the colonized (the "Other") a theoretical basis upon which to rethink their cultural and political status. As the colonized become acutely aware of the marginalization of their cultural and political status, and as feelings of oppression and anxiety develop as a result, their awareness, criticism and resistance become an act of decolonization. Memmi (1965) has referred to the colonized as being in simple opposition to the colonizers. Roy Fraser Holland (1985) has proposed that the colonial dominion set up by the British, French, Dutch, Belgians and Portuguese were a set of deliberate governance systems, and this colonialism upset the original internal harmony of the colonized. The fact that decolonization took place in such diverse places, and yet over so compressed a timescale, suggests to Seephen Howe (1993) that the pressures produced in the decolonization process by the policies implemented by the last colonial powers are a key factor in determining local conditions. Howe's idea raises the possibility of fear of moving forward and of avoidance among colonized peoples with regard to the decolonization. Since Howe, various scholars, such as Bhabha, have shown that the boundaries between the colonizer and colonized are vague, and that there are many complexities, contradictions and paradoxes in this relationship.

The term decolonization first appeared in the 1930s, but it was the 1960s before it truly received attention. However, decolonization is like colonialism: it does not stress process, but concrete action. It is a fight, a movement. Thus, the colonized do not need to emphasize or overly consider whether colonial power is far gone, because as stated previously, to the colonized, even though the last colonial power has been shed, it still

¹² The Western worldview of Eurocentric duality (i.e. Western/non-Western, center/margin, self/other, etc.) causes the colonized to be in a position of subjection to domination and oppression, and thus there is no cultural subjectivity.

remains influential in numerous official governmental systems, cultures, and even in the thoughts and minds of local peoples. Therefore, decolonization is a bottom-up action with an objective of attempting to end the current colonial governance, or to clear away the last vestiges of colonial rule. After the end of World War II, the world was developing in the direction of resistance to colonial rule. For example, in Sub-Saharan Africa, in just three short years from 1960 to 1963, numerous countries threw off their colonial shackles and established independent rule. Colonial power was almost totally uprooted from this area. After this, Native Americans and Africans initiated social movements to struggle for equal rights. At that time, despite the negative influences of colonization, Vine Deloria (1969) described the positive changes of “American Indian culture” toward the decolonizing efforts by “Indian” people themselves, such as the increasing number of young indigenous generations who preferred to live and work in their own communities, or the introduction of “Indian” traditional religious and cultural practice into their “modern” lives. The results of such movements spread to the indigenous peoples of the Pacific region, and by the late 1970s, the indigenous people of New Zealand and Australia had initiated movements of cultural revival, striving for the right of tribal self-determination¹³. At the start of the 1990s, “third-world” peoples began struggling for political and economic autonomy. According to J. Ritchie (1992), the objectives of indigenous self-determination and cultural revival movements are mainly to retrieve control rights of resources in order to attain the goal of economic self-determination, to increase the voice and visibility of indigenous people, and preserve anything that can perpetuate traditional culture and promote cultural identity. We may say that decolonization also is a struggle, as representatives of indigenous peoples have made huge sacrifices and some have become martyrs to the cause.

Within literary criticism, one can find numerous decolonial “voices” and philosophy from indigenous “Self”. From practical resistance, sometimes silent, against colonial impositions, this resistance continues in modern nations, just as the impositions continue (David Luis-Brown 2008). From the practical examples of many educational reforms, one can see the positive developments resulting from decolonization actions, changing from the past dismissive attitudes of dominant educational authorities toward non-national languages and cultures to providing lessons in these languages in school education, even if the current development situation is quite immature and discouraging.

The Impact of Decolonization on Indigenous Education

Before the rise of postcolonialism, colonizers carried out cultural assimilation of the colonized through hegemony, which led to a disintegration of the traditional cultures of the colonized. This circumstance was most serious to the indigenous peoples of the “third world”. Thus, after the concept of postcolonialism became widely discussed, indigenous peoples began to think deeply about their right to exist. Lacking an ability to control or

¹³ With the promotion and advancement of such actions by multinational indigenous organizations, such indigenous movements have become world-wide issues.

play a leading role in education, they began struggling for the right of self-determination; in other words, they began to initiate the act of decolonization.¹⁴

In 1970, the general Assembly of the United Nations formally declared ‘*The principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples*’, and proclaimed that

“all peoples have the right freely to determine, without external interference, their political status and to pursue their economic, social and cultural development.” (UN General Assembly 1970)

In the quest to successfully overthrow assimilation policies, many indigenous peoples are actively working toward the objective of self-determination. Such declarations for indigenous peoples’ self-determination open the doorway to hope. The basis for this movement is Article 1 of the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* published by the United Nations in 1976, which states that self-determination is the right of all people, and that

“by virtue of the right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.” (The United Nations 1976)

The power of this declaration lies in the fact that indigenous peoples could now get strong support from an international organization for their own educational reform. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) has offered a further explanation of decolonization:

Decolonization, however, does not mean and has not meant a total rejection of all theory or research or Western knowledge. Rather, it is about centering our concerns and world views and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspectives and for our own purposes. (Smith 1999:39)

The decolonization theory comes from the Western academic world, and I do not believe that every event occurring in real life needs theory to analyze its context. Following Smith’s suggestion, theory, to colonized indigenous peoples, is perhaps not so useful, but if indigenous peoples can use their own worldviews, perspectives and cultural knowledge, then after listening to their own voices and clearly understanding their own needs, they can learn Western theory or conduct research in the Western academic world to strengthen the “real” indigenous voices within the academic institution.¹⁵ This is a decolonization action (Cathryn McConaghy 2000). Yet, it is a challenge to help indigenous future generations develop a proper idea of a de-colonial mind, and the formal educational system is a very concrete means to this end. So, in what direction should indigenous educational reform proceed? Under the influence of globalization, there is no way to avoid the influence of top-down philosophy on the developing ideas of indigenous education, but if there is a lack of bottom-up action for changing dominant educational system, or creating possibilities for adequate schooling, then indigenous students will not able have their educational needs met by schools. The acknowledgement of this fact may

¹⁴ For example, in Oaxaca (a multiethnic state in Mexico), school teachers as well as the indigenous population are struggling and fighting for better quality education for Oaxaca indigenous students which includes indigenous languages and cultures education.

¹⁵ Notable indigenous scholars include Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Michael Yellow Bird, Yvonna S. Lincoln, and Norman K. Denzin.

help us to understand that decolonizing education is in need of indigenous cultural heritage revitalization and support from outside the indigenous world.

Decolonization through Cultural Reconstruction and Language Survival

If one was to take a look at every case of the dominant ideas of settler around the world, one would see that without exception colonizers have adopted policies of assimilation (K. N. Panikkar 2007; Melvin E. Page and Penny M. Sonnenburg 2003). There are a number of different dimensions to assimilation, according to Tony Chafer (2002), and one of these is cultural assimilation. In *Orientalism*, Edward W. Said (1979) argues that Western presumptive attitudes toward East Asian culture have provided European powers with legitimacy in their own minds regarding the colonization of others. This legitimacy has become a means of pressing Western cultural leadership or hegemony onto others' cultural and political lives (see also Susan Yulie Najita 2006).

Under the concept of "self-determination", indigenous peoples must strive for schooling policies and the right of economic participation, and enjoy the right to choose an ideal school education that meets their specific educational needs in order to work together with the government to operate their own schools. A crucial part of this movement is to incorporate the languages, cultures and values of indigenous peoples into the overall education system as a means of empowering and improving the educational success of indigenous students. Such thinking has incited the development of community-based education. Community-based education courses have had a positive influence on the development of indigenous education, and on the revitalization of language and culture.

Let us consider the example of *te Kohanga Reo* and *te Kura Kaupapa Maori* educational programs of New Zealand. These two programs are run by *Maori* people, and the *Maori* people participate directly in the schooling, not only promoting the development of the *Maori* language effectively, but at the same time boosting self-identity among *Maori* students. This corroborates the words of Ngugi wa Thiong'o¹⁶ (2000) that language choice and use affects a person's definitions and views toward the overall social environment and natural world, and that the worldview expressed by the language speaker is inseparably linked with the specific language. This is one of the main reasons why the *Maori* people, after noticing that their cultural heritage knowledge faced extinction, made concerted efforts in language education.

Such a successful experience has had an effect on other indigenous peoples around the world. For example, in 1982 the indigenous people of the Hawaiian region followed the example of the *Maori* people and founded the Punana Leo pre-school language educational institution. This is a positive example of the application of decolonization in education. The following quotation from Waziyatawin Angela Wilson (2005) illustrates the ideal of decolonization in education:

If we can imagine a future in which our languages are flourishing, we have beaten the colonial mindset and we can begin the hard work that is necessary to save our language. (Wilson 2005: 125)

¹⁶ The general idea is borrowed from a quotation by Wilson (2005).

Decolonization is a means of countering colonial power, which has applied its self-made legal procedures and status to forcefully take land from indigenous peoples, used a dominant educational system to carry out cultural assimilation, and taken action to deprive human rights. Therefore, bottom-up action has received positive feedback from indigenous peoples within multicultural societies with regards to countering marginalization and unequal social status (Robert Odawi Porter 2005). Thus, if the colonized (indigenous peoples) are able to thoroughly change the top-down and outside-in thinking behaviors of long-term colonial education, this would represent a successful act of decolonization.

3.1.2. Bilingualism

We are living in a multicultural world. For example, the population of Taiwan can be divided into Han Taiwanese and indigenous peoples. The Han Taiwanese includes the Hakka, the Taiwan Southern Min speakers and the families of those who withdrew to Taiwan from China after World War II, while the indigenous peoples are officially recognized as 14 different peoples by Taiwanese government. The traditional life styles, languages, and cultural activities between these so called 17 different peoples are very different. Our multicultural world has both tangible and intangible valuable cultural heritage, such as landscapes, architecture, rituals, languages, etc. Cultural diversity enriches a global society, but unfortunately many cultures, particularly indigenous traditional cultures, are facing the crisis of extinction, and the perpetuation of intangible heritage such as indigenous languages is a most troublesome challenge. In today's era of advancing technology and increased transportation, people's choice of places to move to is no longer limited by distance. Whatever the reason for immigration may be, such continuing changes mean that the countries of the world need to face the reality of language and cultural diversity. Before considering these challenges, one needs to consider that within a multilingual country, if a person's mother tongue is not the dominant or national language, then he or she will probably be at least bilingual (Jean-Marc Dewaele *et al.* 2003). Unfortunately, school education usually only provides students with full courses to learn national and global languages, and does not see the need to occupy too much time with teaching the languages of marginalized peoples. No matter how much dominant governments deny that this is language discrimination, what is experienced is that certain languages or cultures are deemed unimportant in an official setting. This is detrimental to convincing outsiders to invest the effort to appreciate other languages and cultures, and instead it allows negative emotions to propagate. younger-generation language speakers are naturally unwilling to learn languages and cultures that are not respected and valued by the dominant people. If the languages within a multicultural country are not fostered carefully, the least valued among them will gradually vanish, and the country may become monolingual.

Regarding the problem of preserving the endangered languages of indigenous peoples, the study of bilingualism is of pressing importance.

Definitions

There have been numerous studies of bilingualism over the decades, and such studies have grown more complex with the advancement of time. Below I will focus on applying the theories of various scholars to flesh out my definition of bilingualism.

Bloomfield Leonard (1993) suggested that perfect foreign language learning is not accompanied by the loss of native language ability, but instead urges learners to develop the ability to use two languages in a native-like way. This is the meaning of bilingualism. He also points out that after early childhood, a person may no longer have enough will or time to learn a foreign language via a perfect model. Leonard thus defines bilingualism as a “native-like control of two languages” that results from growing up in an environment with two languages. He goes on to say that the distinction between the ability to learn a native language and the ability to study foreign languages is relative, but is unable to calculate the degree of correlation between them. If Leonard’s argument is correct, after this window of opportunity for developing bilingual ability passes, will the positive feedback we can obtain from multilingual countries promoting and supporting bilingual education be able to rescue indigenous languages that are on the verge of extinction?

Uriel Weinreich (1968) developed the following explanation of bilingualism: if a person alternately learns and uses two languages, the person is a bilingual, and this situation will be called bilingualism. Such a statement may seem simplistic, as it asserts that bilingualism is merely the practice of alternately using two languages. Weinreich does not explain to what degree a person is able to use these two languages independently before one can call him or her bilingual.

Regarding the phenomenon of bilingualism, William F. Mackey (1970) proposed that one should not limit the focus of theoretical inquiry to only two languages; one needs to extend the scope of a person’s language development possibilities to the learning of two or more languages at the same time. From Mackey’s logic, if the language environment is well arranged, then the term bilingualism or multilingualism will be possible. As Leonard has stated, having a child learn during the best window of opportunity for language learning – early childhood exposure to a bilingual environment– can help the child successfully develop a native-like degree of ability in two languages. However, according to Mackey, it is also possible for a person to acquire three or more languages at the same time, and this also happens to be the reasoning behind the United Nations’ current attempts to promote multilingual education in multiethnic countries.

In 1982, Hugo Baetens Beardsmore offered the following definition of bilingualism:

[It] must be able to account for the presence of at least two languages within one and the same speaker, remembering that ability in these two languages may or may not be equal, and that the way the two or more languages are used plays a highly significant role. (Baetens Beardsmore 1982: 3)

Baetens Beardsmore’s statement, highlighting the fact that ability in the two languages may or may not be equal, solves the problems with Weinreich’s view. Although “may or

may not” is vague, one can at least understand that bilingualism does not merely refer to people who only use two languages, but also the abilities in these two languages must be about the same. The main point is that the roles that the two languages play are both of significant importance to the speaker.

In a paper published, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (1984:90) posits that:

A bilingual speaker is someone who is able to function in two (or more) languages, either in monolingual or bilingual communities, in accordance with the sociocultural demands made of an individual herself, at the same level as native speakers, and who is able positively to identify with both (or all) language groups (and cultures) or parts of them.

The view of Skutnabb-Kangas is that for a bilingual speaker, there is a cultural element in addition to the previously mentioned conditions. Languages are a part of culture, and the learning and use of language is a fundamental factor in the perpetuation of a culture.

In the book *Bilinguality and Bilingualism*, Josiane F. Hamers and Michel H.A. Blanc (1989:6) states that bilingualism can be defined as:

[H]aving or using two languages especially as spoken with the fluency characteristic of a native speaker; a person using two languages especially habitually and with control like of a native speaker and bilingualism as the constant oral use of two languages.

This definition adds some different ideas to the previously mentioned arguments; that is, that bilingualism involves not only the use of two languages by an individual, but also that the speaker uses the non-native language as naturally as a native speaker does. In other words, a bilingual person is capable of using two languages at a native or near-native level, and moreover there is a long-term, continual use of the two languages.

Furthermore, according to a report from the Ministry of Education of New Zealand, the definitions of bilingualism on the issue of language use and language proficiency are dissimilar. For example, even if a person can speak two languages, he or she might tend to only speak one in practice, or, as another example, a person may speak two languages regularly, but his or her competence in one language may be limited (see also Hamers and Blanc 1989). The issue of language use is relevant where an individual uses one language for conversation and another for reading and writing. The distinction between language proficiency (or ability) and language use thus becomes important.

Summing up the above points, I believe bilingualism denotes confident and fluent use of one’s own native language, plus a lack of misunderstanding in the use of a second language (whether taught in school or used in daily life in certain circumstances). The fluency of reading, writing, speaking, and listening in both languages is native-like. In addition to this, when the bilingual speaker uses the two languages separately, he or she is able to clearly identify the deeper cultural meanings involved with the languages.

Bilingual Patterns

Regarding bilingual patterns, Charlotte Hoffmann (1991:40) in her book *An Introduction to Bilingualism* states that

“the ways in which children can become bilingual, and their bilingualism be maintained, vary a great deal from one family or individual case to another.”

Indeed, the reasons that anyone becomes bilingual cannot all be the same, so to it is important for us to examine bilingual patterns in order to have a clearer understanding of how children become bilingual (Aneta Pavlenko 2009; 2006). Understanding this would be an advantageous to introducing and maintaining bilingual education for the revitalization of endangered indigenous languages. Below I will state and analyze five bilingual patterns mentioned by Hoffmann. My aim here is that in future studies of language education among indigenous children, especially in Taiwan, ideas regarding the promotion of bilingual education can be clarified and improved.

Immigration

Centuries of colonialism immigration, as well as in other historical accidents defining political frontiers, have meant that in today's world there are many countries whose people are a complex make-up of multiple ethnicities. Canada, the US and the Netherlands are examples of such countries. Overall, the children of immigrants tend to naturally use the language of their parents to converse with family members, but in school they have to learn a second language. Most are pressured by the general public and by peer groups to assimilate, and so the immigrant children often find themselves in a “sink or swim” situation (E. Oksaar 1983). The schooling model in most countries until now has been inclined toward a policy of language assimilation, with bilingualism as a temporary strategy. After several generations, one can expect language development as follows:

First generation	Second generation	Third generation	Fourth generation
LA+LB	LA and LB	+LA, LB	LB
(+= ‘some’; LA= Language A; LB= Language B)			

(Source: Hoffmann 1991: 41)

Migration

Hoffmann believes that the reason most people migrate is to seek better job opportunities, and perhaps also to enjoy a better quality of life. A migrant may well move with their entire family, or else go alone to another country and there find a partner who may be from the host country or might be from another ethnic group. In general, before the children of migrants receive education, the language they learn comes from their parents (see also Jim Cummins and Merrill Swain 1986). If the community the immigrant family lives in consists of other immigrants from the same country, then the children do not start truly learning the local language, their second language, until they start school. To migrants, the issue of their children learning a second language in the host country is something they must face (Ursula A. Kelly 2009; Sigrid Luchtenberg 2004), but maintaining their language is often seen as being more important, because at some point in the future the family may decide to move back to their country of origin. Therefore, whether second-generation migrant children become bilingual depends on their family circumstances and the influences of the social setting in general.

Close Contact with Other Linguistic Groups

Given the multiplicity of languages in use within multiethnic countries, the likelihood of exposure to different languages is very high. Bilingualism will appear in children as a result, and may also appear in adults. To illustrate this, Hoffmann references M. H. Abdulaziz-Mkilifi's (1978) study of Tanzanian languages. Abdulaziz-Mkilifi observed many children before they had started school, and noted that although they learned Swahili by living in a community of Swahili speakers, the foremost factor in their pre-school language education was their parents. The men in the community had learned Swahili for work purposes. Abdulaziz-Mkilifi recognized that the Swahili of the children was usually better than that of the Tanzanian women, and believes that this result is both natural and common under the circumstance of bilingualism, and, moreover, these children may not even be aware that they are using two different languages (Tanzanian and Swahili) when they speak.

Schooling and Growing Up in a Bilingual Family

Schooling is the most important method through which children become bilingual, and at the same time it is the most important opportunity for "rescuing" minority languages from extinction (Rosa Castro Feinberg 2002; Anwei Feng 2007). For this reason, schooling in many countries around the world is focused on this issue.¹⁷ However, since the choice of courses is often left up to the student, the success of language education depends on factors such as learning motivation, language resources and length of attendance (Raymonde Sneddon 2009).

¹⁷ In Europe, for instance, Sweden provides Sami pupils with mother tongue classes, and in the UK there are some special second language courses offered to students who are about to attend school to help them adapt to future schooling.

Let us look at the example of a family living in Sweden. The father is Swedish, the mother is American, and their child as a result is bilingual, speaking both Swedish and English. This kind of household fits one criterion for establishing bilingualism: one-parent-one-language. Despite this, the development of bilingualism in this family may be unsuccessful. We need to take into consideration factors such as whether this child has had enough exposure to the “home-only” language, whether the parents were consistent in their language use, whether the child perceived a need to learn both these two languages and whether the child received social support from majority and minority groups (Leonard M. Baca and Hermes T. Cervantes 2004; Roger Barnard and Ted Glynn 2003).

Considering the varied positions mentioned above, how can one ensures bilingualism in children? There are many possible solutions to this challenge, but can one finds a learning model which is best suited for indigenous children in different countries? How should indigenous language education in dominant governments’ policies develop so that suitable and necessary education can be provided for indigenous children? These questions will be discussed in the following chapters of this study with the aim of contributing to understanding and practical solutions.

3.1.3 Multiculturalism and Interculturalism

Cultural identity and ethnic consciousness became increasingly prominent between the late 1980s and the 1990s as economic globalization grew, and as interaction between the world's cultures increased. Calls for economic, cultural and educational rights for indigenous peoples proliferated accordingly (Norine Dresser 2005). As a result, multiculturalism increased, becoming widely discussed and applied in some multiethnic (immigrant) Western countries, with the main objective being cultural diversity, cultural equality and rights compensation for "minorities" (Helmbrecht Breinig *et al.* 2002; C. James Trotman 2001). The increase of diverse cultural interaction within a nation and throughout the world makes the discussion of interculturalism necessary.

Definitions

The term "multiculturalism" was proposed for use in 1965 by the Canadian Royal Commission in assistance in the management of ethnic pluralism issue within the Canadian government, and from that time on the concept has been adopted worldwide and has been broadly developed in other areas, such as issues of gender, culture, religion, and language etc. Multiculturalism is a reality or policy that emphasizes the uniqueness of different cultures in the context of cultural diversity, with the aim of overcoming racism, sexism and other varieties of prejudice and discrimination (Stephen May and Christine E. Sleeter 2010). Multiculturalism first appeared in Canada and Australia in the early 1970s. Canadian multiculturalism is fundamental to the belief that all citizens are equal. In 1971, Canada was the first nation in the world to adopt multiculturalism as an official policy, confirming the rights of indigenous peoples and the status of Canada's two official languages (English and French). This has shown that multiculturalism encourages racial and ethnic harmony and cross-cultural understanding, and discourages segregation, hatred, discrimination and violence (Reva Joshee and Lauri Johnson 2007; Sanjay Sharma 2006).

The definition of multiculturalism relies heavily on the context in which it is debated. As more people put forward different opinions and interpretations, the concept of multiculturalism is changing. In the "ethnic melting pot" known as the United States, the ethnic backgrounds of the population are so varied that assimilation policies have proved unsuccessful, and so cultures do not assimilate well. As such, multiculturalism in the United States mostly involves political issues and social movements. Under the premise of advancing social development toward the goals of freedom and equality, the idea of tolerance contained within the concept of multiculturalism provides a fundamental value system for diverse peoples' perspectives on various issues. The concept of tolerance encourages individuals or groups of people to make use of a broader will and vision to look at and deal with the challenges brought about when diverse peoples live in one society (Christian Joppke and Steven Lukes 1999). Therefore, it may fair to say that, under the umbrella of multiculturalism, all peoples and different cultural lifestyles within multiethnic countries (immigrant countries) have a right to exist, and there should be mutual respect and peaceful coexistence among them.

However, in reality, where different peoples live together within the same country, the communication between diverse cultural communities can be a challenge. UNESCO has called this situation “interculturality”, a term which describes “the existence and equitable interaction of diverse cultures and the possibility of generating shared cultural expressions through dialogue and mutual respect.” (UNESCO 2005, Article 4) Further, UNESCO states that interculturality “presupposes multiculturalism and results from ‘intercultural’ exchange and dialogue on the local, regional, national or international level.” (UNESCO 2006:17) The point to be made here is that when living together with many different peoples in a multiethnic country, inhabitants need to learn each other’s culture, knowledge and values in order to learn how to live together in a respectful, understanding, appreciative, equal, and cooperative way.

Cultural Difference and Diversity

Economic globalization does not simply influence the economy itself, but also offers a perspective from which people can rethink the diversity of cultures and languages in this world. As a global community, one is able to re-examine how issues of inequality regarding indigenous peoples have been dealt with. The initial idea of multiculturalism sponsored in the 1980s was to protest against white racial discrimination, and it seems that highlighting race and racism has taken the place of emphasizing cultural diversity. Difference and diversity are descriptive: people are different and cultures are diverse. However one defines the terminology for describing distinctions among peoples and cultures, it remains fact that each specific people has its own cultural ideas, ways of life, traditional knowledge, values, language, and world view.

Therefore, it does not matter which standpoint experts adopt in order to decipher the messages that multiculturalism is conveying with regard to the ultimate course of development of cultures around the world. We cannot ignore the values existing within any single culture. Whether tangible or intangible, cultural values have a tight connection to them both and are in constant communication with each other, giving each cultural value its irreplaceable equal status. Culture is a product of history, and we cannot be deemed better or superior to any other. Each people, in the practicing of their own culture, form a unique world view. It is certainly true that if we do not use any deliberate means to forcibly change a culture’s long-term existence model, then even when two or more cultures come in contact with one another, it will not lead to the situation of one culture engulfing another. Perhaps we can, in certain cultures, find traces of other cultures, but it is the owners of the specific culture who still appreciate and practice these traces through their own cultural perspective and knowledge. In this case, the owners of the culture do not allow other cultural ideas to replace their original cultural content.

The cultural idea shift of multiculturalism has been significant in the evolution of our understanding of race, identity, and social and political organizations. One’s identity regarding culture, race, ethnicity and class can be seen as being adaptable and unfixed. Thus, multiculturalism opens a window for whom concern about cultural issues to re-think notions of human rights, equality, and justice, and one can re-evaluate the

previously limited definitions of people and culture. Interculturalism creates a space for the dialogue among diverse cultural communities regarding various topics.

Multiculturalism and Identity

Despite the emphasis of the world's countries on the importance of equality and justice in the building of free and democratic societies, the deeply rooted cultural discrimination and inequality in governmental structures and policies seems to have been ignored. In multicultural countries, it is very important to establish equal social status and values within its societies. However, the true situation is often that, when compared with the dominant "majority," people in the "minority" are almost always subject to discriminatory, unequal, and unjust status. Unfortunately, once national governments have determined who the majority is and who the minority is, the distribution of political power sadly follows from this process.

Political power, when wielded by a dominant people, influences the peoples of a multicultural country, and weakens the voices of the relatively oppressed peoples within the official governmental system. Thus, under an unfair political system, in attempting to pursue an effective means of building a collective national identity among all legal citizens of a multicultural country, the national identity of marginalized peoples, such as indigenous peoples, will gradually become vague and vanish within the operation of a national system. However, regarding multiculturalism, Avery F. Gordon and Christopher Newfield (1996:78) state:

[Multiculturalism] has helped us to see how porous and flexible group boundaries are, allowing for explorations of hybridity, borderlands, and imaginative coalitions, while at the same time helping us to understand how intersectional identities are both constrained and creative.

If multiculturalism itself can help us avoid falling into the trap of the absurd "law of the jungle" logic, then the establishment of a national identity will not result in a loss of cultural identity. In Canada, for example, Canadians wishing to introduce multiculturalism can help to ensure that all citizens can keep their identities, can take pride in their ancestry and have a sense of belonging. Acceptance gives Canadians a feeling of security and self-confidence, making them more open to, and accepting of, diverse cultures.

Multiculturalism in Rights Compensation

A positive interpretation of multiculturalism is the attempt to allow the different peoples living within multicultural countries to enjoy equal status and rights within a national social context. Thus, if national governments try to introduce this theory into their national political systems in order to improve the development of diverse cultures within their boundaries, they should first take reparatory measures to remedy the structural damage caused by their past colonial policies toward indigenous cultural heritage and language. The form of the reparatory measures depends on indigenous needs, but the end goal is providing any necessary information, respecting the indigenous peoples' standpoints and decisions, and cooperating with them in their efforts toward cultural

heritage revitalization. However, what is important is that compensatory actions must take into consideration social viewpoints, avoiding attending to the superficial while neglecting the essentials and exacerbating dominant peoples' prejudice and discrimination toward indigenous cultures and languages (Skutnabb-Kangas 2009).

The value of rights compensation can be seen in the results of the African-American Civil Rights Movement from the 1950s to the 1970s. Although through the Civil Rights Movement African-Americans obtained victory on the level of the meaning of the law, unequal treatment still exists in their actual life in society. Thus, multiculturalists believe that the problems experienced by African-Americans in this respect are not problems with African-American themselves, but a problem with American society; such problems are the result of long-term slavery and discrimination. Multiculturalists also believe that the US government has an obligation and responsibility to help African-Americans break free from their disadvantaged social status and living conditions. Providing assistance in gaining employment or education, for example, is seen in this context as a form of rights compensation. Clearly, multiculturalism is a relationship between the "state" and the "citizen people" whose citizenship gives them equal rights and equal responsibilities. The position of multiculturalism unquestionably caters to the development needs of democratic government, while at the same time it provides a frame of reference for disadvantaged peoples and cultures to voice dissatisfaction and denunciation of the hegemony of dominant ethnic groups and cultures.

Multiculturalism in Education

After the end of World War II, the global policymaking started moving toward democracy, freedom, equality and harmony.¹⁸ At that time, immigrant countries such as Canada especially stressed requirements in multicultural education. In a multiethnic society, the distribution of advantages and power is a challenge, because minorities are often seen as marginalized. Thus, after the benefits of improving minority students' academic achievements through multicultural education was recognized in the 1970s, it became what can be described as a protective umbrella for politicians, useful for clearly demarcating cultural prejudice and discrimination (Sonia V. Morris 1989). Multiculturalists believe that educational content represent the attitudes toward culture held by those in control of education. Multicultural education advocates treating diverse cultures equally, mitigating cultural oppression, and reforming the prior paradigm in which a single dominant culture determined the framework of curricular content (Tara Goldstein 2003). This can help students understand and value culture, with the hope that cultural prejudice and discrimination will be reduced or even eliminated (William M. Anderson and Patricia Shehan Campbell 2010; Jasone Cenoz 2009; James A. Banks and Cherry A. McGee Banks 2007).

Thus, multicultural education is a process of successive educational reform movements, with the aim of providing students with the chance to appreciate different cultures and gain enriched life experience. Ideally, the goal is to give all students within a campus

¹⁸ Of course, it's not included all countries in the world, for example, the system of government by a ruling Communist Party, such as China and Cuba.

equal learning opportunities, with the current goal of eliminating the problem of cultural discrimination through the power of education. With respect to curriculum design, this means changing the previous paradigm of content that is based on the standpoint of a single culture, and incorporating the cultural differences, histories and contributions of numerous peoples and countries, in order to eliminate unnecessary prejudice and discrimination (Anita C. Danker 2005; Robert Bayley and Sandra R. Schecter 2003). Let us consider the example of a “typical” multicultural country: the United States. It is naturally a challenge for children from non-English speaking countries to learn in a learning environment totally different from their cultural background and living community. Therefore, multicultural education gives them the opportunity to grow with their heritage within the US educational system.

All in all, gender, ethnicity, class, culture and so forth are concepts that spur the formation of multiculturalism, and multiculturalism also promotes respect for forgotten voices and dignity in people’s lives. Still, today’s worldwide society remains filled with inequality and seems to lack empathy. Multiculturalism has to be re-conceptualized as a means rather than an end. Thus, by working with a positive attitude toward a contemporary worldwide society by way of profound understanding of diversity knowledge and cultures, indigenous peoples’ rights regarding self-determination can be seen in an optimistic way. Trotman (2001) claims that by closing gaps, and by increasing understanding of the past, “multiculturalism tries to restore a sense of wholeness in a postmodern era that fragments human life and thought.” (Trotman 2001:ix) The application of this theory in peoples’ lives and setting future development towards an equal and just direction is the goal one is aiming for.

Interculturalism in Education

In 2006 UNESCO made several important and appropriate suggestions regarding intercultural education. It suggested that intercultural education should be considered as an individual curriculum, not just an “add-on” to an existing regular curriculum. Therefore, the whole process of intercultural education includes teaching training about diverse cultural knowledge and different languages, as well as the development of learning materials, curricula design, and teaching philosophy construction etc (see also Sheila Aikman 1999). It also highlights the importance of bilingual/multilingual education. Personally, I have come to the opinion that intercultural education and bilingual/multicultural education should be developed in parallel, based upon a mutual cooperation concept.

To echo the conclusions of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-First Century by UNESCO, school education should offer the chance for students to understand and become aware of the reality of cultural differences existing in their living surroundings. In order to create a dialogue between different peoples within a multiethnic country, a dialogue with more understanding and appreciation than is currently shown, school education should introduce various peoples’ cultural heritage to all students, regardless of ethnic background (Geof Alred *et al.* 2006; 2003). As long as positive, equal, and just communication is being built among different ethnic communities, then

prejudices and discriminations can be eliminated from multiethnic countries. This is the aim and philosophy of intercultural education.

Conclusion

Although a lot of research has been conducted on topics related to the issues of “indigenous education”, “indigenous heritage revitalization”, “indigenous language education” etc., from the perspective of an “outsider”, what seems to be lacking is real-life experiences. So far, most studies on these issues have been superficial, and linger at a higher-academic dialogue stage. Of course, without the theories of postcolonialism, decolonization theory, multiculturalism & interculturalism, and bilingualism, one may be unable to understand the mental trauma of colonized peoples forced to undergo dominant school education. One might also be unaware of the reality that we are now living in multiethnic nations and in a multiethnic world. Within this multicultural context, the idea of bilingual, multilingual, multicultural, and intercultural education is as necessary for indigenous peoples as it is for non-indigenous peoples. Of course, a literature review in qualitative studies is a continuous process that is never completed. The parts of my own cultural background and personal real-life experiences in worldwide indigenous communities have been crucial in helping my understanding on the issues of indigenous peoples. My own opinions of indigenous education and heritage revitalization shall be addressed later in this paper.

Chapter II: Contemporary Indigenous Peoples

According to a statement by the United Nations (UN), the world's indigenous peoples¹⁹ currently live within the borders of more than 70 countries, and constitute a total population of about 370 million. "Indigenous peoples" as a topic has received increasing international attention and researchers seem to be more or less in agreement on the understanding of the term "indigenous". However, not every country has adopted the term "indigenous peoples". For example, the term used by the UN member state China is "minority", rather than "indigenous" people. The common definition of "indigenous" is the offspring of those who were residing in a country or a specific geographic area when a different ethnic community arrived. Afterwards, these new arrivals used various means to achieve dominant power, holding colonial dominion over indigenous peoples. Article 1-b of the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention 169 (1989) gives a definition of indigenous peoples as being:

[P]eoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonization or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions. (Article 1-b of the *ILO Convention 169*)

In addition, for many years, the UN has paid considerable attention to the issue of indigenous peoples, and has drawn a distinction between "indigenous peoples" and other cultural or ethnic minorities²⁰. As such, the term "minority nationalities" has been included under the umbrella of "cultural minorities." In fact, thus far, the UN has not made an official definition of the term "indigenous". However, the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues provides the following points as a basis of identifying an indigenous people:

- Self-identification as indigenous peoples at the individual level and accepted by the community as their member.
 - Historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies
 - Strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources
 - Distinct social, economic or political systems
 - Distinct language, culture and beliefs
 - Form non-dominant groups of society
 - Resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples and communities.
- (The United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues no year)

¹⁹ For examples, First Nations people in Canada, Aboriginals in Australia, Maori in New Zealand, Native Americans in the United States, Amis and the other 13 peoples in Taiwan and so on.

²⁰ In some countries, New Zealand, for example, the indigenous population constitutes a substantial majority of the population.

One of the most quoted concepts surrounding the idea of “indigenous” was offered by Cobo in 1983, and is used by the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Peoples:

Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop, and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions, and legal systems. (United Nations 2004:2)

As has been touched upon earlier, the name ‘indigenous people’ is a collective concept which has been adopted by the majority of the UN and some non-UN member states. Based on this idea, even within the same country there may be more than one indigenous community. This reality has not yet forced diverse indigenous cultures to integration, but when different indigenous peoples’ ally themselves with each other’s social movements (for example, Taiwan’s indigenous peoples’ call for land rights), the notion of an ‘imagined community’ (Benedict Richard O’Gorman Anderson 1991) will be created among diverse indigenous communities. However, not every individual indigenous people has the same opinion towards the recognition of ‘being’ indigenous. Especially, it is a challenge if the decision-making voice is from indigenous elites who are governmental officials or politicians. Another perspective on indigenous ‘new identities’ is that when people refer to themselves as ‘indigenous peoples’ or ‘First Nations’ etc., this actually originates from ‘Western’ culture theory (Kuper 2003). The introduction of a ‘collective notion’ from a dominant class can help in the construction of an ‘imagined community’, and it cannot be denied that this is a convenient way to solve ‘indigenous problems’. The dominant classes only need to negotiate with one ‘community’ who are seen as representative of indigenous peoples as a whole, and here one might question the legitimacy of this ‘representativeness’(see also Gabina Aurora Perez Jimenez and Maarten Jansen 2006:183)²¹.

Apart from the arguments above, one may agree with that the different languages, religions, and ways of life of diverse indigenous cultures make this world a colorful place in which to live. Unfortunately, in general the status of indigenous peoples within dominant societies is oppressed and marginalized. In the past, most indigenous peoples have experienced land seizures, racial discrimination, cultural assimilation and other tribulations. In the present day, the past hardships they have experienced have yet to be addressed, while at the same time under the influence of globalization, new challenges await them forebodingly.

²¹ To quote Perez Jimenez and Jansen (2006:183): “The Latin part of the population takes possession of the Mesoamerican heritage, saying ‘we are all Mexicans’, but when it comes to an equal distribution of opportunities for Native American peoples the result is very different.” This statement is also very true to similar topics within most multiethnic countries.

Section 1: Living Conditions

As a rule, indigenous peoples possess a unique culture that revolves around natural resources, and their ways of life vary socially, culturally and linguistically from the dominant population. The traditional or contemporary economic activities of most indigenous peoples who live in remote or isolate areas are hunting, fishing, gathering and so forth. For example, the main economic activity of the indigenous peoples of the coastal areas of the Arctic is sea-hunting: they catch walruses, whales and seals as sources of food. Another example are the Amis people of Taiwan's east coast, and the Yami (Tao) people of Orchid Island, who engage in flying fish trapping from March through June, the period of time they call "flying fish season". The flying fish are not just a food source for the Yami and Amis peoples; they are also an important part of their traditional culture. However, in recent years, non-indigenous peoples have recognized the economic value of flying fish, and have themselves started engaging in flying fish trapping. The wooden canoes of the indigenous peoples are no match for the large motorized boats used by the non-indigenous people, and as a result, the indigenous peoples cannot catch adequate quantities of flying fish. This threatens the livelihood and cultural heritage of the Amis and Yami people. Indeed, such circumstances regularly occur around the world. It is a painful process and involves crucial changes of the whole lifestyle, as traditional values are destroyed incrementally.

According to research, poverty is a pervasive condition among most indigenous societies. It has become an especially serious issue given the lowly living conditions of most indigenous peoples, and those in rural areas, around the world. The issue of rural poverty has in recent years garnered the attention of the UN. For example, the Strategic Framework for the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)²² (2002-2006) "recognizes that rural poverty must be given priority if the poverty-reduction goal is to be met" (IFAD 2003:5) In addition, between 2007 and 2010 IFAD has set its Strategic Framework to focus on enabling poor rural people to overcome poverty. Of course, indigenous peoples' livelihood problems are not restricted to rural areas. In general, beyond location of residence, it is necessary to consider such matters as the indigenous peoples' particular cultures and modes of living, need for and quality of education. These are all factors that affect the economic capacity of indigenous peoples.

Indigenous peoples' dreadful living conditions include poor sanitation and acute health problems, a lack of adequate housing, low life expectancy, and lower income than their non-indigenous counterparts. The following are but a few examples of the realities of the housing, income, and health problems faced by indigenous peoples.

²² The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) is a specialized agency of the United Nations. It was established as an international financial institution in 1977 as one of the major outcomes of the 1974 World Food Conference.

1.0. Housing

Looking from the standpoint of non-indigenous peoples, it is obvious that the housing conditions of indigenous peoples are different from that of the dominant population. Such a difference is usually the result of difficult economic conditions. The living conditions of indigenous peoples involve a common problem – poor quality or inadequate housing supply. The range of issues concerning “indigenous housing” is broad and complex (Duane Champagne *et al.* 2005). When investigating this problem, it is necessary to compare the circumstances faced by a single indigenous people with the entire greater environment in which they live.

1.0.0. Australia

In Australia, the investigation of the *Australian Bureau of Statistics* showed that in 2001 there were about 460,140 Aboriginal people compared to the total population of Australia of around 21 million. According to Burke’s (2004) research, the indigenous Australians have higher rates of poverty, unemployment, and health care problems. In addition, a disproportionate number of Aboriginal Australians live in rural and remote areas, and of the 40% of Aboriginal people that state that there are structural problems in their habitation, 58% of these live in remote areas.

The origin of the housing problems of Aboriginal Australians can be traced back to the pre-colonial settlements period. During that period, due to factors such as geography, climate, food and water, Aboriginal Australians adopted a nomadic lifestyle, having no fixed abode and often building simple, temporary shelters from available materials in the area. These temporary structures were their “houses” (John Minnery *et al.* 2000). For Aboriginal Australians, their “house” was not merely a shelter; the campsite and landscape were also emotionally linked. Paul Memmott (2000) has explained that the aspects Western “house” (artificial, behavioral and sensory) “are best construed in the Aboriginal context to be embedded in and between the domiciliary space and the camp rather than in the shelter per se” (Memmott 2000:5) Thus, the Aboriginal Australian notion of “shelter” tends to be linked with the land itself, and not simply with something that is considered a structure for temporary need.

The development of Aboriginal Australians changed drastically with the arrival of European colonizers. As the *National Housing Strategy* (1991) acutely pointed out, this led to two major periods of cultural trauma for Aboriginal Australians: the “settlement phase” and “mission” era. The “settlement” phase refers to the period in which European pastoralists and nomadic, hunter-gatherer Aboriginal Australians began to be in contact. For the European pastoralists, ownership of private land, material possessions and permanent housing symbolized wealth. However, Aboriginal Australians valued the family group, sharing, and a nomadic lifestyle adapted to their surroundings, linked to their feelings for the land. Such differences remain a complex part of the dominant government’s handling of Aboriginal Australians’ housing problems, and this requires careful consideration. During the “settlement” phase, the diseases that settlers brought to the homeland of the Australian Aborigines led to the migration of Aboriginal peoples

from Southern and Eastern Australia to northern Australia, and this process rendered them unable to continue with their traditional lifestyles and cultures.

The second period that caused cultural trauma among Aboriginal Australians was the “mission” era. In the early colonial period, practically all mission stations were established in remote areas of Australia. Beyond religious conversion, a purpose that they strove to achieve was to change the Aborigines’ traditional lifestyle so that they would live more “civilized” lives. In short, the colonizers at first created Aboriginal reservations as part of the housing strategy, separating indigenous people from non-indigenous people. A later policy moved the Aborigines out of the reservations and integrated them with non-indigenous people. The problems stemming from the Aborigines’ loss of land rights and subjection to the land use regulations of the “White people” stem from the inappropriately drafted policies of the dominant government (Annie E. Coombes 2006). The housing problems of the Aboriginal people remain an insurmountable challenge to this day. As Michael Heppell (1979:1) stresses, “without adequate housing, programs in the health, education and social development fields are doomed to failure.”

The effort to change Aboriginal peoples’ traditional lifestyles and accustom them to European style housing and lifestyles has not only failed to achieve the goal of cultural assimilation, but has also resulted in yet more problems. Aborigines have found that the degree of comfort of the shelters in which they were accustomed to living was far better than that of the “civilized” housing. Moreover, reasonable and adequately good-intentioned responses from the dominant government regarding necessary conditions like housing policy and funding support has yet to be seen. In addition to this, the majority of Aboriginal Australians do not have an appropriate income, indeed, many do not have an income at all, to be able to afford private rental or ownership. The racism permeating the world of the non-indigenous peoples has made the lifestyle adaptations of Aboriginal Australians even more difficult. Currently, a small number of people live in housing provided by the government, while others who left the reservations were forced to seek inadequate and improper housing on the private market. In short, Aboriginal people’s current housing does not meeting housing needs, especially for those who live in remote areas. And unfortunately, tackling the housing problems of Aboriginal Australians is an extremely complex and difficult challenge on numerous levels, including historical development, cultural differences, funding support and psychology.

1.0.1. Taiwan

In Taiwan, the standard categorization of indigenous peoples was in place by 1945: those who lived in the mountainous administrative areas were categorized as “Mountain Aborigines”; those who lived in the plains administrative areas were categorized as “Plains Aborigines”. The Mountain Aborigines had reservations assigned to them, mostly in forested areas, whereas the Plains Aborigines had no reservations assigned to them, and so from early on the Plains Aborigines have made up the majority of the population of urban Aborigines.

According to the census of the Council of Indigenous Peoples (行政院原住民族委員會全球資訊網), in 2007 the number of indigenous households in Taiwan was about 176,000, out of a population of people of about 484,000, making up 2.1% of Taiwan's total population of people. For the indigenous peoples who were living in the mountain areas, the population of people accounted for 32.5% of the total indigenous population, and among indigenous peoples who were living in the plains areas, over 60% of people were resident in urban areas. Looking at the course of Taiwan's historical development to this day, with the successive colonial dominion of the Qing Dynasty, the Japanese Empire and the Republic of China (ROC), the land of the indigenous peoples has been gradually taken as state property, and the original living spaces of the indigenous peoples has been ruthlessly seized. Over the past decade, the issue of housing problems of Taiwan's indigenous peoples has come to the fore, especially regarding the ROC government's *Shandi Pingdi Hua policy* ("Make the Mountain Aborigines like the Plains Aborigines"), which aimed to assimilate indigenous peoples.

The ROC proclaimed the Shandi Pingdi Hua assimilation policy in 1983, with the intention of forcing indigenous peoples to end their mountain lifestyle and settle into a plain lifestyle unsuited to them. A large number of indigenous peoples left their original communities, but the unintended consequence of this misguided policy was the beginning of multiple problems today. For example, many Amis people moved into isolated urban lifestyles in the cities of Hualien and Taitung for economic reasons. The housing problems created because of this migration have caused many problems for Taiwan's local governments. Unable to bear the burden of paying rent, and used to communal living, these newly urbanized Amis chose to live by the side of the rivers and build simple houses, and after a long period the area developed into a community-like organization. The land was property of the national government, and with plans for urban renewal, the government tore down these illegal structures. Compelled by the need for a living space, these Amis squatters had only one choice, which was to rebuild their homes in the same place. This drama continued to be replayed, with the government unable to come up with a constructive solution.

To this day, people in Taiwan's society tend to hold a prejudiced view toward the indigenous peoples of the island, regarding them negatively as impoverished and backward. Tracing the roots of this attitude, it is clear that, besides cultural diversity, it is the lifestyles of the indigenous peoples living in illegal housing in the peripheries of urban areas that deepens the feelings of prejudice among mainstream society. Yet despite the numerous policies initiated by Taiwan's government to solve indigenous peoples' housing problems, abrupt implementation, without detailed consideration of the special cultural needs of indigenous peoples, has created not only housing problems, but also problems in areas such as social status, economic condition and education. Such circumstances can weaken indigenous peoples to the point of collapse. Throughout the development of democracy in Taiwan, the Han Taiwanese authorities have failed to put themselves in the shoes of the indigenous peoples regarding their rights to exist, and have failed to think from the perspective of being forced into a disadvantaged position. Therefore, the problems of Taiwan's indigenous peoples have continued to exist. The timing of when Taiwan's indigenous peoples will be able to regain their dignity and live

free of discrimination or threats is a responsibility that the Han Taiwanese population must bear. And yet, indigenous peoples must also muster the courage to defend their own right to exist, pressing the government to play the role of contributor and supporter, providing assistance that meets the true needs of the indigenous peoples and finding appropriate solutions that get to the roots of these injustices.

1.1. Income

The majority of contemporary indigenous peoples live in areas of substandard economic development, or in rural areas. Such unfavorable conditions affect indigenous peoples' employment choices and opportunities. Many surveys indicate that indigenous peoples' level of education directly correlates with their income level after completing their studies. Moreover, income level and availability of employment affects the health of indigenous peoples. The problem of discrimination by members of the dominant society is also a primary reason for low income, high unemployment and poverty among indigenous peoples.

According to Canadian government statistics (Census of Canada 2009), the income of indigenous peoples is indeed lower than that of non-indigenous peoples. Looking at mid-income groups, the income of indigenous individuals is slightly more than half that of non-indigenous peoples. Yet, in the surveying process it was also found that the employment rates among indigenous peoples was highly correlated with their educational level: the higher the level of education, the higher the employment rates. Furthermore, taking Taiwan as an example, the "Economic Conditions of Indigenous Peoples of Taiwan" survey has shown that the average household income of indigenous peoples is lower than that of non-indigenous peoples. For example, in 2009, the average monthly income for an indigenous household was about NT\$42,000, or 46.3% of the average household income of the overall population in Taiwan (NT\$92,000), and the average monthly expenses for an indigenous household was NT\$37,000, or 62.7% of that of the overall population (NT\$59,000), with the main expense being food. Thus it is evident that the low income of Taiwan's indigenous peoples is a very serious problem.

Looking at the overall situation of the world's indigenous peoples, the problems of poverty and lower-than-average individual income do not exist as isolated cases. Indeed, such cases epitomize the worldwide situation of indigenous populations.

1.2. Sanitation and Health

In the past, when colonizers invaded the traditional living areas of indigenous peoples, deaths among the indigenous populations occurred not only due to superior military power, but also to infectious diseases introduced by the colonizers. In fact, the fatalities resulting from infectious disease were far more serious than those caused by warfare. After colonizers intruded into indigenous communities, their traditional lifestyles and nutritional habits were also directly and indirectly affected.

At present, most of the indigenous peoples living in the rural areas of developing countries lack basic health care, sanitation systems and social welfare provisions, and in many poor countries, health services are deficient for the whole country's population. The reasons for indigenous peoples' health conditions being worse than non-indigenous peoples is not merely inadequate medical care, but also poor housing, unhealthy conditions of employment, malnutrition brought on by poverty, and poor environmental health in many remote indigenous communities. The poor health conditions of indigenous peoples is exacerbated by inadequate or absent public sanitation facilities.

Looking at the indigenous peoples of Latin America, currently many indigenous peoples live in harsh and isolated areas. The healthcare available to indigenous peoples living in such areas is, as expected, inadequate, and they live with poor sanitation. Tom Calma (2005), the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner, describes the situation in Australia as follows:

[B]oth chronic and communicable diseases are recorded at higher rates in Aboriginal communities than in non-indigenous communities. Chronic conditions are believed to include: poor foetal and child health; poor diet throughout the lifecycle; smoking and alcohol misuse; a lack of access to primary health care; and social stress. Communicable diseases, such as trachoma and tuberculosis, are linked to overcrowding and poor sanitation in living conditions.

In other words, the forced changes in indigenous peoples' living environments and lifestyles, compounded by external factors such as poor sanitation and stress caused by economic pressure, has resulted in poor health among today's indigenous populations.

Section 2: Issues

Currently, many of the world's indigenous peoples are positioned on the fringes of dominant society, and the majority has not completely regained the human rights of which they have been deprived. The result is that today many indigenous peoples face poverty problems and inadequate education issues. In addition, after changes in their traditional lifestyle, the role and status of indigenous women was forced to change, making their status even weaker than that of indigenous men and causing them even more problems.

2.0. Poverty

Poverty is certainly not an inherent characteristic of indigenous peoples, and yet, within many countries, indigenous peoples are faced with considerable problems regarding their economic activities. A 2004 survey by the World Bank indicates that around 113 million indigenous peoples, about 60% of the world's indigenous population, live in poverty. Among these, some 46 million live in extreme poverty, half of whom live in urban areas (the World Bank 2004). The reason that the problem of poverty among indigenous peoples merits attention is due to the overwhelming poverty numbers: currently, the world's indigenous population makes up less than 5% of the total world population, but comprises 15% of the world's impoverished population.

“Poverty,” to indigenous peoples, is a complex word. In general, the word “poverty” indicates economic impotence. According to the definition by the World Bank:

Poverty is hunger. Poverty is lack of shelter. Poverty is being sick and not being able to see a doctor. Poverty is not having access to school and not knowing how to read. Poverty is not having a job, is fear for the future, living one day at a time. Poverty is losing a child to illness brought about by unclean water. Poverty is powerlessness, lack of representation and freedom.

For the sake of economic development, the exploitation of natural and cultural resources by colonizers, settlers, businessmen or stakeholders within indigenous living environments happens everywhere in the world. A good example of this is oil and gas exploitation in the Arctic homelands of approximately 50 indigenous peoples. Another example is the tourism industry in indigenous communities around the world which exploits particular activities concerning indigenous culture, natural environment, and art works. From a Marxist viewpoint, colonialism is a form of capitalism. Within the national/global capitalist system, exploitation has become a popular economic activity by capitalists:

[W]e have no idea what the colonized would have been without colonization, but we certainly see what has happened as a result of it. To subdue and exploit, the colonizer pushed the colonized out of the historical and social, cultural and technical current. (Memmi 1965:114)

Active exploitation of natural resources, indigenous culture and land has forced indigenous peoples to discontinue their traditional economic ways of life and has created serious poverty issues within their communities.

In the eyes of indigenous peoples, poverty includes facets other than money within its scope of meaning, including a lack of political participation and decision-making power, low social status, and low educational level. From the definition of poverty according to a dominant perspective, these aspects have a causal relationship to poverty (Cynthia E. Milton 2007). Compared to non-indigenous people, indigenous peoples’ seriously disadvantaged position with respect to economic activity, as described above, is to a great extent due to the low level of education among the majority of indigenous peoples, which affects career choice and leads to low income. The poor economic condition caused by low income leads to poor health and an inability to pay for their children’s education, in turn leading to an inability to boost the level of education in subsequent generations; a vicious cycle. The word “poverty” can thus be easily applied to indigenous peoples.

Taking Latin American indigenous peoples as an example, results from a survey taken from the early 1990s to the early 2000s show that, from a total indigenous population estimated at around 28 million, about 80% of Latin America’s indigenous peoples are impoverished. Gillette Hall and Harry Anthony Patrinos (2005:3) have commented on this problem, pointing out that indigenous peoples across Latin America tend to earn less than non-indigenous peoples, while the “proportion of earnings inequality between indigenous and non-indigenous people attributable to labor market discrimination is high.” Hall and Patrinos have also described how, when an economic crisis occurs within a country, the economic recovery of indigenous peoples is much slower than that of non-indigenous people, and poor indigenous people’s average income is below the country’s

poverty line in general. From this one can see that indigenous peoples, who have been forced to change their economic activities, are less able to withstand economic crises than the dominant society.

Today, “poor” has truly become a negative and discrimination-bearing label attached to indigenous peoples (Lester C. Thurow 1969). The level of indigenous poverty and degree to which the problem of poverty affects indigenous peoples’ development is extensive and difficult to calculate. If one wish to fully solve the problem of indigenous poverty, one must start from the root causes. As stated previously, the root problem of lower income among indigenous peoples is the low level of education. This at the development of adequate education for indigenous peoples is necessary and urgent.

2.1. Education

Education is a fundamental human right, but the majority of indigenous peoples in the world do not receive adequate schooling. Indigenous students have a higher dropout rate and lower rate of higher education than dominant students and the major reasons for these gaps is that the educational style and content do not fit with the needs of the indigenous students.

Looking at the course of development of education for indigenous peoples, the first form of schooling received by practically all indigenous communities was from missionaries whose aim was religious conversion. The intent of such an educational model was to change the religious beliefs of indigenous peoples, and despite the fact that instruction was given primarily in indigenous languages, something that can be seen as positive, the traditional religions of the indigenous peoples were upset, and their traditional culture began to be gradually wiped out under the deliberate actions of the outsiders (James A. Banks 2006). What is more, forceful means were employed by the colonizers and subsequent national governments to “civilize” indigenous children through schooling, in the name of lifting the indigenous peoples out of their “savage” ways. At that time, governments, missionaries and teachers believed that the best way to bring indigenous peoples out of their savage lifestyles was to take indigenous children away from their homelands before their parents could teach them their traditional way of life. Thus, boarding schools were set up, and the example of Australia’s “Stolen Generations” is a painful illustration. The numerous inadequate and unjust education policies of the colonial governments toward indigenous peoples not only caused cultures to disintegrate, but also failed to bring fair opportunities for indigenous peoples to live in the “civilized” world. After centuries of education from missionary and government schools, many indigenous peoples have left their traditional societies and cultures behind.

The onslaught of colonization and modernization provoked enormous problems of destruction of traditional culture, knowledge, values, and ways of life for colonized peoples. When indigenous peoples were unable to shift their colonized status under the control of dominant hegemony, they experienced first hand that the preservation and development of their languages and cultures was intimately related to national educational policy. Prior to contact with the colonizers, and continuing to present day,

indigenous peoples have had their own ideas of education based on holistic ways of comprehending the natural world. They have their own specific points of view about the revitalization of their cultural heritage. The indigenous peoples' responsibilities for reconstructing and strengthening their own cultural knowledge, values, and identities have led them to claim their inherent right to education within the political structure of a nation. Accordingly, some indigenous peoples have initiated movements to strive for an education which meets specific cultural needs for their children. There is fairly general agreement that the modern formal educational model is the major reason for the collapse of indigenous societies and cultures, and for that reason, some indigenous peoples have requested that traditional indigenous educational values and knowledge should be taken into account in curriculum design in formal school education. Some indigenous researchers have also proposed that schools and other educational institutions adopt indigenous languages as the language of instruction so as to benefit language revitalization. Such requests have been adopted into the policies of some countries, in order to accommodate the educational needs of indigenous peoples. For example, bilingual education programs have been developed by Canada, New Zealand and Mexico in response to indigenous demands and proposals.

It follows from what has been said that in today's world of cultural and economic globalization, it is difficult to avoid considering the increasingly complex needs of indigenous peoples. Under the silent encroachment of the dominant culture, indigenous peoples need to find ways to rebuild and develop their own cultures, while also learning the ever-changing dominant knowledge in order to enhance their competitiveness and escape the nightmare of poverty (Ruth Arber 2008). It is precisely on such grounds that I would claim that indigenous education must not only incorporate traditional culture into its curriculum development, but must also foster competitiveness within mainstream society. In this way, indigenous peoples will be able to gain more knowledge of indigenous cultural heritage and strengthen their indigenous identity while at the same time participate in the economic activities of the high-tech, modern dominant society, forming a win-win situation. Moreover, cooperation between indigenous and non-indigenous scholars, community members, experts, educators, and even international organizations in indigenous education reform has created a space for knowledge exchange.

2.2. Indigenous Women

In many cases, indigenous women not only face the same prejudices that indigenous men face, but their world experience is also compounded by gender discrimination. The issue of indigenous women is similar to that of indigenous peoples' education, poverty and socio-economic development, and is taken equally seriously by international organizations. The problems experienced by indigenous women have an intimate causal relationship with these issues.

Traditionally, indigenous men and women have different responsibilities due to differences in gender roles, in general, indigenous women and men had equal rights of use regarding lands and natural resources. Nevertheless, after the onset of colonization,

economic liberalization and globalization, indigenous peoples' lives took a considerable turn for the worse. Dominant governments seized lands and natural resources, a severe blow for indigenous peoples, who traditionally relied on the natural resources for their livelihoods. Indigenous men left their families in search of work, and the responsibility of caring for families fell fully on the indigenous women. Yet the ensuing problem of poverty has caused more and more indigenous women to have no choice but to migrate from rural areas to cities to looking for opportunities of wage work, and such changes have led to problems of inhumane treatment in the workplace (Morris 1989).

The statement by the *United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women* in 1995 indicated that indigenous women experience more difficulties than indigenous men in the issues of indigenous peoples' politics, education, culture, environment, and human rights (see also Joyce Goodman and Jane Martin 2002). Today, indigenous women in most areas tend to have a lower social status due to their responsibilities for caring for the home and children. On top of this is the physical and mental harm from sexual violence that too many indigenous women suffer due to high levels of alcohol abuse, unemployment and poverty among indigenous men (Geraldine B. Stahly 2007). Their disadvantaged circumstances deny them the enjoyment of fundamental human rights.

Section 3: Indigenous Rights

Contemporary indigenous peoples face numerous serious difficulties including seizure of, restricted access to and destruction of land and natural resources, cultural and legal discrimination, inadequate education, and poverty. These situations are intolerable from the standpoint of human rights. Indigenous rights were stolen at the time of the first colonization.

Finally, in 2007, the United Nations recognized the *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. However, this was not an act of benevolence by the UN, but due to an effort by more than 100 indigenous organizations. Tracing back through history, in 1923, the Haudenosaunee Chief Deskaheh traveled to Geneva and became the first indigenous person to try to speak to the League of Nations to defend indigenous rights of land and their own law. In 1925, the *Maori* religious leader Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana traveled to Geneva in an attempt to protest the Treaty of Waitangi legislation. Unfortunately, both failed to gain access to the League of Nations, but their efforts have helped create chances for indigenous peoples to step onto the international stage. The first draft of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was completed in 1993 by the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP) of Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities and it was reviewed by a working group which was set up by the *Commission on Human Rights* in 1995. After 22 years the negotiations between representatives of the world's 350 million indigenous peoples and representatives of UN member states have brought the Declaration into being.

3.0. Rights of Land and Resource

From the 1970s, indigenous peoples have begun to experience an awakening, resisting the past colonial policies of state assimilation and starting to fight for self-determination and land rights. Let us consider the following quotation:

[I]ndigenous peoples became minorities or lost control over their traditional lands as a result of (a) colonialism, with the creation of new national populations and new states..., or (b) the expansion of neighbouring States...as a process often not described as colonialism. (Anthony Mason 1997:46)

The indigenous peoples who have had their rights to land and resources usurped by settlers have not only lost the control of their ancestral homelands and natural resources, but their cultural identity has become blurred and their traditional values and cultures have disintegrated.²³ When indigenous peoples became conscious of the problems endangering the existence of their people following the seizure of their lands, or when they tried to return to their lands, they found themselves trapped by the unjust treaties they had long ago signed with national governments. National governments continued to deny and refuse indigenous peoples' rights of management and residence in their traditional lands on the basis of these unfair treaties (Mason 1997).

Now, most of the world's indigenous peoples face similar problems in their struggle to protect their lands. Under the framework of the "nation state", indigenous peoples' land problems are complex and difficult to solve. For example, Perez Jimenez (2010: 2) describes the effects in Mexico of the introduction of the concept of land as a commodity by the Spanish. Jimenez describes how the indigenous idea of land, "the Mesoamerican concept of land belonging to a Diving Owner or Inhabitant, who permitted humans to plant, work and harvest", became replaced by "the nation of territoriality". That is, for non-indigenous people, around World War II the importance of land became that of its own profitability, and this was in conflict with the indigenous peoples' concept of land. This has turned into the greatest obstacle in indigenous peoples' struggles to acquire land ownership rights. When indigenous peoples attempt to secure their rights of land ownership and use, they need to marshal the power of international organizations to pressure governments to grant them such deserved rights. In the international arena, there are agreement provisions supporting the protection of indigenous peoples with respect to questions of land ownership that are available for reference, the most well-know of which are the International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention No. 107 of 1957²⁴ and No. 169 of 1989²⁵, as well as the UN Declaration on Indigenous Rights²⁶. Among these, the provisions of the UN Declaration are the most complete.

²³ Indigenous peoples' cultures are always attached to their traditional lands. To them, the land contains the economic value of rich natural resources, and the religions, storytelling traditions and lifestyles developed in accordance with such lands mean that their cultural and community identities are closely linked to the land.

²⁴ Indigenous and Tribal Populations Convention, 1957. The provisions regarding the land rights of indigenous peoples are in Articles 11 to 14 of the Convention.

²⁵ Convention Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries, 1989. Articles 13 to 19 of the Convention are provisions regarding the land right of indigenous peoples.

²⁶ UN Declaration on Indigenous Rights, 2007. The provisions regarding the land rights of indigenous peoples are in Articles 25 to 30.

The Article 14.2 of the ILO Convention states that “governments shall take steps as necessary to identify the lands which the peoples concerned traditionally occupy, and to guarantee effective protection of their rights of ownership and possession.” This article’s main requirement is that governments should ensure indigenous peoples legal protection of their traditional land claims via adequate procedures, and incorporate the relevant regulations into the national legal system. In the provisions regarding the conservation, protection, use and development of indigenous peoples’ lands, one can clearly see the importance of land to indigenous peoples and the differences between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples’ concepts of and attitude toward land. In view of the statement of Article 25 of the UN Declaration that “indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinctive spiritual relationship with their traditionally owned or otherwise occupied and used lands, territories”, let us consider that the lands where indigenous peoples traditionally live bear their distinctive spirit. By leaving their lands, the traditional cultural life cannot be practiced, thus cultural identity will vanish, threatening future development. This leads us further into a consideration of Articles 27 to 29 of the UN Declaration, which discuss the responsibilities that should be borne by the state. To safeguard indigenous peoples’ rights for sufficient use of their traditional lands, the state has the responsibility to “establish and implement assistance programmes for indigenous peoples for such conservation and protection, without discrimination”, and to establish relevant laws, in order to provide indigenous peoples with legality regarding land use rights. To illustrate how these Articles can be applied, let us take the case of Orchid Island in Taiwan as an example. The Taiwanese government stored deadly radioactive waste on Orchid Island, home of the Yami people since 1977. In a case such as this, Article 29.2 of the UN Declaration specifically states that indigenous peoples shall be protected from such inhuman treatment and in cases when such incidents have already taken place, the state is responsible for compensating for such harm. Finally, Article 30 stresses that “Military activities shall not take place in the lands or territories of indigenous peoples ... unless justified by a relevant public interest or otherwise freely agreed with or requested by the indigenous peoples concerned.”

Indigenous peoples have legal recourse through international law and organizations regarding the securing of their rights of land and resources. Likewise, the state has legitimate references through which it can formulate regulations regarding indigenous peoples’ land use rights into national law.

3.1. Rights of Language and Heritage

Language is not merely a tool for communication; by learning and using a language, the user learns basic cultural heritage knowledge, and people who use a common language build a unique cultural identity by sharing and passing on this heritage knowledge.

Helaine Silverman and D. Fairchild Ruggles (2007:3) have described heritage as follows:

Heritage is by no means a neutral category of self-definition nor an inherently positive thing: It is a concept that can promote self-knowledge, facilitate communication and learning, and guide the stewardship of the present culture and its historic past.

It is clear that heritage is at the core of indigenous identities. In addition, WIPO suggests that to protect indigenous heritage (the term that has been adopted by WIPO is ‘traditional cultural expressions, or expressions of folklore’²⁷) the value of heritage should be emphasised, and indigenous peoples should be provided with the legal and practical means to prevent the misappropriation of traditional cultural heritage. The Australian Heritage Commission gives a perspicuous definition of the term ‘indigenous heritage’ as follows:

Indigenous heritage is dynamic. It includes tangible and intangible expressions of culture that link generations of Indigenous people over time. Indigenous people express their cultural heritage through ‘the person’, their relationships with country, people, beliefs, knowledge, law, language, symbols, ways of living, sea, land and objects all of which arise from Indigenous spirituality.” (Australian Heritage Commission 2002:4)

With this viewpoint in mind one may further state that, if the language of a people is lost, the heritage vanishes along with it; if the heritage of a people is lost, the identity of the people becomes increasingly vague and may even disappear. There is a close connection between language, language speakers and their cultural heritage. To consider a reality from a UNESCO survey, over 600 of the world’s languages have become extinct so far. Moreover, every two weeks another language is lost, and in most cases the lost languages are indigenous languages.

In the United Nations 2008 International Expert Group Meeting on Indigenous Languages, the loss of indigenous languages was described as not only “the loss of traditional knowledge” but was also highlighted as representing “the loss of cultural diversity”.²⁸ Furthermore, the loss of indigenous languages was said to undermine the “identity and spirituality of the community and the individual.”²⁹ The sad fact is, however,

²⁷ “ [S]ome indigenous and local communities question the term ‘folklore’, which is used in international legal instruments and many national laws. A number of communities expressed concern that this term can suggest that their cultures were static, dormant, obsolete, or somehow valued less than other cultures. In recognition of those concerns, WIPO commenced using the more neutral term ‘traditional cultural expressions’ in parallel with the synonym, ‘expressions of folklore.’” (WIPO 2007) Here, I use the term ‘heritage’ to refer to WIPO’s idea of ‘folklore’.

²⁸ The United Nations 2008 *International Expert Group Meeting on Indigenous Languages*, http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/Factsheet_languages_FINAL.pdf

²⁹ The United Nations 2008 *International Expert Group Meeting on Indigenous Languages*, http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/Factsheet_languages_FINAL.pdf

if indigenous peoples are not active in the revitalization their indigenous languages, consequently the language will be doomed to extinction.

Throughout history, the assimilative educational policies of the overwhelming majority of colonizers have forced indigenous students to undergo instruction in colonial languages. This has led to the younger indigenous generations being unable to use or speak their own languages. In addition, with the development of technology and the Internet, as well as the encroachment of dominant culture, contemporary indigenous families often communicate in the home using the national language. A further indication of the decline of indigenous languages is that, for current indigenous generations, the chance to learn their indigenous languages comes primarily from schooling, not from their parents passing on their mother tongue to the next generation. Saving moribund languages and securing language rights is therefore a pressing and urgent matter.

The Seventh Session of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues stated that indigenous peoples' language rights include the following:

- The right to be educated in their mother tongue.
- The right to have indigenous languages recognized in constitutions and laws.
- The right to live free from discrimination on the grounds of language.
- The right to established and have access to media in indigenous language.

The United Nations 2008

http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/Factsheet_languages_FINAL.pdf

In addition, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples also makes the following declarations:

- Guaranteeing the right to mother-tongue education for indigenous for indigenous children.
- Allocating the funding and resources needed to preserve and develop indigenous languages, and particularly for education.
- Translating laws and key political texts into indigenous languages so that indigenous Peoples may better participate in the political and legal fields.
- Establishing language-immersion programmes for both indigenous children and adults.
- Raising the prestige of indigenous languages by promoting the use of indigenous languages in public administration and academic institutions.
- Using indigenous languages so that they are kept alive and passed down through the generations by indigenous peoples themselves.

The United Nations 2007

http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf

The above language rights aim to secure the protection and resources needed by indigenous peoples with respect to language rights, and the best means of obtaining this is through the right to indigenous language education. As described previously, currently the main channel through which most of the world's indigenous children learn their indigenous languages is school. Therefore, safeguarding the rights of indigenous children to learn indigenous languages in school will help the revitalization and development of indigenous languages. Next, if the development of a language is to be long-term, it is necessary to have an environment in which it can be used, in other words, acquiring media, public areas and academic institutions in which indigenous languages can be spoken will provide venues for the use of such languages. At the same time, increasing

the frequency and visibility of the use of indigenous languages will reduce and even eliminate discrimination problems regarding indigenous languages. Finally, boosting the status of indigenous languages by making them official languages is also an important means of developing indigenous languages.

Let me stress again that if the language of a people is lost, then the heritage will be lost. One may say that the struggle to acquire indigenous language rights is equivalent to the struggle to acquire cultural heritage rights.

3.2. Rights of Education and Self-Determination

Most contemporary worldwide indigenous peoples are still under the procedure of colonization. They do not have much authority to make policy decisions, and order to acquire natural resources, the colonizers have forced them from their homelands to live in infertile and poorer regions. This means that the indigenous peoples have been forced to live away from their ancestral lands, cultural life practices, and economic activities. Their children's school education is full of dominant cultural teaching in non-indigenous languages, and their indigenous cultural knowledge is marginalized in text books and curricula. For instance, the passage below illustrates the reality of indigenous education in Mexico:

[C]hildren are taught in a nationalistic manner and do not learn to become independent, critical thinkers. Especially in indigenous regions school education is still in a very bad shape. Teachers are themselves not well prepared and often reproduce prejudices instead of deconstructing them. The school program itself does not pay any attention to our languages and cultures...it makes them internalize a negative self-image. (Perez Jimenez 2010: 2)

In general, indigenous students' educational achievements are far behind their non-indigenous schoolmates. Nowadays, more and more indigenous peoples have become aware of the importance of gaining legal and equal political status, in order to empower their indigenous human rights in terms of self-determination and education (Iris Marion Young 2002).

3.2.0. The Right to Education

The right to education is a fundamental human right. Currently there are many international organizations keeping watch on the issue of education rights, including the International Labour Organization (ILO) of the UN Specialized Agency, the World Bank, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). As early as 1948 the basic human right to receive education was declared in Article 26.1 and 26.2 of the *United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR):

Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit. (UDHR: Article 26.1)

Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace. (UDHR : Article 26.2)

Katerina Tomaševski (2001:10) points out that, while there are in fact many human rights, it is education that is the key to the enjoyment of other rights and freedoms. In other words, the right to education is an important and essential tool for achieving other human rights. The importance of education was highlighted when, in 1989, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child asserted that education is a basic right for children. According to this Convention, governments must ensure that all children receive support for learning. This has been widely understood and accepted, and most of the world's governments have set their educational policies on the premise of non-infringement of the basic human right to education. However, disadvantaged peoples such as indigenous peoples are often still not able to fully enjoy the protection of their basic right to receive appropriate education, which includes schools established and managed by indigenous peoples themselves and classes in which the language of instruction is the indigenous language.

As has been mentioned, in 2007, the United Nations General Assembly passed an important rights declaration for indigenous peoples—the *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. With respect to education, Article 14 states:

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning.
2. Indigenous individuals, particularly children, have the right to all levels and forms of education of the State without discrimination.
3. States shall, in conjunction with indigenous peoples, take effective measures, in order for indigenous individuals, particularly children, including those living outside their communities, to have access, when possible, to an education in their own culture and provided in their own language.

This provision is aimed specifically at indigenous peoples' educational rights. Its content supports and provides ideas for the world's indigenous peoples in their efforts to secure educational rights from their governments.

3.2.1. The Right to Self-Determination

Among the world's liberation movements concerned with self-determination, the main means of action is to seek different degrees of political autonomy, self-determination, and even independence from sovereign states (Steven Hillebrink 2007). To indigenous peoples, the goals are to become "nations" or "peoples" empowered to self-determination. The earliest appearance of the principles of self-determination was in the 1945 San Francisco Conference on the United Nations:

To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace (Article 1.2)

With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote.... (Article 55)

Unfortunately, it is not clear who these "peoples" are, and a clear definition of "self-determination" is not given.

In February 1990, the Experts on Further Study of the Rights of Peoples conference held by UNESCO opened discussion on the issue of the right to self-determination. In 1995, the United States Institute of Peace held a roundtable conference with the Policy Planning Staff of the US, titled Self-Determination, Sovereignty, Territorial Integrity, and the Right to Secession. In 1998, during a conference held by the ILO, some groups advocated that "peoples" referred to indigenous populations and argued for international recognition of their right to "self-determination." In 2007, the indigenous right to self-determination was acknowledged by the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. The Declaration affirmed the following:

[T]he fundamental importance of the right to self-determination of all peoples, by virtue of which they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural...nothing in this Declaration may be used to deny any peoples their right to self-determination, exercised in conformity with international law.

In particular, Article 4 clearly states that indigenous peoples

have the right to autonomy or self-government in matters relating to their internal and local affairs, as well as ways and means for financing their autonomous functions.

At the current stage, the issue of indigenous self-determination rights has received considerable attention from international organizations, and the power of such attention has supported the development of indigenous peoples.

Daniele Archibugi (2003:493) suggests that the subjective right to self-determination can be interpreted in at least three ways:

1. The right of colonial peoples to become a state;
2. The right of minorities of a state (or more than one state) to become an autonomous (or to join another) state.

3. The right of ethnic minorities to benefit from certain collective right.

Archibugi goes on to say that, in terms of the third interpretation, people have the right to demand certain collective rights from their country. If a country neglects or represses such appeals, then people have the right to seek political independence. Such an action puts into practice the second interpretation. The recognition of indigenous peoples' collective rights to self-determination is a fundamental prerequisite for indigenous peoples taking action to secure their rights (see also Paul Havemann 1999). Amid the vigorous support of international organizations, indigenous peoples' efforts to seek government recognition of their basic rights are a priority and an imperative issue.

Conclusion

The unavoidable interaction between different peoples is a result of continuously changing social, political, and cultural issues within this global world. However, contemporary indigenous peoples' lives and cultures are not only influenced by 'global trends' and modern high tech forces, but also through 'struggling' with complicated and overlapping historical colonization (Keiichi Omura 2003). In other words, indigenous peoples have had decisions about their futures arbitrarily made by colonizers, and have found themselves unable to escape from their socially, culturally, economically and politically disadvantaged statuses or prevent the destruction of their cultural heritage and identity. There are many different voices from various perspectives within the discussion of the legitimacy of indigenous rights. It may be thoughtful to include all arguments and opinions as part of any consideration of the topic of 'dealing with indigenous problems', as well as for the topic of indigenous education and heritage revitalization. However, the aim of this thesis is not to identify 'indigenous peoples' who are eligible for the return of certain rights, nor which kind of theory is acceptable to be applied in such situations.³⁰ Instead, the points I would like to contribute are: how can we create equal opportunities and a just society for different peoples living together within a multiethnic country? How can marginalized (indigenous) peoples truly enjoy their human rights?

In the past, colonial education was used as a weapon to destroy indigenous heritage. Today, an education that caters to indigenous needs is the most important tool for saving, reconstructing and revitalizing indigenous cultural heritage. In light of this, it is important to ask what kinds of colonial education have caused so much harm to indigenous heritage. What educational needs do indigenous peoples have? What types of educational models will be truly able to create advantages for indigenous peoples both within the indigenous world and in mainstream society? As Perez Jimenez and Maarten Jansen have stated, "we are not yet in a postcolonial reality, but could and should start looking at the world from a postcolonial perspective." (Perez Jimenez and Jansen 2006: 212) Indeed, if one wish to improve indigenous human rights in order to bring equal and just values to this world, it is necessary for us to take a postcolonial perspective towards multiethnic world.

³⁰ For example, Kuper (2003) argues that "new identities are fabricated and spokespeople identified who are bound to be unrepresentative and may be effectively the creation of political parties and NGOs... but ironically enough they do so in the idiom of Western culture theory."

Chapter III: Development of the Idea of Indigenous Education

Colonization can be seen as an intention by the colonizers to create an independent nation. On the other hand, when confronted by the power of the colonizers, colonized peoples have traditionally been unable to prevent their cultures and traditions being assimilated into the dominant world (Gwilym Beckerlegge 2008). Colonizers have typically seen indigenous peoples as members of the national system. However, even before the imposition of “civilizing” education, indigenous peoples already had their own educational systems and philosophies which were closely related to their natural living environments. Before settlers arrived in indigenous peoples’ territories, the communities themselves in which indigenous peoples lived acted as the classroom. Indigenous children learned life skills from their elders, gaining an affinity for the land and everything in nature, and thereby developing a set of principles for living in harmony with nature. Despite this, historically settlers have viewed indigenous peoples as “savages” who needed to be educated to become “civilized” people. The prime goal of European missionaries has been to convert the indigenous peoples from their “animist” beliefs. Colonization has been described by Perez Jimenez and Jansen (2006:180) as a “rhizomatic” rather than static process, which includes “economic pillage and political oppression, which dominant groups often seek to justify through a claim of racial, ethnic, social and cultural superiority.” Colonizers have introduced their “legitimate” governance to colonized regions and have worked to convince indigenous peoples that their indigenous cultures are inferior and useless, leading to cultural discrimination and social injustice. In most cases, “the traumatic experience of abuse and discrimination has created an atmosphere of frustration, distrust, reproaches and negative gossip, designated as ‘envy’, which paralyzes people and destroys their capacity of uniting and collaborating in one common front.” (Perez Jimenez and Jansen 2006: 5) As such, self-discrimination results from dominant peoples’ intentional discrimination and cultural prejudice towards indigenous peoples. However, this process of discrimination can be unconscious, and so what one can call “internal colonialism” can exist within indigenous communities.

As European missionaries traversed the world to spread their religion, they encountered many indigenous languages without a writing system or with writing systems that seemed too difficult to them. To facilitate missionary work and Bible instruction among indigenous peoples, the missionaries developed writing systems based on the Roman alphabet and translated the Bible into many indigenous languages. The original intention of missionary work evolved as time passed, and it became the first exposure among indigenous peoples of formal school education. From the point of view of the European and Western missionaries, this undertaking was successful in terms of their goal to change the traditional “animist” beliefs of the indigenous peoples and successfully bring indigenous peoples into the “civilized” world. However, to the indigenous peoples, this change from traditional models of passing on knowledge was the beginning of myriad problems, because the accompanying colonial dominance made the indigenous worlds part of the dominant Western world. Generally speaking, lifestyle and economic models of contemporary indigenous peoples have been deeply affected by dominant society. After being conquered by colonizers, indigenous peoples lose the right of self-determination, and therefore the right of schooling choice and the needs of education

frequently do not exist and are not considered important by the dominant governments. Yet today, when the problems of indigenous peoples' disadvantaged position within dominant society is a focus of concern for international organizations such as the United Nations (UN), indigenous peoples are restricted by passive and fatalistic mindsets caused by long-term, top-down governance and schooling by colonizers. Indigenous peoples often feel that they have no choice but to resign themselves to continued control by the dominant governments.

In the past, "cultural unity" has been the goal of the colonizers. Nowadays, however, for most of multiethnic countries "cultural diversity" is the desired aim. Emerging opportunities for the revitalization of indigenous traditional culture, within the tide of economic globalization, have caused indigenous peoples to face the dual pressures of internal and external challenges. In other words, contemporary indigenous peoples must not only revitalize and develop traditional indigenous cultures, but they must also foster sufficient abilities to be able to compete within dominant society. Faced with such a difficult proposition, education is without doubt the best method for solving these problems. However, questions remain: what are the needs of indigenous education; what should education achieve for indigenous students; how can one foster indigenous students' competitiveness in dominant society while the challenge of developing education on indigenous cultural heritage is involved in the same phase? Before addressing these questions, I believe that a thorough examination of the process of developing indigenous education will be helpful in gaining a clearer understanding of the reasons for the failures of the current schooling system in applying its methods to indigenous students. Observing indigenous education between the 20th century and the 21st century allows us to examine the reality of indigenous education and investigate whether its development has been in a positive and adequate direction. Investigation of this 100 years period can be beneficial to indigenous peoples' future development and can allow the dominant population a moment of introspection, from which ideas on how to revise past wrongs can be constructed.

In the following sections I will separately discuss and analyze the education ideas of the 20th century and the principles of contemporary indigenous education development. This will present the diversity of effort that dominant governments have given to indigenous education and will provide a basis for comparison and review for the reference of indigenous peoples and dominant governments around the world that are currently developing indigenous education. In addition, this chapter also provides historical lines of thought for future research into the issue of the development of indigenous education.

Section 1: 20th Century

By the end of World War I, most of the world's indigenous peoples were suffering from problems such as disease, low life expectancy and incomplete school systems. During this period, for political and economic reasons, the world's colonial powers seized indigenous peoples' lands and resettled indigenous peoples in reservations³¹. The 20th century was, however, a period of rapid development and after World War II, the direction of educational policies in some countries around the world began to change.

1.0. Assimilation Phase 1900s-1960s

During the 19th century and into the 20th, the development of the boarding school, which aimed to assimilate indigenous children into dominant society, was a factor that had a profound effect on many indigenous peoples. Some of these boarding schools were run in cooperation with missionaries. For example, during the time in 1870 to 1928 in the United States, Native Americans were taught in boarding schools developed by missionaries with the cooperation of the US government to force students to study Christianity. At the start of the 20th century there were still 25 off-reservation boarding schools and 157 on-reservation boarding schools in the United State. The strategy of boarding schools has been to separate indigenous children from their parents and then immerse the children in the "White" and Christian cultural values, with the aim of smoothly assimilating them into the dominant society (George Horse Capture *et al.* 2007). When Canada was dealing with the so-called "Indian problem," measures similar to those used in the US were adopted; residential schools (1840 - 1996) to train Indian boys to become industrial or agricultural laborers and to teach Indian girls domestic skills were established. In New Zealand, the "White" colonial government used education as a means to force *Maori* people to be "civilized" people. In order to realize their goal of assimilation, the government encouraged and funded churches to run missionary schools (1814 -) to instill European culture and values into *Maori* children. In 1900, almost 90% of *Maori* children could speak *te reo Maori* (*Maori* language), but by 1960 this had been reduced to only 26%. In Australia, missionaries worked in a cooperative style with indigenous communities,³² encouraging the indigenous people to become Christian. They separated the indigenous children from their families to achieve their goal of educating the indigenous children into becoming "civilized" people. On the reservations, indigenous children were moved into student dormitories and contact with their families was strictly limited. Indigenous children not on reservations were moved into non-indigenous households or vocational training institutes. The quality of education was poor and focused on Christianization and training them to become laborers (Coombes 2006). Similar boarding schools for indigenous children were abundant in China, Vietnam and several countries in East Africa.

³¹ For example, in New Zealand in 1911 the area of land usable by the *Maori* people was 7 million acres. By 1920, this land had been reduced to around 4.7 million acres. In the short space of nine years, the *Maori* people had lost nearly half of their land.

³² The first missionary school in Australia was established in 1839.

Looking at Table 1, it is clear that from 1900s to 1960s the settlers in the United States, Canada, New Zealand and Australia adopted a policy of assimilation as a method of colonial dominion over indigenous peoples. Changing their traditional religions through missionary work and providing schooling with non-indigenous languages as the medium of instruction caused indigenous children not only to lose their ability to use their own language, but they also did not learn the colonial language well. The establishment of boarding schools was harmful to indigenous children, because they were taken far away from their families, which created an emotional rift from their native cultures, leading to a crisis of cultural identity. Furthermore, the boarding schools also failed in the dominant government's ambition of teaching the indigenous peoples to be like the "civilized White man." Disregarding factors such as historical development and the complex politics of different nations, numerous inappropriate and unreasonable colonial policies were adopted in domestic indigenous education. In the first half of the 20th century, the majority of the world's indigenous peoples were forced by colonial authorities into cultural assimilation through education that was tantamount to indigenous cultural genocide. For example, in the 1920s, one educational initiative of the Committee of the USSR³³ was to develop a system that included 62 boarding schools. After World War II, the USSR began the process of Russification, prohibiting indigenous peoples from speaking indigenous languages.

The United Nations was formed in 1945 in the wake of World War II. In respect of its charter, the principal goal of this international organization was, through international cooperation, "promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language and religion." (The United Nations: Article 1³⁴) Later on, in 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations. A section of Article 1 states that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights."³⁵ Furthermore, Article 2 indicates that "everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."³⁶ Although the Declaration did not explicitly use the term "indigenous peoples", and did not stress "indigenous rights", it did in fact signify the importance of human rights for all human beings. To indigenous peoples, who under colonial regimes had long endured suppression of land use rights, human rights implied the right to practice traditional life styles and the right to use their indigenous languages. The Declaration created a profound chance for both colonizers and colonized to bring justice back to this world.

³³ The Committee of the USSR existed from 1922 to 1938, and was the highest governing body in the Soviet Union in the interim of the sessions of the Congress of Soviets.

³⁴ <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/chapter1.shtml>

³⁵ <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml>

³⁶ <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml>

Table 1: timeline of indigenous educations (Native American, First Nations, *Maori* people, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Peoples)

USA: Native American	Canada: First Nations	New Zealand: <i>Maori</i>	Australia: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Peoples
<p>1906</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Nationality Act of 1906: speaking English was a legislation requirement for immigrants to become naturalized citizens. <p>1920s</p> <p>John Collier led reforms</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Educational Assimilation Policy and allocation of reservations was forcing Indian people towards a disaster. <p>1923</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 34 states, English was the only legislated instruction language in public schools, and other languages were prohibited. <p>1928</p> <p>The Meriam Report (Note 5)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The chief advantage of the day school for Indians, whether maintained by the national government or the state, is that it leaves the child in the home environment, where he belongs. 	<p>1907</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indian Affairs chief medical officer, P.H. Bryce reported many deficiencies in schools and a high death toll among Aboriginal school children. <p>1913</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • McKenna-McBride Royal Commission was established to fix the “Indian reserve question.” The creation of reserves in the British Columbia province caused Indians to not only lose their valuable lands, but also lose their hunting and fishing rights. <p>1915</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Allied Tribes of British Columbia was formed to pursue recognition of title and treaties and legal cases on Aboriginal rights. <p>1920</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs Duncan Campbell Scott³⁸ made residential school 	<p>1908</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Maori</i> traditional healing practices were prohibited by the <i>Tohunga</i>³⁹ Suppression Act⁴⁰. <p>1909</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The enrollment of <i>Maori</i> children in state primary schools was more than in Native schools, but poor command of the English language caused a barrier to <i>Maori</i> children’s success in state schools. <p>1913</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The majority of children in <i>Maori</i> schools were <i>Maori</i> native speakers, and national and international news, cultural events, as well as farming activities were published in the <i>Maori</i> language in <i>Maori</i> newspapers. <p>1920s</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sir Apirana Ngata⁴¹ began lecturing <i>Maori</i> communities about the need to promote <i>Maori</i> language use in homes and communities, while also promoting English language 	<p>1909</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aborigines Protection Act (NSW) 1909 gives Aborigines Protection Board (APB) the power to remove Aboriginal children from their families. <p>1932</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The first Australian Aborigines organization with all Aboriginal members. The aims of the League were to gain human and civil rights for Aboriginal people that were being denied. <p>1937</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The First Native Welfare Conference. The policy of Assimilation was adopted to make Aboriginal people the same as White Australians. <p>1940</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Aborigines Progressive Association campaigned to bring about reforms to the NSW Protection Board. Amendments to the NSW

³⁷ The Indian New Deal was a US federal legislation which safeguarded certain rights to “Indians”.

³⁸ Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs between 1913 and 1932.

³⁹ The meaning of *tohunga* may include healers, navigators, builders, expert priests, carvers, and teachers.

⁴⁰ This Act introduced by James Carroll aimed at replacing *tohunga* (traditional *Maori* healers) with modern medicine.

⁴¹ Sir Apirana Ngata is well-known for his efforts in protecting and promoting *Maori* language and culture.

<p>1930s</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> English-as-a-second-language (ESL) methodology was developed. Collier's "Indian New Deal" created opportunities for vocational training, jobs, and job training as well. It included a separate Indian Civilian Conservation Corps and an Indian Emergency Conservation Work program. <p>1934</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Indian New Deal - The brainchild of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) director John Collier, the New Deal was an attempt to promote the revitalization of Indian traditional culture, languages, governments, and spirit. <p>1935</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Indian Arts and Crafts Board was established. Craft unions appeared on many reservations and art classes were available in federal schools. <p>World War II (1940–1945)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Funding for reservations was cut. Buildings deteriorated. Schools were closed. <p>1940-1945</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The first bilingual booklets came out. 	<p>attendance compulsory, and once said “without education and with neglect the Indians would produce an undesirable and often a dangerous element in society”.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> An amendment to the Indian Act – the mandatory educational age for Indian children was from the age of 7 to 15. <p>World War II (1940–1945)</p> <p>1940s – 1950s</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Government began efforts to integrate Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal education. <p>1944</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Senior officials of Indian Affairs argued for shifting education policy from residential to day schools. <p>1948</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The department of Indian Affairs and Ottawa both agreed to integrate Aboriginal children into public schools. <p>1958</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Indian Affairs Regional Inspectors recommended ending residential schools. 	<p>education for <i>Maori</i> in schools.</p> <p>1930s</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Maori</i> language was still the dominant language for everyday life, but because of the support from some <i>Maori</i> leaders in English-only school education, more and more <i>Maori</i> people began to use English. <p>World War II (1940–1945)</p> <p>1940s</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Maori</i> migration from rural to urban areas began. From this era, because of the urbanization of <i>Maori</i>, more and more <i>Maori</i> families shifted from using <i>Maori</i> language to English. <p>1942-1962</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A period of rapid escalation of <i>Maori</i> migration from rural to urban areas. <p>1945</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The <i>Maori</i> Social and Economic Advancement Act incorporated the tribal and executive committees from the <i>Maori</i> Council Act to make progress on the development of communities. In the same year, <i>Maori</i> Wardens was established and became a legal entity to maintain law. <p>1950s</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Maori</i> migration to urban areas 	<p>Aborigines protection legislation resulted in the replacement of the Aborigines Protection Board with the NSW Aborigines Welfare Board. Responsibility for Aboriginal Education is transferred to the Department for Education, which took control of reserve buildings and started to provide trained teachers.</p> <p>World War II (1940–1945)</p> <p>1951</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Assimilation policies with respect to Aborigines were officially introduced as part of the state and Commonwealth governments' policy line in 1951. <p>1957</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Central Board for the Protection of Aborigines was abolished under the Aborigines Act of 1957. This Act was a result of the McLean Report that recommended the assimilation of Aborigines into the wider society. The Victorian Aborigines Advancement League (VAAL) was the first Aboriginal organization established in Victoria. It played a major role in Aboriginal Affairs, and it has also played an important role in lobbying the government to ensure that Koories have been given their rights in education.
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<p>1940-1950s</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A stop of cross culture training and return to assimilation. <p>1943</p> <p>B.I.A (Bureau of India Affairs) Off-Reservation Boarding Schools</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The new educational approach began in 1943 and was developed to meet the needs of Indian children who were not attending school before. During the school year, the majority of these children went home rarely, or even not at all. • The education aimed to provide a basic understanding of English and to teach the Indian youth skills to be able to work in carpentry, domestic service, or any of a number of other vocations. <p>1944</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A report recommended that Indian students should re-attend off-reservation boarding schools as they had at the turn of the century. The "de-Indianizing the Indian" policy was re-started. <p>1930-1945</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indian Reorganization Act <p>During the “Indian New Deal”³⁷ of 1930’s, “Johnson-O-Malley Act” (April 1934) and “Indian Reorganization Act” (June 1934) laws were passed by the Congress. These were strengthened and</p>		<p>continued. Consequently English was the home language for most of <i>Maori</i> urban migration families, and English became those <i>Maori</i> children’s first language.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In 1950s the <i>Maori</i> language was taught in secondary schools and tertiary institutions as a subject. <p>1955</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The <i>Maori</i> Trust Boards Act created an umbrella to guide its legal functions and responsibilities and to manage tribal properties. • Three of the main <i>Maori</i> educational recommendations from National Committee on Education: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) The education for <i>Maori</i> and <i>Pakeha</i> in New Zealand should be a uniform system. 2) The <i>Maori</i> educational officer should be assigned to promote much more correspondence with <i>Maori</i> education organizations. 3) <i>Maori</i> cultural knowledge should be taught in all schools. <p>1960</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Hunn Report stated that <i>Maori</i> culture was the barrier for education, and consequently, it encouraged <i>Maori</i> urbanization. • The Hunn Report stated that the educational policy was deficient, and the way to solve <i>Maori</i> educational underachievement was assimilation. • The Hunn Report recommended 	
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<p>weakened the Indian tribes by turns. At this time Indian-White relations improved.</p> <p>1953</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • American Indians Relocation – the purpose was to deal with the unemployment growing among Indians. • In 1953 Congress passed an official policy of termination – “House Concurrent Resolution”. The policy aimed to end the special relationship between the United States and tribes, and stop the recognition of Indian tribes as legal entities draw apart from the states in which they were lived. 		<p>speeding up the process of transferring <i>Maori</i> schools to the state school system. This process was aimed at integrating <i>Maori</i> and <i>Pakeha</i> culture.</p>	
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1.1. Indigenous Rights Talk and Confrontation Phase 1960s to the End of the 20th Century

Starting in the 1960s, the process of uneven economic development led to vast influxes of immigrants from countries around the world to places such as the United States, Canada and Australia. Problems in education, lifestyle and economic activities within the immigrant populations forced these countries to re-examine past assimilation policies, and as a result multiculturalism, which includes the concept of cultural equality, was formed. It was Canada that first widely promoted this theory, incorporating it in 1971 into national development policy. The goals of this policy included protecting human rights, strengthening the self-identity of Canadians and promoting cultural diversity. For indigenous peoples, who had long endured education which aimed to assimilate them into the dominant culture, this trend opened a new doorway toward better indigenous education. For example, in 1968, the United States passed the Bilingual Education Act. In 1973, the federal government of Canada accepted the policy on First Nations' language and culture which was proposed by the Assembly of First Nations and in 1978 the first bilingual school was opened in New Zealand.

The last two decades of the 20th century were critical to the development of indigenous education. In addition to proposing ideas for bilingual education and innovative teaching methods, international organizations invested a great deal of effort regarding issues of concern to indigenous peoples, including the development of indigenous education. In 1982, the United Nations established the Working Group on Indigenous Populations⁴² to promote and protect indigenous peoples' human rights and fundamental freedoms by developing international standards, measures, and review mechanisms related to indigenous rights. The effects of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations, both great and small, set policies in many colonizing nations on the right path. As Table 2 indicates, in Canada in 1986, the United Church became the first to issue a formal apology to the First Nations for their past wrongful interpretations and unjust governance of indigenous peoples. Following this, in 1988, the Secretary of State for Canada offered to create an Aboriginal Languages Institute. In 1982, the *Maori* people of New Zealand founded the first early childhood kindergarten, and in 1987 the *Maori* language was elevated to the status of an official language. In 1983, Australia's Barding College began to offer secondary education for students to learn Aboriginal culture and pursue academic excellence. These examples demonstrate that issues regarding indigenous education began to flourish towards the end of the 20th Century. In the assimilation education of the early 20th century, indigenous students did not have the opportunity to learn their own indigenous languages in school or practice knowledge about their own cultures. The reorganization of international power and order after World War II however, meant that the two-bloc international structure was gradually replaced by a multifarious international system and universal values changed. At the same time, local organizations and institutions in different countries came to the fore, playing roles of an importance to international society. Because of this, by the end of the 20th century indigenous peoples had become more highly regarded around the world in terms of educational development, and as a result there was hope for indigenous cultural heritage and language revitalization.

⁴² <http://www.iwgia.org/sw8632.asp>

Table 2: timeline of indigenous educations (Native American, First Nations, *Maori* people, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Peoples)

USA: Native American	Canada: First Nations	New Zealand: <i>Maori</i>	Australia: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Peoples
<p>Cold War (1964–1980)</p> <p>1965~ Period of Self-determination</p> <p>1965 The National Advisory Council on Indian Education (NACIE or the Council)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NACIE was authorized – a presidential appointed advisory council⁴³ on Indian education. <p>The Council was established to advise the Secretary of Education and Congress concerning the funding and administration of programs⁴⁴. It submitted a report on the activities of the Council to the Congress, including any recommendations that the Council considered appropriate for the improvement of Federal education programs with respect to</p>	<p>1969</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partnership between the government and churches ended, and the residential school system was no longer officially controlled by the government. In the same year the decision was taken to close the residential schools.⁴⁷ <p>1970</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Blue Quill's Indian residential school (St. Paul's Residential School) became the first Native-administered school and transferred to band control. <p>1971</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The "Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework" policy was announced in parliament in response to the French-speakers of Canadian minorities (concentrated in the Quebec Province). Multiculturalism 	<p>1960s</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Play centre supporters encourage <i>Maori</i> parents to use English as the family language in order to prepare <i>Maori</i> children for primary school. <p>1961</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • J. K. Hunn Report on the Department of <i>Maori</i> Affairs was released to the public, and <i>Maori</i> were encouraged to move from rural to urban areas. • The <i>Maori</i> Education Foundation was officially established by the <i>Maori</i> Education Foundation Act 1961. Its general purpose was to provide financial assistance to promote a better <i>Maori</i> education. <p>1962</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The report of the Currie Commission on Education recommended the transfer of <i>Maori</i> 	<p>1964</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Studies (AIATSIS) <p>The functions of the institute include:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) promoting and undertaking Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander studies; 2) publishing, or assisting in the publication of the results of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander studies; 3) encouraging and assisting co-operation among universities, museums and other institutions concerned with Aboriginal Studies, and training research workers (particularly Aboriginal persons) in fields relevant to Aboriginal Studies. <p>1965</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Assimilation policy is changed to the Integration policy, meaning

⁴³ The Council consists of 15 members who serve as Special Government Employees.

⁴⁴ The development of regulations and administrative policies and practices were also included.

⁴⁵ <http://www.tedna.org/pubs/Kennedy/toc.htm>

⁴⁶ The United Nations 1992 *International Year of the World's Indigenous People, 1993*, <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/47/a47r075.htm>

⁴⁷ The last residential school, located in Saskatchewan, was closed in 1996.

⁴⁸ In 1973, "the Minister have official recognition to INDIAN CONTROL INDIAN EDUCATION, approving its proposals and committing the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to implementing them" (INDIAN CONTROL INDIAN EDUCATION Policy Paper, P. iii)

⁴⁹ http://www.solon.org/Constitutions/Canada/English/ca_1982.html

⁵⁰ Maori Language Act 1987 <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1987/0176/latest/DLM124116.html>

<p>the Secretary has jurisdiction over American Indian and Alaska Native (AI/AN) children or adults as participants or activities that may benefit AI/AN children or adults.</p> <p>1968</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The “National Council on Indian Opportunity” (NCIO) was established by President Lyndon Baines Johnson. This new U.S. governmental body was established to facilitate Indian participation in decision-making concerning Indian policy. President Johnson announced that “the time has come to focus our efforts on the plight of the American Indian,” and argued that the country was now in a position “to deal with the persistent problems of the American Indian.” • Bilingual Education Act was established. This was the first legislation of the U.S. regarding minority language speakers. <p>1969</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Senate Subcommittee Report, titled “Indian Education: A National Tragedy, A National Challenge” was released. It was published by the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. It stated that “the dominant policy of the federal government toward the American Indian has been one of coercive assimilation” and the policy 	<p>was proposed as an official policy to support programs aimed at retaining, developing, and sharing cultural pluralism on a larger scale.</p> <p>1972</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The General Assembly of the National Indian Brotherhood called for “Indian Control of Indian Education”. This was officially approved and accepted by the Canadian government in 1973.⁴⁸ <p>1974</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The education department at the University of British Columbia UBC Vancouver claimed that Aboriginal educational problems were due to a lack of “culturally sensitive curricula and the absence of teachers trained to work with Aboriginal learners and communities”. <p>The Native Indian Teacher Education program (NITEP) was created, The program was only available for Aboriginal people who wanted to strengthen their cultural heritage and identity. Aboriginal culture and knowledge were introduced into the curriculum and incorporated into traditional pedagogical training.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Over 34 percent of staff had Indian status in the Aboriginal education system. <p>1975</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A publication report from the 	<p>schools to education board control to balance the need for remediation of deficiencies in general schooling with <i>Maori</i> cultural rights. By 1969, 105 <i>Maori</i> schools had already transferred to board control.</p> <p>Secondary education for all pupils began at the average age of 11.</p> <p>1970s</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multiculturalism was adopted by Canada and Australia as an official policy, and this quickly spread to New Zealand. It was proposed that people, particularly migrants, could be legitimate members of the New Zealand nation while retaining their own cultural heritage. • The <i>Maori</i> cultural renaissance in 1970’s was a remarkable success – bilingual schools and <i>Maori</i> language education were established. <p>In the early 1970s</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Many people became concerned about the decline of <i>Maori</i> speakers, and so the national <i>Te Reo Maori</i> Day was recognized. <p>1975</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The <i>Waitangi</i> Tribunal was established in October by the Treaty of <i>Waitangi</i> Act 1975. A tribal development exercise which emphasized the development of <i>Maori</i> language was put in place. 	<p>Aboriginal people were supposed to have more control over their life, but were not citizens yet. Aboriginal people were deprived of land, forced to live in Australian society on their own terms and preserve as much of their culture as they chose. However, the places they moved to were in very poor conditions, and they faced racial discrimination from non-Aboriginal people.</p> <p>1967</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The 1967 Referendum: Race, Power and the Australian Constitution. The legal significance of the referendum was that each State and Territory government had the power to make decisions about the Aboriginal people in their States and Territories. It is estimated that between 8,000 and 10,000 Aboriginal people were registered to vote throughout Australia. <p>1968</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aboriginal Study Assistance Scheme (ABSTUDY) <p>The Scheme was designed to provide grants to raise the participation of indigenous students in universities, colleges, and vocational training schools or institutions.</p> <p>1975</p>
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<p>"has had disastrous effects on the education of Indian children."⁴⁵</p> <p>1972</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Indian Education Act (IEA) – provided bilingual and bicultural programs to help American Indian students both on and off reservations to help close the gap between Indian and the general educational levels of the United States. <p>1975</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act. This Act aimed to increase parental input in Indian education by guaranteeing the involvement of parents on school boards in order to help Indian children to succeed in school. It created procedures for tribes to negotiate with the Bureau of Indian Affairs to conduct their own education. <p>1978</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA). This Federal law recognized the rights of Indian children to grow up in an environment full of Indian culture and heritage. • American Indian Religious Freedom Act. This Congressional Act was created to protect and preserve the inherent rights to believe, express, and exercise traditional religions for 	<p>Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development stated that 23 native languages programs had been offered by 174 federal and 34 provincial schools.</p> <p>1979</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There were only 15 Indian Residential Schools still in operation, with a total of 1,189 students enrolled. The Department of Indian Affairs evaluated the schools and created a series of initiatives aimed at making the school administration more culturally aware of the needs of aboriginal students. <p>1982</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Section 35 of the Constitution Act of 1982 recognizes and affirms the "existing Aboriginal and treaty rights"⁴⁹ of the Aboriginal peoples in Canada. <p>1986</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Moderator of the United Church of Canada formally apologized to Canada's First Nations people. The apology was acknowledged but not accepted by Canadian Aboriginal peoples. <p>1988</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A National conference on languages to formulate a First Nation Languages Policy Framework was hosted by the Assembly of First 	<p>1978</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the late 1970s, transitional bilingual education programs were established, and <i>Ruatiki</i> School, established in 1978, became the first bilingual school in New Zealand. <p>1979</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nearly half of students who were learning the <i>Maori</i> language were non-<i>Maori</i> students in secondary schools. As a result, more schools wanted to offer <i>Maori</i> language and cultural lessons. <p>1979-80</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A movement for restoring the knowledge of <i>Maori</i> language to <i>Maori</i> adults was established. <p>1982</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Te Kohanga Reo</i> (<i>Maori</i> preschool education) was established to instill <i>Maori</i> language knowledge to pre-school <i>Maori</i> children. This was initiated by <i>Maori</i> parents themselves. <p>1985</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>First Kura Kaupapa Maori</i> (primary, secondary and composite education) established to cater for the needs of the <i>Maori</i> children emerging from <i>Te Kohanga Reo</i>. <p>1986</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The <i>Waitangi</i> Tribunal released the 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Aboriginal Education Services (AES) was established by the Education Department of Victoria and aimed to improve the academic performance of Aboriginal students. <p>1976</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Victorian Aboriginal Education Consultative Group (VAECG). The major aims of the VAECG were to improve Aboriginal education and increase the involvement of community members in education decision making. <p>1977</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Aboriginal education Committee (NAEC). The establishment of NAEC aimed to provide advice on how to create appropriate education to meet Aboriginal students' needs. <p>1980</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Aboriginal Education Committee (NAEC) This Committee produced the first indigenous education policy, which emphasised the importance of cultural heritage for Aboriginal people, as well as promoted cross-cultural understanding among the whole Australian society. <p>1982</p> <p>New South Wales (NSW) Department of Education and</p>
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<p>American Indians.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Federal Acknowledgment Project (FAP). <p>The BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs) established the Branch of Acknowledgement and Research to acknowledge non-recognized Indian tribes.</p> <p>1990</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Native American Languages Act of 1990 enacted legislation to protect and preserve the distinct languages of Native Americans, and promote the rights of using and practicing Native American languages. Consequently, Native American languages were encouraged and supported as instruction languages at schools, as well as included as native languages in the curriculum. <p>1993</p> <p>United Nations International Year for the World's Indigenous People. "Recognizing the value and the diversity of the cultures and the forms of social organization of the world's indigenous people..."⁴⁶</p> <p>1996</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National American Indian Heritage Month. <p>The purpose of National American Indian Heritage Month is to honor and recognize the significant</p>	<p>Nations AFN. Ann Aboriginal Languages Institute was established after an offer from a Member of Parliament – Honourable David Crombie.</p> <p>1989</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • AFN declares 31 March "Aboriginal Languages Day". <p>1990</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The AFN conducted a survey on First Nations languages state in reserves, and published the results in Towards Linguistic Justice for First Nations. An estimated 80% of Canadian Aboriginal languages were reported as being on the way to extinction. <p>1992</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • AFN forms the Languages and Literacy Secretariat. Its mandate includes: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) raising awareness about the importance of First nation languages and literacy at the community level; 2) lobbying for protective legislation and increased funding; 3) carrying out the necessary research on the State of the Language; 4) establishing an Aboriginal Languages Foundation. <p>1993</p> <p>United Nations International Year for</p>	<p><i>Te Reo Maori</i> Report and recommended that legislation be introduced to allow <i>Maori</i> language to be used in Courts of Law and in dealings with local and central government, and that a statutory body be established by statute to supervise and foster the use of the <i>Maori</i> language.</p> <p>1987</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The <i>Maori</i> Language Act⁵⁰ was passed by the New Zealand Parliament. This declared <i>te reo Maori</i> to be an official language, and set up the <i>Maori</i> Language Commission to promote the language. <p>1989</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Education Amendment Act recognized and promoted <i>Kura Kaupapa Maori</i> and <i>Whare Wananga</i>. The New Zealand government reserved radio and TV programs for <i>Maori</i> learning and increasing <i>Maori</i> language and culture. • The New Zealand government introduced "Tomorrow's Schools" reforms which included a wide-ranging educational system reform and individual Boards of Trustees for each school replaced the Education Boards. This was aimed at enabling <i>Maori</i> people to have greater participation in the organization for improving <i>Maori</i> education. 	<p>Training (DEP) developed the first NSW Aboriginal Education Policy (AEP). AEP aimed at strengthening Aboriginal students' self-esteem and cultural identity, and increasing the educational involvement of Aboriginal communities and students, as well as promoting culturally appropriate teaching.</p> <p>1993</p> <p>United Nations International Year for the World's Indigenous People</p> <p>1995</p> <p>The first NSW Aboriginal Education Policy (AEP) was rewritten to include all students, staff, and schools in introducing Aboriginal Australian history and culture.</p> <p>1996</p> <p>Indigenous Australian Studies Project of National Significance manuals for primary pre-service teachers were published. The project was developed from 1991 and aimed to train teachers to have more understanding and knowledge about Aboriginal culture.</p> <p>1998</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Higher School Certificate (HSC) in Aboriginal Studies. <p>The HSC Aboriginal Studies course was aimed at promoting a just society in Australia, and helping students to develop understanding and</p>
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contributions of American Indian and Alaska Native peoples' cultures, heritage and traditions to American society.	<p>the World's Indigenous People</p> <p>1986 – 1994</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Churches issue apologies for their role in residential schools: United Church (1986); Oblates of Mary Immaculate (1991); Anglican Church (1993); Presbyterian church (1994). <p>1996</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) released A 3,200 pages Final Report, which recorded the testimonies of many survivors of residential schools. <p>1998</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Assembly of <i>First Nations</i> (AFN) declared a <i>state of emergency</i> on <i>First Nations languages</i>, and established the Chiefs Committee on Languages and the Technical Committee on Languages to protect and advance First nation language rights in Canada. 	<p>1993</p> <p>United Nations International Year for the World's Indigenous People</p> <p>1993</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In order to extend <i>Maori</i> education to higher educational levels, first <i>Wharekura</i> (<i>Maori</i>-medium secondary schools) and first <i>Wananga</i> (tertiary institutions) were established. • <i>Te Mangai Paho Maori</i> (broadcasting funding agency) was established to promote <i>Maori</i> language and culture. <p>1997</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There were 675 <i>te Kohanga Reo</i>, 54 <i>Kura Kaupapa Maori</i>, and 3 <i>Whare Wananga</i> schools New Zealand at this time. 	<p>knowledge about Aboriginal historical and contemporary experiences.</p> <p>1999</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The significant teaching resource <i>Teaching Aboriginal Studies</i> was published.
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Section 2: Complex Political Situations Today

At the start of the 21st century, there have been great changes in the world's state of affairs, with mankind facing more challenges in terms of living environment and life security than ever before, with problems such as third-world poverty, food shortages, environmental damage and desertification caused by overdevelopment and competition for water. In 1999, Federico Mayor Zaragoza, Director-General of UNESCO, proposed his own forecast of problems humans will face in the 21st century, as well as solutions. Regarding education, he stressed that everyone should have the opportunity for schooling, and also pointed out that racism and differences in religion and culture are major sources of conflict between peoples. Yet, in the pursuit of equal rights in the 21st century, the best way to put an end to such conflicts is through education: boosting understanding of each other's cultures. The following is an excerpt from the United Nations 2000 Millennium Declaration:

We rededicate ourselves to support all efforts to uphold the sovereign equality of all States, respect for their territorial integrity and political independence, resolution of disputes by peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, the right to self-determination of peoples which remain under colonial domination and foreign occupation, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for the equal rights of all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion and international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character.

(<http://www.un.org/millennium/declaration/ares552e.htm>)

The concepts stressed in this declaration are based on equal rights, with the goal of achieving a just and lasting peace all over the world. It is important to note that in the Declaration under the heading the "Values and Principles" the fifth point posits that in adapting to the impact of globalization, human beings should maintain a positive attitude and understand how to use this concept to bring the greatest happiness to humanity:

We believe that the central challenge we face today is to ensure that globalization becomes a positive force for all the world's people. For while globalization offers great opportunities, at present its benefits are very unevenly shared, while its costs are unevenly distributed. We recognize that developing countries and countries with economies in transition face special difficulties in responding to this central challenge. Thus, only through broad and sustained efforts to create a shared future, based upon our common humanity in all its diversity, can globalization be made fully inclusive and equitable. These efforts must include policies and measures, at the global level, which correspond to the needs of developing countries and economies in transition and are formulated and implemented with their effective participation.

(<http://www.un.org/millennium/declaration/ares552e.htm>)

The 21st century is certainly a more complicated and uncertain era than ever before. Moreover, as observed in the report of the World Commission on Culture and Development, in the 21st century, "across the world, as peoples mixed as never before, all began to be drawn into broader and more empowering and participatory frameworks." (UNESCO 1994:9) It is somewhat surprising then, that despite all the changes, indigenous and minority education in most countries remains neglected. It has been left to international organizations such as UNESCO to develop the issue of indigenous education. UNESCO has put forward basic principles about multilingual and bilingual

education as a guide for indigenous educational policy-makers in countries around the world. However, even in cases where these ideas have been adopted into national policy, there has not been a country that has implemented these in a feasible manner. Even in many developed countries, indigenous students still continue to receive instruction in dominant languages, with inappropriate materials and teaching methods.

One may, therefore, reasonably conclude that indigenous educational development in the 21st century has been affected by the phenomenon of globalization. In the past, many indigenous peoples were neglected and their equality, justice and rights were not valued, but today these are promoted in the Charters of many international organizations, and are formally incorporated into many countries' development policies. At first glance, it looks like there is hope for the future development of indigenous education. On the other hand, the question of whether indigenous peoples will be able to bear the added pressure of globalization remains open to debate. If not, indigenous people might once again find themselves being treated with indifference. This question is taken up in the next chapter.

Section 3: New Approach

The political, economic and cultural challenges faced by contemporary indigenous peoples in the world's countries show that current school education fails to cater to indigenous educational needs⁵¹. That is to say, school education has failed to help students acquire proper knowledge of their own cultures and those of others. The burdens left behind by past colonial history, in addition to modern mainstream society's deep-seated racial prejudices, lack of empathy, unfamiliarity and lack of understanding of indigenous cultural heritage knowledge, and have caused indigenous students to have few opportunities within their schooling to gain exposure to their native cultures (Gregory Blue *et al.* 2002). The little indigenous education there is tends to be relegated to a marginal position. Such inequality not only deepens non-indigenous prejudice toward indigenous cultures, but also makes indigenous students feel that their cultural knowledge is not valued by mainstream society, and as such they lose the motivation and passion to learn and practice their cultures. This phenomenon demonstrates that inequality and injustice continue to exist in mainstream official institutions and societies.

To adapt to global development, many countries are launching various educational reform programs, and indigenous educational reform is also incorporated in the drafting of numerous policies. Therefore, it is important to ask what kind of educational models can simultaneously benefit indigenous cultural heritage and language revitalization, while at the same time help indigenous students achieve a fair chance at academic achievement in balance with non-indigenous students? As economic globalization brings with it more immigration, different peoples are living together in the same communities, making cultural heritage education and intercultural education considerably more important.

3.0. Heritage Education

The importance of heritage education for contemporary educational reform is not simply to offer students a chance to learn about their own heritage knowledge towards formal schooling, it also plays an essential role to bridge and communicate cultures between past and nowadays, the specific people and "Others", as well as to justify cultural/human rights.

3.0.0. Bridge

Nowadays, there are many cultures that have long ago lost parts of their original features due to cultural assimilation and acculturation, whether through force or attrition. This loss has caused disruptions in transmitting cultural knowledge between different generations. On account of the destruction of indigenous cultural heritage and language because of past colonial education as well as neglect of indigenous educational needs in national education, the challenges faced by indigenous peoples regarding this subject have become even more problematic.

⁵¹ Most indigenous peoples have been relegated to system poverty: they suffer inadequate educational systems created by colonizers; unequal conditions of everyday life; the most unemployment and lowest income.

Today, a majority of indigenous peoples have problems of low self-esteem and vague cultural identity. This is largely due to the fact that during their school education they do not have the chance, nor are there adequate “symbolic” courses, to learn their own cultural heritage or language. Incorporating indigenous heritage knowledge into formal curricula or utilizing the learning facilities and practical cultural activities available in informal educational institutions are both means of strengthening indigenous students’ cultural heritage knowledge and cultural identity (Jo-ann Archibald 2008). Anna Simandiraki (2006:38) has described heritage as implying continuity and duty, while cultural heritage “can be seen as a continued way of life, behaviors, attitudes, material remains (archaeology), history and a consciousness shared by a particular community of people.” In other words, cultural heritage knowledge is not simply a matter of rote knowledge; it is something that exists in daily life. Through routine practice and performance, cultural knowledge can be passed on, thus both formal and informal education complement each other.

Under this concept, heritage education becomes the most important and effective interface bridging the cultural gap between the past and present of indigenous peoples, or indeed any peoples. Under the influence of past colonization and contemporary globalization, traditional indigenous cultural heritage is quite alien to indigenous youth. And yet the cultural atmosphere experienced in the daily lives of indigenous communities and families is somewhat, or even vastly, different from that of the dominant culture and way of life. On top of this, the knowledge taught in school education is almost fully biased toward dominant cultural knowledge, and consequently most indigenous youth do not identify with or even dare to acknowledge their own cultural identity. To strengthen indigenous youths’ cultural identity, heritage education should be introduced in both formal and informal educational systems. By applying suitable curriculum and activity design, the ideas of heritage education can bridge these two educational systems, enabling them to make up for each other’s deficiencies in order to fully convey knowledge to the learners. In addition, applying heritage education can bridge cultural memory and values between the indigenous past tradition and present “new” culture, thus helping indigenous youth reconstruct their cultural identities. Heritage education can also bridge understanding and appreciation between diverse cultural knowledge and different peoples.

3.0.1. Communication

In the age of globalization the pace of technological advancement surges ahead, shortening the distances and time between people. Culture is not an immovable product of human civilization. To prevent globalization from leading to the gradual extinction of some of the cultural models of different peoples, such peoples, especially indigenous peoples, must be mobile in their cultural heritage preservation and revitalization efforts. One can make use of formal and informal education to enable the features of diverse cultural heritage knowledge to continue to exist in a multicultural world.

The World Heritage Convention defines the concept of heritage as “our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations.”⁵² It further describes both cultural and natural heritage as being “irreplaceable sources of life and inspiration.”⁵³ This definition points out the importance of protection, preservation, and development of diverse heritages in this multicultural world. UNESCO has defined cultural heritage in its Draft Medium Term Plan 1990-1995 as follows:

The cultural heritage may be defined as the entire corpus of material signs - either artistic or symbolic - handed on by the past to each culture and, therefore, to the whole of humankind...The cultural heritage should be considered both in time and in space...The idea of the heritage has now been broadened to include both the human and the natural environment, both architectural complexes and archaeological sites, not only the rural heritage and the countryside but also the urban, technical or industrial heritage, industrial design and street furniture...the preservation of the cultural heritage now covers the non-physical cultural heritage, which includes the signs and symbols passed on by oral transmission, artistic and literary forms of expression, languages, ways of life, myths, beliefs and rituals, value systems and traditional knowledge and know-how. (UNESCO, 25 C/4, 1989:57)

Accordingly, the scope of cultural heritage that includes architecture, landscape, handicrafts, clothing, painting, ritual performance, dance, and utensils is categorized as tangible cultural heritage. Music, language, belief, traditional knowledge, and oral histories are intangible cultural heritage. The existence and performance of such cultural elements have their unique values, and have an inalienable relationship to a specific people's identity. Taking the example of indigenous cultural heritage, the indigenous cultural artifacts we see are not simply works of art in the eyes of non-indigenous people; the value of their existence includes symbolic totems of traditional culture. Such cultural substance serves as a channel of communication between indigenous peoples and their ancestors. Different cultural models acquire specific associations through various existing meanings. For instance, ritual activity is always accompanied by dance and music performance, and the use of specific apparel and indigenous language are indispensable factors in communication. Thus, instilling students of different peoples with knowledge of their own specific cultural heritage through the power of education can help them become knowledgeable imparters of their own cultural traditions and value systems. As such, one of the important values of developing heritage education is in using the power of education to impart knowledge, passing specific cultural heritage knowledge to a specific people, or sharing it with outsiders.

⁵² <http://whc.unesco.org/en/about/>

⁵³ <http://whc.unesco.org/en/about/>

Thus, heritage education is an important communicator of tangible and intangible culture and of aspects of different cultures between specific peoples. In formal education, curriculum design and content can be oriented toward heritage language and cultural knowledge as a primary axis for student learning. Regarding informal education, more flexible learning models are allowable, such as using museum collections and exhibitions to provide visitors and students visual stimuli of material culture. For example, cultural craft institutions can provide students with hands-on learning in handcrafts and weaving skills, and ritual performances offer insiders and outsiders alike with the opportunity of first-hand experience in cultural activities, so that insiders can internalize the cultural ideas borne by the regulations and procedures of the activities. Thus these cultural activities of informal education become an important medium for strengthening specific people's cultural identities. All such learning and participation activities can be called communication processes, and the indigenous cultural practicing and performances that differentiate "us" from "them" can achieve the desired goal of sharing cultural knowledge with outsiders.

3.0.2. Cultural/Human Rights

One of the functions of education is the ability to effectively change the true values of a culture⁵⁴. As J.K. Das (2001:67-68) explains, culture "is a complex pattern of social relationship and spiritual values, which gives meaning and identity to a community life." Das has states further that the problems of everyday life can be solved "through the basic concepts inherent in a particular culture". Thus, introducing a balanced curriculum for cultural heritage education of both dominant society and "Others" within an educational system can prevent the functionality of education from becoming a killer of disadvantaged culture.

Here, it is important to draw attention to the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This Declaration stresses the effectiveness of education as a tool for promoting the positive intentions of diverse cultural participation and sharing between different peoples. Of particular interest is Article 18 of the Declaration, which states that the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion belongs to everyone, and that this right "includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance." Article 26 (2) further elaborates on the idea of education, stating the following:

Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

⁵⁴ UNESCO has given a definition of culture as being a "dynamic value system of learned elements, with assumptions, conventions, beliefs, and rules permitting members of a group to relate to each other and to the world, to communicate and to develop their creative potential."
<http://www.un.org/docs/ecosoc/publications/health&educ.pdf>

Finally, Article 27(1) states the right for everyone to freely participate in “the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits”.⁵⁵

The function of culture holds an irreplaceably important status for an individual or a specific people (culture owner). The realization of the right to self-interpretation of one’s own culture, of the right to cultural practice and of the right to be free from cultural discrimination can be achieved through the introduction of diverse cultural heritage education in schools. If one wish to establish a mechanism for harmonious coexistence between different peoples through education, there must be platforms within informal institutions for presenting, practicing and sharing culture. Through these means, disadvantaged peoples have the chance to attain the rights and dignity they are due (Francesco Francioni and Martin Scheinin 2008).

When the hypothesis that cultural heritage is linked to a specific people’s cultural identity becomes indisputable fact, cultural heritage learning cannot be relegated to a position outside of formal and informal educational systems. A 2007 World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) special report on indigenous traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions points out that “the participation of local and indigenous communities was of great importance for the work [...] of recognition and promotion of traditional knowledge systems, forms of cultural expression, and creative heritage.” (WIPO 2007:4) If indigenous communities can truly participate in cultural heritage management and policy-making both nationally and internationally, and if indigenous students can attain cultural knowledge through both formal and informal learning systems, this will strengthen their cultural identity, allow them to enjoy their indigenous identity and encourage them to participate in cultural activities, and if indigenous students can attain cultural knowledge through both formal and informal learning systems, this will strengthen their cultural identity, allow them to enjoy their indigenous identity and encourage them to participate in and practice cultural activities. Such an idea provides a positive and efficient path for the development of indigenous cultural heritage and language revitalization and for teaching indigenous youth to value their own cultures even as contemporary globalization continues to influence the world’s politics, economics, culture and education.

⁵⁵ <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml#atop>

3.1. Intercultural Education

The developments in technology have caused the process of globalization to speed up, and most nations have become more culturally diverse. Although multicultural society refers to the concept of diverse cultural communities existing within one society/nation/world, it must not be forgotten that different peoples have different needs in terms of practicing cultural traditions. Within a multicultural society, the reality of diverse cultures has increased the need for cultural appreciation and understanding between different ethnic background communities. In the UNICEF Convention on the Rights of the Child, Article 29 (d) explains that education should be directed towards preparing children “for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin.”⁵⁶ That is, in a multicultural society, it is necessary for all different peoples to learn each others’ cultural knowledge, traditional values, and languages, while at the same time each individual people is practicing and learning about its own heritage knowledge. As the formal educational system is the most effective means of knowledge transmission, the ideas of intercultural education would contribute to this matter.

The development of school education has to simultaneously take into consideration the educational needs of all different peoples, and be able to help students adapt to ever-changing technological advancements, as well as enabling students to appreciate others’ diverse cultural knowledge through the sharing of culture. However, as the global political and economic environment grows increasingly complex, the axis of educational development around the world remains largely biased toward the needs of global dominant knowledge. Therefore, appropriate solutions have not been found to the problems of clashes between different peoples in multicultural societies. According to the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment, intercultural education has two focal points:

- 1) It is education which respects, celebrations and recognizes the normality of diversity in all areas of human life. It sensitizes the learner to the idea that humans have naturally developed a range of different ways of life, customs and worldviews, and that this breadth of human life enriches all of us.
- 2) It is education, which promotes equality and human rights, challenges unfair discrimination, and promotes the values upon which equality is built. (NCCA 2005:3)

In other words, intercultural education can provide students with the requisite communicative knowledge to cope with cross-border and cross-cultural phenomena brought about by globalization, becoming an important tool for bringing together students of different peoples so they can learn about each other.

⁵⁶ UNICEF <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/crc.htm>

3.1.0. From an Individual to Diverse Groups

Young people should be enabled to appreciate the richness of a diversity of cultures and be supported in practical ways to recognize and to challenge prejudice and discrimination where they exist. (The Stationery Office 2002:34)

To encourage the younger generations to respect and appreciate the lifestyles and cultures of different peoples, it is first necessary to get children to recognize and understand the cultures of their schoolmates from different cultural backgrounds. In a multicultural classroom, if teachers use the world view of a single people (usually the dominant perspective) in helping resolve conflicts between students from diverse cultural backgrounds, the end result may be more misunderstanding and prejudice. Thus, to effectively prevent conflicts between students stemming from cultural differences, school curricula should reflect diverse cultural identities.

In multicultural schools, curriculum design must be able to meet the needs of every single student when it comes to learning about their own culture, in order to construct or reconstruct cultural identity and strengthen opportunities for self-esteem. The advantages such learning opportunities can bring to students of varied cultural backgrounds can satisfy their curiosity for diverse cultural knowledge, and foster in them the ability to adapt to and appreciate different cultural knowledge. If we expand our perspective from a single school to the whole of society – from an individual to a people –when a student from a specific people is able to strengthen in themselves a specific collective cultural identity through the help of school education, this will help a people as a whole accept and be proud of their own cultural and cultural identity. One of the significant gains of imparting cultural knowledge through school education is a potential boost to a people's collective cultural memory and cultural identity. To the non-indigenous students in the same classroom, the chance to learn about indigenous cultures or languages together with indigenous students can help students eliminate erroneous knowledge picked up from the media, textbooks, or society, thus rooting out incorrect ideas and cultural prejudices.

Intercultural education can be developed through both formal and informal education models. If both models can mutually support intercultural education, this will be an even more effective means of attaining the goals of this educational philosophy.

3.1.1. From Community to Nation

Indigenous communities may be segregated from the mainstream world in reservations, crowded into urban enclaves, or they may be living alongside members of the dominant people in the city. When compared to the overall national culture, indigenous cultures, world views, lifestyles will always be seen as being to some degree “different”. Colonists of bygone days attempted to eliminate cultural differences through cultural assimilation policies, but in reality this only caused more conflict between different peoples and greater destruction of the social order. Instead of assimilation, imagine if there was a mechanism for fairness within a country, which would allow each people the equal opportunity to enjoy their cultural life without prejudice, to share their cultures without

scorn, and to learn about other cultures openly. Such a world would surely have no conflicts between peoples or cultural discrimination.

Nowadays, despite the efforts of schools to educate students to care about disadvantaged peoples and respect and appreciate the cultures and lifestyles of peers of diverse cultural backgrounds, there remains a lack of opportunity to truly understand or know about different cultures. Additionally, teachers with insufficient or erroneous knowledge of non-mainstream ethnic groups' cultural knowledge are making cultural discrimination and prejudice difficult to eradicate. Dominant peoples discriminate against and misunderstand the cultures of non-mainstream groups and indigenous or marginalized peoples distrust the dominant people. Such a lack of understanding leads to problems of ethnic conflict as well as improper modes of awareness, and under globalization's increasing influence on the countries of the world, extant problems are clearly not abating, and may even be worsening.

UNICEF has described intercultural education as “a response to the challenge to provide quality education for all.”⁵⁷ The term “quality” as mentioned here means that intercultural education is able to help students of different peoples learn each others' cultural knowledge, lifestyles, languages and world views. However, the notion of one person getting to know another can be extended to the notion of contact and interaction between one people and another. This interaction could minimize conflict between peoples within multicultural countries. The most effective means of reducing conflict and misunderstanding is to know one another, and school education is the most directly effective model for this. Therefore, introducing intercultural education into school curricula occupies an important position in contemporary educational reform.

⁵⁷ http://www.unicef.org/adolescence/cypguide/resourceguide_education.html

3.1.2. Human Rights

In 1993, the UN World Conference on Human Rights was held in Vienna. Section 33 of the subsequent Vienna Declaration and Program of Action is as follows:

The World Conference on Human Rights reaffirms that States are duty-bound, as stipulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and in other international human rights instruments, to ensure that education is aimed at strengthening the respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The World Conference on Human Rights emphasizes the importance of incorporating the subject of human rights education programs and calls upon States to do so. Education should promote understanding, tolerance, peace and friendly relations between the nations and all racial or religious groups and encourage the development of United Nations activities in pursuance of these objectives. Therefore, education on human rights and the dissemination of proper information, both theoretical and practical, play an important role in the promotion and respect of human rights with regard to all individuals without distinction of any kind such as race, sex, language or religion, and this should be integrated in the education policies at the national as well as international levels. The World Conference on Human Rights notes that resource constraints and institutional inadequacies may impede the immediate realization of these objectives.⁵⁸

From this declaration one general point becomes very clear: in order to put human rights into practice, education development needs further consideration and attention in the reality of diverse peoples living together in multiethnic countries.

Globalization presents a number of challenges to the United Nations in terms of its long-held devotion to the recognition of human rights in the countries of the world. In multicultural countries, the cultural backgrounds of the population are various, and the national origins of school students are diverse. To realize the philosophy of the United Nations regarding the securing of human and cultural rights for disadvantaged peoples (indigenous peoples and minorities), the adjustments and reforms that should be carried out by dominant governments and school education should include the abandonment of past advantages meant to solidify a single ethnicity (the dominant group), as well as measures imposed to oppress or neglect other peoples. Under the premise of equal status and respect for the aspirations of each people, dominant governments should take the equal focus on all peoples in every area of development as the chief basis for policy formulation, and promote school curricula that can help appreciation and understanding of cultures and lifestyles, so that all peoples can truly enjoy human rights.

Building a learning mechanism through which each people can gain mutual understanding of each other's cultural knowledge, and fostering different peoples' mutual appreciation, respect and acceptance for cultural and lifestyle differences through such a learning mechanism is an urgent goal that needs to be accomplished. The above-mentioned ideas fit well with the philosophy of intercultural education, and school education is the most efficient setting for promoting human rights. Therefore, introducing intercultural education in formal educational systems can realize the goal of mutual relationships on an equal footing between different peoples. This can increase mutual

⁵⁸ [http://www.unhchr.ch/huridocda/huridoca.nsf/\(symbol\)/a.conf.157.23.en](http://www.unhchr.ch/huridocda/huridoca.nsf/(symbol)/a.conf.157.23.en)

understanding between peoples and their cultural knowledge, and secure basic human and cultural rights.

Conclusion

High dropout rates, low academic achievement and low acceptance rates into higher education among most indigenous students shows that schools are not meeting indigenous educational needs. When the majority of indigenous peoples' vocational choices are limited to labor class work and when the unemployment rate among indigenous peoples is far higher than the average rate of overall society, it shows that indigenous peoples have not had a fair opportunity to compete with the dominant population. When non-indigenous teachers and students believe that most indigenous students perform poorly academically because of laziness or low intelligence, it alerts us to the prejudice, misunderstandings and cultural discrimination existing among the peoples within a multicultural society. When a dominant government, in drawing up policy, continues to oppress and sacrifices the rights and powers of indigenous peoples in the name of the "overall situation," it shows that indigenous peoples' human rights are not being valued. When national governments are unable to apply the appropriate remedies to conflicts between peoples, then evidently, the dominant people lack sufficient knowledge and understanding of the "Other's" history, culture and lifestyle. All such problems can be tackled through appropriate implementation of education: by introducing heritage and intercultural education in the national education curriculum, we will be able to realize a multicultural society in which there is harmony, equality, and mutual respect.

Chapter IV: The Predicament of Indigenous School Education

Technological advancement has brought convenient communication to the people of the world; the high-tech, accessible Internet has shortened the distance between people to an unprecedented degree. Such changes have accelerated the advancement of human civilization and incited transformations of traditional human cultural values. Inevitably, education too has been swept up by this 21st century tide of “globalization”: a network system has gradually formed enabling institutions of learning in countries the world over to freely communicate, exchange ideas and share resources and experiences, including teaching methods and educational policy. Such a transformation poses challenges for the development of indigenous education.

The sharing of educational resources and exchange of ideas helps advance the quality of education in all countries, and the formation of an international educational network affords considerable convenience. But as global educational trends show an emphasis on dominant cultural knowledge, the position of indigenous education is becoming more marginalized. Indigenous education has rarely been a priority of dominant governments. To foster competitiveness, learning dominant cultural knowledge is imperative for indigenous students, but this does not mean that learning indigenous cultural knowledge in school will hinder indigenous students’ future academic development. On the contrary, recognizing and understanding one’s own cultural knowledge can fortify one’s cultural identity, in turn boosting self-esteem. The advancement of information technology affects not only the learning of worldwide cultural knowledge; it also affects ways of transmitting indigenous knowledge (like using high-tech products and technologies documenting indigenous oral and literary heritage). Of course, with the benefit of technology, human cultural heritage and knowledge can be better preserved and shared. Technological advancement certainly does not bring only the destruction of human culture: it can also help solve the problems caused by cultural “globalization,” and alleviate the negative impact of the “global trend” on the development of indigenous education. This issue is given in-depth discussion in Chapter 6.

Without doubt, the majority of the world’s indigenous education at present is in the ‘undeveloped’ or ‘pending development’ stage, with very few examples reaching even the ‘developing’ stage. If one analyze and study the cases currently available to us, the problems that have appeared and can be anticipated in indigenous education, regardless of the stage, are all issues that concerned indigenous education researchers, government officials, school managers and teachers as well as educational policymakers and institutions must handle with discretion. Generalizing the problems encountered in the current state of indigenous educational development in the contemporary world, we can divide them into the following three categories for closer consideration: increasingly complicated political environments, school operating paradigms, and attitude towards language. The following discussion will draw on cases of indigenous education in Taiwan as examples.

Section 1: Political Environment

For centuries, most of the world's indigenous peoples have undergone similar experiences: being conquered and colonization. The governing ways and means employed by the colonizers may have differed, but they all moved towards cultural assimilation. Consequently, the role that indigenous peoples have been able to play in schooling is that of passive cooperation. After World War II, an increasing number of indigenous peoples gradually registered the importance and urgency of revitalizing their traditional cultures, and as a result they have awoken to the significance of educational policy making and curricular design. In 2007, the United Nations adopted the Declaration on Rights of Indigenous Peoples, and this announcement demonstrates the degree of importance attached by the international community to the issue of indigenous education and its support of the rights to indigenous education.

Yet the first obstacle generally encountered in developing indigenous education – the political factor – is usually the most complicated challenge. As stated above, under the effect of globalization, national governments are affected by the influence of politics, economy and education. Within the organizational framework of the nation, the political environment in which indigenous peoples are placed is more complex than that of the dominant people. On the one hand, there is the issue of operating normally within the indigenous political system; on the other hand, the indigenous people must learn, adapt to and participate in the political and cultural environment of the dominant people. At the same time, indigenous peoples have to deal with the effect that the economic globalization trend has on the political environment of their state. Thus, it is necessary that national governments engender changes in the methods and course of indigenous educational policies.

1.0. Indigenous Traditional Political System

Traditionally, indigenous peoples construct political systems that are closely connected to their living circumstances. Through such systems, indigenous peoples' cultural heritage, values, and world views are bound together to a certain degree. Indigenous traditional political systems are intimately connected with kinship rooted in their culture and history. The concept of class exists in the majority of traditional indigenous societies and carries with it strict rules; the responsibilities of contemporary “traditional” indigenous political systems⁵⁹ include recognizing and facilitating their rights and leading role in protecting and preserving their culture and traditional system, and in decision-making regarding their future development. But after long periods of colonization, indigenous political

⁵⁹ The concept of a “traditional” indigenous political system includes within its scope not only their pre-colonization operating paradigm, i.e., before they were affected by the political and management concepts of dominant groups. Within the colonization process of dominant groups, so-called “tradition” will to a greater or lesser degree be influenced, infiltrated or forced to change by different values. As colonized people, indigenous peoples themselves, even if they are strongly motivated to develop schooling, will still face numerous challenges due to differences in ideas and methods as compared to those of the dominant government.

systems develop into different forms. As Porter (2005:93) points out in his discussion of the ideas of different kinds of tribal governments that exist in the United States,

There are three basic types of tribal government. First, there are the traditional governments, which retain an unwritten form that has been in place since before the arrival of the colonists. Second, there are the autonomous constitutional governments, which are written forms of government established by the people themselves through a democratic process. Lastly, there are the dependent constitutional or corporate governments, which are established through the direct influence of the United States [...] most native governments today reflect a combination of these different governmental types.

Even though some aspects of indigenous traditional legal systems (such as rituals and political cultural practices) are still widely in use⁶⁰, it is evident that such systems are facing several serious challenges to their survival. For example, even the traditional political system of the largest indigenous community in Taiwan, the Amis people (approximately 146,000), has been influenced and changed by the Han Taiwanese dominance. In the past, before contact with colonizers, their traditional social organization was based on matrilineal clans. After getting married, the male had to move into the female's residence. Family affairs including finances were decided upon by the female head of the household. Events such as marriage or the allocation of wealth were decided upon in a power hosted by the uncles of the female head of the household. The public affairs concerning community politics, law, wars, and religion were dealt with by an institution consisting of males of all age grades. But nowadays, intermarriages and the influence of the dominant educational philosophy have led the younger Amis generation to shift their traditions in a "new" direction. The community political system has already changed and evolved into a Taiwanese political system. Another example is formed by the Rukai people in Taiwan. The traditional social structure in Rukai society is that of a hierarchy comprising nobles and commoners. The nobles have the privilege of the legendary blood superiority and of ownership of lands. Common people can raise their social status by attaining leadership functions through increasing harvest storage and marriage. But within the context of the national political structure in Taiwan, land rights can no longer be exercised in a traditional way but rather have to follow the national land-use policy. And as long as a member of noble family cannot succeed in getting a good job in Taiwanese society, his or her noble background would amount to only a title with no significance for her/his future development. (洪英聖 2005) Of course, in those cases where the traditional political structure was not totally destroyed, within the indigenous community itself, most indigenous peoples still treasure, respect, and even abide by the traditional rules.

The above, in conjunction with the effect of globalization, speeds up the pace of change in indigenous culture and values. However, colonization, with its methods of segregation and assimilation that were so devastating to indigenous traditional cultural heritage, influenced the leadership practice and philosophy of indigenous leaders. The aftermath of this wholesale transformation of an entire system was somewhat like old traditional authorities being incorporated into the dominant governance structure. Since the means by which indigenous leaders are selected differ from those of the dominant system, indigenous leaders were treated as people with a vested interest, becoming a powerful channel through which dominant governments could easily secure agreements with

⁶⁰ This phenomenon can be observed especially in their traditional ritual performance.

indigenous peoples. After all, these leaders, whether part of a traditional political system that has been in existence for a long time or of a “new” political system⁶¹, wield considerable influence.

“Indigenous education” and “indigenous schools” are merely symbolic nouns in most countries; development of educational policy and course content are completely dependent on government policy. With regard to this subject, the work that indigenous leaders can do is in fact limited. As stated previously, once indigenous leaders become stakeholders, in some ways, some unwanted challenges may rise to the implementation of indigenous education policy. In addition, the inherent political structures of indigenous peoples exist at the extreme peripheries of the dominant society, and may even be completely neglected. This leads to the inability of indigenous education to attain fair participation opportunities in educational policy-making processes, not to mention traditional indigenous political power becoming a means of support for the enacting of indigenous education, or providing any needed assistance for indigenous schools in school administration or curriculum development.

What is important is that if the conception and attitudes of indigenous leaders cannot break free from the influence, both tangible and intangible, of the dominant political power structure, then it is as if the dominant government’s spokespeople can only follow “standard” procedure and blindly continue implementing inappropriate colonial education.

1.1. National Political Environment

War, colonization, labor market needs, immigration, refuge and trade have led to human migrations, and this has frequently given rise to challenges to different aspects within a state. As a result, multicultural and multilingual societies have become common in almost every country. With respect to allocation of authority and rights, the mixing of populations can lead to inequality among all peoples within a society. In politics, culture, economics or education, indigenous peoples in multicultural countries do not receive the respect they deserve for instance. Take for example countries’ policies on language; one can clearly understand why most indigenous languages have become endangered. One of the reasons most countries’ language policies do not identify indigenous languages as official or national languages is that there is an advantage in recognizing only one (the dominant) language as official: the government can save a great deal of expense in official documentation and education.

Taiwan prides itself on its rich linguistic diversity. The official language is Mandarin Chinese, but two other languages – Taiwan Southern Ming and Hakka – are commonly spoken in everyday society. In addition to these, there are at least 14 indigenous languages.⁶² The use of Mandarin Chinese as the standard medium of instruction in

⁶¹ Here, the term “new” political system refers to administrative organizational frameworks institutionalized within a dominant government.

⁶² In 2007, the Executive Yuan adopted the “Draft of National Language development Act”, but according to the Act, there is no obligation for the Taiwanese government to implement language educational policy

school has led to a gradual reduction in the proportion of speakers of the other languages; most indigenous languages have become endangered. The development of education in Taiwan has thus far failed to effectively solve the problem of poor quality education in remote townships, as compared to the cities. The overwhelming majority of Taiwan's indigenous peoples live in remote areas, and as such bear the brunt of the problem. Nevertheless, the challenges faced in the development of indigenous education are not limited merely to the rural/urban disparity in educational quality; indigenous educational needs have not received the regard they deserve, which is one of the reasons for academic underachievement among indigenous students.

After 1945, the management methods of Taiwan's government regarding indigenous peoples, in their earliest stage, incorporated education as a means to eradicate remnants of the notion of obedience to the Emperor that had been inculcated during the Japanese colonization. Thus, the *Shandi Pingdi Hua policy* (a policy of making the mountains' people like the plains' people) was implemented, as was the aggressive promotion of Mandarin Chinese, the official language of mainland China, with the aim of establishing a Chinese national identity for the entire population of Taiwan. In the 1990s, a new philosophy of Taiwanese-Chinese cultural nationalism came to the fore, and educational policy was adjusted as a result. School curricula began providing students with studies in the history of Taiwan, Taiwan Southern Ming, Hakka, and indigenous languages (40 minutes every two weeks). In addition, the Executive Yuan passed the Education Act for Indigenous Peoples in 1998, to ensure that indigenous students would learn indigenous languages, culture and history. But due to a lack of suitable teaching materials and instructors with adequate expertise, most of such classes were courses in name only, with little in the way of true teaching activity. However, the goal of raising local awareness continued to grow, and with the support of numerous politicians and civic organizations, the Ministry of Education launched the Grade 1-9 Curriculum in 2000 (台灣教育資源網-九年一貫網站). Within this program, there is only one class period of indigenous language instruction per week. This is the only class that can truly be classified as indigenous education. Section 19 of the Education Act for Indigenous Peoples specifies that

[T]he preschool and public education program of the government shall provide indigenous students with an opportunity to learn their indigenous language, history, and culture.

As such, the actualization of multicultural education is the incorporation of indigenous language education in public schooling curricula. The point to observe is that we must take into consideration how effectively just 40 minutes of indigenous language study per week will assist in the revival of indigenous languages. Also, setting up language courses and training teachers is a major challenge in Taiwan, where there is a great degree of cultural diversity. This is evident from the fact that a significant number of indigenous students studies an indigenous language other than their own in this language course.

for providing Taiwan Southern Ming, Hakka, and indigenous languages courses within the educational curriculum.

Taiwan occupies a complex position in terms of the issue of national identity, which is unable to truly divorce itself from the shadow of mainland China. Educational policy keeps changing in tandem with the political winds: the rules involved may change according to national political needs and political pressure. Yet the inseparable relationship between the establishment of educational policy and a country's political development is the same the world over.

1.2. Globalization

Under the impact of economic globalization, national education systems around the world are facing challenges. In addition to having to foster sufficient professional skills in students so that they can deal with the international topics and issues brought on by globalization, at the same time

[G]lobalization also influences our everyday life as much as it does events happening on a world scale. (Baron Giddens Anthony Giddens 1999: 4)

Therefore in passing on cultural knowledge, national language, and even non-dominant languages pertaining to the nation in which they reside, the schooling also arranges for students to take courses in the global language English. Schooling also provides students with courses in learning worldwide cultural knowledge. These are top priority tasks that governments cannot overlook.

In the past, colonial education adopted a policy of full assimilation of “Other” peoples. Nowadays, however, under the influence of world organizations such as UNESCO, many countries have loosened restrictions on the right to education, setting in motion the development of indigenous cultural heritage education, indigenous language education, bilingual education, and so on. But now in the 21st century, due to the influence of globalization, educational development in various countries must become comprehensive; what matters is rather that, in the process of democratization, education must place equal emphasis on local development, state identity construction, and ideas of global trends. As Joshua Aaron Fishman (1991:6) argues,

Globalization is both a constructive and a destructive phenomenon, both a unifying and a divisive one.

The development of indigenous education, in practical consideration, given the unclear educational needs of the colonized, tends to a greater or lesser degree toward compliance with global trends in mainstream education, whether in government policy-making or the attitudes of indigenous peoples regarding educational choices. This is a great challenge to the development of indigenous education. Yet the impact of globalization on indigenous education is not entirely negative. The United Nations’⁶³ remarkable manifesto, the

⁶³ “UNESCO is working with national Ministries of Education to implement and innovate in the field of indigenous education; it seeks to achieve global education goals for all children and adults while supporting the need for locally and culturally acceptable curricula and schooling...as well as national and local levels, UNESCO also works at regional levels to promote frameworks and policies that may be implemented and replicated.” (UNESCO: 4-5)

Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, awakened education policy-makers around the world to the importance of indigenous education rights.

No matter what future global trends may hold, the increasing spread of globalization towards the end of the 20th century has placed even heavier burdens of poverty, indebtedness, and marginalization on the shoulders of the vulnerable majority of Taiwan's indigenous children, women, and men. Yet the challenge faced by Taiwanese society is to construct a national identity that differs completely from that of mainland China; thus, some scholars worry that excessive emphasis of differences between cultural diversity will result in greater conflict between different peoples since Taiwan is such a small island. As a result, even though its educational policy now incorporates greater latitude and more diverse subject matter within its curriculum design, indigenous culture and language education still takes up a considerably smaller proportion of class time compared to mainstream subject matter, further showing that it is not highly valued. Furthermore, the pressure of economic globalization has also compelled Taiwan's education system to focus on teaching students the skills they need to compete internationally; for example, English education and computer education are focuses of modern education in Taiwan. One only needs to take a close look at the situation outlined above to realize that the future development of Taiwan's indigenous education is inherently worrying. At a time when most of the younger generation of indigenous peoples still need to undergo educational training to help them reconstruct their own specific cultural identity, schooling must still provide them with the same opportunity to study national and international languages as non-indigenous students.

Section 2: School Management

In basic terms, there is a strong connection between the objectives of schooling and government policy, and the mode of cooperation between them has a strong effect on the development of indigenous education. The government has a responsibility to help indigenous schools solve problems in education; indigenous schools in turn have an obligation and imperative to cater to indigenous students' educational needs, through an education conforming to government requirements. While a seemingly simple circumstance on the surface, it is in fact situated in a complicated entanglement of national political and globalization issues.

2.0. Challenges of Nation State to Indigenous Education

The point I want to make is that if we consider the government's perspective in matters of education, every country takes its future development prospects into consideration. As such, fostering students' (both indigenous and non-indigenous) national identity through educational means is unavoidable. In addition to this, given the effects of colonial history and immigration, it has been commonplace for governments to wield the power of their educational systems to handle 'diverse cultural issues'. What is more, with the pressures of globalization, in developing education policy many governments have actively drafted programs to engender an international perspective in students, and elevated efforts to teach the global language of English in school have become a trend on the international scene. It is due to the contemporary complicated global context and indigenous colonial historical evolution that governments need to provide assistance to indigenous schools, so as to address problems associated with poverty that have long gone unresolved, such as indigenous students not having breakfast/lunch, school uniforms, or necessary school supplies (such as pens and paper), as well as high absentee rates, underage drinking and truancy problems among indigenous students. Now in the 21st century, governments have to face ever more difficult problems regarding indigenous schools' responsibilities for curriculum design, school administration, and leadership.

Taking the example of Taiwan's experience, Taiwan's government has to resolve numerous issues in promoting the development of schooling. Domestically, it needs to consider the problem of urban/rural disparity. In addition to the problems of unequal allocation or insufficiency of educational resources associated with urban/rural disparity, there are further related issues such as the needs and efficacy of school administration and the quality of curriculum design and teaching.

Differences in regional development and resources are often factors that cause inequalities in educational opportunities. In particular, urban areas, with their dense populations and vigorous economic activity, tend to have more educational resources allotted to them than do rural areas, leading to a disparity in educational opportunity. (Yi-Chi Chen and Tzu-Ming Liu 2008:7)

Taiwan's problem with unequal allocation of educational resources due to urban/rural disparity has existed since the time of Japanese colonization. Most of Taiwan's indigenous peoples live in remote mountainous regions that are not easily accessible, and in the past the government did not place much emphasis on indigenous education. Over

the past several years, political power and environmental pressures have led indigenous peoples to initiate social and democratic movements demanding land ownership rights and community autonomy and recognition, bringing the problem of indigenous educational needs centre-stage. Geographically, specific economic livelihood models and values were developed because of particularities of the living environments of Taiwan's indigenous peoples. When such economic livelihood models are integrated into mainstream society, the term 'impoverished' becomes a synonym for indigenous families. Problems associated with education of children from impoverished families that are commonly observed in indigenous schools include high proportions of children raised by single parents or by grandparents, and the inability to afford lunches, school supplies or uniforms. Paradoxically, many studies show that the average unit cost per student for education that is paid by the government is higher for indigenous schools than for other schools, but despite this there is no evident improvement in academic achievement in indigenous schools. Clearly, the attention paid by Taiwan's government to indigenous education does not accord with the actual needs.

Considering the examples mentioned above, we can be certain that the advancement of indigenous education requires dialogue between indigenous schools, local communities, teachers, parents and students in order to fully address the academic needs of indigenous students. All of these factors affect each other. The administration and curriculum design of schools of the dominant culture have generally been disadvantageous to indigenous students' school studies. Course material neglected the relationship between the indigenous students and their communities; the material they were required to study by the dominant school not only made most indigenous students feel inadequate, but it also undermined their cultural identity. Indigenous school administrators need to reposition the scope of their responsibilities; moving beyond adopting rules set by the dominant educational system, they should consider how to build a learning environment that is germane to the specific cultural background of indigenous students. On the other hand, the schools' operating paradigms must be rooted in indigenous philosophical viewpoints, in order to conform to the indigenous students' true educational needs.

An indigenous school, the core business of which is the educational needs of indigenous people, can provide such a domain. But if an indigenous school is to 'work' its design and implementation must be underpinned by a vision – by a philosophy that provides its direction. Such a philosophy has to privilege indigenous lived experience and culture and indigenous aspirations for the future, with a primary focus on strengthening the spirits, minds and bodies of indigenous children, in the context of their families and communities. (D. Sutherland 2003:9)

How to include indigenous cultural values, oral literatures, histories and the like in the school curriculum to introduce this knowledge to both indigenous and non-indigenous students in a equal and proper way, while the majority of knowledge that students acquire at schools is dominant cultural knowledge? This question for the worldwide nation state is always a challenge; especially most non-indigenous educational specialists do not have sufficient or adequate knowledge about indigenous culture, history, language and oral

literature and lack awareness about issues of diverse cultures. As a result, cultural prejudice and discrimination surfaces frequently in school textbooks.⁶⁴

2.1. Difficulties of Indigenous School Management

In general, in the operating frameworks of indigenous schools, curriculum design cannot be free from the educational framework set in place by the country. The decision-making is still controlled by the dominant government, and the administrators and teachers at indigenous schools are mostly non-indigenous people. To be sure, different states face different challenges in the case of education given their different political environments, but the actual educational needs of indigenous peoples and minorities are quite similar. Despite the concerns of governmental education systems regarding the problems of indigenous education, given political intervention and unfamiliarity with indigenous culture, knowledge and world view, the course taken by educational policy has never accorded with the needs of indigenous students. If school administrators are not indigenous people, it is difficult for them to understand that the dominant administrative paradigms cannot be applied wholesale to an indigenous school. The compulsory education system is a “one size fits all” type and that size is the dominant way. Even if some indigenous school administrators are indigenous people, under the constraints of a government education system, school administration still seems to blindly adhere to non-indigenous educational policy. It is fair to say that the failure of indigenous education is due to non-indigenous administration. Dominant schooling has an exclusive effect on indigenous knowledge and language, blurring indigenous identity. Non-indigenous people administering non-indigenous education, providing dominant language instruction in schools, is of no help at all to indigenous language revitalization and reconstruction of cultural identity. Social skills are learned via the modeling of human behaviors, learned in part in school classrooms and from interaction with teachers and fellow students. At this stage, the socialization of indigenous children is in large part fostered by the dominant culture and values. Yet values that conflict with ancestral culture and vastly different cultural behavioral models can distort indigenous children’s social development; this is one of the chief reasons why indigenous children feel a sense of estrangement in the learning environment and course content provided at schools.

It must be noted that the gift of empowerment, allowing real participation by indigenous peoples in schooling, is helpful for strengthening indigenous cultural heritage, self-esteem, cultural identity and language. Of course, this is not an easy challenge for the

⁶⁴ For example, the subject of “Social Study” in 5th grade elementary school education in Taiwan, in the textbook: After the Dutch and Spanish colonization, Taiwan finally appeared on the international stage (台灣自荷西時期,開始進入國際舞台); During the period of Ming and Ching Dynasty in China and Zheng Cheng-gong invasion the emigration from mainland China created a Han Taiwanese society, and opened the door for modernization (明鄭與清朝的移民開墾,形成以漢人爲主的社會,並開啓了近代化); the Japanese colonization strengthened the foundation of modernization (日本的殖民統治,進一步深化了近代化的基礎); the governance of R.O.C. has made a great contribution to political democracy and economic modernization (中華民國治理台灣,則造就政治民主與經濟發展現代化的重要成就); and indigenous peoples became valuable national heritage (而原住民也成爲寶貴的國家資產). (Nan I Book Enterprise Co., Ltd. 南一書局 2007:86)

dominant education system: what acceptable bounds on freedom can be made, and how should indigenous administrators be trained? As globalization quickens the pace of social change, governments are being forced to rethink the issue of indigenous education. Some scholars suggest that building a partnership⁶⁵ between school, community⁶⁶ and parents would be of benefit to indigenous education, and this idea has been implemented in some cases; for example, in some *Maori* English-medium schools, principals and teachers try to incorporate acknowledgement of *Maori* culture into their curricula, and work with parents and community members as well. But the implementation of this program has not come about as smoothly as expected: there have been problems with insufficient funding, non-indigenous teachers who are unfamiliar with or unsympathetic to indigenous culture, and non-indigenous principals whose leadership skills do not conform fully to the needs of the program. Despite the fact that the theory has proven successful in many dominant schools, in indigenous education there remains a lack of empirical experience, so that no framework can be built on to advance indigenous education. There are many other problems awaiting solutions, such as how to build effective relationships between indigenous schools and communities, how to determine who has the right to decide and manage educational policy, and what responsibilities should be borne by the involved parties. At any rate, given the current state of affairs, it is inevitable that considering the combination of indigenous peoples' complex experience of being colonized, today's increasingly mixed society and the political framework, the development of indigenous education should emphasize the strengthening of traditional cultures, values and languages. There should also be cooperation to build good partnerships with the communities in which indigenous students live.

Currently, most teachers in Taiwan's indigenous primary and secondary schools are non-indigenous, young, newly graduated, and inexperienced in teaching, knowledge and understanding of indigenous culture. It is not hard to understand that in school, besides using the same teaching materials used by non-indigenous students, Taiwan's indigenous students are also mostly instilled with knowledge based on non-indigenous cultural values. No wonder then that indigenous students overwhelmingly underachieve. A census⁶⁷ of indigenous education in Taiwan (行政院原住民委員會全球資訊網) show that in 358 indigenous elementary and junior high schools, only 129 (36%) are headed by indigenous principals, and there are only 1,035 indigenous teachers (13%). With over a

⁶⁵ Some research has shown that partnerships improve school results, connect parents, increase leadership skills, and promote healthy mutuality among the entire school community (P. Davies and P. Karr-Kidwell 2003, R. Foster and T. Goddard 2003, G. Spry and J. Graham 2006).

⁶⁶ Quote from the paper of Martha Sombo Kamara (no year) "Spry and Graham (2006) note that "community" is a key word invoked in educational circles, and an emphasis on building community in schools is fast becoming a cliché in educational circles. It is little wonder, then, that buzzwords such as "community decision making," "community standards," "learning communities," "communities of practice," (Spry and Graham 2006) and "community partnerships" are now the standard glossary of most educational institutions. P. McNerny (2002:3) defines community as "a social group with similar interests, social structures, values and life styles". W. Boyd (1997:14), on the other hand, describes community as a site of contested interests. In this view, a community is a social democratic setting within which people have equal rights to contribute to community issues." which people have equal rights to ontribute to community issues."

<http://www.aare.edu.au/07pap/kam07608.pdf>.

⁶⁷ Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan 2007 Indigenous Education: Survey Analysis Report.

third of indigenous school principals being indigenous people, it is reasonable to say that they should be able to contribute to the development of curricula suitable for indigenous students. Unfortunately, so far, since the government has not given the indigenous principals meaningful empowerment, compounded by the fact that the ideas about school administration held by the majority of indigenous principals come from dominant theory and practice as well as lack of funding and other factors, there are numerous obstacle to the term 'indigenous education' becoming a meaningful one in Taiwan.

Section 3: Attitude towards Language and Schooling

Today, centuries after colonial powers deeply implanted themselves in the territories of indigenous peoples, indigenous cultures have, under the long-term influence of mainstream culture, been transformed into something other than themselves. The aspects thus influenced include their determination to strengthen and revitalize their cultural heritage, their attitude towards using their own language, and their expectations of and efforts in schooling. Yet, in recent years, the impact of global economic development has deepened the degree of negative influence on these aspects. Such negative influences have a close causal correlation with the academic performance of indigenous students.

The concept of attitude covers cognitive, affective, and behavioral aspects. In the views of Wendy D. Bokhorst-Heng and Imelda Santos Caleon (2009) (see also Peter Garrett *et al.* 2003), we find the following explanation:

Language attitudes are cognitive in that they comprise beliefs about the world (e.g. proficiency in English will lead to better jobs and upward social mobility). They are affective in that they involve feelings about the language. They are also 'systematically linked to behaviour, because they predispose us to act in a certain way.' (Bokhorst-Heng and Caleon 2009:235)

It is evident that the attitudes held by indigenous students towards learning indigenous languages in schools and towards receiving schooling, as well as the views of the dominant government and non-indigenous people towards the use of indigenous languages by indigenous people plus the academic achievement of indigenous students, are all serious factors that affect the development of indigenous education.

3.0. Language Attitude

Under increasing pressure from dominant societies and globalization, it has become a struggle to maintain and consolidate the use of indigenous languages within multilingual countries. Many scholars agree that attitude towards language is a key variable in language learning.⁶⁸ A definition of “attitude” provided by Anita Wenden (1991:52) is that it is

“learned motivations, valued beliefs, evaluations, or what one believes is acceptable.”

and it impacts language learning. Another definition worth considering is presented by K. Sjöholm (2004:687): attitude is

“evaluative self-descriptions or self-perceptions of the activity of learning languages.”

We may, therefore, reasonably pay attention to the factor of ‘language attitude’ when reviewing the development process of indigenous education, especially on the matter of indigenous language learning at school. From the point of W.R. Jones’ (1950) observation on a study of the Welsh language, there is a relationship between attitude towards learning Welsh language and attained proficiency. Almost half a century later, R.C. Gardner’s (1985) research findings also agree with Jones’ (1950); and A.M. Masgoret *et al.* (2001:281) confirmed attitude as a key factor that

“influence[s] the rate and success of second language learning in the classroom.”

In light of the findings of the Masgoret *et al.* study and the commentaries of numerous scholars regarding attitude, one can be certain that the attitude maintained by language users towards a specific language has a considerable degree of influence on the survival of the language. Most indigenous languages are not spoken by the dominant populations, and thus, to most indigenous peoples, using the indigenous languages in public areas where they are surrounded by a non-indigenous cultural atmosphere and population might make them feel uncomfortable and even present them with the negative feeling of language discrimination. The effort to reduce or avoid facing such problems can lead to indigenous peoples having misgivings about using or even refusing to use their own language in public areas; such a phenomenon is especially evident in young generations. According to a 2006 survey⁶⁹ of students at Yongan Elementary School in Taipei (Hoklo⁷⁰, Hakka and indigenous students) on attitudes towards language use (Table 1 and Table 2), indigenous students had a comparatively low willingness to use their indigenous language at home; and their level of dislike for mother-tongue education was stronger even than that of students made up of other minority peoples.

⁶⁸ T. H. Mueller and R. I. Miller (1970), Morris Jacobson and Maurice Imhof (1974), Gardner (1985), and A. S. Canagarajah (1999) assert that attitude towards a second language and its culture influences the motivation of learning that specific language.

⁶⁹ This survey was based on my official teaching engagement at the school in 2006, students from 12 classrooms (353 students) spread over 4 grades (3 to 6 grade) participated in answering the questionnaire.

⁷⁰ Taiwan Southern Min speakers.

Table 1: 「Do your parents encourage you speak indigenous language at home?」

	extremely encourage	encourage	average	discourage	strongly discourage
Holo	25.7	20.3	45.9	6.3	1.8
Haka	29.0	19.1	41.3	8.5	2.1
Indigenous languages	26.2	19.0	39.3	8.3	7.1
Average Amount	26.8	19.8	43.9	7.2	2.4

Table2: 「Do you like mother-tongue education?」

	extremely like	like	average	dislike	strongly dislike
Holo	26.1	22.6	35.6	9.2	6.0
Haka	25.7	29.2	34.2	6.3	4.6
Indigenous languages	33.3	31.0	15.5	14.3	6.0
Average Amount	26.6	25.3	33.4	9.1	5.6

Language use, whether situated locally, institutionally, or historically, is constituted in relations of power. (Donna Patrick 2003:20)

Looking at the current use figures for the majority of the world's indigenous languages, an apparent truth is that indigenous people are increasingly tending to use the dominant language. This is because, in most cases, the status of indigenous languages is inferior within nations, and such languages are used by only a small number of speakers. In light of the above facts, the greater share of indigenous education has been unable to make constructive progress. According to some researchers, language speakers with positive language attitude will help language revitalization. Yet, among the numerous factors having a negative effect on indigenous language education, I argue that not just only language speakers' language attitude but also the language attitudes of dominant governments and dominant populations towards such languages are important factors affecting the outcomes of school's implementation of language education. Moreover, these three factors also affect each other.

From the rankings given by dominant governments to indigenous languages, it is easy to see the attitude held by the dominant government towards such indigenous languages.

The most common of these decisions involves the national language(s), the official language(s), and/or the languages to be used in administration, education and judicial areas, etc. (Sherida Altehenger-Smith 1990:29)

In the above survey, the willingness of indigenous parents to encourage their children to use indigenous languages at home is cross-compared with the degree to which indigenous students like receiving indigenous language education. It was found that there was a positive correlation; it is important that, if indigenous parents maintain a positive attitude towards the use of indigenous language in the home, their children tend to have a corresponding interest in learning the indigenous language. As to what factors affect parents not to support the use of indigenous language in the home, we can gain insight from the following two interviews:

Of course, studying my ancestral language is useless. Out in the working world, who cares if you can speak it? Also, speaking our own language in a public place is weird: other people look at you and say that you're speaking barbarian talk. – the view of an Amis mother.

Of course the government doesn't think it's a very important issue! Look, who'd know that our language, Amis, is official? I'm aware of the fact, but what of it? It's not like we Amis (in Taiwan) suddenly became important. Learning (Amis) is good, but learning Chinese Mandarin is more important: it's necessary for going to school.... This is really troublesome. Now exams are giving bonus points for (indigenous languages), so.... Some people say this is good: children have to learn their own native language, but with pressure to advance in school as great as it is, once you've passed and no longer use it will you remember it? Schools teach mother-tongue education only once a week, and this isn't enough to deal with exams. – the view of an Amis father

Taiwan's government elevated indigenous languages to the status of official languages. Taiwan's official languages comprise Taiwan Mandarin, Hakka, Taiwanese Southern Ming, and 14 indigenous languages, a total of 17. So for any indigenous language to achieve true elevation of its status in Taiwan's society through this form of political influence is an unattainable dream. If the government's practical efforts to elevate the status of indigenous languages are unable to inspire in indigenous people an appreciation for the importance of passing on their mother tongue or encourage members of dominant society to attach positive value to indigenous languages, it will produce a negative effect on indigenous students regarding attitude and willingness to learn indigenous languages in school.

I think learning Amis [the indigenous language] is a lot of fun, but it's hard. I'm actually not an indigenous person: my dad is Han Taiwanese. But my mom wanted me to do this.... Anyway, I don't want to study Taiwanese Southern Ming, Haka either, so I'll just take Amis. – Fifth grade student of the Amis people.

The point about the statement of this Amis child is that this student finds learning an indigenous language to be enjoyable, but she has not attained recognition of her own indigenous identity through the enjoyment she derives from studying her ancestral tongue. (This student's ethnic identity is official identified as "indigenous people" as registered in the governmental document by her parents). Judging from this perspective, a reasonable explanation is that learning a "new" or "unfamiliar" language is fun, especially if the language studied is the student's heritage language, but because the overall learning environment does not allow indigenous students to feel safe or comfortable to learn their indigenous languages, has hassled to poor results in Taiwan's indigenous language education as a result.

Table3: Statistics on the number of indigenous junior high school and high school students

	Amis	Atayal	Paiwan	Bunun	Puyuma	Tsou	Rukai	Saisiyat	Yami	Thao	kavalan	Truku	Sakizaya/Sediq
Junior high school students	9719	4982	4529	2921	651	338	600	307	220	36	63	1395	139
High school student	3123	1496	1663	1014	266	121	198	95	80	14	17	574	54
Total amount	12842	6478	6192	3935	917	459	798	402	300	50	80	1969	193

Source: 2006 教育部全球資訊網 (Census and Statistics Department, Ministry of Education)

http://www.edu.tw/EDU_WEB/EDU_MGT/STATISTICS?EDU7220001/ebooks/native/native.htm

Table4: Statistics on the number of indigenous junior high school and high school students who's willing to learn indigenous language

	Amis	Atayal	Paiwan	Bunun	Puyuma	Tsou	Rukai	Saisiyat	Yami	Thao	kavalan	Truku	Sakizaya/Sediq
Junior high school students	721	406	225	253	60	23	51	33	8	4	3	79	14
High school student	144	86	162	72	24	14	24	10	2	0	0	30	4
Total amount	865	492	387	325	84	37	75	43	10	4	3	109	18

Source: 2006 行政院原住民族委員會全球資訊網 (Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan)

http://www.edu.tw/EDU_WEB/EDU_MGT/STATISTICS?EDU7220001/ebooks/native/native.htm

Table5: The percentage of the willingness of indigenous students in learning indigenous language (calculated from Tables 3 and 4)

	Amis	Atayal	Paiwan	Bunun	Puyuma	Tsou	Rukai	Saisiyat	Yami	Thao	kavalan	Truku	Sakizaya/Sediq
Junior high school students	7.36	8.15	4.97	8.67	9.21	6.80	8.50	10.75	3.64	11.11	4.76	5.66	10.07
High school student	4.61	5.75	9.74	7.10	9.02	11.57	12.12	10.53	2.50	0	0	5.23	7.40
average	6.67	7.59	6.25	8.34	9.16	8.06	9.34	10.70	3.33	8.00	3.75	5.54	9.33

Table 5 helps to understand that the willingness of Taiwan's indigenous peoples to learn indigenous languages is very low, with mostly fewer than 10% taking an interest. Most troubling is that despite the Amis and Atayal being Taiwan's two largest indigenous peoples (2006 Ministry of Education figures on indigenous students show that the total number of indigenous students in Taiwan that year amounted to 110,819, with Amis students accounting for 41,231 and Atayal students numbering 21,279, totalling 62,510, or 56.4% of indigenous students), members of these two groups do not have a relatively stronger positive attitude towards learning indigenous languages. At present, most of the indigenous language courses available at Taiwan's primary and secondary schools cover the Amis and Atayal languages. According to a 2007 survey by the Indigenous Peoples Commission in primary and secondary school indigenous language curricula, there were a total of 758 indigenous language classes taught that year; of these, Amis language courses accounted for 343 and Atayal for 144, together amounting to 65% of the total number of indigenous language courses. Yet among Amis and Atayal students taking courses in their respective languages, their willingness to learn these languages is

troublingly low, and students who lack a positive or appropriate learning attitude will naturally produce poor academic results.

Another crucial factor that impacts upon indigenous students' attitude towards their language is while indigenous students have to learn English and traditional Chinese writing skills at school, the additional unfamiliar totally different writing system (Romanization) of indigenous languages are not welcomed by them or the language teachers.

3.1. Education Attitude

Education is both national and colonial for historical circumstances. Among the colonized peoples of the world, the experiences and memories of colonization generally have a profound influence on the colonized people's education, cultural practice, economic activities, thinking and behavior in daily life. The range of negative impacts on indigenous peoples caused by assimilation policies in education by dominant governments, besides endangering indigenous language and cultural heritage knowledge, includes a gradual blurring of the cultural identity of indigenous peoples (broadly speaking, all colonized peoples).

With colonial powers still controlling the future of indigenous peoples, the importance of learning dominant knowledge, language, and culture is evident. It could assist indigenous students in understanding dominant cultural values, gaining necessary skills and knowledge for future jobs in mainstream society, or even becoming so-called 'indigenous elites', in order to be able to focus their efforts on their own indigenous movements. Of course, this is also one of the most effective ways for indigenous people to participate in the dominant society. By so doing, they will not be excluded from the global context. But numerous studies show that the academic achievement of most indigenous students is lower than that of non-indigenous students. According to a 2007 study from Queensland, Australia, entitled *Aspects of Numeracy Testing*,

As a result of this focus on outcomes compared to other schools, school results have generally corresponded to the socioeconomic status of students. Thus, lower socioeconomic schools, particularly those with significant indigenous populations, have been disempowered, because language, background, and culture made it difficult for their students to understand many of the test items. In particular, indigenous students' average test performance has lagged two years behind that of non-indigenous students. (Annette R. Baturo *et al.* 2007: 1)

This statement indirectly corroborates one fact: if schooling methods or content are too far removed from the student's cultural background, this will cause difficulties in the student's learning. Poor academic achievement easily leads students to harbor negative attitudes towards learning and to neglect the importance of schooling. Such a causal nexus creates an intractable nightmare for indigenous peoples or members of non-dominant groups in colonial societies (or for systems that have thrown off the yoke of colonialism but remain deeply affected by past colonial experience).

In 2006, Taiwan's Council of Indigenous Peoples conducted a survey of indigenous secondary school students throughout Taiwan, and found that indigenous students have

insufficient self-confidence regarding academic studies and performance, and that the doubts about their own capabilities for learning were, for the majority of such students, due to different factors including household finances and their parents' educational level. As a result, truancy and dropout rates were significantly higher among indigenous communities. Negative attitudes toward receiving education were prevalent. In addition, the study found that as they grow older and undergo the socialization process, indigenous students' attitude towards learning gradually becomes affected by general social values, which may come from teachers, fellow students, and the media. The wrongful appraisal by mainstream values of indigenous culture and deeply rooted discrimination and labeling⁷¹ can be serious factors affecting whether indigenous students view education positively or negatively. This understanding is important for educational policy-makers as they consider reforming indigenous education. Lack of self-confidence or interest with respect to academic work is a chief reason for the lack of interest and motivation among indigenous students for education.

The harm caused by colonial powers to oppressed groups (indigenous peoples) is not just something we can easily see from the outside in terms of the gradual disappearance of tangible indigenous cultural heritage and traditional lifestyles. Hidden within are intangible aspects of cultural heritage such as language that are facing a dire threat of extinction. Traumas dealt to the psyche of the colonized due to past (or even presently continuing) assimilation policy and discrimination by the dominant group – low self-esteem, vague cultural identity, distorted traditional values – feed on each other, and issues caused by the negative attitudes towards education that we see today among indigenous students require a great deal of effort to remedy. This will be a great challenge for both national governmental education agencies and local implementation partners.

Conclusion

Language varieties are symbolic resources, that are in competition with each other and valued and exchanged for other symbolic and material resources. Thus, language is tied to economic and political domains and, in a narrow sense,

[R]epresents a form of social and cultural capital which is convertible into economic capital.
(Lesley Milroy and James Milroy 1992:12)

Historical process and technological development are mostly to blame for indigenous heritage languages becoming endangered culture, and this is the reason why I emphasize the importance of language education in this study. We need to remind ourselves frequently that, to some degree, even though developing indigenous education is a considerable challenge it is not an insurmountable one. This statement requires some further discussion in the following chapters.

⁷¹ The majority of non-indigenous educators perceive indigenous students' academic underachievement as due to laziness, lack of intelligence, lack of motivation for learning, family negligence with respect to education, and so forth. In Taiwan's society, common perceptions of indigenous peoples include a passion for sports and excellent musical skills. This causes many indigenous students to aspire to become athletes or singers. As such, they tend to devote less of their energy to schooling.

Chapter V: Case Studies

The various indigenous peoples of the world have endured similar processes of colonial domination and exploitation. As a result, these peoples are facing similar problems regarding issues such as politics, economics, culture and education. In this chapter, I will focus on the topics of culture and language education. There is a valid tendency to focus on this aspect of the problem; indigenous peoples were subjected to the results of the long-term cultural assimilation and education of the colonizers. As the view of Memmi, it is true that

Colonial relations do not stem from individual good will or actions; they exist before his arrival or his birth, and whether he accepts or rejects them matters little. (Memmi 1965:38)

[T]he only possible alternatives for the colonized are assimilation or petrification. Assimilation being refused him, as we shall see, nothing is left for him but to live isolated from his age. (Memmi 1965:102)

In a society dominated by foreign invaders and their descendants, indigenous populations have been marginalized, neglected and discriminated against. After being decimated and having been driven into “refuge areas” or “reservations” it is plausible that these people would search for a compelling ‘cultural basis’ with which to prove the existence of their cultural identity. Viewed in this light, dual pressures, from the outside (dominant society) and the inside (the community), have, perhaps predictably, caused identity crisis.

After the theory of decolonization came to the fore, the “problem” of indigenous peoples was no longer just the problem of dominant societies; but became a conscious issue for indigenous peoples themselves. Many notice that it is a time of urgency and are seeking ways of saving themselves...etc: they have many are doing so to seek ways of saving themselves from this disadvantage circumstance. Many suggestions (The World Bank 2010, UNESCO 2010, Keith Nurse 2006, Janet Stephenson 2007 etc.) believe that in reinforcing a people’s sense of cultural identity, a key action should be to reconstruct the traditional cultural values of that specific people. The value of culture, whether tangible or intangible embodies a lifestyle model for a community; it plays the indispensable role of binding together a specific cultural framework with the personhood of the individual constituents and therefore people’s cultural identity with specific personal profiles. However, language is not just a part of a people’s cultural heritage; at the same time it can endow vitality to other aspects of a culture. As a consequence, if the language of a people vanishes or is wiped out, then the language speakers will vanish in turn. Research by H. May (2002), cited in M. Berryman and T. Glynn (2004), indicates that language provides a strong and powerful tool to urge cohesion within a group, while also providing a means of exclusion. I agree with Berryman and Glynn in thinking that language, as a cultural marker, sets its speakers apart. Therefore, in pursuit of the maintenance of cultural identity, it is important to promote the survival of indigenous languages.

Most scholars believe that in dealing with issues of indigenous peoples’ cultural identity and heritage reconstruction, the most effective means is through the education system. Unfortunately, at the current stage, the schooling received by indigenous students in many countries does not square with their right to education. In general, the language

used as the medium of instruction in schools is that of the advantaged dominant classes, which produces obstacles to learning for indigenous students, who have difficulties comprehending classes. Ultimately, this leads to poor academic performance among the majority of indigenous students. This necessity is reflected in Article 14-1 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples:

Indigenous peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning.

The influence of this statement, internationally, should provide the world's indigenous peoples with a means of securing educational rights from the dominant government. However, it remains to deduce what kind of education model indigenous students need: What language(s) should be used in school to educate indigenous students? While striving to reconstruct and preserve their cultural heritage, should indigenous peoples pay similar attention to developing skills that will help them adapt to their respective dominant societies? How can they achieve a win-win situation? The questions that were raised here will be discussed further in the next chapter. In the following chapter I will shift the emphasis away from answering the above questions and provide an important reference point in the development of indigenous education through a discussion and analysis of various examples of total immersion and bilingual education.

Section1: Total Immersion Education

As I have touched on earlier, the language chosen by teachers in formal schools is an important point for in the discussion related to indigenous education. The form of education that is most widely received by indigenous peoples is "colonial education". The greatest effect of this colonial education on indigenous peoples is that their original language is replaced by the dominant language, and thus gradually heads toward extinction. However, from the standpoint of the "nation," it is undeniable that the languages and cultural diversity of indigenous peoples enrich "national culture." Therefore, it can be safely stated that indigenous cultural heritage is part of "national culture heritage". Preserving indigenous peoples' endangered languages is not only the responsibility of indigenous peoples themselves, but is also the responsibility of the colonizers (national government).

To borrow J. Waite's (1992) discussion point, many studies show that total-immersion programs lead to fluency in their mother-tongue and the dominant language, among minority children, and are the most effective education method. An example of this is *Maori* education and the efforts of the *Maori* people, namely *Te Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Maori* schools, which were developed from the bottom up, and offer *Maori* children the best opportunity to use only *te reo Maori* (the *Maori* language) in school. The children learn about cultural heritage knowledge at school through the integration of *Maori* language into a totally *Maori* cultural environment. This educational philosophy has not only saved the *Maori* language and culture from imminent extinction, but also strengthened the sense of cultural identity among *Maori* children.

1.0. Case *Maori*

Before the 18th century, the *Maori* people were the only people living in New Zealand, and *te reo Maori* was the only language spoken. However, with the arrival of James Cook and his crew to the islands in the middle of the 18th century, the fate of the *Maori* changed. If we look at changes in the *Maori* population, we see that in the early 18th century there were estimated to be around 100,000 to 110,000 people, and by the end of the 19th century, due to deportation and deaths caused by introduced disease, there were only about 42,000 *Maori* left. Evidently *Maori* people suffered from severe health problems; this was due to the pollution of their living environment, given that not much priority was placed in preserving their traditional culture or on educational development.⁷²

There is no disagreement that most of the world's indigenous peoples share a similar history regarding the changes to their religion, that is, the process of Christianization. Catholic and Protestant missionaries introduced "Christian civilization" into the worldview of indigenous peoples, which required teaching the Bible. Due to language differences, missionaries translated the text of the Bible into the relevant indigenous languages. The *Maori* were no exception to this. The first missionary school was built in 1816 and after the arrival of the missionary Henry Williams in 1823 boarding schools were also set up in New Zealand. These boarding schools were, for the most part, far from the homes of the *Maori* children, they were therefore compelled to live at the mission station, becoming members of the missionary's family, removed from their own families. This was the first school education received by *Maori* people. This process is common in many other indigenous areas.

It is generally agreed that the assimilation policy produce a negative impact on the cultural development of colonized peoples. It was the goal of colonial education to mold indigenous peoples into "civilized" people, or to make them into a docile working class. Outside of this objective, the colonizers did not take into consideration the educational needs of the indigenous peoples themselves. After the imposition of British civilization on the *Maori* people, the English language gradually began to replace *te reo Maori*. By the 1970s, *te reo Maori* was no longer widely used and *Maori* culture was increasingly assimilated into the dominant culture.⁷³ It was at this critical time, as the *Maori* were facing the extinction of their culture, that the *Te Kohanga Reo*⁷⁴ movement was initiated. The aim of this movement was to preserve the *Maori* language and cultural heritage, and pass it down to subsequent generations. It was after the founding of *Te Kohanga Reo* that the school *Kura Kaupapa Maori*⁷⁵ was started. It is important to note that both *Te*

⁷² Because of the extreme problems caused by disease, *Maori* communities could not invest time or energy in protecting and preserving traditional ways of life or language.

⁷³ The people were being assimilated; the *Maori* culture was being exterminated.

⁷⁴ *Te Kohanga Reo* is 'language nest' which is a total immersion *te reo Maori* medium pre-school education.

⁷⁵ *Kura Kaupapa Maori* is a total *Maori*-medium primary school.

Kohanga Reo and *Kura Kaupapa Maori* are initiatives that stemmed from *Maori* communities.⁷⁶

The role of *Te Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Maori* in the revitalization of *Maori* language and culture is important not just because the teaching terminology and instruction are both in *te reo Maori* but also because, just as significantly, of the incorporation of traditional *Maori* knowledge.

Te Kohanga Reo and *Kura Kaupapa Maori* have employed *Kaupapa Maori* principles to challenge dominant views and have provided a ‘for *Maori* by *Maori*’ alternative for the educating of *Maori* children, and society. (Leonie Pihama *et al.* 2004)

It is my opinion that, before commencing a discussion on *Maori* education, we must first understand the *Kaupapa Maori principles*.

In his research Graham Hingangaroa Smith (2003a; 2003b) argues that the principles of *Kaupapa Maori* cover six main points: self-determination or relative autonomy, validating and legitimating cultural aspirations and identity, incorporating culturally preferred pedagogy, mediating socio-economic and home difficulties, incorporating cultural structures which emphasize the ‘collective’ rather than the ‘individual’ such as the notion of the extended family, and a shared and collective vision/philosophy. These six principles provide *Kaupapa Maori* theory with a powerful theoretical foundation.

A detailed account of the development concepts of *Te Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Maori* and the subsequent investigation into the effect of this education model (total-immersion education) on language preservation and cultural heritage are given below.

1.0.0. *Te Kohanga Reo* – *Maori* Pre-school Education

In school, children learn through interaction with teachers and classmates, reading, and other methods. The foremost medium of such interaction is language. We may deduce that, if pre-school children learn using their own language within a specific cultural environment, besides building a solid linguistic foundation, they will be in a better position to understand and respond to class content. Consider sense. The first *Te Kohanga Reo* opened in 1982. *Te Kohanga Reo* is a pre-school designed for children from very early life to school age. The primary goal of this program is to enable *Maori* children to learn language and culture in a traditional family atmosphere before starting elementary school. It was set up as a means of revitalizing and strengthening *Maori* cultural heritage – *te reo Maori*. It is important to note that this was the ancient/traditional method of teaching *Maori* children before first contact and colonization.

Te Kohanga Reo aims to nurture the individual child’s developing ability to communicate, participate, and learn about the world. The education also focuses on the development of physical skills, knowledge of ancestral connections and cultural heritage, and overall

⁷⁶ Much of the success of the *Maori* programs stems from the fact that this was not designed or implemented from outside – it was the *Maori* themselves who wanted it. The degree of success is a mirror of the degree of involvement and community commitment to the process and outcomes.

Maori worldview. Participants include *Maori* children's parents, community members and elders. Every member of the children's families is encouraged, every day, to immerse themselves in *Te Kohanga Reo* for at least six hours. In this period of six hours, *Maori* children not only study the *Maori* language, but also are instructed on the natural and physical worlds, allowing the children to acquire *Maori* cultural knowledge, values and traditions.

This model gives *Maori* parents the chance to fully participate in their children's pre-school education. The participation of the community (including the elders) can help *Maori* children gradually and safely build a self-awareness and cultural identity within a full *Maori* cultural environment.⁷⁷

Development Status

After the first *Te Kohanga Reo* was founded, more such schools spread quickly in both urban and rural areas thanks to the efforts of the *Maori* people. These schools have made great progress since the start of the operation. (However, some *Te Kohanga Reo* schools have closed in recent years due to budget problems.)

Table 1: Number of Enrolments in Licensed ECE (Early Childhood Education) Services by Proportion of Teacher Time using *Maori* as the Language of Communication (July 1999 to 2003)

Year	<i>Te Reo Maori</i> at ECE services (excluding TKR services)		<i>Te Reo Maori</i> at <i>Te Kohanga Reo</i> Services	Total
	12%-80% of teachers' time	81%-100% of teachers' time	81%-100% of teachers' time	
1999	17,865	231	11,859	29,955
2000	15,465	3383	11,138	26,986
2001	13,792	332	9,594	23,718
2002	16,387	247	10,389	27,023
2003	20,623	400	10,319	31,342

Note: This information was not collected prior to 1999. Enrolments in *Te Kohanga Reo* (TKR) services have decreased because the numbers of TKR services have declined. This is a result of a consolidation process undertaken by the TKR Trust since 1995.

Source: Ministry of Education, Wellington, New Zealand
<http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/publications/ece/2107>

⁷⁷ Some indigenous educators state that a total commitment of the entire family is the only way that a language program will work. (Darrell Kipp of the Blackfeet emersion school, Jolie Van Damilan of the Mohawk language school, Joanne Cooper, etc. In fact in many of the American Indian language school parents have to sign contracts stating that they will participate completely in the program or their children will be asked to withdraw.)

Table 2: Participation in ECE of new entrant school students (2000 to 2003)

Ethnicity	2000 (%)	2001 (%)	2002 (%)	2003 (%)
Non-Maori	92.8	93.2	94.0	95.1
Maori	84.8	85.3	86.5	88.4
All	91.0	91.4	92.3	93.6

Note: Excludes foreign fee-paying and NZAID students. Excludes children where ECE attendance is unknown. Source: Ministry of Education, Wellington, New Zealand

<http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/publications/ece/2107>

Table 1 indicates that in 2003, the number of *Maori* children studying in *Te Kohanga Reo* schools constitutes 31% of all *Maori* enrollments into pre-educational institutions. Among those *Maori* children who enter Early Childhood Education programs, only about 7% attended *Maori* immersion services. In addition, the figures in Table 2 also tell us that the majority of *Maori* parents choose to put their children in Early Childhood Education programs, and that this trend is gradually increasing. These tables show that *Te Kohanga Reo* schools and *Maori* immersion services have some room for improvement in securing the participation of *Maori* children; that is, these particular *Maori* parents do not have sufficient recognition or sense of mission regarding their children's education in the *Maori* language.

1.0.1. *Kura Kaupapa Maori* – *Maori-medium Primary School*

The first *Kura Kaupapa Maori* school opened in 1985 as a *Maori*-language State primary school. The main purpose was to enable those *Maori* children who had been attending *Te Kohanga Reo* schools to continue studying the *Maori* language. The idea was to provide schooling in *te reo Maori* in a *Maori* environment throughout the mandatory education years.⁷⁸ Research data from New Zealand's Ministry of Education shows that there were 68 *Kura Kaupapa Maori* schools in 2007, catering for 6,142 students. (Some of them are not *Maori* students.)

Kura Kaupapa Maori focuses on helping *Maori* students develop *te reo Maori* skills continually, that is, it aims to enrich *Maori* students' physical and spiritual values. It offers the basis for an integral part of *Maori* cultural knowledge learning, and more. Parents are expected to become involved in all roles within the school; they participate as teachers, assistant instructors, coaches, administrators, bus drivers, and so on. The salient point is that *Kura Kaupapa Maori* schools are run by the *Maori* people themselves, and, as a result, this bottom-up education method fully caters to the needs of *Maori* children. As mentioned above, *Kura Kaupapa Maori* is considered a vital institution for strengthening *Maori* children's *te reo Maori* skills and affirming their cultural identity. Since it provides the opportunity for parents and people in the community to participate in schooling, the *Maori* children are able to learn in a safe cultural atmosphere. In *Kura Kaupapa Maori* schools, the curriculum is based on *Maori* values and philosophies. It is perhaps unsurprising that the opportunity for children to learn the *Maori* language in a "safe" environment and develop a strong sense of pride and identity provides a significant incentive for parents to choose *Kura Kaupapa Maori* schools.

⁷⁸ The principal language of instruction at *Kura Kaupapa Maori* is *te reo Maori*.

Development Status

Faced with pressure from all fronts by the dominant society, most *Maori* parents tend to send their children to English-medium primary schools. The reason for this is principally because they fear that *Kura Kaupapa Maori* schools will cause them to have poor English skills and thereby lose their ability to compete in the job market, they may also suffer from a disconnection with mainstream society. However, it is my opinion that this is unsubstantiated; an earlier record of the Ministry of Education in 2005 shows:

In 2002 results showed that *Maori* students in *Maori* immersion schools achieved significantly better in School Certificate and sixth form level English, science, mathematics and *te reo Maori* than *Maori* students participating in mainstream schools' immersion programmes. In 2003, a high proportion of Year 11 and 12 candidates at immersion schools achieved qualifications at levels about the typical National Qualification Framework level for their year of schooling. Nine per cent of year 11 immersion school candidates achieved an NCEA level Two or Level Three qualification, while a quarter of Year 12 immersion school candidates achieved NCEA Level 3 in 2003. School-leaver 2003 data also showed a higher percentage of wharekura (school) students leaving school with level 2 National Certificate of Education Attainment (NCEA).

This shows that the academic performance of children studying at *Kura Kaupapa Maori* schools does not fall behind that of *Maori* children who study in the schools of the dominant culture. On the contrary, on average, their performance is even better. Furthermore, research by Garrice Cooper *et al.* (2004), includes interviews with numerous *Kura Kaupapa Maori* school principals, showing that the schools they run provide a safe cultural learning environment for *Maori* pedagogy, and that their students can therefore “stand tall” in both the *Maori* and dominant worlds. The most likely explanation is that, since the curricula of both *Te Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Maori* schools incorporates studies of *Maori* cultural knowledge and values, *Maori* children attending such schools have the chance to learn about *Maori* cultural knowledge and traditions through the formal education.

Culture is the sum total of the information, beliefs, values and skills one needs to share and apply in the society and situations in which the individual lives. (Philip Riley 2007: 40)

In the process of gaining knowledge of one's own language, one gains more than just communication skills; through the use of language students can internalize cultural concepts at a deep level. To re-emphasize, *Maori* children who are educated in *Kura Kaupapa Maori* schools can gain much greater pride and self-esteem than those who study in dominant-culture schools.

1.0.2. Discussion

We have established that the aims of *Te Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Maori* boost children's *Maori* language skills, preserving it for future generations. In addition to this concrete value, the programs arguable raise children's self-esteem and help them to engage constructively with their cultural identity. However, according to many experts who research *Maori* education, both *Te Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Maori* schools have a great deal of room for improvement regarding their curriculum, teachers and sources of funding. (Note: The levels of educational opportunities developed among the

Maori are significantly superior to those in many other indigenous community contexts) Below is an analysis based on a 2004 survey report (Garrick Cooper *et al.* 2004) of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research (covering 111 *Maori* children- 33 children were taken from 16 different schools, the other 78 children are from two schools). The study affirms the high degree efficacy of *Te Kohanga Reo* and *Kura Kaupapa Maori* schools.

Learning Background and Environment

The schools that were selected are mostly located in low-income residential areas and communities with a below average economic development. In light of this, the *Maori* schools are advantageous because they are embedded in the local community. Schools located in environments close to the backgrounds in which *Maori* children grow up and which are steeped in their cultural ambience are safe; I would argue that they help *Maori* children perceive and develop a strong sense of self-esteem and cultural identity.

I would add that less than half of the *Maori* children in these schools speak *Maori* as their first language, two thirds of the teachers feel confident in writing in *te reo Maori*, and over half of the *Maori* children believe they can fluently communicate with others in *Maori* language. I believe that a learning environment that includes sufficient *Maori* cultural ambience and in which *te reo Maori* can be used freely as an instruction medium is to be an indispensable factor in education.

Parental Expectations and Support

Although the majority of *Maori* parents in this study do not have high incomes, they maintain high expectations for their children's education. They not only want their children to master *te reo Maori*, they also hope for them to develop a strong *Maori* identity, so that in adulthood they may develop confidently both in the *Maori* world and in the dominant world. Studies show that the parents of the students interviewed in this case have speaking abilities, comprehension, and writing skills in *te reo Maori* that are higher than the national survey data shows for *Maori* adults. In addition, in 29% of the households of the *Maori* children interviewed, there is at least one adult who can speak *te reo Maori* confidently and fluently. In a quarter of these *Maori* families, there is at least one adult who is very confident in his/her understanding of *te reo Maori* in all situations. In 15% of the households involved with *Kura Kaupapa Maori*, the principal language used is *te reo Maori*. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that most of the children admitted to enjoying their attendance at these schools, and to enjoying their study of *te reo Maori*. Where this is concerned, it is my opinion that parental expectations and attention can boost children's motivation to learn their native language. Families with adults who support and foster their children to use *te reo Maori* in daily conversation can help children learn the language.

From *Te Kohanga Reo* to *Kura Kaupapa Maori*

Among the students interviewed for this study, about half of the *Maori* children have more than three years of experience studying at *Te Kohanga Reo* schools. As a result, they can converse steadily in *te reo Maori* with their playmates. Also, the *Maori* children studying at these two different stages of *Maori* education spent about an average of 1.5 to 2.0 hours per week doing homework. 42% of the *Maori* children can finish their homework alone without difficulty. The results show that when *Maori* children receive total *Maori*-immersion schooling in the pre-school stage, it is of significant benefit for the continuation of their studies of *te reo Maori*. Because the *Maori* elementary school children interviewed feel that their families will be important to them in adulthood, they say they will pursue a good education, find a good job, and continue learning *te reo Maori*. Finishing *Te Kohanga Reo* and continuing on to study at *Kura Kaupapa Maori* not only inspires them to keep studying *te reo Maori*, but also continues strengthening *Maori* children's identity (as well as their knowledge of *te reo Maori*). This positive educational atmosphere provides support for an engagement with core *Maori* values.

Challenges for the Future

Following this analysis I would propose that there is considerable validity to the hypothesis that if one wish to attain the goal of language revitalization and preservation through formal schooling, one can obtain excellent results by starting indigenous total-immersion education in early childhood. However, the amount of time spent studying a language within an environment in which that language is being used is also a key factor. If there is no companion for language use and no fully comprehensive language environment in which to learn and exercise the language (outside of school), then the room for improvement is limited, and that language may become endangered. Since the vast majority of researchers are commending the success of *te reo Maori* education, I believe that informal education systems, if carefully assessed and arranged, can open up another channel for the education of *Maori* children. For example, from the interviews conducted of children attending *Kura Kuapapa Maori* schools, we can see that nearly 64% of the households have computers. *Maori* children use these computers to play games, surf the Internet, and do homework. The first two of these are almost all in English, which is not an aid for *te reo Maori* learning. It would be beneficial, therefore, to secure the funding to create *Maori*-language educational websites that can attract *Maori* children and teenagers. The content could include language learning, other subjects related to the school curriculum, and online games. I believe that this would have a substantial positive effect for the preservation and strengthening of *Maori* language and cultural heritage. Through this argument I imply that informal educational systems can be as important as formal education for supporting and empowering *Maori* children. I believe it can help them to keep pace with people from the dominant society, and create my aforementioned win-win learning environment.

One significant problem, which I would like to address, is regarding the attitude of parents who commit their children to educational programs such as *Te Kohanga Reo* schools. We find that a very large proportion of *Maori* parents are maintaining a wait-

and-see attitude to the benefits their children will receive from growing up from early childhood in a *te reo Maori* environment. Faced with the pressure of competition from the dominant society, they believe that studying the *Maori* language is not only potentially useless, but can also be an impediment to their children's ability to compete with the dominant population. This view is, in my opinion, erroneous and not only requires active correction by the *Maori* people themselves, but it also requires the financial and practical support of the dominant government. Because indigenous peoples' language reconstruction and cultural heritage revitalization (or enrichment) efforts are not reliant on formal school education systems to implement, when considering the development of the culture of a specific indigenous people one cannot ignore the strong influence of the dominant culture. Given the success of formal *Maori* education at the current stage, it is worth keeping it alive. However, it still requires the constant input of new ideas, as well as substantial efforts in the sphere of informal educational systems. This subject deserves more consideration, a fuller discussion will be presented in the next chapter.

Section 2: Bilingual Education

Bilingual education began in the 1960s, and to this day remains an issue that is worthy of considerable concern. The current policy for multicultural countries worldwide is that bilingual education is an educational right and a human right for relevant citizens. What is bilingual education? The curriculum models and current bilingual educations serve various purposes in a range of contexts. To borrow from Constant Leung's (Constant Leung 2005) classification:

1. In the United States, "two-way bilingual programs" were developed in parts of the country. The main purpose of the design of the curriculum is to create a win-win situation for both the linguistic minority and majority students in the classroom. With this objective two curriculum languages are used.
2. To boost majority language development among linguistic minority students, *transitional bilingual programs* need to be implemented and adjusted accordingly. To state simply in transitional bilingual programs, the use of the minority language in class is diminished gradually over the course of two or three years until it is no longer used.
3. In Canada, *immersion French programmes* are applied to help Anglophone majority students develop high-level skills in the international minority language, French.
4. In some countries, some regions offer a dual track program consistency that enables their students to learn the languages and cultures of other countries. They also offer foreign language speakers who are temporarily living in a host country lessons in their mother tongue. Such institutions are known as Elite International Schools.
5. One of the goals of the French-English Bilingual Program in northern Maine (USA) is to revive French (W. P. Thomas and V. P. Collier 2002).

The bilingual education programs developed for the above different needs and goals can be summed up as follows: bilingual education can individually (and simultaneously with other projects) advance the revitalization of minority and majority languages within a cultural diversity society; moreover, it can help strength minority or disadvantaged languages within such a society; thereby achieving the promotion of first language learning context in a multilingual country.

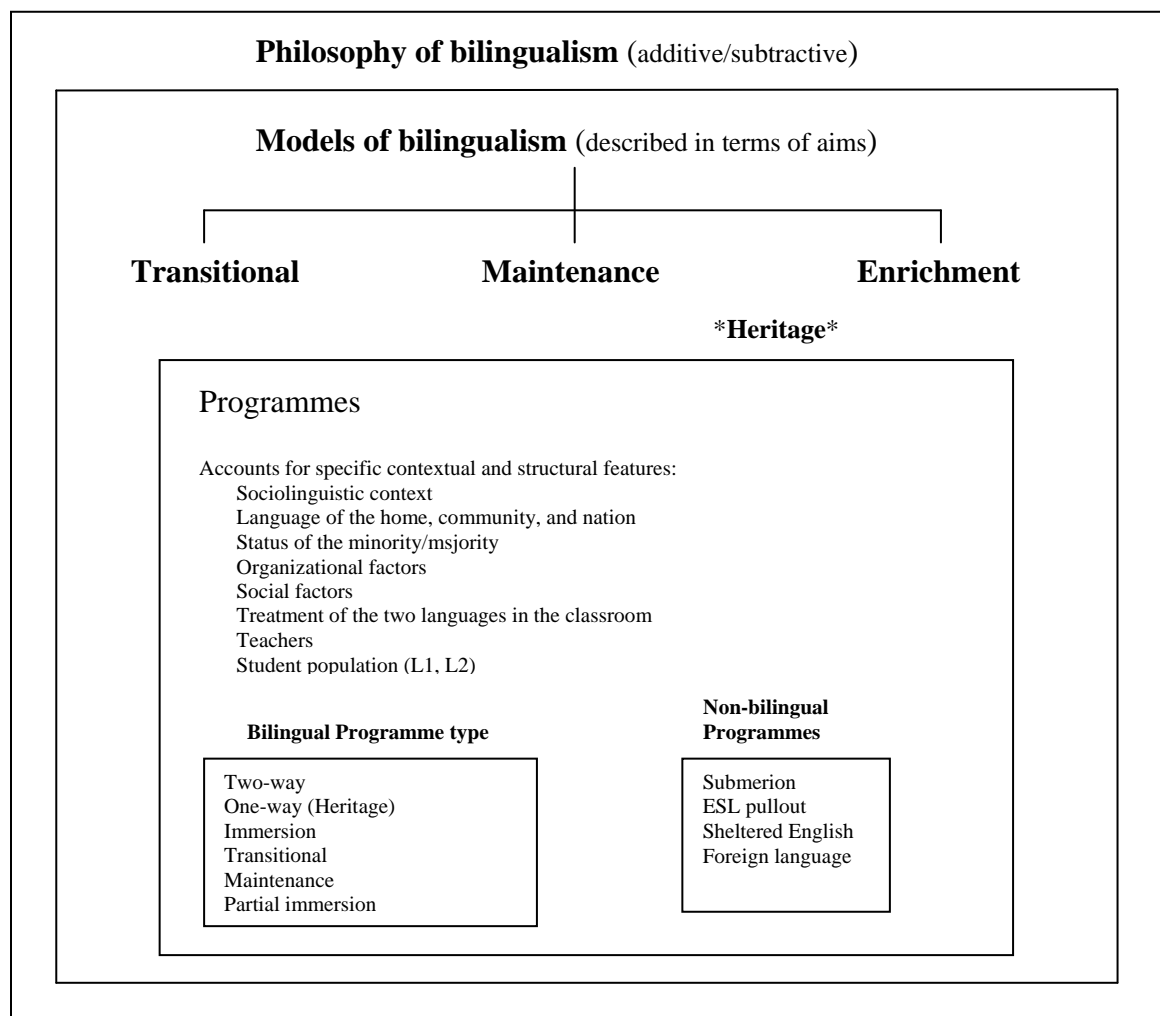


Diagram 1: principal Axes of Bilingual Education (source: S. May *et al.* 2004: 69)

Diagram 1 provides a basic concept of the principal axes of bilingual education, using the analysis presented by May *et al.* (2004), and incorporating the subjects of my own study. The main purpose of the maintenance models is for students to keep their first language while developing second language skills. They aim to preserve the mother tongue and reinforce the sense of cultural identity of the minority student. The function of the enrichment models is to continue to enhance the maintenance models and to improve the linguistic, educational, and social treatment of minority language speakers. The term “heritage language” refers to the mother tongue, that is, the home language and/or ancestral language in question. Thus, the heritage model is “most commonly associated with indigenous language revitalization efforts” (May *et al.* 2004: 3). The purpose of the transition model is to use the first language only until students learn the second language well enough, but some researches reveal that the transition model usually results in the loss of first language.

Since the purposes of the construction and development of bilingual education and its methods of implementation are very diverse, to discuss the models of bilingualism deeply would, I feel, move too far from the point of the chapter.

2.0. Case 1: *Maori*

2.0.0. *Maori-medium Educational System*

Language underpins the speakers' awareness of cultural life, which, in turn, supports their social and economic development and contributes to a unique identity. In 1840, approximately 540 *Maori* chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi with Queen Victoria, and Article 11 of this Treaty' guarantees protection of *Maori* language. From the 1970s onwards, *Maori* people have begun a series of initiatives that aim to preserve and strengthen their mother tongue – *te reo Maori*. During this period, the status of the language among the younger generation was in a marginal position, and was primarily used for religious activities. In order to prevent the language from becoming extinct quickly, it is of paramount importance for *Maori* people to use it in daily life (for example in homes or communities) and thus re-nurture the number of speakers. In 1982, *te Kohanga Reo* was founded, expanding this number from a fistful to 119 within twelve months. This result had a positive outcome in 1987, the *Maori Language Act*⁷⁹, in which *te reo Maori* was declared as an official language. This act also organized the *Maori Language Commission*, in order to promote and support *te reo Maori* use and revitalization.

In New Zealand, there are several options for parents who wish to have their children educated in *te reo Maori*. These options include: *Kura Kaupapa Maori*, *Maori-immersion schools*, *Maori-bilingual schools*, and *Maori-medium education at immersion/bilingual units in English-medium schools* (Caccioppoli and Cullen 2006).

The principal language of instruction is *te reo Maori* in *Kura Kaupapa Maori*. As explained by the National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA), a *Maori-medium school* is a school that offers students over 20 hours of *te reo Maori* instruction per week. The goal of this is that students who study in immersion schools can receive 81-100% of their instruction in *te reo Maori* while students who study in *Maori bilingual schools* receive three hours (or more) per week of *te reo Maori* instruction. To summarize, depending on which type of school a student is enrolled in, they will receive a broad percentage range of instruction in *te reo Maori*, from 12% to 100%. Dominant (English medium) schools also offer immersion/bilingual units, where students are taught *te reo Maori*.

The following data shows the number of students who took part in *Maori-medium education* in 2007 and 2008:

⁷⁹ This is a piece of legislation passed by the New Zealand Parliament. It gave *te reo Maori* an official language status, and gave *Maori* people a right to use it in legal settings.

Table 1: Number of Full-time Equivalent students involved in *Maori*-Medium Education as at 1 March (2004-2008) by school Sector and Form of Education

Form of Education		2004		2005		2006		2007		2008	
		Total	<i>Maori</i>	Total	<i>Maori</i>	Total	<i>Maori</i>	Total	<i>Maori</i>	Total	<i>Maori</i>
Primary	Immersion School	3,391	3,388	3,260	3,256	2,907	2,901	3,237	3,220	3,264	3,179
	Bilingual School	7,382	5,942	6,544	5,308	5,231	4,535	6,299	5,396	7,963	6,107
	Immersion Classes	2,940	2,895	3,133	3,062	3,246	3,166	2,446	2,384	2,308	2,250
	Bilingual Classes	6,617	6,051	7,224	6,070	8,045	6,572	6,651	5,575	5,683	4,972
	TOTAL	20,330	18,276	20,161	17,696	19,429	17,174	18,633	16,575	19,218	16,508
Secondary	Immersion School	94	93	113	113	121	121	143	143	158	158
	Bilingual School	584	582	737	735	982	977	1,023	1,022	817	816
	Immersion Classes	151	146	275	242	284	276	241	235	290	284
	Bilingual Classes	2,322	2,170	2,342	2,128	2,400	1,792	2,063	1,891	2,265	2,086
	TOTAL	3,151	2,991	3,467	3,218	3,787	3,166	3,470	3,291	3,530	3,344

Source: Ministry of Education, Wellington, New Zealand

Table 2: Total number of students involved in *Maori* Medium Education by Highest Level of Learning

	Total				<i>Maori</i>			
	2007	2008	Difference 2007-2008	% Difference 2007-2008	2007	2008	Difference 2007-2008	% Difference 2007-2008
Level 1: 81-100%	11,991	11,774	-217	-1.8%	11,878	11,664	-214	-1.8%
Level 2: 51-80%	5,424	5,157	-267	-4.9%	5,166	4,890	-276	-5.3%
Level 3: 31-50%	5,154	4,795	-359	-7.0%	4,600	4,338	-262	-5.7%
Level 4(a): up to 30%	5,926	7,007	1,081	18.2%	4,342	4,834	492	11.3%
All	28,495	28,733	238	0.8%	25,986	25,726	-260	-1.0%

Note: Students are counted at their highest level of *Maori*-medium learning. *Kura Kaupapa* school students and immersion school students are all involved in Level 1.

Source: Data Management Unit, Ministry of Education, Wellington, New Zealand

Table 1 demonstrates that the primary school students from *Maori*-medium school tended to enroll in bilingual schools. To take the data of 2008 as an example, the number of elementary school students studying in bilingual schools makes up nearly 40% of the entire number of *Maori* students studying in *Maori*-medium education. If we add the number of *Maori* students studying in bilingual schools to the number of *Maori* students studying in immersion schools, we find that these two categories of students account for 56% of the total number of elementary school students undergoing *Maori* medium education in that year. From these statistics one may conjecture that when *Maori* parents choose to send their children to primary schools where they can study *te reo Maori*, they will later tend towards non-dominant schools. However, it seems that most *Maori* parents, taking into consideration the need for their children to possess the English skills needed for academic advancement and integration into dominant society, choose to enroll them in bilingual schools rather than immersion schools. This phenomena is much more evident in higher education; almost all of the secondary school students who wish to continue studying *te reo Maori* choose to study in the bilingual units of English-medium schools.

Next, in Table 2, we see that the majority of *Maori* students are educated to a higher level in *te reo Maori* (this includes *kura kaupapa Maori* students). Taking in account the 2008

figures, we find that the total number of *Maori* students studying from Level 1 through Level 4(a) is 25,726 (Table 2). If we deducting the total number of primary and secondary school *Maori* students undergoing *Maori*-medium education (19,852 as seen in Table 1), we can see that for that year the total number of *kura kaupapa Maori* students is around 5870. Comparing these figures to the total number of *Maori* students in New Zealand (165,425) as reported in a survey taken on July 1st 2008 by New Zealand's Ministry of Education, we find that an overwhelming majority of *Maori* students chose to study in dominant schools.

Table 3: Participation⁸⁰ in NCEA⁸¹ assessment at *Maori*-medium schools, 2004 – 2006

		2004		2005		2006	
		Participation %	No. of students	Participation %	No. of students	Participation %	No. of students
Immersion schools	Year 11	89	191	62	229	75	238
	Year 12	74	117	68	121	78	142
	Year 13	88	58	67	67	73	89
Bilingual schools	Year 11	97	284	103	227	95	305
	Year 12	91	164	87	223	98	186
	Year 13	98	96	72	106	93	164
All <i>Maori</i> -medium schools	Year 11	94	475	82	456	86	543
	Year 12	84	281	80	344	89	328
	Year 13	94	154	70	173	86	253
<i>Maori</i> at English-medium schools	Year 11	83	10,556	85	11,388	92	11,394
	Year 12	84	6,842	89	6,867	97	7,118
	Year 13	90	3,836	91	4,010	94	4,115

Source: Data Management Unit, Ministry of Education, Wellington, New Zealand

Table 4: Percentage of candidates to meet the UE (University Entrance) requirements by the end of Year 13, 2004 - 2006

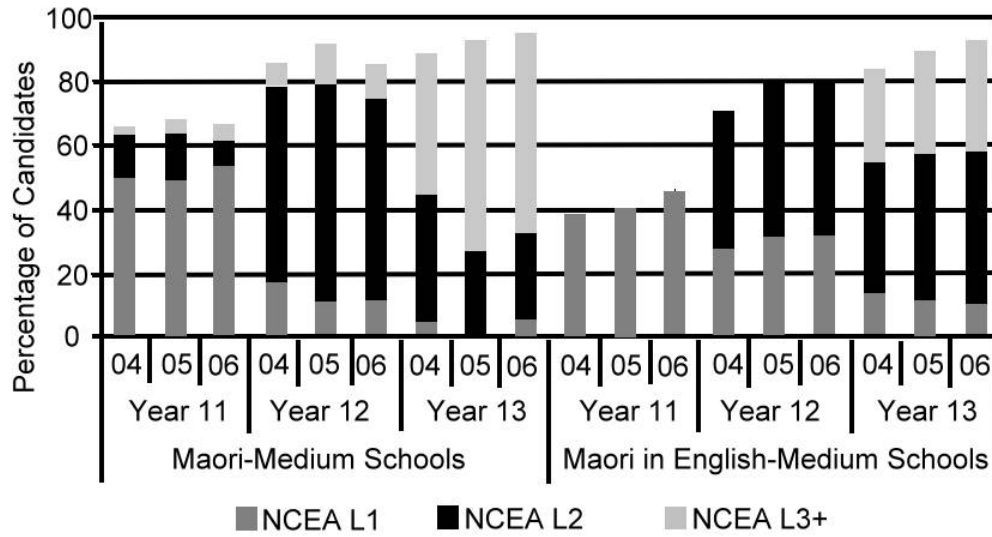
	2004	2005	2006
Immersion schools	21.6	55.6	36.9
Bilingual schools	35.1	51.3	54.2
All <i>Maori</i> -medium schools	30.3	52.9	49.1
<i>Maori</i> at English-medium schools	25.0	26.6	29.8

Source: Data Management Unit, Ministry of Education, Wellington, New Zealand

⁸⁰ "Participation is defined as number of candidates divided by number of students. All *Maori*-medium schools with Years 11-13 students on their roll are included regardless of whether the school has candidates or not." (notes by Ministry of Education, Wellington, New Zealand)

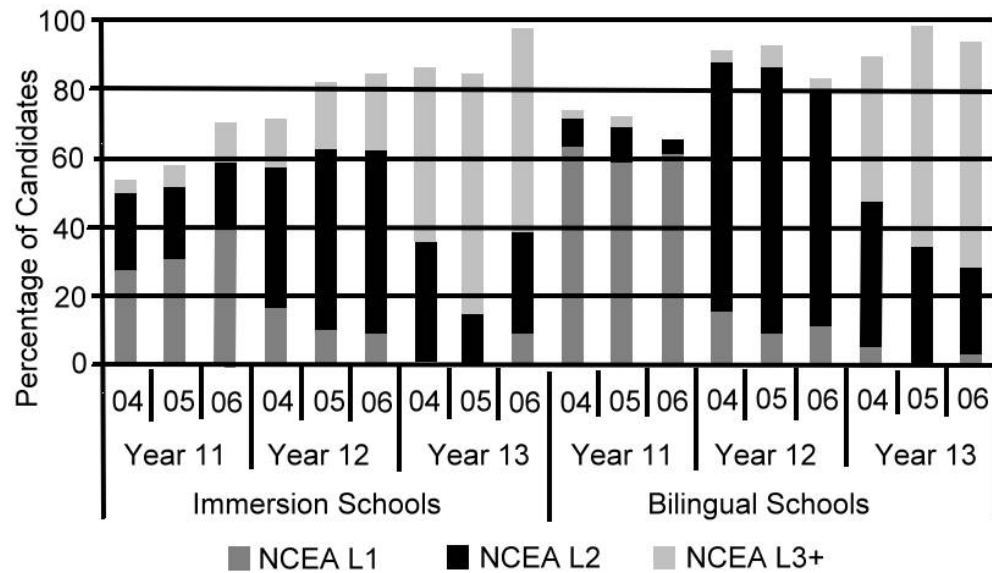
⁸¹ "Here, NCEA refers to all national certificates for senior secondary students (for example, National Certificate of Educational Achievement and other certificates on the National Qualifications Framework), but excludes international qualifications (for example, Cambridge International Examinations)." (notes by Ministry of Education, Wellington, New Zealand)

Figure 1: Highest NCEA qualifications gained by Years 11 - 13 candidates⁸² at *Maori*-medium schools and by *Maori* at English-medium schools, 2004 - 2006



Source: Data Management Unit, Ministry of Education, Wellington, New Zealand

Figure 2: Highest NCEA qualifications gained by Years 11 - 13 candidates at *Maori* immersion schools and bilingual schools, 2004 - 2006



Note: Figure 2 splits the *Maori*-medium schools' results shown in Figure 1 into immersion schools and bilingual schools.

Source: Data Management Unit, Ministry of Education, Wellington, New Zealand

Figure 1 and Figure 2 indicate that *Maori* candidates at *Maori*-medium schools (immersion schools and bilingual schools) from Years 11 to 13 were more likely to gain a

⁸² "A candidate is a student who has gained at least one credit on NCEA." (notes by Ministry of Education, Wellington, New Zealand)

typical level⁸³, and that some of them preferred to get a higher NCEA qualification than those *Maori* students at English-medium schools. It is clear, therefore, that the academic performance of *Maori* senior secondary students in English-medium schools is apparently not as good as that of the students from *Maori*-medium schools. Furthermore, in light of the data from Table 4, the proportion of candidates at the end of Year 13 who could meet the University Entrance requirements was higher at *Maori*-medium schools than at English-medium schools. From Table 3 we see that the number of *Maori* students attending English-medium schools is more than 20 times greater than the number of *Maori* students attending *Maori*-medium schools. These statistics tells us that most *Maori* parents lack confidence in non-dominant school education, we may assume that they believe dominant school education can offer a better chance of meeting the University Entrance requirement.

To sum up, these investigations indicate that those *Maori* students who receive greater *te reo Maori* instruction at *Maori*-medium schools doesn't necessarily perform worse in the academic field than those who attend English-medium schools. On the contrary, as we see from the figures from the key-age (Year 13), the proportion of children who choose to attend *Maori*-medium schools, and attain the NCEL Level 3 Credits needed to enter university, far exceeds the proportion of their English-medium school counterparts. This evidences my hypothesis, which is that first language (mother tongue) instruction at school is beneficial in providing students with the impulse to reach higher levels of education.

2.0.1. Cultural Identity, Language, Education

I believe that culture, in its broadest sense, refers to the sum total of the physical and spiritual products of human society. To restrict that definition to the matter a hand, however, it could be argued that culture could be defined as the spiritual products of language, art, customs and ideologies. Hamers and Blanc (1989:198) explain that

Language is a component of culture along with other entities like, for example, values, beliefs and norms; language is a product of culture, transmitted from one generation to the next in the socialization process; it also moulds culture, in other words, our cultural representations are shaped by language.

We can take this a step further, and affirm that language is a very important component of culture, and an essential factor in governing a specific group's cultural identity. It is clear that there is a crucial relationship between language and its speakers.

As reported by *Te Puni Kokiri*⁸⁴ in the *Survey of Attitudes, Values and Beliefs about the Maori Language* (Ministry of Maori Development 2003), 67% of interviewees asserted that the intrinsic value of the *Maori* language was higher than its functional value. In the

⁸³ "The typical levels of NCEA qualifications are Level 1 for Year 11 students, Level 2 for Year 12 and Level 3 for Year 13." (notes by Ministry of Education, Wellington, New Zealand)

⁸⁴ *Te Puni Kokiri* (Ministry of Maori Development) is the only government department solely focused on the *Maori*, and the principal advisor on Government - *Maori* relationships. It monitors policy and legislation, and provides the government with high quality policy advice.

opinion of those interviewees, *Maori* people should be proactive in learning their language and in sharing it with others. 51% of those interviewed believed that the way to support the *Maori* language was by learning it at school. Furthermore, the survey shows that 81% of people claimed they had learned the *Maori* language in both formal and informal forms (which corroborates my prior assertion that informal educational institutions are also important in the development of cultural revitalization). Examples of informal education might be: museums, local teaching of handicrafts, and the preparation of communal activities such as feasts.

In addition, this survey demonstrates that 45% of non-proficient speakers claimed to have learnt the *Maori* language at an educational institute, and 49% of proficient speakers claimed to have learnt the language informally. As Table 7 shows, proficient speakers are more likely to take part in *Maori* cultural activities and so use the *Maori* language. In light of this, I would argue that what proficient speakers should keep using the language, or encourage more *Maori* people to speak, rather than just continue to attend classes. Conversely, non-proficient speakers should be given more opportunity to study the *Maori* language; I believe that taking part in language and cultural activities are indisputably appropriate ways to learn *te reo Maori*. I would like to note that, without well-organized structures that allow non-proficient speakers to practice simple and basic language skills, there would, predictably, be a low participation rate from this group.

It can also be postulated that if *Maori* participation can be increased in language and cultural related activities, then their sense of cultural identity and self-esteem will likewise increase. In accordance with this logic, we may believe that increasing participation of non-*Maori* people in *Maori* language and cultural related activities will not only help them better understand *Maori* lifestyle and culture, but will also help to reduce cultural discrimination within the dominant society.

Table 7: Participation in selected Language and Culture related activities, proficient speakers and non-proficient speakers

% who claimed to have done the following activities at least once in the previous week:	Proficient speakers	Non-proficient
Go to a <i>marae</i> ⁸⁵	37	8
Watch or listen to <i>Maori</i> news	79	42
Attend ceremonies or events with <i>Maori</i> welcomes and speeches	26	9
Read or browse <i>Maori</i> magazines	36	11
Go to <i>kapa haka</i> ⁸⁶ or <i>Maori</i> culture group concerts	22	8
Listen to <i>iwi</i> ⁸⁷ radio	64	27

Source: *Te Puni Kokiri* (Ministry of *Maori* Development)

⁸⁵ The meaning of *marae* is 'courtyard' - the open area in front of the *wharenui*, where formal greetings and discussions take place. Often also used to include the complex of buildings around the *marae*.

⁸⁶ The meaning of *kapa haka* can be concert party, *haka* group, *Maori* cultural group, or *Maori* performing group; here is refer to 'concert party'.

⁸⁷ The meaning of *iwi* is tribe, nation, people, or race.

2.0.2. Current Health of the *Maori* Language

According to the New Zealand census data, *Maori* make up 14.6% of the total population. In 2008 there were 4,143,282 legal residents, of which 566,496 were listed as *Maori*.

The national *Maori* language survey in 1973 estimate that the proportion of fluent speakers of *te reo Maori* in New Zealand was 18%.⁸⁸ In 1996, a follow-up survey found that the percentage of fluent speakers had risen to 25%. This figure was maintained throughout 2001. The 2001 census showed a correlation between conversational competency in *te reo Maori* and educational achievement: that is, the higher the students' educational achievement of *Maori* students, the more they like to speak *te reo Maori*. For instance, among *Maori* students with undergraduate degrees or higher, around 30-40% can speak *te reo Maori*; among those with secondary qualification, only 27% can do so, while only 25% of those who have not achieved secondary qualification can speak *te reo Maori*.

A 2006 survey shows that around one in four *Maori* people (24%, or 131,600 people) use the *Maori* language fluently in conversations in daily life, and the proportion of those who speak *te reo Maori* in daily life make up only 4% (157,100 people) of New Zealand's population. Among *te reo Maori* speakers, 84% are *Maori*, the others are non-*Maori* population.

2.0.3. Future of *Maori*

In a consideration of the future of *Maori* it is my opinion that we should examine the views of *Maori* and non-*Maori* people regarding the question, "Which types of group of people can speak *te reo Maori* proficiently?" I believe we can, from the responses to this question, find favorable support and reference points for methods of revitalization in the future and in so doing indigenous languages will be strengthened. I also believe that the information provided from such responses can help us to find a more substantial and effective direction for developing indigenous education. For instance, Table 8 shows us that a similar proportion of *Maori* and non-*Maori* interviewees believe that children who attend *Maori* pre-schools and total immersion schools can speak *te reo Maori*. However, this data does not include respondents' opinions regarding bilingual education. Moreover, the table also shows that among the selected respondents, more people believe that the capacity of *Maori* language is better among 'people who go to *Maori* pre-school' than among 'people who grew up speaking *te reo Maori*.' (Such a hypothesis makes it possible to interpret that *Maori* people themselves are aware that the *Maori* language environment of most *Maori* families is not good enough for their children's upbringing.) Thus we can infer that the role played by education in language revitalization is of great importance. A third reflection on the data shows that only 14% of *Maori* respondents believe that their own people can speak *Maori* proficiently. This raises the question; if *Maori* people do not think they can speak *te reo Maori* well, how can we expect the programs for the revitalization of *Maori* language succeed? Perhaps a more reasonable answer to why people believe that academics can speak *Maori* more proficiently is that

⁸⁸ <http://www.socialreport.msd.govt.nz/cultural-identity/maori-language-speakers.html>

the data shows a higher proportion of students who have graduated from *Maori*-medium schools and then meet the requirements of University Entrance (see Table 4). Finally, nearly half of the *Maori* respondents (and 34% non-*Maori* respondents) believe that older *Maori* adults can speak *Maori* proficiently, but only 12% of *Maori* respondents believe the young generation of *Maori* can speak the language proficiently.

There is a further point which needs to be reasserted that both of *Maori* and non-*Maori* respondents belief that the *te reo Maori* abilities of most of younger generations (this especially refers to *Maori* people) are far inferior to *Maori* older adults. Such a condition makes it more important to encourage young generations to learn *te reo Maori*.

Table 8: Responses to the question 'what type of people do you think can speak *Maori* proficiently?'

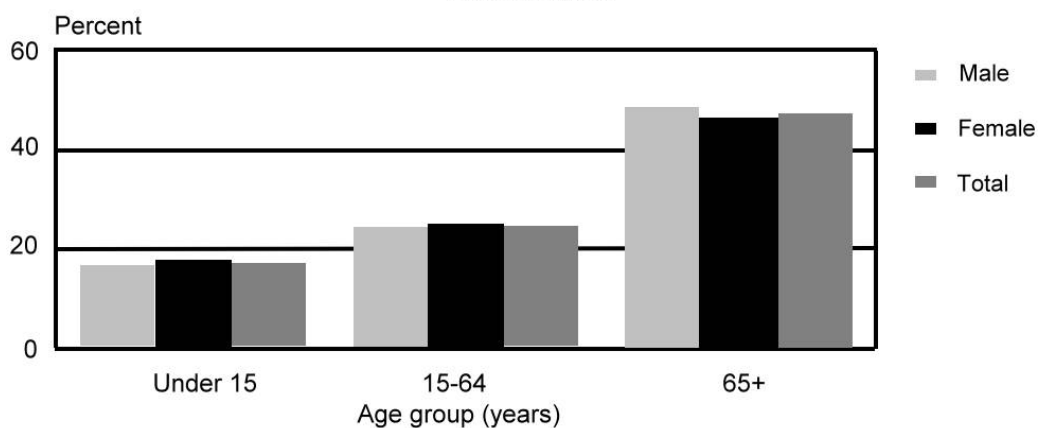
% in following answer clusters	Non- <i>Maori</i>	<i>Maori</i>
<i>Maori</i> people	28	14
People who grew up speaking <i>Maori</i>	12	25
<i>Maori</i> children	6	12
<i>Maori</i> teenagers/ young adults	6	12
People who go to <i>Maori</i> pre-schools	20	37
People who went to total immersion schools	13	25
People who have taken <i>Maori</i> lessons	10	13
<i>Maori</i> students	9	16
Older <i>Maori</i> adults	34	49
Academics/ teachers	27	23
Government officials	16	10
Don't know	7	0

Source: *Te Puni Kokiri*, new Zealand

Figure 3: *Maori* speakers of *te reo Maori* as a proportion of the total *Maori* population, 2006 census

Maori Speakers of te Reo Maori as a Proportion of the Total Maori Population

2006 Census



Note: The *Maori* population includes those people who stated *Maori* as being their sole community or one of several communities.

Source: Statistics New Zealand

The age group distribution, in Figure 3 shows that the trends are consistent with the sentiments reflected in the above data; that is, most of the people who can speak *te reo Maori* are over 65 years old. Thus, the number of *te reo Maori* speakers diminishes in the lower age groups. If this trend continues, there may not be anyone left who can speak *te reo Maori* in several decades' time.

In order to prevent the disappearance of *te reo Maori*, it is necessary to overcome the (erroneous) attitude of many *Maori* parents that involves the preference for English-medium school in pursuit of academic and job market value for their children). Surveys show that *Maori* students do not suffer from a lack of academic success because they choose to study at *Maori*-medium schools. On the contrary, as we have seen from Figure 1 and 2, *Maori* students studying in *Maori*-medium schools perform better than they do in English-medium schools. Additionally, the number of *Maori* students currently attending *Maori*-medium schools is very low, which makes it harder for *Maori* children to keep up their language abilities. Consequently, encouraging *Maori* parents to send their children to *Maori*-medium schools helps to raise the population of *Maori* language speakers. Lastly I would like to add that an effective implementation of language and cultural activities is needed to boost participation and motivation among non-proficient *Maori* speakers. If this is achieved, not only can the vitality of *te reo Maori* be restored, but it may be able to move closer towards the preservation of *Maori* cultural heritage.

2.1. Case 2: *Fryslan*

From the booklet *Language of the heart* (Erkelens 2004) published in the Province of *Fryslan*, as well as *The Frisian language in education in the Netherlands* published by the Mercator European Research Center on Multilingualism and Language, we are able to get a clear picture of the development history of the *Frysk* language. In the 15th century, *Frysk* was widely spoken in the region of *Fryslan* (*Frisia* or *Friesland*). But by the 16th and 17th centuries, the Dutch government, schools, churches, and numerous non-official institutions increasingly used the Dutch language. The use of *Frysk* gradually became limited to rural areas. By the 19th century *Fryslan* was elevated to the status of a province in the Netherlands. At this point it became evident that the *Frysk* language was dying, which produced movements to recognize *Frysk* as an official language. As a result, the use of the *Frysk* in everyday life gradually increased. In the 20th century, these movements developed with greater vigor, and have in many official areas⁸⁹ the language obtained the position it deserved.

Frysk in the Netherlands is a minority (indigenous⁹⁰) language, and Dutch is the national language. At present about 620,000 people live in the Province of *Fryslan*, about 3.8% of the total population of the Netherlands.

Of those inhabitants of *Fryslan*, 94% understands Frisian, 74 percent can speak it, 65 percent is able to read it, and 17% can write it. More than half of the population (55%) states Frisian as their mother tongue. Moreover, 76 percent of the population in *Fryslan* consider themselves to be Frisian.⁹¹

The above data shows that *Frysk* can be categorized as an “active” language. Unfortunately, since we do not have access to more detailed data, we do not know the age distribution of *Frysk* speakers.

As early as 1907, *Fryslan* began providing *Frysk* lessons in primary schools, but only after regular school hours. In 1937, the Education Act permitted schools to include elective language courses in the regional language (*Frysk*) within the general curriculum. In 1950, nine public elementary schools officially started bilingual education programs, but it was only in 1955 that, according to the Education Act, they achieved official legal status. The chief basis of this endeavor was that schools could provide students with course instruction in *Frysk* during the first three years of elementary school, and that during the first six years of schooling, the *Frysk* language would also be taught as a subject. *Frysk* did not become a mandatory subject in elementary schools until 1974, but by the 1980s, it was officially taught in all elementary schools. During the same period (the 1980s) the Dutch parliament decided granted *Frysk* a more flexible legal status in elementary school education: *Frysk* became the instruction language⁹² for all subjects for

⁸⁹ Such as government, school education, religion, and jurisdiction.

⁹⁰ Not yet to be recognized as an indigenous people by Dutch government.

⁹¹ This statement is quoted from the document of page 5 in *The Frisian language in education in the Netherlands*. (Mercator-Education, 1997 *The Frisian language in education in the Netherlands*, Published by Mercator-Education with financial support from the *Fryske Akademy* and the European and Youth.)

⁹² Attention should be paid to the fact that, during this period, schools providing bilingual education in *Fryslan* were very limited, at most a quarter of the elementary schools in all of *Fryslan*.

the first six years of elementary education. However, the goals for this had never been specified in the Education Act.

“By 2006, fully identical goals had been developed for both the Dutch and Frisian languages, indicating which skills had to be attained in Dutch and Frisian by the end of primary education.”

Fryslan’s educational policy has been defined in accordance with the Dutch government. The central premise of this policy is that all schools have a duty to provide students with an education in which Dutch is the primary instruction language. Primary schools must give *Frysk* classes once a week; yet, without violating basic Dutch government regulations regarding primary educational policy, trilingual education was to be realized in *Fryslan*.

2.1.0. Trilingual Education in *Fryslan*

In Most EU countries more than one language is spoken. We may distinguish national language (dominant language), regional language (minority/indigenous language), and foreign language (depending on practical needs of specific country, e.g. the importance of English in the Netherlands) in a multilingual society. As such, many European educational policies have been increasingly experimenting with bilingual or trilingual education at the elementary school level.

After the experiment with Dutch/*Frysk* bilingual education was completed at elementary level in *Fryslan*, and in consideration of both the practicability⁹³ of English and the successes of trilingual education experiments in other parts of Europe⁹⁴, trilingual education⁹⁵ was adopted in 1997 in seven elementary schools⁹⁶ located in the countryside⁹⁷. Approximately 400 pupils were included in this experimental phase. The objective of trilingual primary education in *Fryslan* was to achieve bilingualism and biliteracy in *Frysk* and Dutch, to pursue and achieve established English educational objectives⁹⁸, and also to engender a positive attitude in students towards all three

⁹³ “The purpose of offering the English language in the primary school is, on the other hand, to make the pupils familiar with a foreign language at an early age. On the other hand, attention is being paid to the function of English as an important international language. Pupils recognize English as a source of loan words in Dutch. They form the basis for speaking and reading the English language, starting from everyday situations. Therefore, pupils should make a start with the acquisition of a vocabulary, obtain an understanding of sentence structure and be able to find out the meaning of words.” (see Jehannes Ytsma 2001:43)

⁹⁴ For example, Catalunya and the Basque Country.

⁹⁵ UNESCO’s efforts in bilingual and multilingual education are praiseworthy, aiming to improve and elevate social and gender quality in linguistically diverse societies. (UNESCO 2003 *Education in a multilingual world*, published in *Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization*, the United Nations)

⁹⁶ Trilingual schools (*Trijetalige Skoalle*)

⁹⁷ These small villages are: *Brantgum, Boksum, De Hommerts, Earnewald, Holwert, It Heidenskip*, and *Nes*.

⁹⁸ 1) The pupils should be able to understand simple conversations about everyday situations.

2) The pupils should be able to understand enough English words to understand spoken messages about personal information, food and drink, the living environment and time.

3) The pupils should be able to talk to each other about everyday situations; their pronunciation should be understandable.

languages. (In *Fryslan*, the majority of elementary schools do not offer English as an instruction language.) The obligation for 11 and 12 year old children learning English at school is one hour a week, but the incorporation of English as a medium of instruction for general courses, in practical terms, requires schools to hold courses taught in English for two afternoons a week. The allocation of course instruction in trilingual schools is adjusted according to the age group. The current method is that in the first six years of schooling, the use of Dutch and *Frysk* is maintained at a 1:1 ratio (bilingual education). Starting in the fifth year (age nine), schools start providing two or three hours a week of “preparatory English lessons”. In the seventh year (age 11), English is no longer just a subject: it becomes one of the languages of instruction, with the ratio of 2:2:1, Dutch:*Frysk*:English. To prevent confusion among students, instructors use flags and signs to show which language will be used.

2.1.1. Difficulties

In *Fryslan*, each school is fully responsible for hiring teachers. Schools advertise teaching openings through various media, inviting people who are both qualified and eager to engage in teaching to apply. Responsibilities such as the verification of teaching credentials, teacher training, and finally the selection process, belong to the schools. As a result, schools that are developing trilingual education are endowed more flexibility in teacher hiring.

There are two teacher-training colleges⁹⁹ in *Fryslan* that offer *Frysk*. Where the subject is compulsory in one of the colleges, it is not required in the other. In the college in which the subject is not compulsory, it is required that all students attend *Frysk* throughout the first two years of undergraduate studies. If any student wishes to earn a formal teaching certificate in *Fryslan* elementary education after graduation, they must complete the language program in their final two years before graduation. These courses include *Frysk* language courses, courses in how to use the *Frysk* language to teach *Frysk*, and courses in how to use the *Frysk* language to teach other courses: courses in *Frysk*-related knowledge, and courses in bilingual education. According to a 2001 survey (Resource: Albertes J. Mulder and Anisa Temsamani 2007), 38% of teachers in *Fryslan* elementary schools were unqualified in 2001. In 2007, a total of 2,091 students registered at NHL University and 1,185 students registered at *Stenden Hogeschool* for teacher training programs. As a result of the uninterrupted stream of people entering teacher-training programs, the aforementioned qualification problems are gradually diminishing, and the circumstances will hopefully improve. Furthermore, regarding English teachers, the institution of *Taalsintrum Frysk* currently has a rotation system, in which native English speakers are recruited as teaching assistants to help trilingual schools with their English education. The aim is to provide students with an environment that resembles an all-English one.

According to one report (*Provinsje Fryslan* 2007), given the high utility of the Dutch language, its higher social status, and the fact that many Dutch speakers move to *Fryslan*,

4) The pupils should be able to understand the main issues of a simple written text.

5) The pupils should be able to use a dictionary to find out the meaning of words.

⁹⁹ NHL University and Stenden Hogeschool (Student University).

the number of *Frysk* speakers is gradually diminishing. In 2007, 48% of the families there spoke *Frysk* as a language for everyday communication, while 47% spoke Dutch. In addition, 16% of *Fryslan* couples felt they should raise the future generation in Dutch.

2.1.2. Results

Although in theory the ‘freedom of education’ principle could lead to a great diversity in education, in practice the differences in educational processes and curriculum between schools are not very large. This similarity of curriculum is partly due to the introduction of attainment targets for all school subjects. The government employs these targets (in existence since 1993, renewed in 2006) to indicate the minimum goals students ought to attain by the end of primary school and after two years of secondary education respectively. (Mercator 2008:9)

By striking a balance between not constraining educational methods and materials by a single set of national regulations and marshaling the power of a national curriculum to attain official targets, it will be possible to persuade more schools to enter into trilingual education. This will hopefully also encourage more parents to send their children to trilingual schools. I believe that the sustainable operation of trilingual education in *Fryslan* is a key factor example.

After August 2007 the number of trilingual schools grew from 7 to 17, then in October 2009, another one was added. As such, there are currently 18 primary schools in *Fryslan* undertaking trilingual education. Whether the results of trilingual education make it suitable for development throughout *Fryslan* or expansion in other indigenous communities or non-EU countries, I believe, is not the important point. The important point is that if schools provide students with second language (bilingual education), and even third language (trilingual education) instruction, this will not be an impediment learning of the national language. On the contrary, it should successfully introduce another (or more than one) language to students. However, according to Mercator¹⁰⁰, due to the social and political status of the language and because education levels continue to climb, the use of *Frysk* is dropping. This situation is the norm in bilingual/multilingual societies, showing that most bilingual/multilingual education, at the current stage of development, has not been adequately implemented at the secondary education level or in higher education systems.

As a result of the implementation of bilingual education in *Fryslan*, it became evident that appropriate bilingual course arrangement, namely the use of two instruction languages for general subjects, would cause no confusion for the children being educated. Statistics taken from nationwide academic achievement show that with regard to skills in the national language (Dutch), these students did not perform worse than the students who did not undergo bilingual education. Arguably, in learning the *Frysk* language, the children had the chance to gain stronger cultural identities. Furthermore, trilingual education, the implementation of which is currently underway, not only has the advantages inherent in bilingual education, but also trains students in English language skills. The Netherlands does not suffer from issues related to poverty, and therefore *Fryslan* society is capable of developing bilingual or trilingual education. *Fryslan* people

¹⁰⁰ European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning

do not experience cultural discrimination from the Dutch; and therefore their experience cannot be directly compared to those of most indigenous communities and their educational environments. However, the important thing is that this bilingual/trilingual education system has been the most effective method in helping students learn the national language as well as revitalizing and strengthening their indigenous/minority language. This is an important factor in understanding why the United Nations is trying to promote bilingual/multilingual education in many indigenous communities.

2.2. Case 3: Saskatchewan

The indigenous peoples of Canada include the Indian¹⁰¹, Inuit, and *Metis* peoples.¹⁰² Like most other indigenous education systems in the world, the traditional indigenous peoples' educational systems in Canada are very different from today's standardized models. Their educational philosophy is based on a close relationship with the natural world, and the most important feature of that education has always been related to their cultural knowledge and values. As such, language plays a substantial part in transmitting cultural heritage and perspective to community members.

During the process of colonization, the languages, cultures, and traditional knowledge systems of the indigenous peoples in Canada have been systematically repressed and destroyed. This had led to the crisis of endangerment. We see that there are higher dropout rates, lower academic achievement, higher suicide rates and higher unemployment among Indigenous students than other peoples in Canada. It is therefore not hard to see that indigenous peoples' acceptance of non-indigenous worldviews, educational systems, language and cultural knowledge faces considerable challenge. Clearly, with the lack of support from a strong native culture for indigenous peoples, it is difficult to foster sufficient skills to compete with the mainstream populace. An aspect of this that I feel has had the greatest influence is the implementation of residential schools. Indigenous children were taken from their families to live in an environment that is completely alienated from their native cultures. They were made to study "White" cultural knowledge and English, their religion systems were replaced by Western religion.

"For almost a full century, First Nations children were systematically removed from their homes spending 10 months of the year in the care of strangers. First Nations languages were considered a key target in the quest to destroy First Nations cultures, and children unable to speak English were punished, severely. As a consequence many returned to their communities unable to speak in their original languages. Language is considered to be the foundation of any culture." (Karen Hill 2004:3)

In the 1970s, indigenous peoples in Canada, after a great deal of effort, gradually attained partial political power, including the control and management of their own education. In 1972, the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) presented a policy "Indian Control of Indian Education"; they wanted to give their children an education in which they can learn their heritage language, culture, and values. From then on, to reinforce Indian children's identity from the educational side, indigenous education in Canada began to see a variety of efforts.

There are various educational concepts that have been put into operation in Canada, and thanks to my fieldwork experience in Saskatchewan I was able to meet the director of the Indian Teacher Education Program (ITEP), which was founded in 1972 by the University of Saskatchewan. It is evident from his work, nearly 40 years of practical experience in developing indigenous education, that there is a great deal of valuable knowledge and ideas that are worthy of our contemplation and study.

¹⁰¹ Most people today prefer to use the term of "First Nations",

¹⁰² Constitution Act 1982, Section 35(2), http://www.solon.org/Constitutions/Canada/English/ca_1982.html

2.2.0. Background

In Saskatchewan, with the establishment of the European fur trade and the subsequent impoverishment of land condition, the overall population structure of Saskatchewan was transformed; that is, indigenous peoples were shifted from their damaged home environment. According to the 2006 Census of Canada¹⁰³, Saskatchewan's population was 968,157¹⁰⁴; of those people, 15.4% of residents were aged 65, over 65, 34.4% were aged 25 and under 25, and 14.88% identified themselves as indigenous peoples. 64.3% of the population chose to settle in an urban area; evidently the majority of the remaining 35.7%, who live in the rural areas, are indigenous people. A report from the government of Saskatchewan shows that, for 12-year-old children, the dropout rate from school by First Nations and *Metis* students was higher than that of non-indigenous students. In addition, the proportion of students who completed their high school education was lower. (In 2006, less than 30% of indigenous students graduated from post-secondary education, and more than 45% non-indigenous students finished this level of education) Furthermore, the indigenous employment rate for the same year was 46% (employment for non-indigenous peoples was 67%). The 21% gap shows that, in Saskatchewan, indigenous peoples had a disadvantaged socioeconomic status. Of course, if we compare these statistics with those from 2001, we see that the circumstances of indigenous students, in terms of education, have changed. Unemployment rates are lower, although there is still a considerable distance to go before parity with non-indigenous people is achieved. Also worthy of our attention is the 2008 article *Closing the Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal Education Gaps* by John Richards, published by the C.D. Howe Institute. According to an analysis of the Census of Canada data on the education of indigenous students the proportion of indigenous students completing their high school educations on the reserves is lower than for off-reserve students; in Saskatchewan there is a difference of about 29%. These figures show that there is room for improvement in on-reserve indigenous education.

2.2.1. The Gift of Language and Culture Project for 2008 – 2013

The importance of a language to a specific people,

[I]t is not simply a vocal symbol; it is a dynamic force which shapes the way a man looks at the world, his thinking about the world and his philosophy of life. Knowing his material language helps a man to know himself; being proud of his language helps a man to be proud of himself. (National Indian Brotherhood/Assembly of First Nations 1973:14-15)

In the treaties signed by the Canadian government (British Crown) regarding the “Indian Control of Indian Education” policy (1973), the First Nations¹⁰⁵ have the right to carry out on/off reserve school education. It offers educational autonomy to reserve schools

¹⁰³ Census of Canada <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/index-eng.cfm>

¹⁰⁴ In April 2010, the total population of Saskatchewan were 1,041,729.

¹⁰⁵ In Canada, the term of “First Nations” refers to those indigenous peoples have recognized by Canadian government as “Indians”, it means *Metis* and Inuit peoples are excluded from this “family”. Canadian government gave the term of “Aboriginal” to include First Nations, *Meties*, and Inuit peoples, but didn't accept the suggestion from the United Nations to use “indigenous peoples” to refer them. But here, in my thesis, I would only use “indigenous peoples” to replace with “Aboriginal”.

and the principal has more influence in the school's management. Thus, the leadership of the school principal has become a key factor in deciding the nature of school education. One can speculate, therefore, that educational autonomy extended to each school, and which increases the principal's power of leadership, makes the running the First Nations education more effective. Such a situation has both pros and cons in developing indigenous (language) education. If the school principals lack the motivation to develop indigenous culture and language, or they do not consider this educational challenge as his/her crucial responsibility, then indigenous students will not be able to reconstruct their cultural heritage knowledge and identity in this medium. However, the Director of the Indian Teacher Education Program (ITEP) of College of Education at the University of Saskatchewan, says that university education provides opportunities for First Nations students aspiring to be school teachers. They provide a home-like atmosphere within the training program (home nest). This has been developed so that indigenous students can benefit from their ITEP unity from the teacher training process, maintaining close ties to the 'home nest' even after receiving their diplomas and securing positions as teachers or school principals.¹⁰⁶ Indigenous students, who have graduated from ITEP, regardless of the profession they choose, are all supporters and assistants of this program for the promotion of indigenous education on reserves. Since the establishment of ITEP, many different First Nations educational research projects have taken place, which have made a considerable contribution to indigenous education in Saskatchewan. An interesting project is being carried out at the moment in Saskatchewan, and is called "The Gift of Language and Culture Project for 2008 – 2013". The endeavor is, in fact, in its second phase¹⁰⁷. This program¹⁰⁸ began in September 2003, and based on the program initiators',¹⁰⁹ emphasis on retaining and strengthening indigenous languages among the leaders of First Nations and communities members. As a result, curricula and resources for total immersion programs and the instruction of First Nations languages have been launched and developed in all First Nations schools in Saskatchewan.

2.2.2. The Ideas and Methodology of the Project

There are two different ideas for programs to develop First Nations languages and cultures within school curricula. One is First Nations language(s) total immersion education and, the other is First Nations language(s) and English bilingual education. The program for total First Nations language(s) immersion is designed for pre-school age to students of Grade 9, currently it is only completely extending to Grade 3, however. The First Nations language(s) are the only instruction language that can be used in the classroom, in order to promote indigenous cultural knowledge. The intention of the curriculum is to meet First Nations students' educational needs. The bilingual education

¹⁰⁶ This kind of educational philosophy is helpful for school principals and teachers helping each other in reminding them of the importance of developing proper education for First Nations students to retain and reconstruct their "Indian" identity, to revitalize their languages and cultural heritage, and to improve those students' educational achievement.

¹⁰⁷ The first project was from 2003 – 2007.

¹⁰⁸ The Ministry of Education in Saskatchewan didn't have authority in controlling the development of the project before the establishment of partnership.

¹⁰⁹ The *Lac La Ronge* Indian Band, Onion Lake First Nation, the Prince Albert grand Council, and the Peter *Ballantyne* Cree Nation.

is available for nursery age to students of Grade 12. Students can have lessons taught in First Nations language(s), which at the moment is accessible up to Grade 9. However, the guideline of the curriculum and resource development at the moment barely reaches Grade 2. It is in this respect that bilingual education is still at an immature stage. In order to achieve the project, five strategic bundles¹¹⁰ have been designed:

1) Strategic Bundle 1 – Evaluation and Assessment

The evaluation and assessment of projects by team leaders is helpful in allowing all participating members¹¹¹ to clearly understand, regarding the execution of the overall project, whether the skills gained by students in different age groups of First Nations languages and cultural knowledge meet the goals set by the curriculum design: for example, the fluency level of language speaking, and whether the students are able to learn from and practice their cultural life and knowledge with family members, elders, and community members, with a positive attitude. This sentence is far too long, cut it up and beware of too many sub-clauses. However, teachers must confirm whether they have the necessary and sufficient knowledge, methods and tools to attain the requisite results in the education of First Nations languages as first/second languages.

2) Strategic Bundle 2 – Support and Implementation

The project team leaders are in charge of building “supporting structures” from community leaders, community members, school boards, and parents in developing program and curriculum. They offer technical assistance or teaching assistants for classroom teachers, and introduce First Nations languages into science, social studies and so on. In order to promote the smooth and successful development of the project, channels for communication and cooperation with community leaders, school committees and administrators must be wide open. They would also advocate regular meetings, over the long term, for schoolteachers, curriculum designers, and council elders.

3) Strategic Bundle 3 – Professional Development

Curriculum creation and development for both instructional and immersion programs needs to be accomplished by professional specialists. Team leaders have to identify the language environment in the community, and to invite skilled language carriers who are willing to participate in the project to share their valuable cultural knowledge and language ability. In order to achieve these goals it is necessary to develop this project into professional courses empowering students’ grandparents and parents to pass on First Nations languages and cultures, and encouraging more trained teachers and cultural knowledgeable community members to join the project are key factors in achieving these goals.

¹¹⁰ The team leaders of each strategic bundle are from different professional background and project partners (*Lac La Ronge* Indian Band, *Onion Lake* First Nation, *Peter Ballantyne* Cree Nation, *Prince Albert* Grand Council, *Saskatchewan Learning*, *Northern Lights School Division 113*, *Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre*, *Meadow Lake Tribal Council*, *Northwest Education Authority*, *Saskatoon Public School*, *Indian Teacher Education Program*, *Indian and Northern Affairs Canada*, *Thunderchild* Cree Nation)

¹¹¹ Include project partners, teachers, elders, community members, and students.

4) Strategic Bundle 4 – Clearing House and Production Development

Due to the fact that many schools do not have sufficient teaching facilities, and needs for computer-printed teaching materials and resources, books, posters, and curriculum guides have not been met, team leaders need to thoroughly investigate each school's facilities and resources. They should draft "business plans" to raise funds, satisfy instructors' teaching needs, and boost teaching quality.

5) Strategic Bundle 5 – Multimedia Resources

In order to achieve First Nations language revitalization, keeping "First Nations languages vibrant and alive"¹¹² is a required concept for this project. To set up a network which is included media coordinator, translators, interpreters, storytellers, community members who excel in cultural knowledge and computer technicians to create audio/visual resources to offer teachers media teaching materials; students can have additional learning approach to acquire First nations languages and culture.

2.2.3. Overview

After the completion of the first phase, a five-year project (2003 – 2007), the results were integrated into the foundation for the following five-year project (2008 – 2013):

- 1) Management: a special supervisor would be needed to plan and execute the feasibility of the project, or to be responsible for assuring the formulation of the budget and the project.
- 2) First Nations elders' support for reserve education and their efforts in promoting traditional cultural knowledge, wisdom, and languages, has had significant contributions to school education and curriculum development.
- 3) Designated work for professionals and special supervisors, for instance, budget arrangement, supervision of curriculum planning and planning of meetings are the site coordinators' responsibilities. Curriculum design is the responsibility of curriculum developers (with frequent meetings with elders). Language consultants, besides providing technical support on language curriculum development, must also introduce the importance of First Nations language learning for First Nations students to schools, and then encourage schools to develop and create First Nations language courses.
- 4) Teaching resources production: resource developer technicians and illustrators design and create publications for use in school education. Web developers/designers and audio/visual technicians establish websites, developing considerable electronic teaching resources. Teaching DVDs are also very effective.

The foundation of this project has been built for the past five years, I do not dare categorically assert the degree of its functionality, due to a lack of supporting statistical data. Perhaps by analyzing the following points we can express some generalizing opinions, however. To start from the inception of the project, it is necessary to find a way to foster a spirit of partnership toward a common goal, by providing a network of mutual

¹¹² Saskatchewan Indigenous Languages Immersion & Instructional Curriculum Programming *Strategic 'Bundle' Partnership Opportunities with Gift of Language & Culture Project for 2008 – 2013*, P.23.

support and encouragement among partners from different social groups (institution, school, community, and family) with regard to (marginalized) indigenous language education. In this way we can prevent the lack of collaboration and assistance that would lead to the failure of the project. Aside from this, task allocation and cooperation is, in my view, a very constructive action with respect to language education and revitalization. I believe the different professionals' compilation and preparation of cultural knowledge for language education, fundraising for teaching software and hardware facilities, the establishment of project supervision and support systems, and the use of the "business management model" can greatly reduce the risk of failure of indigenous language education. Moreover, the solid support and conviction of project participants toward developing indigenous language education is, as we can see from the course of execution of this project, one of the chief causes of developing it into a second five-year project. At the same time, the reason that bilingual and immersion education methods have been embraced in the primary education framework is that different schools have different choices regarding factors such as time, place and human resources. No matter what, the advantages and functions that these two teaching models can bring, under current circumstances, are chief points of contention among many experts. Lastly, the most important link is university participation: education is an important social issue, and universities can provide professional academic-level knowledge, as well as techniques for training language teachers and designing curricula. With respect to university education itself, the system hopes to provide the opportunity for the overall university network; non-indigenous professors, educators, researchers, and students can be exposed to and understand indigenous education.

Conclusion

I have tried to demonstrate the successful indigenous educational cases in this chapter (The case studies in *Maori* bilingual and immersion educations, and trilingual education in *Fryslan* give us more input of different educational philosophy from different perspectives; and the case of indigenous language education in Saskatchewan, Canada definitely have led us into having more constructive idea of developing "indigenous education and heritage revitalization".), as well as to explore the crucial references for developing indigenous education. I have also tried to make clear that the contributions of indigenous peoples' (bottom-up action), due to their cultural knowledge, have made people around the world more aware about the importance of diverse cultural knowledge to the human rights in the world.

Chapter VI: Rethinking and Examining the Realities

The discourse on damage to indigenous cultural heritage by colonization has no room for criticism. Recently, there has been increasing concern about related issues from international organizations, and many conferences have been held for the discussion of the injustices, insufficient education, and discrimination that has been forced on indigenous peoples for centuries. However, when is the deadline for changing such “tragedies” into something more positive?

Through visiting indigenous communities worldwide and comparing them with dominant cultures, people can begin to understand the realities of indigenous peoples’ unique ways of life and the poverty problems that exist within most indigenous families. What are not so widely understood, however, are the main causes of the obvious contrast between cultures. Unfair rhetoric conceived by irresponsible thinking within the dominant cultures of the world has influenced both non-indigenous and indigenous peoples, and has no doubt provoked more challenges for indigenous educational development and cultural heritage revitalization.

The chief arguments of this chapter are based upon my own field work experiences in New Zealand, Taiwan, Canada, Mexico, and the Netherlands.

Section 1: Self-esteem and Cultural Identity

How deep is the connection between self-esteem and cultural identity? According to J.W. Berry (1999), when indigenous people see themselves as indigenous people (symbolic identity), most of them would think that being part of an indigenous people is an important thing (symbolic identity). If these groups of people like being an indigenous people, want to remain an indigenous people, and express their indigenous identity in their daily behavior (behavioral identity), then they have a positive cultural identity:

[Indigenous] cultural identity is viewed here as an internal (symbolic) state (made up of cognitive, affective and motivational components) and external (behavioural) expression of being an Aboriginal person (individual emphasis), and a member of an Aboriginal community (social emphasis). (Berry 1999:6)

From this theory, we can infer that once indigenous people possess sufficient symbolic cultural identity, there is a greater opportunity for behavioral cultural identity to become manifest. Thus, those with sufficient self-esteem have a more positive cultural identity; those with positive cultural identity likewise are able to have greater self-esteem. The discussion below focuses on my field surveys, during which I personally observed and learned about the influence of issues of indigenous self-esteem and cultural identity on actual indigenous life and its future development.

1.0. Prejudice and Discrimination

Contemporary indigenous peoples around the world have suffered from difficult challenges of fighting for equality and justice on issues of both institutional discrimination and personal prejudice coming from the local dominant society. These prejudices are a result of historical or continued colonization. The fundamental thinking and attitude underlying the action of discrimination have forced indigenous peoples to contend with poverty, a lack of self-esteem, and all kinds of unfair treatment within governmental mechanisms.

The UN Declaration on Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007, Article 8-2-(e), states:

States shall provide effective mechanisms for prevention of, and redress for....any form of propaganda designed to promote or incite racial or ethnic discrimination directed against them.

Article 15-2 goes on to say that:

States shall take effective measures, in consultation and cooperation with the indigenous peoples concerned, to combat prejudice and eliminate discrimination and to promote tolerance, understanding and good relations among indigenous peoples and all other segments of society.

Article 17-3 continues:

Indigenous individuals have the right not to be subjected to any discriminatory conditions of labour and, *inter alia*, employment or salary.

And Article 22-2 adds:

States shall take measures, in conjunction with indigenous peoples, to ensure that indigenous women and children enjoy the full protection and guarantees against all forms of violence and discrimination.

The declaration accommodates indigenous peoples in terms of justice, but the reality among most indigenous communities is one of discrimination and prejudice. During my time in Oaxaca, Mexico, I was not surprised to see indigenous children selling cultural souvenirs on the streets, since I had experienced similar circumstances in China. The difference between these two cases is that the indigenous children in Oaxaca wear their indigenous traditional clothes while they are working. I had thought that this was a way to show the value and their appreciation of their cultural identity, but was informed by a researcher¹¹³ that the children knew that dressing in traditional clothes would help them gain sympathy from tourists and benefit their businesses. We come now to the point at which it is necessary to deal more carefully with people's motives and thoughts regarding the use of sympathy.

One possibility is to assume that tourists do not develop the desire to buy goods because of sympathy for indigenous children, but because of their fondness for indigenous culture, or appreciation for the indigenous children's values and pride for their cultural identity.

¹¹³ Who is an anthropologist and work in CMPIO (*Coalicion de Maestros y Promotores Indigenas de Oaxaca* – Coalition of Teachers and Indigenous Promoters of Oaxaca)

Another possibility is that the reason these indigenous children are so successful in their selling is that tourists can easily distinguish them by the traditional clothing, confirming the children's ethnic identity, thereby gaining greater sympathy from the tourists, which in turn boosts sales. But what is the reason for the tourists' sympathy? Why do the indigenous children believe that letting tourists know they are indigenous people will bring them sympathy? How do indigenous children feel about receiving sympathy from tourists? We assume that tourists' empathy may stem from their deeply rooted perception that serious poverty exists within the indigenous community. As to whether there is prejudice or discrimination toward the indigenous children, I have no way of knowing. But from another perspective, these indigenous children have indeed lost the innocence that a child arguably should have: with a lack of objective, mature or rational thinking, they unconsciously fall into the cruel games of the adult world. Consider what kind of circumstances would lead children to use sympathy as a tool for material gain. Indisputably, in such cases, if indigenous people do not feel discrimination from tourists of the dominant culture, then their cultural identity would not be taken up as a tool to increase and win sympathy from tourists. However, this phenomenon may facilitate further discrimination against indigenous people by the dominant peoples. As Thurow (1969:111) explains:

Discrimination is important not only because it produces low income: it also diminishes the effectiveness of many of the instruments used in fighting poverty.

There are now many international organizations, scholars and groups concerned with indigenous land rights, autonomy, education, anti-discrimination, and issues of poverty and health who try to seek means of resolving these problems. However, if indigenous peoples are unable to escape a servile way of thinking perpetuated by long-time colonization, then it will be difficult to change the long-extant problems of prejudice and discrimination toward indigenous peoples that are deeply rooted in the minds of most dominant groups.

I believe I must acknowledge here that my "Taiwanese" identity caused me to stumble at the beginning of my elementary school education. I envied my classmates of higher socioeconomic status who could speak Mandarin Chinese fluently, and felt excluded by peers and teachers due to my inability to speak fluently the national language. And yet despite undergoing this dominant education, The values I developed were narrowed to a degree which was full of discrimination and prejudice toward non-mainstream perspective. During my time on the reserve in Canada, I saw indigenous students acting sluggishly and uninspired in the classroom. I saw them with cell phones or video games in their hands during lessons or walking out of the classroom at will to find food in the kitchen, only to loiter in the kitchen and not return to class, and were not very keen on taking part in cultural events¹¹⁴. When confronted with this, I felt impatience, anxiety, and great bewilderment. Immediately I forgot my status as an outsider, forgot tolerance and encouragement, and stubbornly clung to this anger and disappointment. Next, I went

¹¹⁴ I was participating in the Treaty 4 celebration in Saskatchewan in Sep. 2010.

to the nearby city and took part in the ‘Round Dance’¹¹⁵, a routine cultural event of off-reserve indigenous people. I saw the urban indigenous youth wearing the fashions of the day, eagerly and happily joining in the activities. Seeing these seeds of hope in cultural heritage revitalization, questions started brewing in my mind: Why do the indigenous youth on the reserve lack motivation for living, cultural events, and schooling? Afterwards I contacted a senior researcher, a *Metis* woman focusing on studies in the area of Aboriginal cultural research. I told her about the questions I had, but she nonchalantly replied that the students on the reserve were probably tired, and perhaps unmotivated in this case due to the excess of First Nation cultural celebrations during the summer. The senior researcher suggested that if I were to participate in all the activities, as the students had to, perhaps I would understand their seeming lack of motivation. It became clear to me that, despite constantly reminding myself that I could under no circumstances use my outsider point of view to judge anything, in this case I had forgotten my identity.

I believe that in addition to a lack of means for indigenous peoples to handle outsiders’ prejudice and discrimination, my blind spots – inadequate cultural knowledge and unconsciously trying to understand the situation from my cultural perspective – are important reasons why such cultural discrimination and prejudice persist in dominant societies.

1.1. Inadequate Educational System

There are plenty of cases in which the educational models provided by dominant educational systems are unable to meet the needs of indigenous students. The school curricula tend to marginalize the knowledge, language, culture, and world view of the indigenous peoples. In most cases, there is a serious disparity between such students’ daily life experiences and the schooling environment and curricula, thus gravely undermining indigenous identity. In the case of Taiwan, the Ministry of Education has a special department in charge of developing indigenous education. There are regulations governing how this is carried out at different stages of schooling.¹¹⁶ There are also so-called indigenous primary and secondary schools, but these schools at best merely bear the title of “indigenous school,” while their mode of operation and educational principles still fully conform to the rules of dominant educational policy. Governments still do not provide any specialized policy allowing indigenous schools to develop curricula geared toward the specific needs of indigenous people.

Even when examining different real-life cases and their courses of development, one still find similar outcomes. For example, the educational system in Mexico is very different from in Taiwan. In Oaxaca, for instance, the educational models implemented from primary through secondary schooling differ according to region, financial support, and

¹¹⁵ “Traditional Cree spirituality strongly reinforces the principle of a circle of life...Round Dance illustrate the Cree philosophy of death and its relationship between them and Spirits.” (Linda Jaine and Louise Halfe 1989:11)

¹¹⁶ Taiwan’s definition of an indigenous school is a school in which over two-thirds of the students in the school are indigenous students.

whether assistance is received from government institutions¹¹⁷, non-governmental organizations¹¹⁸ or international organizations¹¹⁹. From actual cases¹²⁰ I observed whilst in Oaxaca, I saw that currently UNICEF is carrying out work there to develop indigenous language teaching materials, and researchers are responsible for explaining and demonstrating the use of such materials to certain indigenous elementary schools. At present, the Mexican government has no development program for an indigenous elementary education that is significantly different from the curricula of the dominant culture. Visits to several elementary schools in Oaxaca confirmed that Spanish is the only language that could be heard or learned at school, and students had little opportunity to gain indigenous cultural knowledge.

The *centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, Region Sureste* (Center of Investigations and Superior Studies in Social Anthropology, Southeastern Region- CIESAS) and the *Coalición de maestros y Promotores Indígenas de Oaxaca* (Coalition of Teachers and Indigenous Promoters of Oaxaca- CMPIO) are research institutes emphasizing the development of, respectively, indigenous secondary school and high school curricula. Despite their devotion toward implementing indigenous education (with special emphasis on indigenous language revitalization), the two institutes do not coordinate their projects, meaning that students are unable to learn in progressing stages. This is a waste of learning resources.¹²¹ Another example of bilingual teacher training is the *Escuela Normal Bilingüe e Intercultural de Oaxaca* (Bilingual and Intercultural Normal School of Oaxaca), a university¹²² for training bilingual elementary school teachers. It is not easy to gain admission to this school because in addition to being indigenous, applicants must be able to use their own indigenous language fluently, and after graduation must return to their community to teach. I learned from a university professor who had done this that the university's objective is to train indigenous bilingual elementary school teachers and provide students with the guarantee of finding teaching work after graduation. Unfortunately, in practice, due to limited teaching vacancies, approximately 90% of graduates end up teaching in a language community different from their mother tongue, and some are relegated to becoming kitchen helpers. More difficult to fathom is that, despite the fact that many students are unable to find teaching positions after graduating from outstanding bilingual teacher training programs, most schools are filled with unqualified teachers, the majority of whom have only primary or secondary school diplomas. Of course, indigenous education

¹¹⁷For example, the State Institution of Public Education in Oaxaca

¹¹⁸ For example, the *Coalición de maestros y Promotores Indígenas de Oaxaca* (Coalition of Teachers and Indigenous Promoters of Oaxaca- CMPIO) and the *centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, Region Sureste* (Center of Investigations and Superior Studies in Social Anthropology, Southeastern Region- CIESAS).

¹¹⁹ For example, UNICEF offers support for developing indigenous language learning material in elementary education.

¹²⁰ It is interesting to note that there have been many efforts to reform indigenous education in Oaxaca by various supporters through different directions and methods. Because of this, there is no systematic and united approach on this issue.

¹²¹ If teaching and learning materials only can be introduced to school education in a short term, even do not have enough time to evaluate the function, then the efforts of knowledge from scholars, time, and funding would contribute nothing.

¹²² *Tlacoachahuaya – Universidad Bicultural*

in Oaxaca is merely an example which cannot be extrapolated worldwide, but it cannot be denied that, without going into the substance of indigenous education, the sources and quality of indigenous school instructors are indeed matters of concern. Taiwan currently has no school or institution specially aimed at training indigenous teachers; sources of instructors for indigenous schools are the same as for standard instruction around the country. What is different in Taiwan is that, because most indigenous schools are in remote areas, instructor turnaround and substitute teacher rates tend to be high, and most teachers devoted to and passionate about education choose to teach in urban areas. Schools are unable to effectively develop curricula, and their teachers cannot be counted on to make much effort in indigenous education.

Notwithstanding the major difference in actual education, it is undeniable that at present, whether in Mexico, Taiwan, or most other countries, the development of indigenous education is stuck in an immature state. When indigenous students do not have their educational needs met or feel safe and confident to study in a non-indigenous environment, and become marginalized and unable to use their indigenous language due to the inculcation of dominant culture knowledge, they gain an incorrect understanding of their own culture and may experience discrimination. Thus, an inadequate educational system not only deals a serious blow to the self-esteem of indigenous students, at the same time the lack of confidence in indigenous students' ethnic identity may cause their cultural identity to gradually become indistinct.

In the example of indigenous school education in Saskatchewan, Canada, under the treaties¹²³, indigenous peoples are allowed to develop their own education. But in the effort to help students achieve a high standard of educational quality in Canada, most schools place emphasis on mainstream educational content in their curriculum design and arrangement. Furthermore, whether on or off reserves, there is a strong correlation between the quality and quantity of the indigenous cultural heritage or language education that indigenous students can receive, and the school leadership. According to my observations, even at a reserve school¹²⁴ with a reputation for promoting indigenous cultural knowledge or language learning, there were only two lessons a week for indigenous language courses, and these were for all ages. There was a lack of mechanisms for interscholastic cooperation in the development of curricula and in addition there were the constraints of national education standards. Indigenous language lessons are scheduled for periods that are "unimportant" or "less conducive to learning" (after lunch or in the late afternoon). In language classrooms, one can observe earnest language teachers teaching students who are unmotivated to learn or who "lazily" accept direction, mouthing vocabulary words. This situation in Canada is not unlike that of Taiwan's mother tongue education.

¹²³ "The First Nations of Saskatchewan are parties to treaties entered into from 1871 to 1907 in which provisions include various education rights ... These several clauses are responsive to a single desire of the Indian signatories to secure sufficient education for their children to be able to adapt, in an appropriate way, to the influx of European settlers. (Delia Opekokew and Alan Pratt 1992:3)

¹²⁴ The situation at this school was not involved in the case study of Saskatchewan in Chapter 5.

1.2. Indigenous Language, National Language, and Global Language

The reason I particularly stress the importance of learning indigenous languages in school is not simply that language is important cultural heritage to the language speakers, but also that it is an important tool for solidifying the cultural identity of the language speakers. In multilingual countries, mandating the use of a national language is a governing strategy used by colonial powers to strengthen their citizens' national identity. And with the rise of globalization, in addition to the necessity of national language schooling, learning English, the *de facto* global language, has become an unavoidable development in education. Under fair and reasonable conditions, the revitalization and strengthening of indigenous languages and indigenous cultural identity is therefore often overlooked, or carried out by crude means.

The identity of an individual can exist in various forms. It can change according to different times, spaces and positions. For example, national identity may be forced to change due to a change in dominant power. However, cultural identity is imprinted at birth; it cannot be completely replaced through any form of contact or communication with other cultures. However, the influence of the aforementioned circumstances¹²⁵ can cause a sense of estrangement or distance from one's cultural identity. Indistinct cultural identity can be likened to a person losing his memory and becoming unable to find his place within the people to whom he belongs. Stressing the importance of learning indigenous languages does not contradict the necessity or utility of learning the national and global language. We cannot ignore the fact that language plays a decisive role in solidifying, strengthening and concentrating the cultural identity of the speakers of that language. Theoretically and academically speaking, there are often different views regarding the influence of indigenous, national and global language on a country's development. From educational policy on language learning, one can see the unequal levels of value that a country's government gives to languages existing within its borders. The most frequently seen circumstance is the national language being the sole mode of instruction, and when English is taught as a subject, the time allotted per week is not much less than for classes devoted to teaching the national language. Moreover, in many cases, such English instruction begins at elementary school¹²⁶. As for languages categorized as "useless languages"¹²⁷ or indigenous languages, they are not totally ignored. However, courses are halfheartedly inserted into the school's formal curriculum. In order to adapt to global developments, the sharing and exchange of experiences in education development models among different countries has become commonplace, yet the educational needs of indigenous students remain on the sidelines. Indigenous languages lacking "usability"¹²⁸ are easily excluded from curricula for various legitimate reasons. Despite the fact that reams of research and theory support the idea that the majority of indigenous students fail to learn due to a lack of self-esteem, and that there is

¹²⁵ This includes Colonial/Dominant education, modernization, globalization etc.

¹²⁶ Taiwan's English education starts in first grade, with at least two classes a week.

¹²⁷ When an (indigenous) language is not used in public areas, markets, official settings (schools, courts, governmental systems etc.), then it will be categorized as "useless" by dominant language's speakers.

¹²⁸ Since indigenous languages are not valued by colonial/dominant government/people.

a need for help in gaining knowledge of indigenous languages, dominant education remains the only choice for most indigenous students¹²⁹.

The chief starting point for indigenous language revitalization is in rescuing endangered indigenous languages, and in strengthening indigenous youths' cultural identity. When indigenous students on reserves are engrossed in text messaging with their friends and follow pop stars and music of the mainstream entertainment world, we should not be quick to blame them for not appreciating their own traditional cultures. There is no urgency to find a way to stop them from using high tech communication; they will ultimately integrate into national society and the globalized world. The aforementioned First Nations youths in Saskatoon who wore popular fashions but who were eager to take part in the cultural activities felt unfazed by singing traditional songs in their own languages or joining together to form music bands. They put a lot of effort into the event, as more seasoned singers patiently trained them in enunciation. This represents some seeds of hope for the revitalization of indigenous cultural heritage and language in indigenous communities. However, how can schooling help these seeds of hope germinate healthily?

Within a multilingual country, language diversity enriches the country's cultural substance, and gaining knowledge and strengthening national identity should not be the only function that schooling provides. Education should also aim to help students of different ethnic backgrounds gain greater self-esteem. That is, a school's curriculum design should strive to provide a balance in the opportunity to learn the cultures and languages of both the dominant and indigenous peoples, and provide the chance to study the global language simultaneously. Therefore, non-indigenous and indigenous students can, through schooling, recognize and study both languages and cultures. This would not only gradually eliminate cultural prejudice and discrimination problems, but also provide a means to build both national and indigenous identity in students, while exposing them to a greater global context.

¹²⁹ Of course, a small number of fortunate indigenous students are able to choose their education. For example, Maori students in New Zealand and Frisian students in the Netherlands can choose whether or not to attend bilingual or trilingual schools.

Section 2: Marginalization and Poverty

Marginalization and poverty have, in modern times, become synonymous with the situations of most indigenous peoples. Past dominant groups used many methods in their colonial territories to secure “legal” ways of utilizing resources. Indigenous peoples found themselves under forced political control, and lost their rights within the governmental frameworks. After a long time of being “managed,” indigenous peoples developed inflexible modes of thinking. The two-pronged negative pressure of weak political power on their part and widespread poverty has generated many hard-to-solve problems.

2.0. The Relationship between Indigenous Peoples and Dominant Government

The relationship between indigenous peoples and dominant government is, at its root, established on a political basis. Unique indigenous language, cultural heritage knowledge, and way of life had no value for past colonial regimes. It was believed that indigenous peoples should accept the education of the civilized world and attempts were made to rid them of their “savage” and primitive traditional cultures. Indigenous peoples’ land was seized by the colonizers and was placed under new planning and management, while indigenous children underwent colonial education and were made to learn the colonial language. An unequal relationship was therefore begun; disempowerment, poverty, and unemployment hindered the indigenous peoples’ future development.

Following the course of colonial history to this day, dominant governments have actively built national identities within their territories. Disregarding the perspective of indigenous ethnic identity, we can clearly see that indigenous peoples’ political position is very low. In reality, indigenous peoples lack real decision-making rights regarding their future development; they remain at the margins of dominant society. In some countries, indigenous people signed treaties with the dominant government, forging a special partnership. For example, in 1840, *Maori* chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi¹³⁰ with the British. Under the terms of the treaty, such as recognizing *Maori* ownership of their lands and other properties, the wording regarding the *Maori* people was only applicable under the framework of a “country”, and the *Maori* were under the control of the dominant government’s overall policy. Generally speaking, the relationship between indigenous authority and dominant governance is not parallel. Indigenous peoples’ future development is fully determined by the political decisions of the dominant government. As indigenous peoples pursue self-determination, language and cultural heritage revitalization, education reform and a return to traditional ways, there may be tension and conflict between the two political entities. The struggle between top-down policy and bottom-up activism can explain the relationship between the two sides.

Systematic inequality, disempowerment, discrimination and dispossession did not vanish in the post-colonial era. The “problem” of indigenous peoples under the dominant government remains an unsolved, lingering political issue. From the perspective of a national system, indigenous peoples’ efforts to deal with their “problems” constitute a

¹³⁰ The Treaty of Waitangi <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/files/documents/treaty-kawharau-footnotes.pdf>

negotiation for the recognition of a privileged position. However, for indigenous peoples, it has more to do with the pursuit of equal rights in economic issues, education, cultural practice, way of life and future development.

However, misunderstanding and prejudice within dominant society hinders the development of methods to deal with such issues. There seems to be a lack of means by which the dominant government can restore equality and trust. In Canada, most indigenous peoples have signed treaties with the Canadian government¹³¹. There have been many misunderstandings about these treaties, but their existence has an important meaning in terms of rights of culture, education, ways of life, land, self-government and other issues. The significance of their existence, to the treaty signatories and the Canadian government, is a basis for mutual trust and respect. Yet, the Canadian government has broken this mechanism through the drafting of certain policies. In the issue of education, the most recent dispute and miscarriage of justice is the Canadian government's decision to cancel subsidies for indigenous post-secondary education. This action has dealt a serious blow to indigenous students' hopes for continued studies. Imagine a family whose income is far below the amount that can support a child's tuition and living expenses in a university in the city: what kind of opportunity will the children of impoverished families have to advance their educational levels? If the dominant government can simply break its agreements with indigenous peoples at any time, how can it be possible to build a just and harmonious society?

In Taiwan, the relationship between the national government and indigenous peoples is existed in an unequal state. While there is a Council of Indigenous Peoples among the government's central agencies, in charge of indigenous affairs, many city and county governments also have an Indigenous Peoples Commission. Given their restricted jurisdictions and limited political power, the policy implementations of such public authorities need to be carried out according to legal regulations. However, when indigenous peoples do not have the authority to take part in decision-making, and when their needs and rights are not understood or valued by the dominant government, indigenous language and cultural heritage revitalization is difficult to carry out.

2.1. Inadequate Education and Labor-Class Jobs

An unsound and unsuitable indigenous educational system is naturally unable to provide suitable indigenous education. Differences in life experience, cultural background and living environment between indigenous peoples and the dominant people result in academic underachievement among indigenous students. Most contemporary indigenous youth are not able to speak their indigenous languages. Due to the inseparable relationship between language and culture, compounded by schooling that disregards indigenous cultural knowledge and even distorts its value, many indigenous students perceive that, in the school setting, their native culture is not recognized by the outside world. Add to this a lack of any channel of communication between the indigenous and dominant cultures, and self-esteem and cultural identity gradually become weaker and vaguer, obstructing any motivation to learn. The question of "What are indigenous

¹³¹ The British Empire is the predecessor.

educational needs?” must be recalled here. If schooling cannot meet indigenous educational needs, then the root problems will continue to exist, wasting many valuable education resources¹³².

Indigenous students’ academic achievements are linked to their future opportunities and success in work. Colonial history has shown that the negative effects of past colonizers’ assimilation or integration policies for indigenous peoples have obstructed and devastated indigenous cultures and ways of life. Under the unavoidable circumstances of contact with the dominant people, being forced to participate in dominant economic activities has resulted in a tragic fate for indigenous peoples. However, the goal of colonial educational development was not to help indigenous peoples gain adequate competitive skills, but to train them to become members of the labor force. In this sense, the education has been quite successful. Because the majority of indigenous students were unable to enter into higher education¹³³, they opted to give up their studies and entered the job market early. Lacking expertise and technical experience, they found the labor market to be the only viable path to follow. Under unfair competitive mechanisms in the job market, future generations of indigenous people may continue to be mired in this cycle. As mentioned above, indigenous children selling souvenirs in Oaxaca have obviously not benefited from proper care by the education system. According to several reports, not all of these children come from impoverished households, but in their current conditions these children come to believe early on that even if they study for an advanced degree in, say, engineering, they may end up driving taxis anyway. Thus the choice of selling souvenirs instead comes to these indigenous peoples in their young age. Therefore, the issues of underachievement and unwillingness to study among indigenous students are a factor in perpetuating a poor economic environment for the society as a whole.

A poor economic environment can easily be blamed on poor education on the part of the dominant educational system; an indigenous student may well simply accept the “predestination” of becoming a member of the working class. Thus indigenous peoples can easily find themselves, generation after generations, relegated to the working class. Indigenous peoples should not have to bear the burden of economic hardship: dominant governments have the responsibility of building a fair mechanism for competition. Human rights do not belong only to the dominant people. Indigenous rights must stress that it is because of colonial history that indigenous people have an inferior status in the context of economy, education, culture, politics, and human rights, leading to their being easily neglected and undervalued. Indeed, many indigenous people have no conception of their basic human rights. I am afraid that if one do not find a way to solve the root problem – indigenous education – then the challenges before us will worsen.

¹³² For example, in Taiwan, the attention from the government and NGOs regarding indigenous schools has resulted in school construction and donations of books and learning tools. There is, however, little aid in terms of meeting indigenous educational needs, language educational planning, or ideas for cultural heritage revitalization.

¹³³ The reasons have already mentioned in the previous chapters.

2.2. Lack of “Correct” Consciousness to Avoid Discrimination from Outsiders

Although most of schooling has not explicitly educated students to discriminate against indigenous peoples, and has not taught indigenous students that their cultures or languages are primitive, or directly told them that indigenous identity is something to be ashamed of, the fact remains that indigenous cultures and languages have an extremely marginalized status within textbooks and curricula. This indirectly transmits negative ideas into the minds of indigenous and non-indigenous students alike. The formation of discrimination begins when members of the “superior” culture misunderstand the “inferior” culture, creating prejudice. However, culture is not divided into “good” or “bad,” and should not be compared in such terms. Different cultures coexist in the same regions, and through appreciation and sharing the lives of all diverse cultural peoples can be enriched.¹³⁴ Sadly, indigenous cultural heritage is often relegated to being described as “savage”, in order to facilitate the colonizer’s governance goals, and cultural assimilation is carried out through colonial education. In this process, indigenous peoples play a passive, cooperative role, but lacking critical awareness, they gradually become accustomed to this passive mode of existence, accepting the negative assessment of the dominant people.

If we review colonial history, the reasons for cultural discrimination can be easily traced back to the dominant people’s arrogant class concepts and refusal to accept coexistence with diverse cultures. Today, in the post-colonial era, how much has the attitude of cultural discrimination changed among dominant peoples? How about the attitudes of indigenous peoples facing discrimination? Returning to the experiences discussed above, how much do the children selling souvenirs on the streets feel the discrimination of outsiders? When they think indigenous identity (traditional dressing) can garner them more sympathy from tourists, how do they transform the feelings of sympathy into a “positive energy” for keeping their future lives and “business” going?¹³⁵ Or do they, because of feeling too much discrimination from the outside world, become used to those unequal and unjust treatment from dominant outsiders, seeing it as a matter of course? But then, when indigenous peoples try to use this “improper power”¹³⁶ to further their economic activities and pass this idea on from one generation to the next, one can surmise that indigenous peoples will never be able to change outsiders’ discriminatory views.

In multicultural countries, a precise and official name for any specific people is of great importance, because a people’s name has a significance that transcends its nominal function: it symbolizes their unique culture ideas, their special world view, and their valuable traditional knowledge. The UN has provided a definition of the term

¹³⁴ The reality is that, even though we now live in a high tech world and can get diverse cultural knowledge easily, it does not mean that we understand how to share ours and learn from others’ culture in an equal and appreciative way.

¹³⁵ Indigenous children notice that tourists are “fascinated by what is different, tend to emphasize the exotic and traditional aspects of ‘the other’” (Perez Jimenez and Jansen 2006:191). This leads to an ‘internal colonialism’ mentality. One might agree that the stereotyped and unrealistic, romantic images created by tourists is dangerous to indigenous future development.

¹³⁶ It refers to the example of the reality in Oaxaca city in 1.0.

“indigenous”, in order to express respect for people’s right to self-identify. However, we still can see and hear “indigenous peoples” unwittingly using terms originating from the dominant people. For example, in Canada the term “indigenous” is not used; the Canadian government recognizes the term “Aboriginal” to encapsulate the First Nations, *Metis*, and Inuit. In the past, the First Nations were called “Indian”, yet the word “Indian” in this case includes negative connotations of cultural discrimination, and is ‘in form’ no longer accepted by the Aboriginal peoples in Canada. In reality, the majority of outsiders still refer to them as Indians, and the Aboriginal peoples themselves, when they introduce their history, origins and culture to outsiders, will often mix the word “Indian” into their explanations. Looking at the situation from their viewpoint, perhaps it is only meant to help outsiders know more precisely who they are talking about. However to outsiders, the repeated use of the term reaffirms that indigenous peoples of the United States and Canada are called Indians. From the past to the present, the word “Indian” has carried with it the barrier of discrimination and prejudice from outsiders. If indigenous peoples themselves do not find a way to refuse to use or avoid using the term, then outsiders will continue to regard them with a tainted view for who knows how many generations. At a school on a reserve, an indigenous youngster once casually asked my colleague, “Do you like Indians?” Whether or not the young boy received a satisfactory answer, what is important is because he used the term “Indian,” the outsider, a young researcher, immediately associated the young boy’s cultural identity with the word “Indian.” If this is the case with a researcher, then how can one expect outsiders with little knowledge or appreciation of diverse cultures not to do the same?

Using the power of education is the most directly effective method of influencing outsiders’ thinking. However, indigenous peoples should also take action and try to change their own responses to discrimination. It is not easy for long-suppressed people to change their rigid, passive modes of thinking, especially when they must simultaneously face discrimination from the dominant society. But indigenous peoples can perhaps try to rid themselves of the servility caused by colonization (a decolonizing action), and develop ways to share their unique cultural traits with outsiders. In the mid 20th century, Taiwan’s indigenous peoples were called “mountain people,” but now most of Taiwan’s population no longer use this pejorative and discriminatory term. This is because Taiwan’s indigenous peoples appealed to Taiwan’s government to reclaim their traditional names, and they themselves no longer use such pejorative terms to refer to themselves. When the dominant group learns to appreciate the splendor of different cultures and enjoy the richness that cultural diversity brings to their lives, cultural discrimination will gradually vanish. Certainly, this can be compared to indigenous peoples only being able to regain their dignity after long-time suppression through the approval of the dominant people. But when indigenous peoples have sufficient self-esteem, and develop their own ideas and programs for individual or collective future development, they will have the confidence to face the challenges of globalization, and the wrongs of history can have the chance to be remedied.

2.3. Are Marginalization and Poverty Synonymous with the Situation of Indigenous Peoples?

When people think of indigenous peoples, it is easy to associate them with poverty and marginalization. We can further decipher this in the following manner: the reason for their marginalization is that they are minorities. Thinking from this perspective, should minorities be the marginalized people and the majority be the powerful people? This kind of reasoning is not entirely correct. The population structure of Oaxaca means that, actually, indigenous peoples are the majority community. However, their living and economic conditions give outsiders the wrongful impression that they are the minority due to the feelings of marginalization they convey. How do indigenous peoples interpret their plight? When indigenous peoples are not a minority in their country, they can still have little power to revitalize their cultural heritage, and live with continued poverty.

Undeniably, many national governments and international organizations have expended a great deal of effort to remedy “indigenous problems.” In practice, in political issues, as previously mentioned, even if indigenous councils have a comparably high status within the administrative system of the national government, all “indigenous” policies fall under the scope of national policy. In educational issues, the national curriculum (dominant knowledge) and the global language (English) are important focuses for national educational development, and dabbling in intercultural knowledge, indigenous knowledge, and indigenous languages tends to be relegated to an extremely marginal and inferior status. Many real-life examples demonstrate that “indigenous (bilingual) education” is merely a name without any significant meaning. In a socioeconomic context, the average income of indigenous peoples is substantially lower than that of non-indigenous people. No matter what perspective we look at it from, it is difficult for indigenous peoples to rise above this marginalization and poverty.

As for the Oaxaca experience, in the town of *Teotitlan*, indigenous people depend on rug weaving for a living. Due to their high quality, people readily purchase rugs from this town, and thus the rug business has grown into a local industry for tourists. The sale of rugs has revitalized local economic development, and thus there are no poverty problems. Minus the problem of poverty, local indigenous people have extra liberty to think about language and cultural heritage revitalization and education issues. Of course, this does not mean that the indigenous schooling has developed well here; although most local indigenous people speak their own language – *Zapoteco* – and have established a venue for studying it, since Spanish is the only medium of school instruction and an English curriculum is being planned for elementary school education, there is cause for concern that after several years the frequency of use of *Zapoteco* may fall among the younger generation. Despite this, in *Teotitlan*, the lack of poverty has reduced the problem of marginalization.

Section 3: Education and Heritage Revitalization

Given that indigenous cultural heritage has long been subjected to different means of cultural assimilation and cultural genocide employed by the colonizers, to this day, many indigenous cultures are faced with the crisis of extinction. Awareness of the importance of indigenous cultural heritage to all aspects of the development of future generations of indigenous people will be beneficial to multicultural nations' governance and handling of complex relations within their borders, and will cater to the concept of globalization. Currently, many indigenous peoples, and even national governments, are implementing programs to revitalize indigenous cultural heritage. There are many means of indigenous cultural heritage revitalization, and these have met with varying degrees of success, but the function of education cannot be ignored. The meaning of cultural heritage revitalization and management in the minds of indigenous peoples is that their culture heritage must be preserved and interpreted, and that there should be opportunities to learn and participate in one's own cultural heritage activities. As for national/global citizens, the significance is that discrimination and inter-peoples conflicts can be gradually eliminated through the sharing of indigenous cultural heritage. This section attempts to discuss the true status of current formal and informal indigenous education, and its possible influence on the subjects of this field survey regarding heritage revitalization.

3.0. Lack of a Unified Plan for Developing Indigenous Education

What is indigenous education? Repeated observation suggests that indigenous education exists in name only, or else lacks coherence or continuity, with no well-thought-out plans. Indigenous education and cultural heritage revitalization are subjected to diverse governmental decisions, policies, and power. On the contrary, dominant education in all subjects, including dominant language classes, shows systematic and staged planning. In Taiwan, the reasons for the failure of indigenous education and indigenous language education are that the dominant government does not pay special attention to these issues. After several attempts, in 2001 schools finally began offering 40 minutes a week of languages studies. The same year, an indigenous language proficiency test was developed. Before and after the implementation of the dialects classes, there was not adequate instructor training or selection of teaching materials, and even now these problems continue to exist. Moreover, schools lack professional language instructors who are familiar with using teaching materials for these languages, and the proficiency test has become more of a punishment for indigenous students.¹³⁷ It became evident that school

¹³⁷ I have used this phraseology before. At first, the indigenous language proficiency test was proposed and implemented because some Taiwan scholars believed that most indigenous students could not speak their own language, that they had lost their indigenous culture and identity, and that their lifestyles were becoming more like those of non-indigenous people. Therefore, it was argued, there was no need to provide indigenous students with bonus points on academic advancement exams. Based on this notion, the language proficiency test was proposed in order to give the bonus points policy more credence in the eyes of scholars with different viewpoints. That is to say, if indigenous students can attain 60 out of 200 points on the indigenous language test, they will have a certain level of credence that can be accepted by non-indigenous peoples. This is the notion that indigenous students have more difficulty in schooling due to cultural and language differences, making it harder for them to achieve higher scores on academic advancement exams, and thus they can enjoy the advantage of bonus points on national exams.

language education was not providing indigenous students with effective help in learning their languages. In practice, many indigenous language teachers had limited time to teach, as they spent a great deal of time taking down names and keeping order because they had had no formal teaching instruction. Although students needed just 60 points (equivalent to memorizing 100 words) to pass the proficiency test, most indigenous students used their free time to attend speed-learning tutorials. The content of the languages classes were not well connected to the material on the proficiency test; that is, it was no help in indigenous language revitalization. If 60 points were enough to define the indigenous students' cultural identity, then what did this say about their awareness of and sense of belonging to their indigenous communities?

Let us look once again at Oaxaca. Regarding indigenous language revitalization via schooling, there is no indigenous or bilingual education in elementary schools, and only a few middle and high schools offer indigenous bilingual education. These limited examples, from the perspective of an outsider, offer little ground for evaluating efforts in language revitalization, but perhaps we can find an acceptable point of view from past experience. Firstly, considering the ideal time in which to learn languages, the indigenous children in Oaxaca had already passed the prime period for learning a second language¹³⁸. Secondly, language is an important element of its speakers' specific cultural heritage. It is better to be proactive, but if the courses lack coherence, then the effectiveness of indigenous language revitalization will be compromised, thereby wasting resources. Furthermore, efforts taken by different research institutions regarding indigenous bilingual education have indeed rekindled hope for indigenous language and cultural heritage revitalization. However, despite different short-term bilingual education projects among a small number of "lucky" indigenous middle and high schools, progress in these efforts has been minimal and there is still much to do.

Similar circumstances are common in other indigenous communities around the world. Since 1972 the First Nations in Canada strove to take "Indian control of Indian education" in the reserves. Indeed, after the Federal Government accepted the document (National Indian Brotherhood/Assembly of First Nations 1973) as policy, schools in reserves have been given more opportunities to develop indigenous education. In the reserve schools that lead school administration and curriculum planning, the development of school education is fully dependent on the principal's flexibility and ideas of education. Even if the principal is inclined to develop curricula in indigenous cultural heritage and language, some schools suffer from a lack of sufficient teaching resources and support or sustainable curriculum development. In addition, when school principals retire or are transferred to other schools, new principals will not necessarily continue implementing the educational philosophies of previous principals. If indigenous education is not developed, either through committees or as a solitary effort, its final result will be its extinction.

¹³⁸ After the Spanish colonial power was overthrown by the Mexicans, Spanish has remained to this day the national language, and without exception Spanish has become the language of school instruction. Moreover, the communicative language of many indigenous families has shifted to Spanish, so indigenous languages are often their speakers' second language.

3.1. Language Diversity

In multicultural countries, language diversity enriches the cultural circumstances of that country. However, acculturation can unconsciously occur during the process of contact between different ethnicities. When the colonial authority uses various means to reach the goal of cultural assimilation, then the disadvantaged indigenous culture is gradually replaced by the dominant culture. Similarly, under the promotion of colonial/dominant education and the consideration of the usability of the dominant or global language, indigenous peoples' languages gradually fall into disuse and become moribund. Thankfully, more and more indigenous peoples, governments, international organizations, and NGOs are concerned about the revitalization of endangered languages. However, it is troubling to note that most effort is spent on international conferences, discussing old topics, and thus many indigenous education reform programs are still in a "wait and see" stage.

Language diversity does not refer just to the languages, it also includes sociocultural diversity and distribution of political power among different peoples. This diversity reflects substantial underlying differences in the understanding of different cultures. What do students learn in their schooling? Are they aware of the multiethnic, multicultural and multilingual society they belong to? Does schooling help students construct a positive attitude towards culture and language diversity in this global world context? Indubitably, developing bilingual and intercultural education in a multilingual classroom or school is a great challenge, as is training bilingual and intercultural teachers. However, if we do not find a way to tackle these challenges, they could become barriers to schools in developing indigenous or bilingual (intercultural) education.

Language heritage revitalization not only requires emotion derived from the language speakers' understanding of the intangible power in terms of self-esteem, cultural identity etc., that language has, but it also requires concrete, systematic, and institutional contributions. With regard to indigenous language revitalization, the most effective method is through schooling. First, national governments must set language policy and development plans, and then set the conditions for a complete program to carry out comprehensive reinforcement work (bilingual language teachers, learning materials, and curriculum design). It is common for one classroom to have students of two or more cultural backgrounds, but indigenous peoples' lifestyles are little threat to indigenous language or bilingual education. We should not allow the issues of learning indigenous languages limit the study of such languages only to indigenous language speakers. Learning and sharing different languages can promote mutual understanding. Formal schooling with the aim of indigenous language revitalization will create opportunities for the sustainable transmission of indigenous languages.

3.2. Defective Teacher Training System and Limited Job Vacancies

In most cases, it is very easy for indigenous students to perceive racial discrimination from textbooks and feel alien in the school environment. However, schooling can also play a fundamental role in providing an effective way to help indigenous students build their cultural identity and self-esteem. The most important part of indigenous students' schooling developing a strong sense of cultural identity and self-esteem, which will help them achieve at school and secure a good job in the future. In addition, schooling plays a key role in the revitalization of indigenous language and cultural heritage. Thus, the quality of the most important people in education – the teachers – is vital to whether indigenous students can feel accepted and affirmed in the classroom. Teachers have a huge responsibility in strengthening students' cultural identity, constructing self-esteem, and fostering academic achievement.

The lack of proper, professional indigenous educators has long been a great problem in the development of indigenous education. Teachers serving in indigenous schools are often expected to act as intercultural knowledge interpreters:

Teachers bring with them not only their fund of knowledge but also their culturally patterned ways of organizing and passing on that knowledge. Even more fundamentally, they bring the value systems of their communities concerning what is import to learn and how most appropriately to learn it. (Arlene Stairs 1995:146)

That is to say, indigenous schools have different requirements for instructors' teaching qualifications than do ordinary schools. In reality however, dominant governments often overlook indigenous students' educational needs. Teachers at indigenous schools are mostly non-indigenous people, and most non-indigenous teachers have little prior knowledge of the students' cultural background before first coming into contact with them. Thus, they may have misunderstandings about the students' learning abilities and performance, thinking perhaps that most indigenous students are stupid, lazy, or incapable. However, there are a small number of universities specially geared towards the training of indigenous bilingual elementary school teachers, such as in the aforementioned small town in Oaxaca – *Teotitlan* – where there is a special training facility for bilingual teachers. The most basic requirement for admission is that the trainee must be able to use the indigenous language fluently. The university's primary educational objective is to train professional indigenous bilingual and intercultural teachers. They also require the student to return to their community to teach after graduation. Thus, indigenous students at the university already have a positive attitude toward their own indigenous identity, are proud of their indigenous status, and are willing to enter the field of indigenous education. Sadly, factors such as the population size of the community, the number of elementary schools and vacancies for teaching positions have brought post-graduation unemployment to many of these graduates trained in bilingual and intercultural education.

Many indigenous elementary schools do not have enough positions available to provide bilingual teachers with work. In fact, many of these schools have instructors already, but most of these have only secondary school diplomas, and some even have just elementary

school education. Therefore, there is a mix of good and poor instructors. Bilingual teachers who have undergone formal training are certainly more qualified than the teachers currently serving at the indigenous schools. This is not an intractable problem. For example, regulations require the underqualified teachers to undergo further education within a set timeframe. We assume that these teachers will choose to continue teaching at these indigenous schools, and will this accept bilingual and intercultural education training. In fact, it is increasingly common for indigenous peoples nowadays to move to urban areas, and even teachers at non-indigenous schools need sufficient intercultural knowledge, since it is often hard for non-indigenous teachers to understand the educational needs of indigenous students whose life experiences in their indigenous community are very different from in urban areas.

Overall, indigenous educational reform should begin with the most qualified teachers being hired to teach at indigenous schools, and by training indigenous instructors one can gradually replace underqualified teachers at indigenous schools with qualified ones. Thereafter, we should see positive results and the chance for success in indigenous language and cultural heritage revitalization.

3.3. Bottom-Up Action for Top-Down Resources and Legislation

Whether it is *Maori* bilingual or immersion education in New Zealand, where the education development scheme has become a model for many indigenous peoples, or indigenous communities in remote areas that are unable to meet even the most basic education needs, indigenous education and cultural heritage revitalization still have a long road to travel. The educational needs of indigenous students in different communities may differ due to regional particularities. Thus, the development of indigenous education cannot proceed without the participation of indigenous peoples. However, if it is the dominant government that guides indigenous heritage, language or bilingual educational development, then the probable outcome is a dominant-style education that is merely titled “indigenous education.”

The impetus for developing indigenous education requires the conscious action of indigenous peoples. What are indigenous peoples educational needs? What kind of education will indigenous students accept? How do indigenous heritage¹³⁹ contribute to the multicultural nation/world? How aware is the dominant government about the needs of indigenous peoples? In a multilingual society, how can the power of the dominant and indigenous languages be balanced? Is indigenous language revitalization the responsibility of the dominant government or indigenous peoples? How do dominant governments/peoples introduce the cultural, knowledge, and heritage contributions of indigenous peoples to its multicultural society? Before pursuing answers to these questions, we can be certain that it will be difficult for us to find a consensus among the dominant government and indigenous peoples, intellectuals, politicians, NGOs and international organizations as to the form of education that indigenous communities require as well as the manner in which education should be implemented. In the chaotic clamor of indigenous education development and cultural heritage revitalization, the

¹³⁹ E.g. indigenous philosophy/religion, communities values, art, oral literature etc.

voices of the indigenous peoples are usually unheard or ignored. Thus, rather than awaiting the inevitable failure of top-down negotiation mechanisms, it is better, given international organizations' active promotion of equal opportunities for indigenous students, that indigenous peoples make good use of external support. They should try to integrate all available help, and incorporate their cultural heritage knowledge, values, and language in schooling to initiate an educational movement towards nurturing indigenous students' appreciation and understanding of their own language, cultural knowledge and traditions. In this way, indigenous peoples have the opportunity to control their future development.

Through initiating bottom-up actions for developing proper education models, indigenous peoples can meet their specific educational needs. When indigenous students study in an environment where they can embrace their cultural heritage knowledge and gain strengthened cultural identity, their academic achievement will certainly improve, allowing them to keep pace with non-indigenous students. However, the main advantage of bottom-up action regarding indigenous educational development and cultural heritage revitalization is that indigenous peoples themselves can control the direction and content. Once results are achieved, there will be considerable leverage for dialogue with the national government, and requests can be made to the government for resources and funding, and for policies that would to safeguard the indigenous education development model.

If there is no legislation to protect the efforts of bottom-up action in indigenous cultural heritage revitalization, after a period of time impetus will be lost, in turn resulting in failure. However, if indigenous language and bilingual education is guided or promoted by the dominant government, the end result is simply dominant education under a new name. From the experience of *Maori* education, one can see how the *Maori* people used their own knowledge and action to develop the *Te Kohanga Reo* ("language nest") movement¹⁴⁰. By integrating *Maori* language and cultural knowledge into the formal national educational system starting from pre-school age education, they have successfully rescued *Maori* language and heritage from extinction, allowing for the continued passing on of the *Maori* language and the revitalization of *Maori* culture. It is clear that the influence of bottom-up action on the education system cannot be underestimated.

¹⁴⁰ In 1982, *Maori* people started the *Te Kohanga Reo* movement with the aim of preserving their language and cultural heritage and passing it onto subsequent generations.

Conclusion

The “problems” of indigenous peoples are usually linked to issues of low self-esteem, vague cultural identity, marginalization, and poverty. One of the prime reasons that “indigenous problems” have not been solved is inadequate educational systems. Problems brought on by inappropriate schooling not only seriously affect the development of future indigenous generations, at the same time they create obstacles to national and even global development. The ability to achieve suitable education for indigenous students through effective use and organization of resources and support will be of concrete help for contemporary indigenous peoples with regard to both tangible and intangible cultural revitalization. In this way, it will be possible to prevent future generations of indigenous people from becoming mired in the same tragedies as their forefathers, and to address the crisis of the disappearance of native cultures.

Chapter VII: Conclusion and Recommendations

One cannot place indigenous peoples who have undergone different colonial histories and now live within different complex national and political environments into a one-size-fits-all framework. Despite this, regarding “indigenous problems,” the development courses of the histories of most indigenous peoples in the world follow a similar path: that of a pre-colonial history, followed by a colonial period, and then an officially post-colonial era which, however, retains many aspects of the colonial conditions.

As a Taiwanese, I often hear “outsiders” asking, “Are Taiwanese Chinese?” My reply to this question has always been an emphatic “No.” I was born, raised and educated in Taiwan. Although I can speak Mandarin Chinese and at school studied and was molded by the wisdom and knowledge of many ancient Chinese philosophers, this has not changed my cultural identity. I can clearly attest that, like me, my parents and grandparents were born-and-bred Taiwanese. Thus, my Taiwanese identity is clear, because it’s about the living environment and unique Taiwanese philosophy through which I have learned about the world. The way I refer to my nationality may be explained through Etienne Wenger’s (1998:176) proposal that “imagination is domain of goals and expectations wherein we create ‘new images of the world and ourselves’.” Anderson (1991: 6) contends that nation “is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.” I agree that the majority of residents in Taiwan, in terms of ‘imagination’, share similar ideas and sentiments of national identity which structures and is structured by cultural and political content. Naturally, returning to the issues I described in Chapter I, when I started my elementary school studies, as I was unable to speak Mandarin Chinese I encountered numerous problems in my studies. I was even mistakenly thought by my teachers to be an underachieving student. My native language (Taiwan Southern Min) was not at all respected during the time of my schooling, and in my view then, as was the case for most of Taiwan’s society at that time (and even today there are many people in Taiwan in whom this idea is deeply rooted), Mandarin Chinese speakers symbolized the intellectuals, the wealthy, the upper echelons of society. As a result, my academic struggles gave me a sense of regret for being a speaker of Taiwan Southern Min. Of course, such a stigma dealt a blow to my self-esteem. I perceived deep down the problems that the cultural differences between my school and my home environments gave me, as at school I was unable to use Mandarin Chinese to express my thoughts clearly. And not fully understanding my own culture, it took a great deal of effort listening to a strange language to gain knowledge of a different culture. I felt excluded at school and had doubts about my own learning abilities, wishing to enter the world of Chinese culture because it symbolized a “superior world”. This kind of experience profoundly influenced my understanding of many things.

Thankfully, martial law was lifted in Taiwan in 1987, and a non-Chinese “Taiwanese” identity started to form. Today, the “new” Taiwanese identity formed by the Taiwanese people has enabled us to feel proud of our Taiwanese cultural heritage. Yet, whether on a psychological level (i.e. strengthened self-esteem) or from the perspective of economic

development and cultural revitalization, this new Taiwanese national identity has done little of substance for Taiwan's indigenous peoples.

I believe that there are similarities between many indigenous people's unpleasant study experiences and my own, but the difference is that the plight they face may be more complicated and difficult to resolve than mine was. In the past, school textbooks imparted a great deal of painstakingly concocted erroneous knowledge, with the aim of making indigenous peoples believe that their cultures were backward and barbaric, and compelling them to abandon their traditional cultural heritage knowledge and languages, and deny their cultural identities. This also misled non-indigenous people in their views toward indigenous peoples, making them unable to identify with "uncivilized" indigenous cultures, and leading people to wrongfully believe that indigenous peoples were ignorant or dim-witted. Another learned assumption was that it was only jobs that did not require technical skills or professional knowledge that were most suited to indigenous peoples.

When did Taiwan enter the postcolonial era? Different segments of Taiwan society may have different interpretations, and for the indigenous peoples of Taiwan it would be even more difficult to give a general answer. After the Japanese colonizers left Taiwan, the Han Chinese retook power, and the indigenous peoples entered a new stage in their colonial history. Taiwan's indigenous peoples, in undergoing numerous different colonial occupations, have had their traditional cultures tainted, resulting in a hybrid of different cultures. This is not to imply, however, that indigenous peoples merely grudgingly accepted the colonizers' deliberate assimilation and acculturation efforts which devastated their cultural heritage. Next, the colonizers "trained" and "influenced" indigenous peoples, formal education being the most widely used and effective method, to become "civilized peoples". In this unequal relationship, the colonizers often found themselves unable to reach the expected goal, and instead often had to sacrifice the indigenous peoples' dignity and cultural heritage, muddying their cultural identity. I must admit that compared with the past, indigenous peoples in Taiwan are more active and free in the practicing of their cultural ceremonies in public and more aware of the importance of learning their indigenous languages and cultural knowledge. Perhaps this is because of a more democratic and open trend within the whole society in Taiwan. Examples of the positive developments in improving indigenous issues in Taiwan include the establishment of the College of Indigenous Studies in National Dong Hwa University to promote higher education attendance of indigenous students and indigenous museums within indigenous communities to preserve and revitalize indigenous material culture. These are beautiful images of development within the sphere of Taiwan's indigenous education and heritage revitalization. However, the statistics from the Ministry of Education (教育部全球資訊網) show that the total student enrollment at National Dong Hwa University in 2008 was 10,541, which included only 536 indigenous students, about 200 of whom were from the College of Indigenous Studies. The reality that these numbers reveal is that except for the admission quota from the "indigenous college", it is still very rare for indigenous students to successfully compete with non-indigenous students for places on mainstream courses in higher education. In addition, most local indigenous museums are empty or even closed, the most serious reason for this being a

lack of funding. There appears to be a reality of unequal politics, and this can also be observed in other countries such as Mexico and Canada. In recent years, Taiwan has undertaken educational reforms to show that there is no cultural superiority or inferiority, stressing that each diverse culture has its specific values and basis, and textbooks include diverse topics of indigenous culture and history. Unfortunately, curriculum design and teaching content remain mostly inclined toward knowledge from the dominant culture, giving a strong subliminal message that the cultures are of unequal value. So, how are indigenous students in such a cultural position affected by such a learning atmosphere? How do non-indigenous students internalize or interpret the marginalized and seemingly undervalued cultural knowledge in the textbooks? While Taiwanese people try to strengthen their own Taiwanese identity in post-colonial Taiwanese society, many of Taiwan's indigenous peoples are struggling with the question of who they are.

In a global context, human beings do not differ much, despite differences in region, nationality, cultural identity, or gender, when it comes to learning needs for global information, national cultural knowledge, or indigenous cultural heritage knowledge. Relationships between different ethnicities and their countries need to be built on equality, so that people can share, learn and appreciate each other's cultures. In this way, gradual cultural assimilation need not be the method for reaching the goal of people of different ethnic backgrounds getting along better. Therefore, decolonizing Taiwan's society, and those of other multiethnic countries, and developing a proper education for both indigenous and non-indigenous students is a priority.

Section 1: Conclusion

In my personal experience and that of the indigenous students and other indigenous people I have met, I have seen first hand that most indigenous children come from families with a long history of poverty. As such, the children frequently lacked self-confidence and motivation for pursuing their academic studies. Their grandparents and parents had early experiences in movements opposed to racial discrimination in society. Indigenous elites have tried for years to fight for justice and for a better life for their future generations, but still, the issues still exist. For example, in 2001 ex-President Chen (陳水扁) signed a treaty named "New Partnership" with Taiwan's indigenous peoples, officially recognizing indigenous peoples as the master¹⁴¹ of Taiwan. The treaty promised that the new government would promote and support indigenous self-determination, and recognize indigenous rights to natural resources and land rights etc. In reality, throughout the duration of Chen's administration from 2001 until the end of 2008, indigenous peoples did not benefit much from these promises. For example, in 2005 a group of indigenous peoples¹⁴² took beech wood, which had been damaged by a typhoon, for the purpose of reconstructing housing and creating handcrafts. This was considered theft, and the involved people were charged with stealing 'national property'

¹⁴¹ The "master" in this case was used to flatter the indigenous peoples.

¹⁴² The decision was made at a local indigenous community's meeting (部落會議).

from Shei-Pa National Park¹⁴³ and were taken to court (陳亭伊 2009). Finally, on 9th February 2010 this case was resolved and the victims got their justice.

Therefore, undeniable that in multicultural countries dominant governments tend to apply political 'power' to control most of potential resource, and sometimes the political actions provoke injustice and traumas to marginalized peoples. The political 'power', as Anderson's perspective that nation "it is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship." (Anderson 1991: 7), somewhat is created by dominant people and 'accepted' by indigenous peoples. Thus, political and social justice can be existed only if different peoples learn knowledge from their own and others, this perspective brings the importance of education, and this is the point for conducting the research of indigenous education and heritage revitalization.

1.0. Speaking and Listening

At conferences, I am inevitably asked, "Are you an indigenous person of Taiwan?" As a researcher, an outsider trying to pay attention to indigenous issues, it is hard to avoid worrying or wondering about the "normality" and "representativeness" of my role. However, I clearly understand that my social responsibility is not merely to present my research findings to the general public. I must also think of how to maintain harmonious, mutually beneficial interactive relationships with research subjects, how to serve as a channel for the subjects to make their voices heard, how to present their voices without tainting them with my own opinions or distorting the facts, and how to empower the subjects to express their interests. As Said (1979) describes in his work *Orientalism*, the Western world sees non-Western culture as its own culture. To put this another way, some researchers are unable to truly observe or understand other cultures from an objective standpoint, and add their own opinions which leads researchers to build models by habitually applying their pet theories to the actual circumstance, and therefore obtain the answers they are aiming for. Such situations are similar to a colonizer building a cultural collection of artifacts of colonized people, and ascribing new interpretations to give them a new status and meaning within his own world. Furthermore, some of the colonized are able to excel in colonial education and survive academic study, thus, unavoidably, these indigenous elites fostered by colonial education are affected by colonial ideologies.

For a long time deeply concerned about the issue of indigenous education in Taiwan, I, as a researcher, am an outsider in the view of indigenous peoples. My being a Taiwan Southern Min speaker caused many problems for me in my school studies, in which Mandarin Chinese was the language of instruction and school curricula and course content were have long been oriented at instilling Chinese Cultural knowledge. Only in 1993 did elementary schooling start teaching 40 minutes every two weeks about Taiwan's local culture. Although my situation is not comparable to the problems in indigenous educational issues, it is similar to indigenous students' predicaments of never

¹⁴³ The majority of indigenous land nowadays belong to the nation, and are situated in the National Parks.

having been able to obtain suitable education. My cultural background and real-life experience, I feel, have better enabled me to place myself in the position of indigenous people when thinking about indigenous educational issues. Moreover, my position as an elementary school teacher has provided me with real-life opportunities to participate in educational work, enabling me to experience the deficiencies in indigenous education. Perhaps such self-positioning is acceptable; in indigenous communities I am an outsider, but in the “Chinese cultural knowledge learning” of school education, I am an insider. This seems to have helped me with my in-between role when there is no other way for indigenous students to get proper school education to become “knowledgeable” elites. Of course, this does not mean that my voice can truly represent the thoughts of indigenous peoples.

Therefore, my research does not try to seek an educational model that can be applied in full to Taiwan’s indigenous education. However, I hope that Taiwan’s government, though the analyses presented in this paper, can have the opportunity to learn from the knowledge and experience of indigenous educational development in other countries.

What kind of education do indigenous students want? The answer is not easy for an outsider to understand. Dominant people need to understand that the kind of education they want and need, for example, want to learn their own languages and cultures, as well as the national language and culture and the global language and culture, is simply “dominant education”. This type of education might not be the best type of education for indigenous students.

In Post-colonial Taiwanese society, where are the opportunities for indigenous peoples? In the “Ethnic Name Restoration Movement”, “Recognize the Traditional Territories Movement” and “Indigenous Autonomy Movement” that have taken place over the last two decades, through cooperation between indigenous peoples and Han Taiwanese people, a place has been given to the long-silenced “indigenous voice” in Taiwanese society. The operating modes and accomplishments of these indigenous movements represent the resistance of the oppressed against the colonial power and their efforts to seek justice in a post-colonial society. Correspondingly, the interpretation and degree of acceptance of these voices determine the fate of all these missions. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1990:59-60) writes,

For me, the question “Who should speak?” is less than crucial than “Who will listen?” “I will speak for myself as a Third World person” is an important position for political mobilization today. But the real demand is that, when I speak from that position, I should be listened to seriously; not with that kind of benevolent imperialism.

However, regarding how indigenous peoples can efficiently convey their petitions to the dominant government, or how dominant governments can “relearn” how to face the injustice and inhumanity of past history and learn to listen to “other” voices, the researcher can serve as a bridge of communication between the two sides. This is one of the ultimate goals of this research.

1.1. Living in Balance

The development objective of indigenous cultural heritage revitalization and indigenous education is, undoubtedly, to be able to preserve and pass on remaining sporadic and fragmentary traditional knowledge and find ways to rescue past traditional values, in order to allow indigenous future generations to clearly ascertain their own cultural identities, and enjoy practicing and passing on their cultural heritage.

What is the future course for indigenous peoples? Many indigenous peoples have sought rights of autonomy from their dominant governments, in the hope of being able to manage their own education and restore past traditional lifestyles. However, having endured long-term cultural destruction by colonial powers, been forced into the dominant world, had natural environments thrown into imbalance, and faced the rapid rise of globalization, can indigenous peoples still hold on to their past, live in harmony with nature, and live lives far from modern technology? And will indigenous youngsters' thirst for learning new things cause them to lose the learning opportunities involved in restoring tradition? Nobody can decide the future living model for any person or people, but before an individual person or a people can make a decision, they have the right to know, understand, recognize and learn the cultures and knowledge of both the dominant and non-dominant world. In other words, they need proper education to help them find a balance between the indigenous and non-indigenous worlds, and find the opportunities to continue practicing their cultural life and learn their cultural heritage knowledge, and learn and recognize the non-indigenous world view and knowledge. Only with true understanding and recognition of their own and of outsiders' cultural knowledge can they make an objective, balanced decision of their own future course.

From my accumulated field work and real-life experience, I believe that it is possible to reconstruct practical meanings of traditional knowledge and/or traditional ways of life, and combine unity and the retrieval cultural knowledge and traditional values through the cultural heritage revitalization movement. By participating in cultural events, indigenous communities can strengthen their own cultural identities, and group participation in cultural revitalization actions can be helpful for inspiring each specific people to treasure their own culture. These events can also encourage people to become much more focused on reconstructing moribund languages, ritual ceremonies, traditional values, and cultural identities. Yet this process and the results it can produce are not enough to constitute the conditions for the so-called "restoration" of past traditional ways of living a utopian lifestyle. As such, indigenous cultural revitalization efforts that are taken to the extreme limits outside the mainstream world can be detrimental to indigenous peoples. This is why, in formal education, even for indigenous students living on reserves or in remote, isolated areas, I still advocate the importance of bilingual education and intercultural education. Nobody can grasp whether in several decades' time these indigenous young generations who have not had the opportunity to be in contact with the wider outside world will be able to maintain a lifestyle of "secure distance" from mainstream society. Moreover, nobody can decide for any individual indigenous people that they can only live within their own world.

In this rapidly advancing technological world, the efforts of indigenous peoples and interested international organizations, national institutions, NGOs, governments, and researchers regarding indigenous-related issues such as educational reform, cultural heritage revitalization, language learning, and even self-governance are able to develop toward a win-win model and grow robustly. That is to say, indigenous peoples can continue to practice cultural activities and ritual ceremonies, and in daily life are able to communicate in indigenous languages and interact with dominant peoples using the national language and even with the world using international languages. Indigenous peoples can have a clear-cut cultural and national identity, and develop a natural way to pass on their indigenous cultural knowledge and value to future generations. Then, future generations will be able to truly enjoy a world rich with diverse cultures, and indigenous peoples can live in the world with confidence and well-being.

1.2. Cultural Interaction

In the development of human history, when there have been conflicts of interests between different peoples, such as the struggle for food resources or living space, the contact between different peoples has often led to difficult situations. Therefore, in “trying out” each other’s diverse cultural lifestyles, with specific intent, the side with the more powerful culture will try to change the “inferior culture” of the oppressed, to satisfy the desire to control the future development of the other communities. As a result, assimilation and acculturation arise. Colonization has borne the ill fruits of subjugation of many peoples. Fortunately, humans have self-preservation mechanisms; introspection has caused people’s histories of interaction to evolve into a “postcolonial era”, providing a benign stage for colonized indigenous peoples to reconstruct their cultural identities, and, within the foundation of the nation-state, pursue the equal cultural and social status that they are due. In the 21st century, as the pace of technological advancement surpasses that of the colonized and indigenous peoples’ struggle for human rights and the revitalization of their cultural heritage, and as they strive to gain proper school education and enjoy better lives, globalization is making contact between diverse cultures all the more common. As a result, there will be a period of adaptation in which different peoples are unavoidably forced to communicate and interact. The potential influence of this interaction on the development of human civilization should be given much more attention.

The role of specific cultures in an ethnically diverse society originates from the accumulated history and life experiences of a people. This constructs a unique identity that allows people to identify themselves as a specific people. Cultural diversities, in an ethnically diverse society, make plain the differences between “us” and “them.” In a multicultural country, no matter which ethnicity you belong to, given the concept of the nation state there is a drive to build a national identity that is different from people’s cultural identities. People are compelled to participate in the dominant society. In addition, the dominant people will in certain special circumstances and for certain reasons initiate contact with “others.” As a result, cultural interaction and mutual influence is unavoidable and can actually be beneficial. However, what must be prevented is the continuation or reappearance of acculturation and assimilation formed by

an unequal cultural relationship caused by the past colonial history. As of now, such circumstances continue to exist in the majority of indigenous communities. Therefore I stress once again the importance of strengthening indigenous cultural identity. Strengthening a people's cultural identity can help members build sufficient self-esteem to confidently compete and live peacefully together with the dominant people. Such a result can only materialize in a fair and just society.

The reason why indigenous education must be discussed separately from the national education system is not to build an educational system separate from the national education system, with indigenous education completely isolated from mainstream education. It is because indigenous culture is different from dominant culture, and when indigenous students only can receive the same dominant educational methods and study the same mainstream cultural knowledge as the dominant students do with the national language as the instruction language, it is unfair for them. This unjust system muddies indigenous students' cultural identity, weakens their self-esteem, and makes the majority of them unable to excel academically. As a result, they are relegated generation after generation to working class life. The realities of cultural interaction happen everywhere, in schools, workplaces, and activities in the wider society, and even in cyberspace. Thus, returning to the root of the problem, since we cannot and should not prevent cultural interaction from occurring, we should deal with the results of this reality with a positive attitude, such as benefitting from the enrichment of an individual or social culture, or preventing unnecessary friction through creative and fruitful interaction between diverse cultural communities. (Larry A. Samover *et al.* 2010) This includes cautious handling of erroneous ideas or attitudes borne from past wrongs and the discrimination and prejudices among dominant peoples toward indigenous culture, as well as reconstruction of indigenous cultural identity and strengthening of cultural heritage to pull them up from their extreme low self-esteem.

Undeniably, schooling is the best path for dealing with these issues and therefore, curriculum design can help not only indigenous students reconstruct their cultural identity to boost their self-esteem, but also teach students of all ethnic backgrounds to respect one another on an equal footing, and encouraging them to share each other's cultures, attitudes and knowledge. Such a situation would also bring the opportunity for members of the dominant classes to learn something from indigenous peoples, which have a rich cultural heritage of knowledge, art, oral literature and wonderful community practices.

Considering indigenous educational needs from a standpoint of cultural interaction, a situation that allows indigenous students to share cultural heritage in a happy, safe environment without discrimination will allow them to learn dominant cultural knowledge in an appreciative manner. This is a key development that contemporary multicultural societies can give to indigenous peoples in the name of fairness.

1.3. Cultural Sharing and Appreciation

The cultures present within a multicultural nation are rich and diverse in appearance. Globalization has accelerated changes in human lives and outlooks, easily extending its influence into cross-national cultural experience and into the perceptions of diverse cultures. The term “culture” includes people’s ceremonies, ritual practices, language, and lifestyle. Through hearing, seeing or experiencing the cultures of different peoples, a person’s knowledge and life can be enriched. Learning about another culture requires that those belonging to the culture use appropriate and understandable methods to share such culture, so that the learner can have the opportunity to develop an appropriate attitude with which to appreciate, understand, and enjoy a different culture. In reality, once a learner and the person belonging to the culture come in contact with each other, the learning of one culture by the other is usually not a one-way process, regardless of whether it is a person of a dominant culture learning from a non-dominant culture or vice versa. Usually this is done through some kind of comparison, analysis, exchange, or formal communication. Before contacting people of a different culture, a person may gain some basic knowledge about the culture through various media, but if such pre-prepared knowledge can be verified, strengthened or corrected through actual sharing of experience, then erroneous beliefs, lack of understanding, prejudice and discrimination on the part of the “cultural receptor” can be eliminated. In the case where there is no cultural prejudice or discrimination, then it will be possible to understand and perceive cultural diversity, and a person will truly be internally motivated to appreciate the other’s culture. To rethink the philosophy of Karin Ika and Gerhard Wagner (2009), the way to create the possibilities for peoples to communicate, learn, and share specific cultural knowledge with each other, is a way to develop a Third Space for the dialogue, negotiation, and translation that occur among diverse cultures.

It is evident that, within the context of multicultural countries and globalization, the situation of interaction between different peoples remains a troublesome challenge. As Larry A. Samovar *et al.* (2010) remark in their book that peoples’ world views are shaped by their own cultures, and as such people tend to see other cultures through a selective lens which is influenced by their specific cultural perspective. The authors suggest that as long as we learn to see the world from a “new” viewpoint which differs from our own, successful intercultural communication will happen.

Thus, in the methods and attitudes for cultural sharing, the person belonging to the culture to a considerable degree decides whether there is a possibility for the other to appreciate their culture. And the attitude and degree to which the cultural receiver appreciates the other’s culture can help the person belonging to the culture to boost his or her own cultural awareness, then further strengthen his or her cultural identity. This is a win-win interactive process. However the trauma of past colonization and cultural discrimination has meant that most indigenous peoples today have only the opportunity to accept and learn dominant cultural knowledge, while they lack the opportunity, motivation or ability to share and develop their cultures. Colonizers or dominant peoples, on the other hand, focus their attention on instilling indigenous peoples with dominant or national cultural knowledge and ideas as norms. Although researchers have conducted

numerous studies on issues of indigenous peoples, to a certain degree these are based on an outsider's standpoint, and are incapable of expressing the realities. Therefore, all questions need to return to the people that "carry" and participate in the culture: the indigenous peoples. Formal school education and informal educational practices can help communities to improve methods of cultural sharing, and cultural appreciation can, outside a formal national system, provide beneficial and powerful conditions to build a platform for cultural sharing and appreciation. However, my point of view is that, as stated previously, as long as all different peoples learn how to share their cultural heritage and to appreciate others' cultures, then it will be possible to build a harmonious and egalitarian society within a multicultural country.

1.4. Equal Value Within the Entire Country

Creating equal values within a multicultural society is an essential way to build a country in which peoples of diverse cultural backgrounds can coexist in harmony. The world views and cultural traditions of different peoples may be very diverse. Human rights are paramount in building a fully human ideal in which all peoples can advance in pace with each other. Before a multicultural country can formulate and enact policy, it must consider the subject of human rights; the direction of such policy will more likely move toward the ideal of equal opportunity for all ethnic communities.

From a political perspective, in most countries nowadays the allocation and operation of rights is still in the hands of a dominant people. Indigenous peoples' political power, whether in the indigenous political world or national political environment, cannot break out of the development framework set by the national political system. In addition, in a multicultural country, achieving balanced economic development among different ethnic communities and regions is a major challenge. According to the regions' respective special characteristics, the government has a low expected estimated value for the majority of indigenous communities regarding regional economic development potential. Also, regarding the restricted living environments of different ethnic communities, the government can develop respective economic models that they can rely on for their livelihoods. Affected by national economic development and globalization, poverty is a very common phenomenon in indigenous communities. The world's educational development mostly focuses on building a national identity for its citizens and expanding students' global perspective. As such, language courses stress national and global language abilities, and educational content emphasizes teaching students to understand their national history and introduce global political, cultural and economic knowledge. Thus, one can observe that inequality in multiethnic countries is frequently the norm. This is also why multiethnic countries need to expend energy dealing with the issues of political, economic, educational, and ethnic conflicts, and why extremely disadvantaged indigenous peoples have experienced the greatest sacrifices as consequence of unfair interaction along ethnic lines (colonization, exploitation etc.).

Regarding the attention that international organizations such as the United Nations give to the issue of disadvantaged peoples, especially under the premise of seeking equal human rights for all people, I've stressed the pressing needs of indigenous peoples in this

respect in this thesis. For example, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples not only regards indigenous peoples, but also concerns linguistic rights, as well as affirms the contributions of diverse cultures from all peoples. In a multicultural state, a national government hoping to stay in pace with international trends and pursue social justice, when setting national policies, must carefully consider the allocation of peoples' rights and interests, and build equal value in different fields, occasions and systems. In a multicultural society, equal value symbolizes each people's access to the same opportunities to share unique cultural heritage for the benefit of all human beings. This means that each people, under the premise of not destroying the country's overall developmental framework, have sufficient conditions to decide their own model for sustaining, enjoying, and developing their culture. In terms of economic activity and development, they do not need to worry about limited regional conditions or the lack of opportunity or ability for job competition with the dominant people. In terms of schooling, they can learn their own language and gain knowledge of their own culture, and have the same opportunities as dominant-culture students to share their cultures. In school and outside of school, they would no longer be subjected to cultural discrimination. In this way, it would be possible to build a harmonious multiethnic society and country.

1.5. Educational Needs

The education policies of the world's countries today, affected by globalization, are increasingly focused on developing international education. When indigenous educational development is unable to be independent of circumstances outside of the national education system, its complexity will grow. The people that schools serve are not limited by culture or gender, but considering the reality of the high dropout rates and low academic achievement of indigenous students, schooling mechanisms and course content somehow appear to be aimed at refusing indigenous students the chance to gain the knowledge they need.

The problem of poverty is common among the world's indigenous communities. When the knowledge and skills of the majority of indigenous peoples are enough only for them to be laborers, we find that blue collar income is insufficient for them to improve their household economic status, and we realize that the degree of education they receive needs to be boosted. When indigenous students' academic achievement is far behind that of non-indigenous students, one must face the fact that the majority of indigenous students have not adapted well to the available school education, and experience difficulties in understanding the knowledge conveyed by the teachers. Or rather that the education provided by the state for indigenous peoples is totally inadequate. When indigenous languages are not being used, and when indigenous cultural heritage is faced with extinction, clearly, indigenous peoples are robbed of a channel through which to learn and use their language and will gradually stop practicing their cultural heritage. When indigenous peoples still experience cultural discrimination and prejudice from the non-indigenous world, it is an indicative of a lack of education, meaning that indigenous culture and heritage are not valued, or that textbook content contains few details, or even absolute falsehoods, about indigenous history and culture.

Indigenous peoples face many challenges in education. Traditional indigenous cultural knowledge is reflected in parts of their daily lives, such as rituals, dress, dance, living style, economic system, land, language, and arts. To strengthen cultural identity and build sufficient self-esteem, indigenous students need to have the chance to learn their own language, history and culture in school. The school must also fulfill indigenous students' needs to understand their native language and culture, that of the dominant culture, and those of the international world, through formal education models. However, if school curriculum design can instill all three in a balanced way, the students will not develop biases against any culture, nor categorize themselves as being in a marginalized position, and indigenous students will be able to identify with and take pride in their own cultural identity. Through such reforms, indigenous peoples will be able to escape the nightmare of only being qualified for laborer work, and have access to more diverse opportunities for occupational choices. This in turn would remedy the problem of poverty. That is to say, when globalization affects the world on economic, political and educational levels, indigenous students' educational needs become more complex. To prevent them from being squeezed out of the global context, indigenous education should not be limited to indigenous language and cultural heritage revitalization; indigenous students and non-indigenous students alike must be taught global knowledge and languages. From this perspective, the knowledge indigenous students need to gain seems to be more than that needed by non-indigenous students. But given that the ideas formed by globalization are products of mutual influence between local, national, and global aspects, indigenous languages and cultural knowledge also need to be learned and understood by non-indigenous peoples. Therefore, indigenous education should not be limited to internal requirements, but should also cover non-indigenous students, requiring them to learn a representative part of indigenous cultural knowledge, literature, language, and art as being an equal part of the national heritage.

1.6. Marginalized But Not Contribution-less

The reason why the issues of worldwide indigenous peoples are of concern to international organizations, national governments, NGOs, researchers, indigenous peoples themselves etc., is because we all wish to build a just and equal global society for all human beings. The Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples recognized by the United Nations has brightened the hope for our seeking a well-projected educational pattern which could meet indigenous educational needs. As members of the global community, while post-colonialism gives colonized peoples (e.g. indigenous peoples), as well as those who regard the indigenous disadvantaged condition in political, social, economic, and cultural contexts, a "space" to fight for equality and justice, one may gain significant knowledge from indigenous peoples' unique worldviews, ideas of participation in national and global communities, and potential gifts.

Tracing back through history, it cannot be denied that colonization and modernization have provoked enormous damages on indigenous traditional cultures and have destroyed the harmonious relationship between indigenous peoples and the natural environment. In the 21st century, globalization forces us to rethink the importance of diverse cultures around the world, awakens people to a sense of appreciation of the differences between

“us” and “Others”, and constructs a bridge to convey the profound contributions of indigenous peoples to nations and to the world. For example, indigenous history plays a significant role in both national and international history. It brings a perspective which differs from the dominant community’s viewpoint, and through this alternative perspective an interactive dialogue can occur. Indigenous literature, for example, is not simply the action of writing, it loads human beings with their specific cultural knowledge and values. It represents the author’s thinking from their own indigenous perspective which is embedded within their world view. This is shared with readers and it provides a quiet but emotional knowledge communication system between the individual indigenous writer and his/her own people and outsiders:

[C]ulture should be regarded as the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs. (UNESCO 2002)

The above segment from the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Culture Diversity reconfirms that the indigenous language reconstruction task should not be separated from the cultural heritage revitalization which has been proposed by indigenous peoples themselves and by scholars. It is important that indigenous language and heritage revitalization can only survive where indigenous peoples themselves are willing take part and be supported. The increasing popularity of indigenous cultural tourism shows that indigenous peoples can contribute significantly to national and world heritage. In order to realize the idea of living together in harmony, this notion embodies the implied responsibilities and contributions that indigenous peoples have towards their people, their nation and the world.

Section 2: Recommendations

The diverse linguistic and ethnic segments of a multicultural country is often seen by national governments as a source of social problems and conflicts instead of a huge potential for cultural creativity and strong identity. Issues such as the allocation of political power, economic development, and the fact that different peoples can be mutually influential, generate both benefits and conflicts, and this highlights the importance of education. When facing a country's needs for internal development and the conflicts it experiences in adapting to globalization, national education reform and development needs to provide flexible policies and an open outlook, laying equal focus on the development of indigenous (local), national, and global cultural knowledge and languages, in order not to put too much attention to one problem while neglecting another.

Considering the examples of the current stage of Taiwan's educational development as well as that of various other countries, we find that Taiwan's indigenous peoples, the *Maori* people of New Zealand, the indigenous peoples in Canada, Native Americans in the US, and Frisians in the Netherlands are all involved in indigenous cultural heritage revitalization in informal education, such as museums, handicrafts, ritual ceremonies, music, dance, and art. These developments are quite a substantial help in enabling different ethnic communities to share and learn each other's cultural knowledge. As for formal education, the functionality of intercultural education and bilingual education is also evident: regarding the subject of management of peoples' relationships and the reconstruction and strength of language, culture, and self-esteem, it is the most direct and efficient method.

2.0. Formal Education

The function of formal education is not only to convey knowledge; it also plays a pivotal role with respect to cultural identity reinforcement, construction and reconstruction. The chief course of development of national education concentrates on providing students with the chance to learn Westernized knowledge, such as mathematics, science, national history, national languages, global languages and other popular knowledge. Knowledge of indigenous cultural heritage is often overlooked or marginalized, thereby generating many social problems in society. In the context of mitigating conflict and building harmonious relationships between peoples, intercultural education can be of great help. In addition, bilingual education, which extends to indigenous language revitalization, cultural identity reinforcement, self-esteem reconstruction, and increased understanding of mainstream or national cultural knowledge, is beneficial in elevating academic achievement, and providing real development value.

2.0.0. Intercultural Education

The importance of indigenous educational development lies chiefly in the goal of providing indigenous students with adequate schooling:¹⁴⁴ to solve most indigenous students' problems with classroom learning. The chief subjects are indigenous students and the focal areas of development are of course the schools within indigenous communities. However, the goal of indigenous education is not to merely instill indigenous students with the knowledge of one culture (indigenous cultural knowledge). The cultural identities of students studying in indigenous communities are often diverse. Thus, models for developing indigenous education need to take into account students' ethnic identities and individual needs, and cautious curriculum design planning can handle the cultural diversity reality in the classroom. In urban schools, the phenomenon of diverse student ethnic backgrounds is even more complex. To promote harmony among students of different ethnic communities, or to increase mutual cultural understanding, the importance and function of intercultural education is evident.

Although the earliest reason for intercultural education in the United States was to help immigrant students adapt to mainstream life and culture so that they could get up to speed in the education process, the students still had the opportunity to introduce and share their language and cultural heritage with peers of different cultural backgrounds in the classroom. It is of course a pity that this was nothing to do with improving the cultural understanding and appreciation between Native Americans and "White" Americans. Thus, through appropriate intercultural curriculum design, a school can give students of different cultural backgrounds in the same classroom the opportunity to gain mutual understanding through the sharing of cultural knowledge.¹⁴⁵ In fact, such spirit and educational values can indeed cater to indigenous students' educational needs. At the same time they can also teach non-indigenous students to get along with fellow students of different ethnic backgrounds and to appreciate diverse cultural knowledge. Traditional indigenous cultures – dancing, music, ritual, language, oral history and legend – whether tangible or intangible, are mutually linked because such cultural content does not exist in isolation. Thus, the method of implementation of intercultural education should include the design of activities allowing students to gain practical participatory experience, or include on-site visits, as, after all, indigenous cultural heritage is always closely linked to their land and communities. To introduce intercultural education to school, as has been suggested by the UNESCO guidelines on Intercultural Education, the idea of this new

¹⁴⁴ There are no superior or inferior cultures, but due to the long-term self-appointed "superiority" of dominant peoples, formal school education systems have established erroneous value judgments among students toward indigenous cultures.

¹⁴⁵ Dominant peoples place their own cultures at the center, producing prejudice and cultural discrimination toward indigenous cultures. Such unjust misunderstanding of peoples' relationships can only produce negative results. Furthermore, indigenous peoples became compelled to consider their own cultures as being savage and uncivilized, and as a result gradually refused to learn or are forced to give up learning their own cultural heritage. On top of this, outsiders' prejudices can make indigenous peoples feel ashamed of their cultural identities, and as such they may feel unmotivated to practice their cultural heritage and language. And sadly, no matter how a person denies or turns their back on their culture, in the end their efforts often only make them more confused about their cultural identity, trapping them generation after generation in an intractable vicious cycle of self-denial.

approach cannot be simply be added onto the existing school curriculum. A consideration of the whole learning environment is necessary, such as “school life and decision making, teacher education and training, curricula, languages of instruction” (UNESCO 2006:19) as well as “teaching methods and student interactions, and learning materials.” (UNESCO 2006:19)

Of course, within the context of the state, national governments are duty bound to address the reasons that produce the “indigenous problems.” The pressure toward globalization is growing steadily, and from local society to the national level to the global context, opportunities for different peoples to interact with each other continue to increase, emphasizing the importance of intercultural understanding. Thus, educational policy makers, in pondering how to improve indigenous education, must not limit their vision to the idea that only indigenous students need learn indigenous cultural heritage knowledge. Cultural interaction is bi-directional, and education should at the same time fulfill the needs of non-indigenous students to gain knowledge of diverse cultures. Intercultural educational interaction with regard to diverse cultures, languages, and heritage knowledge provides an efficient bridge of communication. Of course, this satisfies differently the educational needs and rights of students of all ethnic backgrounds; most importantly, since it can promote cross-cultural understanding, it can therefore mitigate cultural discrimination.

2.0.1. Bilingual Education

The interrelationship between a people’s cultural heritage and language is inseparable. This is especially the case with rituals, singing, oral tradition and history etc., where an intangible force influences the structure of cultural heritage, memory and mentality. Once a language becomes extinct, a culture will die with it; a people that loses its culture loses its cultural identity. The effect on all of humanity is not merely the loss of linguistic and cultural diversity, but also in its wake is the great expense and time needed to re-establish such lost cultural roots, identities and self-esteem (Anne-Marie de Mejía 2002). To save such moribund indigenous languages from extinction, it is necessary to provide formal courses so that indigenous students can have the opportunity to learn their own languages and (oral) literatures in school. By fostering young speakers of indigenous languages, we have hope for language revitalization.

As repeatedly stressed in this thesis, with the concept of the state and the effects of globalization, indigenous education development cannot be limited merely to stressing the revitalization of language and cultural heritage. It must enable education to exercise its greatest purpose, which is to help boost indigenous students’ academic achievement. Not only must they be involved in indigenous language and cultural heritage revitalization, but there is a greater function of helping them succeed in national education and feel confident in participating in global challenges. Therefore, besides stressing the functionality and importance of intercultural education, it must be accompanied with bilingual education, so that indigenous education and national education can be reformed so as to be more effective at attaining the expected goals. The accomplishments of bilingual education, from the case studies in this thesis, include the

contributions that *Maori* bilingual education and Frisian bi and trilingual education have given to language revitalization, as well as reducing many indigenous parents' fears that their children will not be sufficiently proficient in the dominant language, and as a result fall behind in terms of academic achievement or lose out to non-indigenous students in terms of academic competition.

From numerous research findings on bilingual education, one can clearly see that developing bilingual education requires massive funding. Therefore, to carry it out, thorough planning and financing needs to be done prior to development. The scale of development can be shrunk, perhaps first testing it in a few focal areas, such as has been done for the previous Frisian/Dutch bilingual education and current Frisian/Dutch/English trilingual education, to minimize failures in the educational planning and development caused by funding problems. Next, teacher training is key in determining the success of bilingual education. According to the field interviews in Oaxaca, as well as to the elementary school teachers trained in bilingual and intercultural education by the *Escuela Normal Bilingual e Intercultural de Oaxaca*, teachers lacking well-planned bilingual and bicultural education training were unable to truly get into the spirit of bicultural and bilingual education. In addition, they were unable to understand the learning difficulties that indigenous students experienced and they are in danger of unwittingly reproducing the norms and discriminatory notions of the dominant people and the colonial legacy. However, looking at the objectives of the teacher training provided by the *Escuela Normal Bilingual e Intercultural*, training indigenous students to become professional bilingual and bicultural teachers at indigenous schools is an idea of great foresight; after all, indigenous teachers who own indigenous cultural backgrounds may in principle have greater understanding and patience with regard to the learning needs and difficulties of indigenous students than do non-indigenous teachers. Of course, critical analysis, introspection and post-colonialist deconstruction are needed to trigger this awareness and understanding.

The advantage of bilingual education, besides its contribution to indigenous language revitalization, is that it makes use of indigenous languages to help indigenous students translate, understand, and apply other cultural knowledge (Mejía 2005). Taking Taiwan as an example, in indigenous schools there are usually some Han Taiwanese students. Now imagine if a non-indigenous student living in an indigenous community is unable to learn about the indigenous culture, then the student will feel stressed or alienated in his or her school life and his or her experience building friendships. The experience would be similar to that of an indigenous student studying at an urban school. Therefore, in the development of bilingual education at indigenous schools, the beneficiaries should not only be the indigenous students; for non-indigenous students, bilingual education provides a great opportunity for them to learn about indigenous language and culture.

Any education model should fulfill the learning needs of students of all peoples within a nation. Educational development and reform in a multiethnic country cannot focus just on academic knowledge; attention to diverse cultural knowledge and languages must also be boosted. Thus, since colonial dominion and education have caused indigenous cultural heritage and languages to face extinction as well as created low self-esteem, internalized

discrimination, poverty, and academic underachievement among indigenous students, governments should provide sufficient support for developing intercultural and bilingual education. This would help realize the goal of indigenous cultural and language revitalization, so that cultural diversity can enrich knowledge and lives. Cross-cultural understanding should be promoted, and different peoples should be helped to accept and respect cultural and lifestyle differences, thereby reducing or eradicating cultural discrimination and prejudice, and building an equally valued multicultural society.

2.1. Informal Education

It has been mentioned previously that cultural assimilation has provoked different dimensions of destruction to indigenous languages and heritages, and for most cases dominant people bear prejudice against indigenous culture. For example, in the past, the indigenous culture in Taiwan was considered strange, uncivilized and valueless. Indigenous peoples were not recognized as indigenous peoples and their practicing of cultural activities and languages was stopped. Nowadays, after social movement efforts dealing with issues of land right and identity etc., initiated by indigenous elites over the last 20 years, specific ways of life have become valued and recognized as part of Taiwanese heritage. Hints of indigenous peoples' world views can be seen from their music, dance, handicrafts, arts, ritual ceremonies and so forth. If such cultures are unable to be practiced in daily life, they will be easily replaced by the dominant consumer cultures, and as a result vanish. Formal school education is doubtless the most efficient means of revitalizing indigenous languages and cultural heritage, but informal education is also an indispensable educational tool for sustaining cultures. In particular, when the pace of formal education reform is unable to keep up with the speed by which a language or culture is dying, then informal education can serve as a vital medium for sustaining the life of a culture and transmitting it to the next generation.

2.1.0. Museums

In this ever-changing world, the function of museums is no longer merely to preserve artifacts from diverse cultures. After undergoing many transformations, their primary function and peripheral social responsibilities have caused museum managements to face more challenges. Because museums are endowed with the role of the “communicator,” in a modern society in which multicultural and multilingual phenomena are growing ever more complex museums provide basic knowledge in the form of informal intercultural and bilingual or multilingual education that fulfills a visitor's desire to learn. Most visitors to museums expect that the displays will generate interest in the content. By making proper use of this desire to gain cultural knowledge, museums can present the traditional culture of specific regions and reconstruct vanished lifestyles (Victor J. Danilov 2009; James Cuno 2008). This is helpful for building cultural pride and identity among the indigenous youths who have indistinct or lost cultural identity amid the influence of contemporary dominant culture. Non-indigenous peoples can also learn about indigenous histories and cultures through museums. However, in order to promote mutual appreciation and understanding between different peoples through museums, the

cultural content on display must be able to help visitors develop the appropriate attitude, and must share cultural values with audiences.

The reality of today is that people, especially young people, do not turn to museums for learning about cultural matters, but instead use the Internet. Museums, therefore, feel obliged to provide something extra, some type of emotion or experience, the sensationalism of which runs the risk of converting museums into mere fun parks. With high expectations for museums to contribute to the conservation and revitalization of indigenous cultural heritage, museums' exhibits have to avoid improper interpretations of cultural knowledge. They must also clearly set the goals of the exhibits: to build the ability to share cultural knowledge and history; to help different peoples gain understanding of each other's cultures; to become a bridge of communication between the subject of the exhibit and modern society. (許功明 2006) What becomes immediately apparent here is that, if the museum's form of "education" is able to fulfill the needs of both indigenous and non-indigenous peoples regarding sharing of cultures and raising awareness of the colonial past, then they can help prevent an increase in cultural discrimination. However, particularly with respect to displays on indigenous cultural heritage, the ability to build a partnership with local members of the specific indigenous community is key in minimizing the risk of conveying misinformation or offending sensibilities regarding cultural content, artifacts, and history. In addition it can inspire indigenous people to maintain, construct, reconstruct, and revitalize their own cultural knowledge and heritage.

In addition, museums can also serve as helpful educational partners for formal school education, providing a supplementary learning venue outside of school in which to consider the history and cultures of different peoples. In contrast to knowledge acquisition in the classroom, which is mostly transferred through the spoken and written word, museums offer diverse means of presenting information, which is arguably more educational.

2.1.1. Handicrafts and Arts

The handicrafts and arts of indigenous peoples are not only a manifestation of routine cultural activity, but more importantly they are deeply implanted in their spiritual and material cultures, and are rich with meaning and connections. This is a principal reason why these arts and crafts can create a worldview different from that of the dominant groups aligned with the capitalist economy of industrial production and consumerism. Perhaps one can find similar means of expression in the handicrafts and arts of different indigenous peoples, but the differences between the actual substance of the meanings is vast.¹⁴⁶ (賴明珠 2006) In other words, indigenous cultural identities have an inseparable connection to intangible heritage such as language, and tangible heritage such as handicrafts and arts.

¹⁴⁶ Different indigenous peoples have their own unique worldviews, values, knowledge and understanding of the arts.

Traditionally, indigenous peoples when creating handicrafts and art, gather their materials from Mother Earth, because land and living environment are meaningful to them and form an inseparable bond. Traditional indigenous cultural knowledge, values, and beliefs passed from generation to generation conveying and preserving tangible and intangible cultural ideas have shaped unique cultural identities.(Brenda L. Croft 2007) Formal schooling can provide basic education in the techniques, materials and creative concepts needed to create indigenous handicrafts and art, but when there is a lack of direct connection to the land and natural environment, curriculum development will tend toward educational methods and teaching material determined by Western art education, unrelated to traditional indigenous knowledge. An informal educational system possesses greater flexibility for deciding curriculum direction, teacher qualification requirement, learning places and types of demonstration. Traditionally, the community is indigenous students' classroom, but to achieve the goal of cultural heritage revitalization and reconstruction of cultural pride and identity, handicraft learning agencies and indigenous art training institutions must build fully integrated teaching curricula, in order to systematically instill indigenous cultural knowledge in the minds of indigenous learners by fostering arts and crafts, so that they can internalize and develop their unique cultural worldviews.

Indigenous peoples do not understand art in the way that it is understood in consumer societies, because to them, art is culture and life, art is agency. In the process of learning about and appreciating indigenous handicrafts and arts, insiders and outsiders alike can learn not only how to create indigenous art, but also about indigenous culture by way of creating indigenous art.

2.1.2. Dance and Music

Through regular practice and embodiment, culture becomes the active dimension of community-life. Indigenous dance and music performances are often part of religious and ritual activities. Different indigenous peoples have their own unique methods of performing music and dance. Living environments, oral traditions, cultural taboos, life-cycle ceremonies and so forth involve different dance steps and attire, and are accompanied by specific artifacts. Beyond the value that indigenous dance and music have as visual and auditory arts as ascribed by non-indigenous people, indigenous cultures also value them for their “supernatural power” above all else. Thus, it is helpful to take advantage of formal cultural events to enable indigenous youths to participate in and practice music and dance. Besides allowing them to pass on the singing and dancing culture from one generation to the next, it also gives the younger generations the chance to perceive and attain their cultural spirit and knowledge in a natural way.

Most indigenous dance and music is closely linked to the community's specific ceremonies. Music is a form of language, and dance requires the accompaniment of music. Indigenous cultural performance is a way to share cultural knowledge or provide the opportunity for indigenous people to engage in informal cultural activity. Under the premise of not offending traditional indigenous cultural norms, informal displays of cultural rituals, after determining which items are to be shared and what the cultural

content is, can provide opportunities for young indigenous people to train for and participate in performances. (王嵩山 2006) This can foster in indigenous participants a consciousness of their own culture, while also, via regular performance, pass on the indigenous music and dance culture. The process of showcasing indigenous language, music, dance, and ritual activities provides mutual support for cultural continuance and development. Practical participation in cultural activities provides a different means of acquiring cultural knowledge than does learning from textbooks. For indigenous peoples, attaining a link to cultural performance via real-life experience can help internalize cultural knowledge and strengthen the unique indigenous cultural identity. For outsiders experiencing the culture, it can elevate their understanding of the culture of “Others”. It is evident that the power of informal education has an irreplaceable position in the revitalization of cultural heritage and reconstruction of cultural identity for indigenous peoples.

2.1.3. Rituals

Traditional religious ceremonies have strong spiritual meanings for indigenous cultures. Time, place, people and mode of execution all have specific rules that need to be followed. When indigenous people underwent colonization, involving the destruction of traditional culture, intervention of political power, globalization, and increased mutual interaction between diverse cultures, the execution of indigenous rituals changed accordingly. But no matter how the forms have changed, the meanings symbolized by ritual ceremony was far more important for the indigenous people than we outsiders and researchers realize in our theories and analyses, underscoring the problem of “cultural distortion.”

The times in which indigenous peoples performed rituals were usually based on ancient calendars that they had developed, and were carried out at specific times of the year according to their respective region systems. Yet for the majority of young indigenous people, such ceremonial activities have a different meaning from the traditional cultural ideas due to studies, work or living away from home. Before they are performed, many indigenous ritual ceremonies must be arranged in advance, inviting back those young indigenous people with experience living traditional community lives. For example, Taiwan’s indigenous ritual performances are trending toward this model. For the people living away from the community culture, such a model may perhaps not offer very much help in reconstructing traditional cultural heritage knowledge, but ceremonial activities do cement the participants’ cultural unity. Those willing to return and participate in the ceremonies reveal their identification with indigenous cultural identity via real-life participation. (謝世忠 和 劉瑞超 2007)

The form and content of traditional indigenous ritual ceremonies have changed somewhat under the influence of external political, economic and religious factors, but the meaning of the existence of rituals is, to indigenous people, always intimately linked with cultural identity. After all, it is a part of the daily life practices of indigenous people, and rituals are important channels for communing with spirits and ancestors. By participating in the entire ceremony activity, the ritual experience, the camaraderie of the communities folk,

and the acquisition of traditional cultural knowledge together interweave to form cultural memories for a specific community.

2.1.4. Media

The function of media can be simply associated with entertainment, communication, and information transferring etc. In this respect, nowadays, media has been introduced in formal education system in all subjects and levels. Media includes a Variety of mediums such as TV, radio, Internet, movies and literature (e.g. newspaper, magazine, and book). (Femi Onabajo 2005) A popular programme, eloquent speech, interesting topic can easily spread information to audience in an efficient way. Therefore, sometimes students are more touched by learning from media than from teachers' oral instruction.

When media cannot be excluded from and extensively presented within the educational system, one should not overlook its power for indigenous education and heritage revitalization. If one looks carefully and examines already existing local, national, and global media products, one might find that indigenous media is marginalized and the major voice may often be influenced by dominant knowledge or even presented by non-indigenous speakers. Thus it is important that indigenous peoples should regain the power over their media. For a national government, the value of returning media authority to indigenous peoples is to establish equal human rights within a multiethnic country. The 'power' of media can be presented as a tool for justifying those stereotypes that were created by outsiders onto 'others' cultures. From the educational aspect, it is a good opportunity for indigenous peoples to share their cultural knowledge to both insiders and outsiders. Besides, to express one's cultural heritage to national and international societies is also an effective way for people to reconstruct their self-esteem and improve cultural identity. It means that indigenous peoples should actively take part in the improvement of their own media programmes, and bring their own cultural perspective into the formal and informal educational systems.

Since media has the potential to shape public opinion, the importance of media on informal education is not only has its own practical function but it is also an irreplaceable tool for promoting other informal educational systems. If such things as museums, handcrafts, arts, dance, music, and rituals can utilize media, it would help make indigenous cultural knowledge within those informal educational systems more visible and audible.

In order to create successful media systems that strengthen indigenous informal educational systems, revitalizing indigenous heritage, (re)setting goals and roles of developing indigenous media, are the initial steps for contemporary worldwide indigenous communities to reflect on their own heritage and to share it with a wider audience.¹⁴⁷ This is also the responsibility of national governments to create a public and open environment for developing indigenous media systems.

¹⁴⁷ For example, there is a T.V. channel named "Indigenous T.V. programme" in Taiwan. The idea of the programme is to specifically focus on introducing the heritage of Taiwan's indigenous peoples to Taiwanese society, as well as promoting indigenous artists. Unfortunately, if you were to compare this with

The focus of informal education is not just in teaching, but in the sharing of experience, interaction, and regular practice: these all belong to its developmental concept. The form of development can be organizational or through an institution with a complete development concept, such as museums, art schools, handicraft training institutes, or venues for displaying and performing cultural routines, such as music, dance, and ritual ceremonies. For indigenous peoples, numerous forms of education or modes of cultural preservation or continuation are necessary. The most important thing is to share and promote a strong sense of cultural heritage and identity among each of the specific indigenous peoples, enabling indigenous cultural heritage to pass from generation to generation, and develop in a sustainable fashion.

Besides, unlike formal education, informal education is flexible and can be initiated by local governments and cooperation systems between national government and indigenous peoples can be created. Unfortunately, it is still difficult to create concrete benefits for indigenous education and heritage revitalization from this kind of operation. As the majority of cases in Taiwan show, one might easily get an impressive image from the beautiful architecture of museums, culture centers and handicrafts institutes etc. in local communities. The reality, however, is as the local government budget runs out, these wonderful buildings will ultimately be closed and abandoned (see 黃煌雄 和 黃勤鎮 2004). Finances always provide a good excuse in this issue, but policies do need to be improved. Kuper (2003:395) indicated that “policies based on false analysis distract attention from real local issues. They are unlikely to promote the common good, and they will certainly create new problems.” Undoubtedly, it is helpful to get both local and national governmental support for the development of informal education, and policy-making which is focused on the specific local community’s issues will bring positive results for informal education.

other channels, the majority of the programmes are not welcoming to most audiences, and one of the major reasons being that there is an absence of setting target audiences and the purpose of programmes. In this case, the function of media (e.g. T.V) is very limited and would be unable to contribute a lot to the revitalization of indigenous heritage, and contribute less to promote intercultural communication within the multicultural society of Taiwan.

2.2. Immersion and Bilingual Education

Efforts in indigenous language and cultural heritage revitalization and education have only started to be discussed and implemented in an experimental manner for the last 40 years. Given the influence of global issues and the political and economic factors of different countries, at present there is some difficulty in drawing conclusions from a few available experiments regarding which methods are the most suitable for indigenous students. Given the crisis of imminent extinction of indigenous languages and cultural heritage however, we do not have much time for slow-paced experimentation¹⁴⁸. Even though most indigenous languages have been analyzed and registered by linguists using various examples of media, if a language lacks a population that uses it, then even if we still have the chance to hear these languages in such media, in reality it is no different from the language being dead.

What kind of language education model can effectively work to promote indigenous language revitalization? Some scholars worry that indigenous language immersion education will lead to obstacles in indigenous students' studies of the national language and knowledge. The opinion of scholars who tend to support the development of bilingual education is that such an educational mode can help indigenous students simultaneously develop national language and indigenous language skills. Scholars supporting indigenous language immersion education, on the other hand, believe that the effects of bilingual education on indigenous language revitalization are limited. Total language immersion education can truly help indigenous students learn their own language, and bilingual education has important potential for indigenous language revitalization. I believe these two language education models must work alongside each other.

Based on my personal experience growing up, the field interviews I conducted, and the ideas provided by numerous experts and scholars in language education, I have come to conclude that the key time period for learning a first language or mother tongue is before school age, because knowledge of the mother tongue is beneficial in helping children naturally develop their cultural identity and worldview. However, in modern times in which the first language of most indigenous peoples is the national language and the language of their parents is no longer an indigenous language, the issue of transforming indigenous languages into mother tongues for indigenous future generations is an important undertaking that one urgently needs to study and implement.

It is an indisputable fact that the use of indigenous languages is concentrated among the older generations, and that the pace of school education reforms is slow. Bilingual and immersion education must be implemented simultaneously if one wishes to confront the accelerating pace of language extinction. Thus, indigenous peoples must spontaneously initiate a total indigenous language learning environment in which pre-school-aged indigenous children can study and use indigenous languages together. Only by

¹⁴⁸ Most use of indigenous languages around the world is concentrated in the older generations of indigenous peoples. Many linguistics experts point out that once these indigenous elders die, their languages will vanish with them.

establishing language using partners, environment, and opportunities¹⁴⁹ for indigenous children will there be hope for language and cultural heritage revitalization. Bilingual education is the best way to help give these indigenous children who have already participated in an immersion indigenous languages learning environment at the pre-school stage the opportunity to continue learning and enjoying using their mother tongues.

2.3. Globalizing Indigenous Education

International organizations that focus on indigenous issues nowadays provide numerous self-formulated strategies as well as funding to tackle different issues, with the aim of remedying the problem of indigenous inferior status in political, economic, cultural and educational contexts. Academic circles in different countries also invest large amounts of effort in solving the problems indigenous people experience with respect to culture, knowledge, language, education, poverty, health and healthcare, gender, and social problems. Furthermore, many indigenous peoples have initiated various bottom-up efforts to address such problems. Overall, sporadic positive results have been obtained, but under numerous external pressures, many successes are unfortunately short-lived, and the goal of long-term sustainable development has been unattainable. What cannot be debated is that once educational reform is unable to attain a significant breakthrough, other problems cannot reach satisfactory solutions.

Globalization is a double-edged sword regarding the world's economic and cultural development. (John Tomlinson 1999) Yet, when there is the threat that the globalization will result in resources being cornered by the dominant people, there is the concern that indigenous cultures and languages will be submerged and lost to global trends. Suppose “globalizing indigenous education” is possible: how can indigenous education, cultural heritage and language revitalization be stimulated across community, ethnic and national boundaries?

When European Union members focus on rescuing endangered minority languages and cultures within their borders, strengthening the cultural identities of indigenous peoples and helping minority students successfully develop abilities through school education that enable them to compete on equal footing with dominant peoples, then the indigenous peoples will be able to adapt to different challenges coming from the globalized world. For this reason, cross-national organizations have joined forces to promote the development of trilingual education. Educational development and reform need the input of diverse viewpoints and strategies, and the advantage of forming a cross-national education network is in the sharing of resources and ideas that can improve and boost education quality. Thus, in view of this model, I propose the following opinions.

149 Indigenous peoples themselves have to help each other to develop a home-like learning environment in their own communities, to create a safe and proper atmosphere for their children to learn their indigenous languages in a “natural” way, and make indigenous languages their mother tongue.

2.3.0. Pooling “Power”

Institutions around the world that are “supporters” of indigenous peoples, such as the United Nations, International organizations, NGOs, universities, and research centres, focus on indigenous peoples’ lives, health, medical conditions, cultural heritage and language revitalization, literacy promotion, and economic improvements. On the issue of education, we often find that the external attention and assistance received by the same community comes from many different institutions. Researchers in each institution, due to differences in individual academic backgrounds and degrees of understanding of indigenous educational needs, utilize funds to develop different forms of education. Without a strict system of supervision and with funding and support going mainly toward research and experimentation, it has often been the case that when the funding ended, the educational experimentation ended with it. Such short-term experimental education has had not only limited results, but all too often it has meant that the funding has not reached its intended goal.

Imagine a feasible method of forming a network of these disparate powers and representations of indigenous peoples, in which regular meetings and conferences were held to update everyone with information, communicate ideas, exchange views and study education reform. Although indigenous language and cultural heritage revitalization through indigenous education have been on the agenda for decades in some countries, compared to mainstream education they remain in a very immature stage. As such, there is a great need to share and exchange all the different educational development methods through effective coordination and financing, so that there can be room for comprehensive comparison and discussion, in order to enable indigenous education to be carried out sustainably.

2.3.1. Pooling Expertise

In many conferences, workshops, and meetings regarding the field of indigenous education, complaints about the helplessness of the situation is often heard. Remarks on the sheer amount of similar challenges facing indigenous people, with regards to their struggle for better lives, political power, proper education and cultural heritage and language revitalization, are common. What is truly inconceivable is that, despite so much attention and effort focused on “indigenous issues”, the results continue to be as they have been in the past, and none of the helplessness has disappeared. The most common situation is that despite the fact that many experts, whether insiders or outsiders, are admirable indeed in contributing expertise, there has been no way of pooling the expertise of the experts of all the world’s countries. Moreover, there has been no way to implement this shared expertise through the sharing of philosophies, ideals and practical experience. The result is only a criticism of the ills of the past colonial education, and the repetition of ideas for developing indigenous education, from a position of sitting at a conference table.

First, one should figure out how to establish an international organization that can plan ways to manage indigenous education. Next, one should think about what such an

institution should be founded on. After that, in order to adapt to the effects of each country's regional and historical development background, it is important to determine how to introduce such an institution's educational improvement philosophies to national education systems.

Voices, opinions and efforts coming from different cultural and educational backgrounds, research areas, and similar expectations and support regarding indigenous educational development enable the teaching of a minority of fortunate indigenous students their own languages and cultures in school. Yet, if we can allow these results to influence indigenous peoples living in different communities, then we can have school education appropriate for more indigenous students from different communities and countries.

2.3.2. “Congruent” But Not “Identical”: Sustainable Operations

The “globalizing indigenous education” philosophy I propose is not an attempt to standardize indigenous education into one form. Rather, it aims to apply all feasible, effective and accessible experiences, resources, ideas and methods of indigenous education, though a systematic and organized framework, to the educational systems of the world's countries, and to obtain feedback of the operating circumstances. To adapt to the external influences and obstacles of different countries' natural and cultural conditions as well as their political systems, indigenous education needs to be a process of bidirectional communication and constant adjustment, and not imposed through one-way policymaking.

The challenges that have emerged from globalization and internationalization have brought the need for national language(s), minority and immigrant languages, as well as foreign languages to European citizens. In order to meet this need, the Council of Europe makes language education policies aimed at promoting plurilingualism, linguistic diversity, mutual understanding, democratic citizenship and social cohesion. Base on the spirit of language education policies, The European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning (Mercator 2008) has developed a multilingual education cooperation mechanism for regional and minority groups within its borders to help students develop sufficient skills for fully qualified participation in social life as well as to face global challenges. Besides this, the way in which the European Union member states regularly review each other's development models allows for the chance to review and consider all the cases of indigenous educational development. Perhaps you are like me, feeling frustrated when these seeds of hope are endangered due to insufficient funding, leadership, resources and experience. However, through international cooperation it will be possible for educational programmes to operate sustainably. Only in this way can we truly learn which educational models are suitable for modern indigenous students and truly understand what the indigenous educational needs are for school education to help them retain and reconstruct their cultural identity and cultural pride. It would then be truly possible to get dominant governments, scholars and researchers with little understanding of indigenous cultural heritage, world views, ways of life, and languages to recognize that indigenous peoples need to gain sufficient skills and knowledge to compete with mainstream people.

Indigenous peoples who have experienced different styles of colonial governance, have lived under different political environments and have resided in different living environments. They have different systems of cultural knowledge and naturally have different approaches to understanding knowledge. Thus, indigenous elders, leaders, schoolteachers, researchers, scholars and even governments must remember that operating methods, management philosophies and development goals can be borrow and learned from. The only thing that cannot be changed is that every specific indigenous cultural heritage and language is unique and valuable. Therefore, globalizing development concepts for indigenous education is founded on installing a perpetual platform of sharing (institution, organization, or “home-nest”), giving the world’s indigenous peoples the chance to know each other, exchange opinions, and provide possible support and resources needed for educational development. This in turn will form a strong and powerful platform for conferring, negotiation and discussion in a peaceful and equal way with dominant governments, striving for indigenous students to meet their educational needs, and attain success in both the indigenous and non-indigenous worlds.

2.4. The Responsibility of the United Nations

At present, among the institutions around the world concerned with indigenous future development, the most authoritative and most supportive is the United Nations (UN). One knows well that the attention the UN focuses on indigenous peoples with regards to issues of poverty reduction, the right to education, child health and nutrition has had a degree of success in alerting the world’s governments and unofficial organizations about such concerns. However, it is necessary to discuss in detail the overall operating circumstances of the system, through which some inconsistencies and problem areas will be identified.

Compared with the whole mission of the UN, the involvement specifically in the issues of indigenous peoples is small, especially the channels for indigenous participation and representation. Before the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples was recognized, the most important achievement of the UN was the adoption of the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples by the Working Group on Indigenous Populations. This was established in 1982, and enabled dialogue between governments and indigenous peoples. The Working Group’s annual meetings also provided an opportunity for indigenous peoples’ organizations to discuss common problems. A significant achievement of indigenous peoples in the UN is to be appointed a Special *Rapporteur* on the Situation of the Human Rights of Indigenous people. Unlike the Working Group, the authority of the Special *Rapporteur* is to investigate specific human rights complaints from indigenous individuals, groups or communities. Certainly, it has been successful in opening a space for dialogue among indigenous peoples, states, and international organizations, as well as making indigenous issues more visible on the global stage. Another important establishment concerning indigenous issues within the UN is the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. This forum was established by the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in 2000, and

holds two-week sessions once a year to discuss the topics related to such issues as economic and social development, culture, education and human rights.

If we look at the efforts of the UN in works related to indigenous issues, we may somehow feel unsatisfied. According to a 2009 report from the Global Compact of the UN (the United Nations 2009), in 26 case studies on human rights issues, disadvantageous conditions, such as child labor, discrimination in employment, lack of or inadequate education, shortage of food, poor health and lack of medical system, low standard of living, and disadvantaged women and children, exist commonly in indigenous communities. Such issues, though affecting other communities, are especially serious among indigenous communities. Sadly, among all the titles of those research projects¹⁵⁰, The UN has not indicated in particular the pressing needs of the indigenous peoples, despite being fully aware that, with regard to human rights issues, indigenous peoples have enjoyed less fair treatment than other peoples. Even though Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that “all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights”, among the 48 issues itemized by the United Nations regarding human rights, there is not one issue that specifically deals with the rights of indigenous peoples. One can say with certainty that when the UN deals with human rights issues, if indigenous peoples’ particular conditions are seen as no different to anyone else’s, then indigenous peoples have never able to attain equal rights.¹⁵¹ This blatant marginalize is a warning as to what expectations one might have when working to guarantee human rights to indigenous peoples.

Of course, I applaud the United Nations’ devotion to certain indigenous issues. But in cases such as when business interests within global compact member states encroach on indigenous land to develop resources, whose voice can represent the indigenous community? How much do the community members understand about such commercial development projects? Who can be responsible for providing suitable education and knowledge to make up for the lack of business knowledge among indigenous peoples? Questions like these only elicit responses from researchers who work with the projects of the United Nations Global Compact which suggest there is a limit to what can actually be done, despite best intentions. When a researcher working for UNICEF tells me that an effort to implement custom-developed language learning among a certain region’s indigenous elementary schools may possibly end as a result the project’s funding running out, I feel deep regret. I cannot comprehend why indigenous language learning seems to be only a short term project, but not a long term part of an educational curriculum. There have also been times when I have seen that some of the real results in the field of indigenous education happen to be very different from the UN’s declared results. It is surprising to learn that the positive results that I have been fed are not always a fair description of reality. In sad situations such as these, the image of the United Nations

¹⁵⁰ The project titles related to indigenous peoples are “Child Labour”, “Diversity and/or Non-discrimination in Employment”, “Human Rights and Environment”, “Human Rights, Sexual Orientation and gender Identity”, “Right to Education”, “Rights to Food”, “Rights to Healthy”, “Standard of Living”, and “Women’s and Children’s Rights”.

¹⁵¹ According to the “United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples”, the UN certainly proposed a valuable contribution to the promotion of indigenous rights. In reality, however, as we examine the UN’s work in this field, there is not much that indigenous peoples can truly get from it yet.

Headquarters in its high-class district in downtown New York City weighs heavily on my mind, and it is hard to understand why the UN can't carry out indigenous educational projects in a more practical and realistic way, and truly make the projects progress.. Unlike within the UN, in many indigenous communities we find experts, scholars and even local indigenous peoples exhausting their efforts and resources to keep the project going in the name of indigenous cultural revitalization or (language) education, even with a lack of support from stable funding sources. The UN should not accept political or human resources, or any other kind of lack of ability as an excuse. If large, influential international organizations are all unable to challenge indigenous issues, how can one count on the newly sprouting seeds of hope to flower and bear fruit? When I visited the Indian Teacher Education Program (ITEP) at the University of Saskatchewan I met the director of the programme, who had persisted in his position for more than 40 years toward developing indigenous language and culture education in reserve schools of Saskatchewan. Here I saw hope for indigenous cultural heritage and language revitalization.

What are the responsibilities of the UN? My humble hope is that the UN can provide researchers, scholars, indigenous peoples, and organizations that are truly effective to stimulate and orient states to commit to challenging indigenous issues. For sure, an active role of indigenous peoples in this process is crucial to overcome paternalism.

2.5. We Are All People

In this global community, cultural and language diversity gives us a richer experience of life. However, certain outdated yet ingrained values and inappropriate designations of “others” cause an atmosphere of discrimination and prejudice, whether through deliberately created means or a lack of proper consciousness of injustice, to pervade all corners of the world.

The continual publication of many great and important theoretical works has helped satisfy human curiosity and the need for diverse cultural knowledge, and has also helped us prepare in advance for experiencing a new culture by providing us with background knowledge through text and images. However, if the author is not sensitive about the ideologies expressed by certain word choices, then most readers may obtain only a partial or skewed message. The power of words not only provides knowledge, but also deeply affects the value judgments that are rooted in the reader's mind. Therefore, through careful use of language in our written texts one can avoid being accomplices in the perpetuation and promotion of prejudice and cultural discrimination.

The UN has officially adopted the term “indigenous people” to refer to the people residing in an area during the pre-colonial period. However, as previously described in chapter II, even member states of the UN do not necessarily use this term. In China, these indigenous people are called “minorities”; in Canada, they are First Nations, although this term is only for those “lucky” peoples who were official recognized as “registered Indians” by the Canadian government, Aboriginal peoples, or Indians; in the Netherlands, Frisians are a “minority”. Of course, the meaning of the term “indigenous people” may

not always be appropriate, but it is preferable to other terms such as Aboriginal people or minorities in that it can reduce the instance of negative or inappropriate intuitive reactions in outsiders. Perhaps one should think up a more suitable name that would be more acceptable to indigenous peoples. Besides this, the frequency that “ethnic group” appears in the literature particular in social science publications is very high, with authors usually employing it as opposed to “dominant people” or using it to describe non-mainstream peoples. What do the unequal contrasts between “ethnic” vs. “dominant,” “group” vs. “people,” or “ethnic group” vs. “dominant people” hint at?

Next, careful consideration is needed regarding the use of words on official governmental documents. Undeniably, the machinery of state is the main force affecting social values, and if a government neglects or marginalizes a specific culture, then mindsets of contradiction, lack of confidence, and defiance will appear among the owners of that culture, and prejudice and discrimination may be implanted into outsiders’ minds. As a simple example, Taiwan’s government in 2001 officially introduced “Language Arts” learning into its elementary and secondary education, arranging for full courses in Mandarin and English, as well as 40 minutes a week of “Dialects” class. Of these, Mandarin is the “national language”; English is the “global language”; and Taiwan Southern Min, Hakka, and the “14 indigenous languages” are considered “dialects.” After this system was implemented, schoolteachers, parents and students showed far less passion and value for “dialects” as they did for the other two language classes. The unequal status of these languages was evident in the curriculum design and the name given to the curriculum.

All humans are born equal, and there is no such thing as a “superior” or “inferior” culture. Prejudice and discrimination originate from a sense of self-superiority common among humans. In the name of ensuring that all peoples can enjoy equal human rights and the vision of creating a just and peaceful world, all of humanity should avoid the perpetuation of the use of these discriminatory and biased words, and stop using unequal terms to refer to any people or cultures. We are all People.

2.6. The Keys to Indigenous Education and Heritage Revitalization

In 2007, the United Nations issued the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. The voices of indigenous peoples focus on the rights of culture and language being recognized and addressed on the international stage. In order to develop from these ideals and principles an educational model which leads to better indigenous students' learning achievements and heritage revitalization, obviously many local circumstances have to be taken into account. There are no easy recipes. But we may list a few basic thumb rules which generally should be taken into account:

1) School Environment

The learning environment should have an indigenous cultural atmosphere with high-tech (and internationally oriented) learning facilities, e.g. computers and DVD players.

2) School Leadership

The Principles of indigenous schools should come from indigenous communities. If not, at least they should have extensive knowledge (and positive appreciation) of indigenous culture and have teaching experience in indigenous communities.

3) Teacher Qualification

The majority of teachers in indigenous schools should come from indigenous communities and speak the specific local language.

4) Teachers Training

Teachers' training should include fieldwork research in other indigenous communities in the world and benefit from workshops by indigenous and non-indigenous international experts.

5) Indigenous Involvement and Responsibility

Teaching indigenous languages and cultures should actively involve the (grand-) parents and knowledgeable elders of the community.

6) Language Use

Teaching should be in the local language with the national language as a subject matter, or

Teaching should be in national language with indigenous language, literature, history, and culture as important subject matters, or

Teaching should give equal space and value to both languages and literatures.

7) Learning Activities

The teaching of indigenous languages and cultures should be very concrete and practical, and be connected to the life of the community. It should involve activities such as contributing to a local museum, registering oral tradition / history / literature, producing (and learning about) art work etc.

- 8) Learning Materials
There should be an adequate school infrastructure and educative materials in the local languages.
- 9) Audio/Visual Representation
There should be presence of indigenous language(s) and cultural heritage in media (radio, television, newspapers, books, web-sites). Positive examples should be used in class, as well as interviews with indigenous “role models”.
- 10) The Responsibility of Teaching and Learning Resources.
Support and stimulation for literary and cultural production.
- 11) Knowledge Sharing
Presence of indigenous cultural knowledge in the non-indigenous education: all children in a country should have at least an overview knowledge of representative elements of the language / literature / art / traditional knowledge, worldview etc. of the different indigenous peoples in that country.
- 12) Deconstruction of Colonial Mentality
Teaching at higher levels should involve the (explicit) deconstruction of colonial ideas, stereotypes and mentalities.

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Nederlandse samenvatting van het proefschrift *Inheems onderwijs en erfgoed-revitalisering van Wen-Li Ke*

Dit proefschrift richt zich op de rol van materieel en immaterieel cultureel erfgoed in het onderwijs van, voor en door inheemse volkeren. Dit thema is te plaatsen binnen het kader van de wereldwijde discussies en studies over de mogelijkheden tot het creëren en implementeren van adequate en gewenste vormen van tweetalig en intercultureel onderwijs in inheemse gemeenschappen, zoals aanbevolen door de UNESCO en bevestigd in de Verklaring van de Verenigde Naties inzake de Rechten van Inheemse Volkeren (2007). Doel van dit onderzoek is de formulering van concrete ideeën over hedendaagse inheemse erfgoededucatie als referentiekader voor de hervorming van het onderwijs in Taiwan. Dit proefschrift verkent niet alleen de theoretische en praktische dimensies van inheemse onderwijsmodellen, maar onderzoekt ook de achterliggende kwesties van culturele en etnische identiteit, en zoekt mogelijkheden om het begrip, de erkenning en de waardering voor culturele diversiteit bij de gehele bevolking van een land te verbeteren.

Mijn eigen culturele achtergrond en persoonlijke levenservaring in inheemse gemeenschappen in diverse landen (met name Taiwan, Nederland, Nieuw-Zeeland, Canada en Mexico) zijn van cruciaal belang geweest voor mijn begrip van deze problematiek. In het eerste hoofdstuk neem ik deze persoonlijke ontwikkeling en schoolervaring, aangevuld met inspiratie opgedaan tijdens veldwerk en interviews, als uitgangspunt voor een beschouwing van de methodische en theoretische aspecten. Het onderzoek naar inheems onderwijs en de heropleving van belangstelling voor erfgoed heeft reeds behoorlijk indrukwekkende bevindingen en publicaties opgeleverd. Het overzicht van de meest belangrijke concepten en discussiepunten gaat o.m. in op kwesties van cultuur en taal in het inheems onderwijs, het standpunt van de UNESCO inzake onderwijs, om uit te monden in een samenvattende analyse van de theorieën rond dekolonisatie, postkolonialisme, multiculturalisme en tweetaligheid. Deze studies vormen de bronnen en de basis voor een verkenning van de praktische uitvoerbaarheid en waarde van inheems onderwijs.

De algemene situatie van de hedendaagse inheemse volkeren over de hele wereld wordt besproken in hoofdstuk II. Kenmerkend is dat er door de kolonisatoren willekeurig beslissingen over hun toekomst werden gemaakt. Tegelijkertijd was het voor deze inheemse volkeren niet mogelijk om te ontsnappen uit hun sociaal, cultureel, economisch en politiek benadeelde posities of om de vernietiging van hun culturele erfgoed en hun identiteit te voorkomen. Momenteel bevinden veel van de inheemse volkeren in de wereld zich in een marginale positie ten opzichte van de dominante samenleving en de meeste hebben de mensenrechten die hen werden ontnomen nog niet volledig kunnen heroveren. Het resultaat is dat vandaag de dag vele inheemse volkeren geconfronteerd worden met tal van sociale problemen, waaronder armoede en gebrekkig onderwijs. Modernisering en nationale politiek hebben in veel gebieden geleid tot enorme wijzigingen in de traditionele levensstijl en erosie van overgeleverde culturele kennis en waarden, zonder dat de bevolking toegang kreeg tot nieuwe maatschappelijke mogelijkheden of economische verbeteringen. Zo zijn bijvoorbeeld de rol en de status

van inheemse vrouwen ten nadele veranderd: we worden teruggedrongen naar een nog zwakkere positie dan inheemse mannen en krijgen hierdoor nog meer problemen te verduren.

Om het pad te effenen voor het verdere verloop van het onderzoek wordt in hoofdstuk III de ontwikkeling van het denken over de kwestie van het inheemse onderwijs geanalyseerd. In het verleden vormden exploitatie en controle door etnische / culturele homogenisering het doel van de kolonisatoren. Koloniale machten namen om politieke en economische redenen het land van inheemse volkeren in beslag en dreven de inheemse bevolking naar reservaten of marginale gebieden. Tegen het einde van de Eerste Wereldoorlog waren de meeste inheemse populaties in de wereld dan ook ernstig in aantal gedaald, verpauperd en verzwakt door ziekte en bijzonder slechte levensomstandigheden. Er was nauwelijks sprake van eigen economische activiteit en al evenmin van ontwikkeling door scholing. Na de Tweede Wereldoorlog ontstond echter, met de algemene periode van dekolonisatie, ook aandacht voor inheemse volkeren. In eerste instantie richtte het nationale beleid in diverse landen zich alleen op integratie van diverse volkeren, en een paternalistisch beleid van zorg en assistentie (“indigenisme”). Hierbij hoorde een zeer nationalistisch en homogeniserend onderwijs, dat erop gericht was een eind te maken aan inheemse talen en culturele tradities. Maar allengs begon het onderwijsbeleid in sommige landen van richting te veranderen. De laatste twee decennia van de 20e eeuw waren cruciaal voor de ontwikkeling van het inheemse onderwijs. Zoals gesteld in het rapport van de Wereldcommissie voor Cultuur en Ontwikkeling, in de 21^{ste} eeuw “begon alles over de hele wereld, waar volkeren zich vermengden, als nooit tevoren, te evolueren naar bredere en meer *empowered* en participatieve kaders” (UNESCO 1994: 9). De realiteit is vandaag zeker ingewikkelder en onzekerder dan ooit tevoren en er is een dringende behoefte aan erfgoededucatie en intercultureel onderwijs in deze geglobaliseerde wereld.

Hoofdstuk IV illustreert de algemene problemen binnen het hedendaagse inheemse onderwijs. In de meeste gevallen speelt politiek een belangrijke rol bij het omgaan met opvoedingsproblemen. Daarom geef ik voorbeelden van ander onderzoek naar inheems onderwijs in Taiwan waarbij deze politieke invloed terug is te vinden. Onderwijs is zowel nationaal als koloniaal gekleurd omwille van de historische omstandigheden. Onder de gekoloniseerde volkeren van de wereld hebben de ervaringen van en herinneringen aan de kolonisatie een diepgaande invloed gehad op het onderwijs, de culturele praktijk, de economische activiteiten, het denken en het gedrag in het dagelijks leven. De meeste inheemse volkeren worden wereldwijd geconfronteerd met dezelfde moeilijkheden wanneer het gaat om onderwijs: steeds complexere sociale en politieke omgevingen beïnvloeden de schoolmodellen en mentaliteiten ten aanzien van de inheemse taal. Wat de toekomstige mondiale trends ook zullen inhouden, de toenemende globalisering aan het einde van de 20^{ste} eeuw heeft nog zwaardere lasten van armoede, schulden en marginalisering op de schouders van de kwetsbare meerderheid van de inheemse mannen, vrouwen en kinderen geladen. Het veldwerk voor dit onderzoek toont duidelijk aan dat binnen de structuur van de nationale onderwijsstelsels de termen “inheems onderwijs” en “inheemse scholen” in de meeste landen slechts symbolische substantieven zijn. De ontwikkeling van het onderwijsbeleid en de cursusinhoud worden in het algemeen niet

bepaald door (experts of vertegenwoordigers) van de inheemse gemeenschappen zelf, maar zijn volledig afhankelijk van het overheidsbeleid en zijn vrijwel exclusief het terrein van beschouwingen door outsiders.

Hoofdstuk V onderzoekt verschillende praktijkvoorbeelden van alternatief onderwijs, ontwikkeld door – of met zichtbare participatie van – de inheemse bevolking.. De case studies betreffende het *Maori* tweetalig en immersie onderwijs (Nieuw Zeeland) en het drietalig onderwijs in Friesland (Nederland), zijn gebaseerd op verschillende educatieve filosofieën. Het voorbeeld van het inheemse taalonderwijs in Saskatchewan, Canada, bewijst duidelijk dat de samenwerking tussen het schoolonderwijs, de inheemse *bottom-up* inspanningen en de academische bijdragen positief is en hoop biedt voor het behoud of de heropleving van inheemse talen. Het heeft er zeker toe geleid dat mensen een meer constructief idee hebben van hoe “inheems onderwijs” en de “revitalisering van cultureel erfgoed” ontwikkeld kan worden. Het *Maori* idee van een voorschools “taalnest” (*Te Kohanga Reo*) biedt een praktisch perspectief voor de ontwikkeling van taalvaardigheid samen met kameraadjes. Zulke bijdragen van de *bottom-up* actie van de inheemse bevolking hebben mensen over de hele wereld meer bewust gemaakt van het belang van culturele diversiteit als een van de mensenrechten.

Hoofdstuk VI analyseert praktische problemen betreffende inheems onderwijs aan de hand van ervaringen en waarnemingen opgedaan tijdens veldwerk in verschillende landen. Het is opmerkelijk dat het onderzoek naar de inheemse taal en cultuur, en het tweetalig, multicultureel, en intercultureel onderwijs zich eigenlijk nog steeds in een vroeg stadium bevindt. Tegelijk heeft het fenomeen van de globalisering de druk op de situatie opgevoerd. Een zichtbaar probleem zijn de lage academische prestaties van inheemse leerlingen. Reflectie over de problemen van de inheemse bevolking en het bestaan van multi-etnische samenlevingen vandaag de dag maakt duidelijk dat er in het onderwijsbeleid en in de praktische uitvoering terdege rekening moet worden gehouden met bestaande vooroordelen en discriminatie – die zowel geworteld zijn in inheemse als in dominante gemeenschappen. Deze spelen ook mee bij de beoordeling van de inspanningen van de inheemse en niet-inheemse onderwijshervormingen. De bijdragen van de inheemse volkeren zelf (bijv. van de *Maori*’s) hebben de dominante bevolking bewust gemaakt van het belang van “samenleven” in deze multi-etnische wereld.

Dit proefschrift is geschreven vanuit de overtuiging dat onderwijs de belangrijkste en meest doeltreffende strategie is teneinde om te gaan met cruciale hedendaagse kwesties in de wereld. Het laatste hoofdstuk formuleert enkele concrete visies en aanbevelingen op het gebied van inheems onderwijs en de revitalisering van erfgoed. Een centraal doel is de verbetering van de waardering van culturele diversiteit als basis voor en samenleven in deze geglobaliseerde wereld. Nog steeds zijn (impliciete) kwalificaties van culturen als “superieur” (zelf) of “inferieur” (de ander) wijd verbreid, in combinatie met raciale / etnische / culturele stereotypen en discriminatie. Voor het ideaal dat alle volkeren gelijke mensenrechten kunnen genieten en in een rechtvaardige en vreedzame wereld kunnen samenleven, is passend onderwijs, dat kan voldoen aan de behoeften van studenten uit alle verschillende culturele achtergronden, een absolute prioriteit.

Curriculum Vitae

The author of this dissertation, Wen-Li Ke, was born in Taipei, Taiwan in 1970. In 1994, she obtained a B.A. degree in Mechanical Engineering at the University of Tamkang, in Taipei, Taiwan. In 2004, she completed her M.A. degree in Ethnology at National Chengchi University in Taipei, Taiwan, paying special attention to the subject of indigenous education in Taiwan. During the time of her M.A. study, she was also teaching at Taipei Young-An Elementary School.

In 2006 she got the first prize from The Department of Education of Taipei City Government in The Professional innovation and Life Research Competition of the primary, secondary schools and kindergartens in Taipei. In 2008 she was awarded the gold medal from The Department of Education of Taiwan in The Competition of Remarkable Pedagogy.

Between 2005 and 2011 she conducted her PhD research at the Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University, the Netherlands, based on a comparative study of diverse practices and implications of indigenous education and heritage revitalization in different countries.