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LANGUAGE PRESERVATION, POLICY, AND PLANNING IN A LANGUAGE "HOT SPOT": AN INTERPRETIVE POLICY ANALYSIS

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LANGUAGE PRESERVATION, POLICY, AND PLANNING IN A LANGUAGE "HOT SPOT": AN INTERPRETIVE POLICY ANALYSIS

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP AND POLICY STUDIES

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Dedication

To my daughters, Veyana and Lilian, who make me smile and strengthen my sense of purpose every day.

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements iv

Table of Contents v

List of Tables ix

List of Figures x

Abstract xi

Chapter 1: Introduction 1

Statement of the Problem 1

Purpose of the Study 8

Definition of Terms 9

Significance and Implications for Practice 11

Organization of the Study 12

Chapter 2: Literature Review 14

Introduction 14

Cultural Anthropology 14

The Sociology of Language 15

Educational Policy Analysis 17

Language and Education Policy in the United States: A Historical Context 19

Language Preservation and Revitalization: Past, Present, and Future Prospects 25

Why Should We Care? 26

How/Should We Preserve and Revitalize Languages? 30

Perpetuate and Do Nothing Responses to Language Loss 31

Document and Sustain/Revitalize Research and Responses to Language Loss 35
Language and Education Policy Planning: A Theoretical Framework 50
Conclusion 56
Chapter 3: Methodology 59
Researcher Reflexivity: Identity as a Researcher 59
Research Design 63
Primary Data: Interviews 70
Secondary Data: Federal, State, Local, and Tribal Nation Policy Documents 71
Secondary Data: Public Organized Meetings, Conference Presentations, and Reports 72
Project Design 73
Participants 74
Participant Selection 77
Data Analysis 80
Implications for Practice 96
Chapter 4: Findings 97
The Architecture of Language Policy 98
Policy Issues and Policy Actors 99
Parallel and Competing Policies 108
Chapter 5: Findings 123
Implementation Roles and Challenges 123

Implementation Roles 123
Implementation Challenges 132
Conclusion 140
Chapter 6: Discussion 144
Value 147
Culture 149
Habit 150
Knowledge 151
Policy Dimension 153
Implications 157
Chapter 7: Goals, Recommendations & Conclusions 162
The Future of Native American Language in Oklahoma 166
Goals and Recommendations 174
State Level Action 174
District Level Action 176
Conclusion 178
References 181
Appendix A: Field Expert Interview Protocol 205
Appendix B: Oklahoma State Representative Interview Protocol 206
Appendix C: Oklahoma State Department of Education Staff Interview Protocol 207
Appendix D: School Administrator Interview Protocol 208
Appendix E: Concept Map and Initial Coding Categories 209

Appendix F: Data Display for Theoretical Framework Categories & Corresponding Codes 210

List of Tables

Table 1. Language Policy and Planning Framework 53

Table 2. Overview of Research Design 65

Table 3. Participant Description 75

Table 4. Participant Demographics 79

Table 5. List of Themes and Codes 83

Table 6. Master List- Categories and Themes from National Level Data Sources 88

Table 7. Master List – Categories and Themes from State Level Data Sources 89

Table 8. Master List – Categories and Themes from Local Level Data Sources 90

List of Figures

Figure 1. Interpretive Policy Analysis Web 92

Figure 2: Policy Actor Organizational Chart 100

Abstract

Native American tribes within the state of Oklahoma are faced with the loss of their heritage language at an alarming rate, much to do with past and present monolingual English language ideologies and policies that have been promoted within schools. However, in recent years, there has been renewed and increasing interest in challenging these monolingual ideologies while utilizing school systems as a medium to preserve and revitalize almost forgotten languages. The tension that exists among and between proponents of monolingual and multilingual ideologies continues to influence educational policy on a national, state, and local stage. Therefore, this dissertation research was a discursive interpretive policy analysis of language and educational policies. The primary goal of the research was to better inform policy actors within the state of Oklahoma. It begins by defining the problem, and then examines the history of language ideology and consequent policy. Next, international and national efforts toward language preservation are detailed, and then the dissertation describes the discursive interpretive policy analysis methodology and specific procedures used in order to collect and analyze primary and secondary sources related to language education policy and language preservation. The results of the dissertation study yield further contributions to the dialogue on Native American language education, and language policy and planning, by highlighting the relationship between language ideology, policy, and educational practices that affect school activities and student outcomes.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Statement of the Problem

From the time of European contact with the Americas, prevailing monolingual language ideologies and respective policies have played a role in the obsolescence of countless indigenous languages of the Americas (Garrett, 2004). In more recent times, schooling practices and educational policies have been a common ideological space by which language loss and obsolescence has been promoted through both overt and covert symbolic violence (Adams, 1977; Bourdieu & Thompson, 1999; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Menken, 2008; McCarty & Nicholas, 2014; Menken & Garcia, 2010). Symbolic violence, as stated by Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), is "the violence that is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity" (p. 18). For example, throughout the 20th century, most Native American tribal members within the U.S., for a number of reasons, have shifted from the predominant use of their tribal language to the predominant use of English to the detriment and almost complete loss of fluent tribal language speakers.

The loss of language is a form of symbolic violence because this shift has many negative effects on Native American communities (Adams 1977, Duranti, 1997; Hill 2008; Morgan, 2004) and is a result of the historic trauma that many Native American communities still wrestle with today (Brave Heart et al., 2011; Duran & Duran, 1995; Robbins, 1999). Each Native American community has independently suffered from their own traumatic historical events, but almost all Native American communities dealt with one common traumatic historical event, namely the forced removal of their children to boarding schools wherein they were abused and starved for speaking their

language, exposed to horrendous health conditions and to a wide variety of diseases, and where many died (Adams, 1977; Churchill, 2004).

Although there is a concerted effort to counteract this symbolic violence and historic trauma through a variety of means including the preservation and revitalization of indigenous languages in the U.S., the underlying tension between proponents of monolingual English ideologies and proponents of multilingualism and Native American language preservation persists (May, 2014). These underlying tensions are evident in a variety of conflicting language policy initiatives and acts that exist at the national, state, local, and tribal nation levels. When viewed as a whole, these language policies continue to complicate efforts toward language preservation. For example, the No Child Left Behind Act (2001) is focused primarily on closing achievement gaps through mandatory assessment in specific content areas, yet this policy has negative consequences for bilingualism and language preservation by focusing entirely on English language proficiency (Shohamy, 2006).

In a nation, and state, in which many believe that learning a second language is a waste of time and money (Matthews, 2010), gaining adequate public and monetary support for indigenous language preservation efforts has proven to be difficult. Some might argue that the U.S. isolation from other countries has made obsolete the necessity of fluency in languages other than English. Although it is true that most Americans can accomplish their daily tasks and goals without using a language other than English, this argument refuses to recognize that we as a society have created our own linguistic isolation. For hundreds, if not thousands of years, the land on which the U.S. was formed has been the home of hundreds of languages, yet over the course of time, the

U.S. as a nation has chosen to forget all other languages for the sake of English, and as stated by Philips (2004):

> At the heart of the relationship between language and social inequality is the idea that some expressions of language are valued more than others, in a way this is associated with some people being more valued than others and some ideas expressed by people through language being more valued than others. (p. 474)

As linguistic diversity in the past 30 years has declined by over 60% in the Americas (Harmon & Lohl, 2010), we as a nation refuse to recognize the academic, cognitive, economic, military, and societal benefits to multilingualism, and this monolingual ideology continues to have a significant effect on indigenous language preservation.

Many U.S. citizens and policy actors may not be aware that growing up multilingual is accepted and considered both an advantage and the norm in most parts of the world; however, in the U.S., monolingualism is promoted and accepted as the norm. Despite the historical existence of a rich and diverse linguistic heritage in the U.S., a relatively small number of U.S. citizens speak languages other than English. According to the American Community Survey (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010), less than 21% of the U.S. population speaks a language other than English, and less than 1% (0.9%) of the U.S. population speaks "Other languages," the category in which Native American languages is included (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). In Oklahoma, the state with the highest density of spoken Native American languages in the U.S. (National Geographic Society, 2007; Reese, 2011), less than 10% of the population speaks a language other

than English and less than 1% (0.7%) of the population speaks other languages/Native American languages (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010).

In 2007, National Geographic and the Living Tongues Institute's Enduring Voices Project named Oklahoma as a *language hotspot*. A language hotspot is a geographic region with a combination of high levels of genetic diversity, high levels of language endangerment, and low levels of language documentation (Living Tongues Institute, 2012). The Living Tongues Institute has identified 20 language hotspots around the world, and according to the institute, the Oklahoma Language Hotspot is one of two such areas found in the United States (Living Tongues Institute, 2012). As Oklahoma was known as Indian Territory during the 19th century, several indigenous groups were moved to Oklahoma, which added to its already diverse set of local languages. According to the Living Tongues Institute website (2012), Oklahoma is an area in great need of action and should be an area of highest priority in planning future research and funding projects.

Although Oklahoma has the highest density of spoken Native American languages in the United States (National Geographic Society, 2007; Reese, 2011), all of these languages of Oklahoma are endangered to one degree or another (Living Tongues Institute, 2012). For example, approximately 40 native languages are spoken in the state of Oklahoma, and of the 38 federally recognized tribes in the state, only 18 have fluent tribal language speakers (Linn, 2007). Most tribal nations in Oklahoma are working to revitalize or preserve their language, but currently the majority of these languages are spoken by only a handful of elders.

While there is a growing movement within Oklahoma to preserve and revitalize many of the indigenous languages, some policy actors at the national, state, and local levels, through monolingual language ideology, and consequent educational policy, discourage bilingualism and language revitalization efforts. As stated by Shohamy (2006), language and education policy is, "considered a form of imposition and manipulation of language policy as it is used by those in authority to turn ideology into practice" (p. 76).

Similarly, Kroskrity (2004) described language ideologies and policies in the following way:

> Language ideologies represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group. A member's notions of what is ''true'', ''morally good'', or ''aesthetically pleasing'', about language and discourse [and educational policy] are grounded in social experience and often demonstrably tied to political-economic interests. (p. 501)

Expressed more simply, the language of our educational policies is a means to express thoughts, ideas, feelings, hopes, and goals of the educational policy makers who are sociopolitical language users who construct and perpetuate their worldview through language and law (Duranti, 1997). There is a significant interplay between the worldview of policy makers and their role in the continuation and manipulation of their worldview through policy (Bahktin, 1982; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Duranti, 1997).

Since the early 1980s, one form of imposition and manipulation of language policy has occurred in more than half of the states in the United States. More than 30 states have passed laws declaring English the official language of their state, and on

November 2, 2010, Oklahoma joined the growing number of states declaring English as the official language (McNutt, 2010). In a nation and state with a dramatic decline in linguistic diversity and relatively few speakers of languages other than English, what is the purpose of such policies? These values expressed through policies recognizing English as the official language negatively affect the state's monolingual English speakers, English language learners, and indigenous communities alike (Gandara & Hopkins, 2010; Linn et al., 2002; Menken, 2008). For example, these policies reinforce the dominance of English, reduce communication with language minority family in their heritage language within various state agencies, and they support English standardized testing policies that discourage language immersion programs (McCarty & Nicholas, 2014).

The call to action in regards to indigenous language preservation and revitalization is not new, and support behind increasing Native American language instruction in schools has been pronounced at the national, state, local, and tribal nation levels by government leaders, policy actors, educators, and concerned community members (Adams, 1997; Crystal, 2000; Hale, 1998; Harrison, 2007; Hinton & Hale, 2001; Lewis 2009; Linn et al., 2002; Fishman, 1971; Ferguson, 1977). However, the shadow of conflicting monolingual ideologies and confounding language education policy reforms obscure the voices behind this urgent call to action (McCarty & Nicholas, 2014). While tribal colleges within Oklahoma are playing a role in language preservation and revitalization, historically, the decentralized nature of the U.S. education system has left the primary decisions about Native American language instruction in the hands of state and local school officials and administrators. For this

reason, a successful effort toward indigenous language revitalization and preservation in the state must entail garnering support for such efforts from state and local policy actors as well as the public at large.

As schools are primary ideological spaces in which the transmission of culture and language ideology occurs (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Bourdieu & Thompson 1999; Menken, 2008; McCarty & Nicholas, 2014; Menken & Garcia, 2010), a necessary component of Native American language revitalization efforts must involve an in-depth understanding of the primary actors, ideologies, and issues involved in creating and implementing language and education policy in the field of Native American language instruction (McCarty & Nicholas, 2014). Significant research on language education policy has been conducted in the United States during the past three decades (Crawford, 1989; Hinton, 2001a, Hornberger, 1998; McCarty, 1993), but the focus of this research has been on the national level. Recently, scholars such as Hinton and Hale (2008), Hornberger (2006), and Ricento (2006) have placed particular attention on language policy and planning issues related to Native American language revitalization, in their ongoing research related to language ideology and educational policy. However, many times the focus of this research is primarily related to English language learners. However, little research has discussed the effect that these policies have on Native American language instruction in school systems, and to date, no research has focused on Oklahoma's language policy issues in relation to language preservation efforts within the state. Therefore, this research study serves as a policy analysis of Native American language education policy in the United States as it relates to language preservation and revitalization in Oklahoma.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this discursive policy analysis was to inform a deeper knowledge of language policy issues and outcomes on local communities among Oklahoma policy makers. This was accomplished by exploring how language planning ideology and consequent educational policy affects the implementation of Native American language education within the state of Oklahoma. It further sought to determine how these ideologies and policies affect areas of Native American language education such as curriculum and materials development, teacher and school administrator preparation and certification, and student standardized assessment requirements. The following primary *research questions* were used as guides for this discursive policy analysis:

RQ1. What language policy and planning issues influence the implementation of Native American language education within the state of Oklahoma?

RQ2. What role does Oklahoma (and by analogy other states) and public school districts have in the preservation and revitalization of Native American languages?
Additional guiding questions included:

RQ3. What supports or barriers are promoted by the primary policy actors through their policies, and what affect do these policies have on Native American language revitalization?

RQ4. What language policy planning components foster successful implementation of Native American language education programs?
Through the process of answering these questions, various perspectives held by actors in the field of Native American language policy and instruction were identified and analyzed. This process supports policy comparisons and engenders a deeper

understanding of the influences that national, state, and local language education policies have on language preservation and revitalization efforts.

In the geographically bound setting of Oklahoma, which holds deep-seated and collective inclinations toward monolingual ideologies, I anticipated being both encouraged by the growing language preservation and revitalization movements and disheartened by the continued and concerted efforts of many local, regional, and national organizations intent on making White English the only spoken language. Interviews, observations, and interpretive policy and document analysis constituted the primary method to answer the central questions of this study. Additionally, federal, state, and local policy documents and reports in addition to media coverage were gathered and analyzed to compare with the actual implementation and outcomes of Native American language instruction programs within the state.

Definition of Terms

As the primary focus of this study was related to how language policy and planning affects language revitalization and preservation efforts in schools, it is important to specify the use and meaning of nuanced and sometimes interchangeable vocabulary used throughout this study.

Language planning. As defined by Cooper (1989), language planning is "deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes" (p. 45). Blommaert (1996) added to this definition that language planning covers "all cases in which authorities attempt, by whatever means, to shape a sociolinguistic profile for their society" (p. 207). Hornberger (2006) described three types of language planning: (a) status

planning, (b) acquisition planning, and (c) corpus planning. Status planning relates to the use of language and is described as "efforts directed toward the allocation of functions of language/literacies" (Hornberger, 2006, p. 28) and is exemplified in the officialization and nationalization of language. Acquisition planning relates to language users and is an effort to "influence the allocation of users or the distribution of languages," and corpus planning relates to the "adequacy of the form or structure of languages" (Hornberger, 2006, p. 28). The objectives of planning for language are typically social, political, and economic in nature, and this research with its heavy focus on language preservation and revitalization in schools is concerned primarily with status and acquisition planning.

Language policy. Language policy is a result of some form of language planning (Herriman & Burnaby, 1996) and is an organized, conscious, and deliberately created form of influencing language use in society. As stated by Grenoble and Whaley (2006), "language policies shape patterns of language use in a variety of social spheres: the courts, the schools, and the offices of government" (p. 26). Language policy has often been used at the national and state levels to restrict the use of languages, but it has conversely been used to promote bilingualism and multilingualism.

Language preservation and revitalization. A variety of terms have been utilized in academic literature to discuss the overall goals of preserving (Maffi & Dorian, 2000), maintaining (Crystal, 2000), sustaining (King et al., 2008), and revitalizing (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006) indigenous languages. The use of this terminology has its roots in the commonly utilized analogy between the biological sciences, biological diversity, and linguistics and linguistic diversity. Some researchers

prefer one specific, nuanced terminology to other terminology for a variety of reasons, but it was not my goal in this research to decipher the semantics of the various terminologies. For the purpose of this research, I made use of "language preservation and revitalization" to describe the goals of "saving," preserving, maintaining, sustaining, and revitalizing indigenous languages and linguistic diversity.

Policy Actor. An individual who is involved in any way with the support and development or implementation of activities related to language and education policy.

Policy Maker. All elected officials, and state and district employees that are involved in the development of language and education policy.

Stakeholder. A person who is involved in or affected by the outcomes of language and education policy. Related to this study, stakeholder is a broad term to describe virtually all citizens and individuals, as we all are affected by language policy and ideology.

Significance and Implications for Practice

The primary goal of this research was to promote self-reflexivity in the education of policy makers concerning language and education policy. All Oklahoma policy makers need to be aware that the future of Native American languages is at a critical point. The perceptions, beliefs, and values that policy actors at the national, state, local, and tribal nation levels hold ultimately have some level of effect on the outcome of language preservation and revitalization efforts in Oklahoma and beyond. This discursive policy analysis supports the goals of Native American language preservation and revitalization efforts by offering a deeper understanding of the ideologies that support the creation and implementation of language and education

policies within the state. The results of this study yield further contributions to the dialogue regarding Native American language education and language policy and planning as it highlights the relationships between language ideology, policy, and educational practices that influence language preservation and revitalization.

Additionally, this study contributes to capacity building in the area of Native American language instruction and learning in Oklahoma by offering educators, administrators, and policy makers a greater understanding of how existing language ideologies and policies affect the creation and implementation of Native American language programs in schools. Ultimately, this study informs an understanding of how language policy (as a specific form of public policy) works, or does not work, under various circumstances and settings, and to what ends.

Organization of the Study

This study is organized into seven chapters. Chapter 1 informs the reader about the purpose and significance of the investigation within the field of language and education policy as it relates to Native American language revitalization. Chapter 2 contextualizes the study though a discussion of the historical background, theoretical framework, and a review of relevant literature that pertains to language policy and language preservation and revitalization. Chapter 3 discusses the qualitative interpretive policy analysis research methodology and design. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 presents an analysis of policy documents and artifacts as well as the findings of interviews with language policy actors at the state, local, and tribal nation levels. Chapter 4 introduces the reader to the current policy issues and policy actors, Chapter 5 discusses the supports and barriers to language revitalization that are a result of the various policies,

and Chapter 6 specifically details how this research can better inform the decision making processes of Oklahoma state policy makers. Chapter 7 presents a conclusion and further refines the comparison of specific policies and ideologies to demonstrate how the various policies continue to compete in regard to language revitalization efforts on the ground. Chapter 7 also gives specific recommendations for future action regarding Native American language policy and planning in the state.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

The literature that supports this research was drawn from the fields of cultural anthropology, the sociology of language and sociolinguistics, and educational policy studies. These literatures share a common approach and a comparative relationship. In cultural anthropology, particularly in the sub-discipline of linguistic anthropology, the understanding of the relationship between language and culture is compared and further refined. In sociolinguistics, relationships are compared across nations, groups, gender, and settings. In educational policy studies, relationships between school and society are explored in the context of particular educational policies that address specific topics and problems.

Cultural Anthropology

Cultural anthropologists, within the U.S., have a long history of studying language as a cultural resource and practice (Boas, 1940; Sapir, 1949). While the study of language (linguistics) initially focused almost entirely on the history, structural aspects, and comparison of languages, linguistic anthropology approaches the study of language in relation to culture and most often focuses on indigenous languages (Duranti, 1997). Since the time of Boas and Sapir, linguistic anthropology has expanded dramatically, and modern anthropologists have differing opinions as to the future goals of the discipline, but many linguistic anthropologists have moved their attention to issues related to language ideology and indigenous language preservation and revitalization, as they work to better understand the culture of power and dependence within various speech communities (Duranti, 1997; Hill, 2008; Morgan, 2004).

Language ideologies express ideas and a worldview that drive individuals and groups to seek action toward a particular vision and a particular set of goals that serve their speech communities' best interests. Kroskrity (2004), for example, developed five levels of language ideology and discussed how the multiplicity of language ideologies are used to affirm and expand individual and group interests, to mediate the functions of ideology, and to construct identity. Kroskrity (2004) also discussed the movement in many nations to standardize language through state supported hegemonic power, which in affect is state-endorsed social inequality. Conversely, as reported by the Russian Legal Information Agency (2014), other nations such as India place a larger importance on linguistic diversity, as is demonstrated by a recent India Supreme Court ruling that allows schools to choose their own language policy and adopt their own language of instruction. Language is a means to express our thoughts, ideas, and feelings, and beliefs. As discussed by Kroskrity (2004), identity and ideology are formed in communities around these under studied assumptions, beliefs, and values assigned to conceptions of language. Various components of language such as gender speech, accent, and the role of silence also play into cultural conceptions of language (Wright, 2004).

The Sociology of Language

The sociology of language, which includes both sociolinguistics and the ethnography of speaking, seeks to understand the relationship between language and society. From the time of Bakhtin (1982), and Gramsci (1971), the study of language and power has been an important component of critical social theory and sociolinguistics. While Gramsci (1971) helped us conceptualize the hegemonic power

of elite ideology (Wiley, 2014), Bakhtin (1982) recognized the centrifugal forces of heterogloissia that reshape language over time. Fishman (1971) and Ferguson (1977) later focused more specifically on language policy, shift, and revitalization and described how the study of the relationship between language and society should be carried out.

Fishman (1991), for example, dispelled many misconceptions about language shift and detailed a commonly referenced linguistic vitality typology called the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) that assigns language vitality into eight categories. Level One on the scale, although still demarcating some concern related to language loss, signifies the best possible language vitality outcome. A language community that falls into Level Eight on the scale is a community in extreme danger of complete language loss if nothing is done to change the trend. The GIDS has become a common typology for classifying language communities, and Fishman (1991) through his work has done much to help communities work toward reversing the trends of language loss. With these foundational concepts, and the other concepts expounded upon by Bourdieu and Thompson (1999), many social scientists have studied the interplay between language and power in society as well as in school settings (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Cazden et al., 1972, Menken & Garcia, 2010). This interplay between language and power has been demonstrated, in a variety of research, to have a great effect on identity, socialization, accent, register, ideology, social stratification, gender inequality, and educational outcomes (Bourdieu, 1990, 1999; Cazden et al., 1972; Menken & Garcia, 2010).

Educational Policy Analysis

Educational policy studies might focus on one or more of the following components: curriculum, pedagogy, resources, and the distribution of educational benefits (Hornberger, 2002), and most often educational policy studies begin with the concern for improving a particular policy. Over time, educational policy planning moved from functionalist models of development to a conflict perspective and paradigm, which looks to overcome conflicts over resources, values, and power (Hornberger, 2002) within the educational setting. With this new emphasis on the conflict paradigm, educational stakeholders and academics look to educational policy analysis to better understand conflicts over language, resources, and power (Ruiz, 1984; Hornberger, 2002; Ferguson, 2006; Menken, 2008).

Educational policy studies are most often an interdisciplinary endeavor and have been heavily influenced by the field of public policy. Fowler (2004) stated that public policy is "The dynamic and value laden process through which a political system handles a public problem. It includes a government's expressed intentions and official enactments as well as its consistent patterns of activity and inactivity" (p. 9). Clearly, from this definition, educational policy studies draw from other fields and fit into the larger field of policy studies. While the study of language policy has primarily been a topic of sociolinguistics, many implicit and explicit language policies exist within educational policies (Menken, 2008; Menken & Garcia, 2010).

Fowler (2004, p. 18) citing Nagel's (1984, p. xiii) definition of policy analysis defines this research method as the "evaluation of alternative government policies or decisions in order to arrive at the best (or a good) policy decision in light of given goals,

constraints, and conditions." In recent years, the field of policy analysis has expanded beyond its traditional focus on developing policy alternatives and the effects of existing policies to include broader critical and discursive approaches to analysis (Fischer, 2003; Fowler, 2004, Yanow, 2000). As stated by Fowler (2004), regardless of the approach of the policy analyst, "the overall objectives of policy analysis is to improve the quality of public policy" (p. 19).

According to Fowler (2004), there are four general types of policy analysis. The first type of policy analysis, monitoring analysis, became common among educational policy analysts as a way for state officials to track and monitor data related to student achievement and other relevant student information. The second type of policy analysis, forecasting analysis, is a method used to predict what policy issues will be relevant within the next five to 10 years. Additionally, a third type of analysis, prescriptive analysis, identifies the most desirable policy options available to policy makers at a given time. Lastly, a growing body of policy research has focused on a fourth type of policy analysis, namely discursive analysis. As defined by Fowler (2004), discursive analysis is, "the close study of policy texts and the practices associated with them" (p. 20). The discursive policy analysis trend has engendered a focus on values in educational policy (Corson, 1995; Fischer, 2003; Fowler, 2004; Marshall; 2000, Yanow, 2000).

This dissertation research takes advantage of the growing body of discursive policy research in the field of education by utilizing a specific form of discursive analysis called interpretive policy analysis (Yanow, 2000). At the center of this current educational policy study is the specific problem of language contact and indigenous

language loss within the school setting. In this study, historical, cultural, and political perspectives were analyzed.

Therefore, this study considered historical, cultural, and political factors that affect educational policy in both the U.S. and Oklahoma as it relates to Native American language preservation and revitalization. The interdisciplinary nature of this study focused on viable options that promote and sustain linguistic and cultural tolerance and diversity. Each of the disciplines described above share a common interest for planning and policy-making and provides a lens for better understanding language planning and policy issues. To conceptualize this study, the subsequent paragraphs in this chapter will describe, in more detail, issues related to language policy from a historical context, discuss past and present efforts toward language preservation and revitalization, and provide a general framework for better understanding the current language policy context both nationally and within the state of Oklahoma.

Language and Education Policy in the United States: A Historical Context

Language policy and planning can express plans and policies from international to local groups, from large communities to local and even family language policies (Hinton, 2008). The ideologies that are reflected in language policies toward bilingualism and linguistic diversity vacillate over time according to multidimensional ideological and political beliefs regarding immigration, national security, diversity, and education. Although language ideology has been a contemporary battleground in the United States (Olson, 2009), the U.S. has been and currently is a nation of numerous indigenous communities and immigrants rich in bilingualism and multilingualism, which is an economic, academic, military, and societal asset.

Two main ideologies, namely linguistic assimilation and linguistic pluralism, coexisted within the U.S. since the founding of the country (Cobarrubias, 1983; Wiley, 2014). As stated by Hornberger (2000), "ideological tension between assimilationist and pluralist discourses about linguistic and cultural diversity are long-standing and persistent" (p. 173). Prior to the founding of the United States, Europeans and Native Americans were in contact for approximately 200 years, and much harm was done to Native American communities and their languages during this time (Hinton, 2008).

At the time of the American Revolution, many of the founding fathers and former U.S. policy makers, albeit for the sake of European immigrants, pursued two linguistic goals: "maintaining non-English languages and helping those who did not speak English learn the English language" (Linton, 2009, pp. 11-12). Although the American political elite encouraged linguistic pluralism in regard to European languages, it is also well documented that the United States has a long history of repression, abuse, and linguistic imperialism through the mistreatment of Native Americans (Adams, 1997; Linn et al., 2002; Menken, 2008; Roediger, 2010). However, it was not until the end of the Indian Wars, the closing of the western frotier, and the opening of boarding schools that language policy became a prevelant feature in national policy affairs (Adams, 1997; Hinton, 2008). Native American language eradication (Hinton, 2008) was a common aspect of all federally run boarding schools, as the "Kill the Indian, Save the Man" refrain was promoted at multiple levels of U.S. government and in schools (Churchill, 2004). During the boarding school period, Native American students were severely punished for using their native tongue at any time during the

day, and the linguistic assimilation policies of the time had lasting negative effects on all Native American languages (Adams, 1997; Churchill, 2004; Hinton, 2008).

Alongside this repression and cultural and linguistic imperialism, multiple states in the long history of bilingual education and language policy in the U.S. have provided governmental and educational services in various languages. For example, in the 1860s, California schools had a foriegn born population of 30% and promoted fluency and literacy in French, German, and English to all students. In 1861, the Texas legislature decided to print the Confederate Constitution in English, Spanish, and German (Linton, 2009), and in the early 19th century, states across the nation, including Oklahoma, offered dual language instruction in various languages other than English (Ovando & Collier, 1985, Linton, 2009). Futhermore, it was not until 1906 that congress passed a law that required immigrants to know minimal English to become a naturalized citizen (Linton, 2009).

During the Great Depression and WWI, anti-immigrant and anti-German sentiment flourished (Lessow-Hurley, 2005, Linton, 2009), which stifled bilingualism and bilingual education in the United States (Wiley, 2014), yet a reimergence of interest in bilingualism occurred after WWII due much to the "code talkers" (Lessow-Hurley, 2005) who helped defeat Japan by communicating codes in Native American languages unrecognizable to the Japanese military. At that time, many U.S. citizens realized the importance of bilingualism, biliteracy, and Native American languages if not simply for national defense.

In 1968, the U.S. Congress passed the *Bilingual Education Act* as Title VII of the *Elementary and Seondary Education Act* that provided competitive grant funding

for schools serving English language learners (Lessow-Hurley, 2005, Powers, 2014). In 1974, the U.S. Supreme court ruled in *Lau v. Nichols* that students who are learning English must receive special language services to help them be able to access academic content in English (Powers, 2014; Tollefson & Tsui, 2014). While this policy did not target Native American languages specifically, within a decade of the Act's passage, many Native American communities took advantage of Title VII funds to develop bilingual education projects in schools (Hinton, 2008; Roessel, 1977).

As a move to focus specific governmental policy efforts toward the preservation of Native American culture and languages, the U.S. Congress passed the *Native American Languages Act* in 1990. The act acknowledged the negative affect of historical governmental policies and procedures that contributed to the eradication of Native American languages and declared as policy that Native Americans are entitled to use their own languages. The policy also proclaims that the United States "declares to preserve, protect and promote the rights and freedoms of Native Americans to use practice and develop Native American Languages." Additionally, the act proclaimed to "fully recognize the right of Indian Tribes and other Native American governing bodies, States, territories, and possessions of the United States to take action on, and give official status to their Native American languages for the purpose of conducting their own business." To associate a funding stream to this Act, in 2006 the U.S. Congress passed the *Esther Martinez Act*, which amends the *Native American Languages Act* to authorize grants for Native American language nests, survival schools, and restoration programs.

Although the *Bilingual Education Act* and the *Esther Martinez Act* have promoted positive outcomes for language preservation and revitalization, in 2001, the governmental funding of linguistic pluralism through the *Bilingual Education Act* was subsumed and renamed under Title III of the *No Child Left Behind Act* of 2001 (NCLB), which promotes linguistic assimilation (May, 2014). Unter Title III, schools must continue to provide services for students learning English, but there is no promotion of bilingual education in NCLB, and the term *bilingual education* was altogether removed from the act's terminonolgy.

The tension between linguistic assimilation and linguistic pluralism continue to be expressed at various levels from international to local (Lo Bianco, 2014). The Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights, for example, which was formally recognized by UNESCO in Barcelona, Spain in 1996, is a document that addresses many issues related to indigenous and minority communities in relation to their language and language endangerment. In short, the declaration attests to these communities' rights to freely use their mother tongue in all public settings including in education. It also asserts the value of all languages in relation to dominant languages such as English. On the other hand, in the United Stated where for approximately two centuries, English has been the common language to the present day and has functioned alongside pockets of linguistic diversity, there is an increasing movement to establish English as the official language and to incorporate English Only school policies in many states within the U.S (May, 2014).

Some advocates of linguistic diversity and bilingual education suggest that official English laws have little effect on language usage and school programs (Linton,

2009; Menken & Garcia, 2010). While it is possible that a state may proclaim English as the official language and simultaneously allow schools implementational space to promote linguistic diversity through language revitalization and bilingual education programs, the assertion that language policy has little influence discounts the affect that the attitudes and behaviors of majority langauge speakers (dominant speech communities) have on minority language speakers (non-dominant speech communities; de Bres, 2008; Philips, 2004). Peoples' attitues toward language often have a stronger affect on the furture of minority langauges than official langauge policies (Linn et al., 2002), but often times attitudes of linguistic intollerance are most strongly felt, represented, and perpetuated through the democratic passage of official English policies. Thus, policies supported by attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors of dominant speech communities toward minority langauge(s) can have and has had a significant affect on the value and status that non-dominant speech communites place on their language (de Bres, 2010).

Attitudes of dominant speech communities affect non-dominant speech communities and the percieved value of minority languages through legislation, school, and social norms (de Bres, 2010, May, 2014). Official English langauge policies send a clear message that other langauges do not have equal value, which can be interpreted to mean that the minority culture also has less value in the eyes of the majority language speaker. Majority language speakers are social actors who use words and policy to create social action (Duranti, 1997). School teachers and administrators, albeit primarily subconsciously, also take part in this social action and promotion of the valuation of language (Philips, 1972; Philips, 1983, McCarty & Nicholas, 2014). Therefore, official

English policies and linguistic valuation perpetuate the cycle of linguistic and social inequality (Hill, 2008). Few speakers of the dominant speech community are explicitly aware of the advantages that official English policies provide for the dominant speech community, as most community members have more seemingly altruistic motives such as cutting costs for state services, and promoting the social, political, and economic unity of the state's citizens. These are but a few of the explicit examples of how cultural and linguistic hegemony is sustained in society and in schools as ill-informed communities construct a worldview that devalues the language and culture of non-dominant speech communities (Tollefson & Tsui, 2014). Therefore, this research is driven by the viewpoint that language attitudes, language policy, and school systems, largely, have contributed to the loss of Native American languages. Although there has been much progress in promoting alternative and positive viewpoints toward the use of Native American languages in recent decades, there is still much work to be done.

Language Preservation and Revitalization: Past, Present, and Future Prospects

The vast majority of literature that address issues related to language preservation and revitalization can be categorized into two general themes, namely *why care?* and *how to?* While some of the literature might only address one of these themes, others address both. Although my current research focuses on the "how to?" of language preservation and revitalization by addressing language planning and policy issues, it is also important to understand why we should care about indigenous language preservation and revitalization.

Why Should We Care?

Conservative estimates account for approximately 7,000 languages spoken in the world today (Crystal, 2000; Harrison, 2007; Lewis, 2009; Wiley, et al., 2014), and the last speakers of probably half of the world's languages are alive today (Harrison, 2007). Over half of the world's population speaks at least one of the top 10 most spoken majority languages (Harrison, 2007; Lewis, 2009). The top 10 spoken languages are Chinese, Spanish, English, Arabic, Hindi, Bengali, Portuguese, Russian, Japanese, and German; and many of the world's lesser spoken or minority languages are being "crowed out" and replaced by these more dominant and prevalent majority languages (Lewis, 2009; Wiley, et. al, 2014). When we expand the scope of languages to include the top 80 most spoken languages, we can account for approximately 80% of the world's population as being a speaker of at least one of these languages (Harrison, 2007).

Only 0.2% of the world's population speaks at least one of the 3,500 least spoken world languages (Harrison, 2007), or as stated by Crystal (2000), "96% of the world's languages are spoken by just 4% of the [world's] population." These facts lead many linguists to predict that by the year 2100 at least half of the languages that are spoken in the world today will no longer be spoken (Crystal, 2000; Harrison, 2007; Living Tongues Institute, 2012). This loss of language is often called, by many linguists, language endangerment, death, or extinction. Although these terminologies are not appreciated by some academics and indigenous community members because of the deterministic and pessimistic connotation, it does reflect a true and dramatic

statistical decline in the number of speakers of indigenous languages in the world and more specifically in the Americas (Harmon & Loh, 2010).

Many linguists and indigenous communities have expressed concerns regarding the loss of indigenous languages since the beginning of the 20th century, but it was not until recently that quantitative methods have been utilized to measure linguistic diversity (Harmon & Loh, 2010). In 2010, Harmon and Loh established and explained the Index of Linguistic Diversity (ILD), "the first" quantitative measure for analyzing and comparing the status and trends of a representative random sample of 1,500 world languages. In their article explaining the ILD, Harmon and Loh (2010) demonstrated that from 1970-2005, the diversity of the world's languages has declined by 20%. The ILD also measured the diversity of indigenous languages both globally and regionally and suggested that globally, indigenous languages have declined by 21% and in the Americas linguistic diversity has declined by 60% since 1970 (Harmon & Loh, 2010). A decline in linguistic diversity means that "more people are shifting to majority languages and away from minority ones" (Harmon & Loh, 2010, p. 102).

Throughout the history of humanity, majority languages have been spread, and minority languages have been lost due to various reasons such as invasions, population loss, language and education policy, linguistic hegemony, voluntary and involuntary language switching among communities, and a variety of developments in communication (Dixon, 1998). As dominant culture and majority languages spread their influence, children whose parents speak a minority language often grow up learning and using a dominant language in school. Depending on attitudes (often negative attitudes) toward the minority language, the children and the next generation may never learn or

use their heritage or tribal language. This process has occurred throughout history, but the rate of language loss has accelerated considerably in recent years due to the rapid expansion and power of dominant language communities (Dixon, 1998; Harmon & Loh, 2010; Living Tongues Institute, 2012).

Many communities that use endangered languages have rich oral histories, stories, and songs that are passed on from generation to generation without written forms. "Words that describe a particular cultural practice or idea may not translate precisely into another language" (Living Tongues, 2012). Additionally, as stated by Meek (2010),

> While language endangerment is first and foremost about the often violent replacement of one linguistic code by another, it is also about the rupturing and replacement of sociocultural practices and everyday interactions, resulting in the disintegration of the speech community or social networks that sustained the previous code [or lost language]. (p.4)

With the extinction of these languages, a large piece of a human culture is lost (Crystal, 2000; Harrison, 2007).

This loss of language and culture has a very real effect on the individual lives and the collective psyche of indigenous communities. There is little doubt among researchers that languages play a fundamental role in the formation of identity for their speakers (Dixon, 1998; Duranti, 1997; Hill, 2008; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Sapir, 1921). Mithun (2004) suggested that, "language serves as a powerful tool for creativity, [while simultaneously] maintaining, and celebrating culture and social relationships" (p. 137). When minority languages are lost, or crowed out by majority languages, a clear

message is sent to communities that have spoken the minority languages that their language and culture is irrelevant to the majority culture. These value-laden, often unspoken, messages have real consequences related to the wellbeing and education of indigenous community members (Dixon, 1998; Harrison, 2007; Hale, 1998; Hinton & Hale, 2008; Romaine, 2002).

Additionally, this rapid loss of language has negative implications for the diversity of humanity's scientific knowledge base and more specifically for the individual cultures that are losing these languages (Crystal, 2000; Dixon, 1998; Harmon & Loh, 2010; Harrison, 2007; Hinton & Hale, 2001; Living Tongues, 2012; Nettle & Romaine, 2002). As stated by Harrison (2007), "language disappearance is an erosion or extinction of ideas, of ways of knowing, and ways of talking about the world and human experience" (p. 7). Much of what humanity understands about the environment has been encoded in indigenous languages, and many indigenous communities have interacted closely with the natural world for thousands of years. For this reason, indigenous communities have a deep understanding and knowledge of plants, animals, seasons, ecosystems, and other aspects of the natural world. As many indigenous languages are oral, not written languages, we do not have documentation of the indigenous knowledge regarding much of the world's ecosystem. Therefore, the loss of indigenous language negatively affects humanity's future scientific understanding of our environment (Crystal, 2000; Harrison, 2007).

Lastly, language loss negatively affects the scientific study of language and human mental capacities (Crystal, 2000; Hale, 1998). As stated by Hale (1998), "the loss of linguistic diversity is a loss to scholarship and science. The scientific study of

the mind is a venerable pursuit in human intellectual history, and the human capacity for language is the human mind's most prominent feature" (p. 192). Studying the many and varied languages of the world expands our understanding of how humans communicate, share, and store knowledge. When a language is lost, we lose "part of the picture of what our brains can do" (Living Tongues, 2012). In short, indigenous language loss negatively affects our understanding of the environment, our understanding of the human mind, and individuals from the indigenous communities.

How/Should We Preserve and Revitalize Languages?

The majority of residents of North America and of Oklahoma are not aware of the "phenomenally rich" diversity of indigenous language that exists in the continent (Mithun, 1998). Analysis of historical documents suggest that approximately 270 distinct indigenous languages were spoken north of Mexico at the time of European contact with the continent, and a third of these languages are no longer spoken today (Mithun, 1998).There are approximately 175 indigenous languages spoken in the United States (Lewis, 2009), and over 20% of the indigenous languages spoken in the United States are spoken in Oklahoma. These facts and the information presented in the previous section and chapter leads to asking what should be done to preserve and revitalize indigenous languages in the nation and more specifically within the state of Oklahoma.

According to King et al. (2008), there are three generally recognized responses to the loss of linguistic diversity, namely (a) do nothing, (b) document endangered languages, and (c) sustain and revitalize threatened languages. I also add one more response to the general responses to the loss of linguistic diversity, which I identify as

the "perpetuate" response to language loss. I add this response to language loss on the response continuum, because there are individuals who support the death of all languages other than their own, and this form, while related to the "do nothing" response, is distinct from the "do nothing" perspective. Although each of these responses to language loss maintains distinct assumption and values regarding language, they also are not completely isolated as the responses lie on a continuum. The "perpetuate" and "do nothing" responses reinforce the loss of language while, generally speaking, the documentation of languages can serve as a means to sustaining and revitalizing "endangered" languages.

Perpetuate and Do Nothing Responses to Language Loss

The "do nothing," or as I might call the "live and let die" response is the most common response to language loss (King et al., 2008), and support for this response can be found in the popular media as well as in the academic community (Edwards, 1985; Ladefoged, 1992). Ladefoged (1992), for example, presented his belief that language revitalization and opinions about minority languages should be left to the communities who speak them. Linguists, in his opinion, should do nothing other than describe language and the situation of language, but should not promote their opinions and hopes that languages survive. Ladefoged's view of language is very much a linguistic Darwinist viewpoint, which supposes that we should just let languages live and die on their own.

Another opinion that supports the "do nothing" response is reinforced by the ideological views of free market capitalism (Apple, 2013). Malik (2000) for instance believed that the primary reason why languages die is "not because they are suppressed,

but because native speakers yearn for a better life. Speaking a language such as English, French, or Spanish, and discarding traditional habits, can open up new worlds and is often a ticket to modernity" (p. 16). Therefore, Malik (2000) and others believed that we should "let them [languages] die." The proponents of the "do nothing" response tend to downplay the power imbalance and affect that the Western world and its economic expansion has had on minority language communities (Apple, 2013).

A less common yet increasing and more overt form of the reinforcement of the loss of linguistic diversity is supported by the "perpetuate" response. This response is most commonly supported through official language resolutions, amendments, and policies, and has its roots in linguistic-assimilation ideologies (May, 2014). Linguistic-assimilation ideologies presuppose that all speakers of minority languages should be able to speak and function in the dominant language and should not concern themselves with maintaining their mother tongue (Cobarrubias, 1993). Current policies and government documents, for example, that promote English as the official language are perpetuating the same linguistic-assimilation ideologies that were promoted by J.D.C. Atkins, Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1885 to 1888, regarding the need for indigenous language instruction and use when he stated:

> The instruction of the Indians in the vernacular is not only of no use to them, but is detrimental to the cause of their education and civilization, and no school will be permitted on the reservation which the English language is not exclusively taught (1887, pp. xxi – xxiii).

Atkins' statements support the present notion that the language and culture of Native Americans has little value in society and schools.

A modern "perpetuate" response can be found in the opinions of United States representatives Steve King and Senator Jim Inhofe of Oklahoma who sponsored and introduced the *English Language Unity Act* of 2011. In a CBS news release, King stated, "A common language is the most powerful unifying force known throughout history. We need to encourage assimilation of all legal immigrants in each generation. A nation divided by language cannot pull together as effectively as a people." Inhofe added, "This legislation will provide much-needed commonality among United States citizens, regardless of heritage. As a nation built by immigrants, it is important that we share one vision and one official language" (Montopoli, 2011).

The main arguments that support proponents of the "do nothing" and "perpetuate" approaches to language loss is that this approach is more economically sound, and that it promotes the social, political, and economic unity of citizens. Although these arguments may appear *prima facia* to be quite pragmatic, when scrutinized more closely, the fallacy of the arguments become apparent. The notion that language will unify a state and or country is naïve, and "the claim that all Americans share a common culture based in the English language is clearly false" (Kymlicka, 1995, p. 77). Many countries including Spain and our largest economic competitors, China, and India, the largest democracy in the world, function as officially multilingual nations while Northern Ireland and its population of nearly 100% native English speakers has experienced civil strife and extreme violence since the 1960s.

Additionally, Dorian (1993) rebutted the laissez faire "do nothing" approach toward language loss by likening the loss of language to genocide and discussed the ramifications of language loss and how it is promoted through culturally dominant

groups. As Dorian (1990) pointed out, when languages have a low status in dominant language communities, the people who speak the low status language are often times thought of as low status. Dorian's argument brings us back to the point that the proponents of the "do nothing" and "perpetuate" response of language loss do not recognize the societal privileges afforded to them by being a speaker of a majority language, nor do they recognize the affects that these ideologies have on the communities who speak minority languages.

The "do nothing" and "perpetuate" response and underlying ideologies often times play a major role in the societal inequalities that exist today. Through the process of language valuation, speech communities are built and evolve over time while members of non-dominant speech communities must negotiate power structures through communication with dominant speech communities. Non-dominant speech communities must be able to communicate in the dominate speech communities' language and dialect to achieve status and power in any society (Morgan, 2004). Through this code-switching process, the language of non-dominant speech communities is devalued.

For these and other reasons, many academics and indigenous language speaking communities promote alternative responses to the "do nothing" and "perpetuate" responses to language loss by promoting the "documentation" and "sustain and revitalize" approaches to language loss (Crystal, 2000; Dorian, 1993; Fishman, 1991; Hale, 1998; Harrison, 2007; Hinton, 2002; Hornberger, 2006; 2002; King et al., 2008; Lewis, 2009; Linn et al., 2002; May, 2014; McCarty et al., 2006; Meek, 2010; Mithun, 1998). These responses to language loss are supported by linguistic-pluralism ideologies and conflict with the linguistic-assimilationist ideologies. Linguistic-

pluralism supports the coexistence of various language groups and supports the rights of minority language communities to "cultivate their languages on an equitable basis" (Cobarrubias, 1983, p. 65).

Document and Sustain/Revitalize Research and Responses to Language Loss

Although some linguists "regard [language] documentation as a safer, more scientific, and more politically neutral" response to language loss (King et al., 2008, p. 10), both the document and sustain responses to language loss can be utilized to promote linguistic diversity while supporting language preservation and revitalization. As stated by King et al. (2008, p. 10), the rational for the documentation response "include[s] the safeguarding of linguistic diversity, and contribut[ing] to a knowledge base for language universals." Although language description and documentation has taken place for centuries in various parts of the world, due to the rapid decline in linguistic diversity, efforts toward language documentation have been renewed and emboldened among international and national organizations and within the fields of linguistics and linguistic anthropology (Gippert et al., 2006, National Foreign Language Resource Center, 2012, UNESCO, 2004). Linguists have also continued their focus on working *with* indigenous communities to ensure that language documentation is supporting language conservation and indigenous community goals (Czaykowska-Higgins, 2009; Himmelmann, 1998, Himmelmann 2006).

The goal of language documentation is to provide a "comprehensive record of the linguistic practices characteristic of a given speech community" (Himmelmann, 1998, p. 166), and linguists, through newer approaches to language documentation, have become more involved in language revitalization and preservation by using

community-based research methods as a way to collaborate and involve indigenous community members in research related to their community and language (Czaykowska-Higgins, 2009).

Although linguistic fieldwork and language documentation, in the past, have been primarily conducted for the benefit of the linguist conducting the research and for the science of linguistics (Czaykowska-Higgins, 2009), newer and more in depth language documentation methods rely heavily on information from multiple related subfields such as linguistics, ethics, field methods, oral literature and history, anthropology, sociology, and educational linguistics. Language documentation is about more than simply describing a language (Himmelmann, 1998), as recent trends toward researching *with* indigenous communities and not *on* the communities have shown great promise (Czaykowska-Higgins, 2009).

Community engagement models of research have become more prominent in the field of linguistics and are a more useful and mutually beneficial approach to conducting linguistic fieldwork and language documentation (Czaykowska-Higgins, 2009; Linn et al., 1998, Tuck, 2008). Advocacy research, for example, requires the researcher to understand and be sympathetic to the communities in which the research is being conducted (Weis & Fine, 2003). Empowering research takes an additional step toward engagement with the community by having the researcher(s) work "for and with" the community on specific projects that are of interest to the community. Community-based language research goes beyond all the previously mentioned research models by conducting research "for, with, and by" the community. In this method, individuals from the indigenous community become experts in the field of linguistics

and conduct research in their own communities. This form of research breaks down barriers between the academic linguist and the community (Czaykowska-Higgins, 2009).

Language documentation and documentary fieldwork programs in recent decades have become a growing focus at the university level. Since 1963, the Department of Linguistics at the University of Hawai‘i at Manoa, for example, has focused on language documentation, and in 2003 the university "renewed and intensified its commitment to such work" through the *Language Documentation and Conservation Initiative* (LDCI; Rehg, 2007). According to Rehg (2007), there are three major objectives of the LDCI:

> The first is to provide high-quality training to graduate students who wish to undertake the essential task of documenting the many underdocumented and endangered languages of Asia and the Pacific. The second is to promote collaborative research efforts among linguists, native speakers of endangered and underdocumented languages, and other interested parties. The third is to facilitate the free and open exchange of ideas among all those working in this field. (p. 13)

Other notable programs that have developed in recent decades within the United States that have a similar focus on language documentation exist at universities in Alaska, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Massachusetts, Missouri, Montana, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Texas, Utah, and Washington.

In addition to graduate level programs at these universities, many universities also offer language documentation and revitalization programs for indigenous communities. The Alaskan Native Language Center at the University of Alaska Fairbanks (2012), for example, established by state legislations in 1972, has focused on the research and documentation of the Alaska's native languages. It publishes grammars, hosts extensive language archives, and provides training and consultation for educators, and others working with Alaska native language preservation and revitalization.

Additionally, the University of Oklahoma, through the Sam Noble Museum of Natural History (SNOMNH), hosts the biennial Oklahoma Breath of Life Workshop (SNOMNH, 2012). This workshop, according to their website,

> Is especially designed for indigenous people from communities who no longer have any fluent, first language speakers. With motivation from community members, archival documentation, and training in how to use this documentation, these languages can have a new breath of life and can be spoken again. (para. 2)

Similarly, the Northwest Indian Language Institute (NILI) at the University of Oregon provides workshops that support native language teachers and community members with training in language teaching, materials and curriculum development, assessment creation, and linguistics. With tribal partners, NILI supports and strengthens language preservation efforts by establishing collaborative, on-going projects that meet the specific needs and desires of each language community.

Likewise, the American Indian Language Institute hosted by the University of Arizona offers training in language documentation for indigenous communities, and the institute also focuses on working with educators, schools, and policy makers to cross disciplinary, cultural, and political boundaries to address language revitalization efforts at the social, emotional, political, and spiritual level (University of Arizona, 2013).

These workshops teach participants to understand the basics of linguistics in relation to their particular language in addition to helping them begin the process of language and cultural revitalization using interactive teaching materials. These workshops also demonstrate how the line between language documentation and language preservation and revitalization are blurred, as language documentation often times serves as a foundational method for indigenous communities to work toward their community and language goals.

In an extension of involving indigenous communities, and in an effort to bring language documentation and revitalization issues to the attention of the general public, linguists Gregory Anderson and David Harrison presented the many issues that face indigenous communities that speak endangered languages (Miller, 2008). In the documentary movie *The Linguists* (Miller, 2008), the protagonists, Anderson and Harrison, set out to document languages and educate viewers about the current state of languages in multiple continents as they travel from the Andes mountains in South America, to villages in Siberia, to English-Hindi boarding schools in Orissa, India, and to an American Indian reservation in Arizona. In these and other ways, many linguists are not only describing language, they are also creatively working toward indigenous community goals of language preservation and revitalization.

In addition to the work of academics at universities, many organizations are responding to language loss by documenting indigenous languages (Long Now Foundation, 2010; National Science Foundation (NSF), 2012; Lewis; 2009; UNESCO, 2011). The National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) and NSF (2012) are providing substantial funding through grants ($4.5 million in the case of NEH and NSF in 2012) to support ongoing efforts of documenting endangered languages. UNESCO (2011) maintains an interactive atlas/map that displays up-to-date information concerning the number of speakers and status of language in addition to resources related to language documentation and revitalization. Similarly, in *Ethnologue*, SIL International (Lewis; 2009) maintains in-depth and regularly updated information related to the documentation and research related to over 2,700 languages.

The Rosetta project is another example of organizational efforts outside academia toward language documentation and as stated in their website (Long Now Foundation, 2010), "the Rosetta project is a global collaboration of language specialists and native speakers working to build a publicly accessible digital library of human languages." The Rosetta project serves not only to document languages but also to make use of creative solutions to solve the problem of digital obsolescence, and out of date archival storage methods. For example, the organization has created a small technically-advanced data storage disk, called the Rosetta Disk that currently archives over 2,500 languages, and as specified by their website (Long Now Foundation, 2010):

> Our first prototype of a very long-term archive is The Rosetta Disk - a three inch diameter nickel disk with nearly 14,000 pages of information microscopically etched onto its surface. Since each page is an image…it can be read by the human

eye using 500 power optical magnification. The disk rests in a sphere made of stainless steel and glass which allows the disk exposure to the atmosphere, but protects it from casual impact and abrasion. With minimal care, it could easily last and be legible for thousands of years.

These are only a few of the many creative approaches and responses to language loss that are taking place in the area of language documentation, and these examples demonstrate how language documentation can many times support the overall goals of language preservation and revitalization both now and in the future. However, language revitalization must be a multidimensional and comprehensive approach—language documentation is not enough to turn the tide of our present global circumstances related to the rapid loss of indigenous languages (de Bres, 2010; Fishman, 2001; King et al., 2008).

Since the middle of the 20th century, other nations, organizations, linguists, and indigenous communities have also responded to language loss by encouraging a broader and more comprehensive, "sustain/revitalize," response to language loss (Crystal, 2000; Czaykowska-Higgins, 2009; Dorian, 1993; Fishman, 1991; Greymorning, 1997; Hale, 1998; Harrison, 2007; Hinton, 2002; King et al., 2008; Lewis, 2009; McCarty et al., 2006; Meek, 2011; Mithun, 1998). Although these responses have focused primarily on grassroots and tribal nation efforts toward reversing the tide of language loss, there are some examples of a systematic revitalization response to language loss.

New Zealand has been seen, in recent history, as a progressive beacon concerning issues related to language preservation and revitalization (Tollefson & Tsui, 2014) . New Zealand historically had a typical colonial relationship with the indigenous

groups of New Zealand. For example, in 1867, the Native Schools Act virtually outlawed the use of Maori in schools, and similar to many other indigenous groups around the world, the Maori were punished for using their mother tongue (King, 2008). There are many historical accounts that support the notion that the non-Maori were very much in favor of extinguishing the language and culture of the Maori, and from the time of colonization until the 1970s, the Maori language was in rapid decline.

This decline of the language in the 1970s prompted various groups in support of Maori language maintenance to successfully petition the New Zealand Parliament for the instruction of the Maori language in schools (King, 2008), and in 1977, with the opening of the first bilingual school, the Maori language was taught as the primary language of literacy for Maori children (King, 2008). From this time onward, the Maori have seemingly worked very well within and outside of their communities to promote and develop language policies that support Maori language maintenance and revitalization. This collaborative approach toward efforts of language revitalization may very well prove to ensure the use of the Maori language for generations to come.

One of the primary goals of the Maori government has been to ensure positive perceptions and attitudes toward the Maori language among Maori and non-Maori alike, and the New Zealand government has supported this goal since 1996 by including a census question related to language use in the home. This census question, in addition to the government sponsored Survey of Attitudes, Values, and Beliefs Toward the Maori Language (TPK, 2010), which has been administered every three years since 2000, allows language attitudes and language use to be monitored on a regular basis. This

regular language monitoring allows the Maori and the New Zealand government to keep a pulse on the effect of the various language revitalization initiatives and policies.

Since 1975, Maori Language Week has been celebrated annually and is used as one of the many opportunities that is presented by the Maori Language Commission (MLC) as an important opportunity to promote the Maori language to all New Zealanders. In the early 1980s, the New Zealand government enacted numerous policies related to the Maori language and language revitalization efforts (Paulston & Heidemann, 2006). The Maori Language Act of 1987 made the Maori language an official language of New Zealand, which has done much to validate the status of the Maori language for Maori and non-Maori New Zealanders.

In 1995, the MLC and New Zealand celebrated the Maori language by proclaiming it Maori Language Year. The Maori Language Commission since its inception has worked to promote positive attitudes about the language among both the Maori and non-Maori alike (de Bres, 2011a). For this purpose, the MLC has developed and disseminated various forms of media including newspapers, radio, and television shows in the Maori language, and currently spends over one million NZ dollars on these efforts (de Bres, 2011a). Various studies suggest that the promotional activities conducted to improve the perceptions and attitudes of the Maori language are making a difference, as support for the Maori language has increased over the past decade (de Bres, 2011b). Although more extensive research needs to be conducted, the evidence provided from the Maori in New Zealand suggests that implementing extensive governmental policies and procedures in collaboration with indigenous governments may be a much-needed variable to support overall language revitalization efforts.

Within the United States, Hawaii is often looked to as an example for their efforts and progress within the area of language revitalization and preservation (Cowell, 2012). Like New Zealand, and many other indigenous communities, the Hawaiian people and their language were negatively affected by missionaries and by their relationship with the United States government. As stated by Huebner (1985), "the history of the language shift of the Hawaiian dates back to 1820, with the arrival of the missionaries and covers the next century" (p. 30). By 1840, education was compulsory, but the first language used in formal education was the Hawaiian language. The missionaries also initially focused on utilizing the Hawaiian language and literacy to introduce Christianity to the island by translating, printing, and disseminating the Bible in Hawaiian.

It was through education and the introduction of the Bible in Hawaiian that by 1850, the majority of the adult population was literate in their mother tongue (Kloss, 1977). During the late 1840s-1850s, American missionaries changed their position on the use of the Hawaiian language in schools, and by 1848 the administration of Hawaiian mission schools devised a planned transfer to English as the primary medium of instruction, and by 1896, English was the only language of instruction in all public elementary schools (Huebner, 1985). By the beginning of the 1900s, the loss of Hawaiian as a first language was widespread.

Although Hawaiian has been studied in high schools and universities since the 1920s, it was not until 1980, with few exceptions, that Hawaiian was reintroduced as a medium of instruction in the public school system (Huebner, 1985). Since that time, language revitalization through multiple layers of society including in the public school

system has made great strides toward preserving the Hawaiian language (Cowell, 2012; Wong, 1999). Hawaii is the only state within the U.S. that has an official language in addition to English, and the public education system has been utilized as the primary strategy for fostering the growth and spread of the Hawaiian language (Wong, 1999).

According to Cowell (2012), the Hawaiian movement is more than language documentation and revitalization; it is "rather a movement about reformulating identities, in which knowledge of the language is not the principal goal" (p. 170). For this reason, Cowell (2012) described the Hawaiian movement as the "Hawaiian Model," and while the Hawaiian Model presents its own challenges and there are many aspects of the Hawaiian Model that are unattainable for a variety of reasons by Native North America, there are many lessons to learn from Hawaii. Like the Maori, the Hawaiians built a broad range of public and political support for language revitalization and preservation efforts. Additionally, their language immersion programs are run through the public school system, which gives schools access to public funding and allows students and individuals of all backgrounds to participate in language learning and revitalization. Moreover, Hawaii maintains university-level language training programs that generate qualified teachers to teach in immersion schools.

On the heels of Hawaii, are Native American language revitalization policy movements in other states, like Alaska who recently became the second state in the U.S. to officially recognize indigenous languages (Kelly, 2014). Prior to the vote on this recent legislation, supporters of the bill organized a sit-in protest to encourage legislator support for the bill. At the protest, one participant was quoted as stating, "Our language is everything. It's the air we breathe. It's the blood that flows through our veins" (Kelly,

2014, p. 1). Due to this sentiment, the state has also collaborated with the Alaska Native Knowledge Network to develop culturally responsive standards for schools.

In addition to these large scale and comprehensive examples of language preservation and revitalization, there are many efforts toward language revitalization among other tribal nations within the U.S., but these efforts face unique challenges and often are not met with the same level of public support within the states' political landscapes. Throughout the United States, tribal nations' efforts toward language preservation and revitalization include, among other methods, language classes, master-apprentice programs, online language courses, "language nests" (small language classes for children younger than school-age), and school immersion programs (Hinton & Hale, 2008; Hinton, 2002, Nee-Benham, 2000).

The Peigan Institute, for example, founded in 1987 has its national headquarters on the Blackfeet Indian Reservation in northwest Montana. According to the website, their objectives are "to increase the number of Blackfeet language speakers, to increase the cultural knowledge base of community members, and to actively influence positive community-based change" (Peigan Institute, 2012). The programs provided by the institute make use of an integrated approach that incorporates social, intellectual, linguistics, and academic dimensions. The institute achieves their goals through advocacy and education as they operate the Cuts Wood School Blackfeet Immersion Program.

The Navajo are also well known for their contribution to language preservation and revitalization through education (Roessel, 1977). For example, the Rough Rock Demonstration School, a community controlled K-12 school in Arizona that began in

1966, has shown great promise concerning the education of school-aged children in their native language (Hale, 2008). Additionally, Fort Defiance Elementary School, in the Window Rock Unified School District of Arizona, has operated Navajo (Dine) language immersion programs since 1986. The program administrators worked closely with parents, community members, and universities to develop a comprehensive program that serves the linguistic and cultural needs of Navajo communities. The work of the Navajo and other tribal nations within the state of Arizona has also recently transferred into broader state action toward language preservation and maintenance. In a state with similar minority populations and language policies as in Oklahoma, the Arizona Department of Education (Silva, 2012) recently adopted the Native American Language Teacher Certification that allows proficient speakers of Native American languages to teach in Arizona public schools.

In Oklahoma, the Cherokee Nation, since the 1960s, has tried a variety of methods to support Cherokee language preservation, and in 2000 the Cherokee Nation opened the doors to its first language immersion school (Peter, 2007). The Cherokee Nation also worked with Northeastern State University in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, and with the Oklahoma State Department of Education to develop a Cherokee language teacher certification program, the only Native American language teacher certification of its kind in the state (NSU, 2012; Certification Examinations for Oklahoma Educators, 2012).

The Cherokee language immersion school began as a pre-kindergarten, and from the inception of the school, a grade level was added each year until the point that it served pre-K-8th grade students. While only 10% of the Cherokee Nation considers

themselves fluent in the Cherokee language (Peter, 2007), the Cherokee language is spoken, heard, written, and read in each classroom of the school, and it is not until the students reach 6th grade that they receive any instruction in English. In 2010, the Cherokee Nation applied for and received Oklahoma state charter status for the immersion school. This has created unique challenges, in that the school is now required to adhere to Oklahoma State Department of Education teacher certification and assessment policy, but it has also allowed for substantial funding for school operations (Spaulding, 2013).

Additionally, the four tribal colleges (Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribal College, College of the Muskogee Nation, Comanche Nation College, and Pawnee Nation College) within the state are playing their part in efforts towards language revitalization. The Comanche Nation College, for example, has collaborated with Texas Tech University to develop a digital Comanche language archive. Currently, there are only approximately 25 fluent speakers of the Comanche language compared to approximately 15,000 Comanche speakers in the late 1800s (Mangan, 2013).

To combat the potential loss of the Comanche language, the college, like other tribal colleges within the state, offers degrees and classes that focus on the Comanche language, but with the limited number of fluent speakers, the tribal college's efforts have been a challenge. Tribes like the Comanche lost a generation of speakers due to the dominant and militaristic ideologies and practices of the early 20th century. An example of these practices was stated by the dean of academic affairs at the Comanche Nation College, "My father was whipped for speaking the language [Comanche], but he did it secretly and was a fluent speaker. My parents didn't want me learning the

language, because they wanted me to be successful in the white man's world" (Mangan, 2013, p. A18). Because the language was literally beaten out of speakers, a challenge in implementing degrees with a language focus at tribal colleges is convincing young people that it is worth learning the language spoken by their elders (Mangan, 2013).

Despite isolated successes of the aforementioned programs and other tribal nation initiatives, the majority of Native American languages within the U.S. and Oklahoma are in danger of being lost (Crawford, 1995; Harmon & Lohl, 2010; Linn, 2007; Living Tongues, 2012). While bottom-up efforts, from the tribal nation and the tribal college level, promote the transmission of indigenous language use in the home (McCarty & Watahomigie, 1999), top-down and middle-level efforts, as demonstrated in New Zealand and Hawaii, are also significant to the survival of indigenous languages (de Bres, 2011a; Cowell, 2012; Crawford, 1995). What is common to many current approaches to language revitalization is the commitment to and use of a language-based education as a means to promote indigenous language proficiency. However, the language-based education approach requires collaboration among state departments of education and tribal nations. Many states with large Native American populations have worked toward policies that support language preservation and revitalization in schools (McCoy, 2003), but there are still many challenges to the implementation of these policies. Like Arizona and California, the state of Oklahoma and the tribes therein exist in a confusing environment as it relates to the instruction of Native American languages in school settings (Combs & Nicholas, 2012).

As Crawford (1995) argued, politics and scarce resources may be the decisive factor in language survival. While it is clear that language and education policies alone

cannot reverse language loss (Fishman, 1997), it is naïve to believe that language policy and public school systems do not affect the goals of language revitalization, as historically, it was restrictive ideologies, language policies, and schooling practices that brought about the loss of indigenous languages (Adams, 1997; Crawford, 1995).

Language and Education Policy Planning: A Theoretical Framework

Language policy and planning (LPP) is a distinct facet of efforts toward indigenous language preservation and revitalization and seeks to understand how, why, and by whom policy decisions are made (Wright, 2004). Often times, LPP intersects with the field of education (Ferguson, 2006; Hornberger, 1998; Ricento, 2006) as decisions and choices regarding the curriculum and instruction of indigenous languages are all issues that are encompassed within LPP, and as stated by Hornberger (1998), there is,

> consistent and compelling evidence that language policy and language education serve as vehicles for promoting the vitality, versatility, and stability of these [indigenous] languages, and ultimately promote the rights of their speakers to participate in the global community on and IN their own terms. (p. 439)

Language education policies that promote indigenous language preservation and revitalization are often created by policy actors who are not directly involved in educating students in schools (Spolsky, 2004; Menken, 2010); and although there is no unified theory regarding LPP (Ricento, 2006; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996), there are frameworks that support research in the field (Cooper; 1989; Haugen; 1972; Hornberger, 2002; Ricento, 2006; Ruiz, 1984; Spolsky, 2004). Therefore, it is imperative that researchers consider a theoretical framework that not only allows policy

actors to compare and contrast policy goals, but also to comprehend the implications of stated language policies on the ground (Scheffler, 1984).

LPP has a long history, but it was not until the 1960s that it became a field of academic inquiry within the university setting (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Wright, 2004). From that point onward, LPP has been an ever-growing interdisciplinary field that now influences decisions in both developing and industrial nations (Shapiro, 2011). Haugen (1972) first defined language planning as, "the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community" (p. 133). This definition was soon expanded to include aspects related to large-scale societal change, as Fishman (1974) added national macro-level change to his definition, drawing from policies developed during colonialism.

Furthermore, Ferguson (1977) emphasized the comprehension of sociolinguist settings to understand language-planning activities. Newer definitions of LPP tend to underscore efforts to deliberately influence the behavior of others concerning issues related to language (Blommaert, 1996; Cooper, 1989, Wright, 2004). Blommaert (1996), for example, stated that language planning covers "all cases in which authorities attempt, by whatever means, to shape a sociolinguistic profile for their society" (p. 207). Spolsky (2004) agreed with Blommaert, but also extended the understanding of language policy beyond policy decisions made by authorities by stating that, "language policy may refer to all language practices" and language beliefs practiced by any community. As the definitions of LPP have expanded, so too have implementation and

applications. Over the past decades, LPP has expanded from the realm of government to the field of education and beyond.

A widely accepted integrative conceptual framework of LPP presented by Hornberger (2006) suggests that educational systems can significantly support the revitalization and preservation of indigenous languages through policy (see Table 1).

The framework integrates multiple typologies and classifications of LPP that have been developed over time (Cooper, 1989; Kloss, 1968; Ferguson, 1968; Haugen, 1983; Hornberger, 1994; Kloss, 1968; Nahir, 1977; Neustupny, 1974; Rabin, 1971; Stewart, 1968), and includes three "types" of policy planning, namely status planning, acquisition planning, and corpus planning (Hornberger, 2006, p. 29). Status planning includes "efforts toward the allocation of functions" (Hornberger, 2006, p. 28) of particular languages within speech communities and promotes positive perceptions regarding stated languages. Acquisition planning involves creating opportunities and incentives for various groups and individuals to learn and improve their indigenous language skills. Corpus planning involves efforts toward standardizing the form, structure, and function of a particular language. As public schools are often used as a vehicle for change, our educational systems can clearly support each type of policy planning in a significant way (Ferguson, 2006). For example, schools are actors in status planning as educational policy and educators place value judgments on the use of specific languages and dialects. Schools also implement the outcomes of corpus planning by instructing students on standardized form, structure, and the function of language. Last, as the primary goal of school is student learning, schools take part in

acquisition planning by creating opportunities and incentives for students to learn and improve indigenous language proficiency.

By observing the framework in Table 1, clearly our education systems are more closely related to some forms of the continua of LPP than others are. School systems can best support the goals of acquisition planning, but status planning and corpus planning are commonly implemented in schools.

Table 1.

Language Policy and Planning Framework

Types	Policy Planning Approach	Cultivation Planning Approach
Status Planning (about uses of language)	Officialization Nationalization Standardization of status Proscription	Revival Maintenance Spread Interlingual communication
Acquisition Planning (about users of language)	Group Education/School Literacy Religious Mass media Work	Reacquisition Maintenance Shift Foreign language/second language/literacy
Corpus planning (about language)	Standardization of corpus Standardization of auxiliary code Graphization	Modernization Lexical Stylistic Renovation Purification Reform Stylistic Simplification Terminology unification

*table adapted from Hornberger (2006, p. 29).

Additionally, an important note to consider is that while language planning types in and of themselves do not lean in a particular political direction, it is most often that language policies fall into one of three ideological orientations identified by Ruiz (1984). Ruiz's (1984) policy typology supports the organization of language policy into

orientations toward three types, namely language as a problem, language as a right, and language as a resource. The language as a problem orientation views the use of a language other than the dominant language as a problem. The "problem," from this perspective, is that minority language speakers have a "handicap," and they need to overcome their handicap by assimilating to the majority language (Hornberger, 2003). This orientation is common among policy actors and is the foundation for many of our current states' monolingual English as official language policies. This linguistic-assimilationist approach to LPP promotes "language shift" (Hornberger, 2003, p. 134), the shift or transition of minority communities from the use of a minority language to a majority language. The result of this type of LPP often leads to the death, or loss of minority languages (Hornberger, 2003).

While linguistic assimilationist ideology historically has been the norm in many contexts, multilingual language policies oriented toward the linguistic-pluralism ideology are gaining increasing support (Hornberger, 2002). The language as a right orientation views language as an individual or collective right to use the language or languages of choice for communication in the private or public environments (Ruiz, 1984; Scott et al., 2009). While indigenous language and cultural rights are critical to LPP (Scott et al., 2009), as stated by Ruiz (1984), this approach may also set up resistance and tension between majority and minority communities. For this reason, the language as a resource orientation is considered the strongest form of linguistic-pluralism (Hornberger, 2003; Ruiz, 1984)

While the language as a right orientation is important in efforts toward language preservation and revitalization, the language as a resource is the most optimal

orientation (Ruiz, 1984), because it views language as a resource to be understood, used, preserved, and shared within and outside of minority language communities (Hornberger, 2003). This focus on language as a resource again frames the debate in relation to the ecology of language (Haugen, 1973). Although language communities must expect linguistic rights, it is imperative to the survival of indigenous languages and the empowerment of the communities who use these languages that we also view these languages as a valuable resource for indigenous and non-indigenous communities to study, learn, and use in their daily lives. Education policies that support the language as resource orientation are important in efforts toward language preservation and revitalization as it is through the implementation of indigenous language education that we can, as stated by Hornberger (2002), "open up new worlds for possibilities for oppressed indigenous and immigrant languages and their speakers, transforming former homogenizing and assimilationist policy discourse into discourse about diversity and emancipation" (p. 27).

An additional LPP framework that directly supports this dissertation research is the Accounting Scheme Model (Cooper, 1989), which contributed greatly to the development of the research questions and guided the conclusions drawn from this research. The model includes eight components, "(I) What actors, (II) attempt to influence what behaviors, (III) of which people, (IV) for what ends, (V) under what conditions, (VI) by what means, (VII) through what decisions making process, (VIII) with what effect" (Cooper, 1989, p. 98). This model, with the support of the previously described LPP frameworks and orientations, provided a theoretical research framework that supports in-depth descriptions, policy and practice explanations, trustworthy

interpretation, and context-specific generalization about the processes and implications of LPP as it relates to language preservation and revitalization within the state of Oklahoma.

Conclusion

Unfortunately, many in the field of PK-12 education have not recognized the importance of language preservation and language education policy, as many believe that LPP is theoretical and far removed from the practice of education (Menken, 2008; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). However, education practitioners, whether they are teachers, curriculum and materials developers, administrators, consultants, or academics, are involved in one way or another in the processes of LPP (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996), and it is not until endangered indigenous languages have a strong presence in the educational system that indigenous languages will show progress (Crystal, 2000; Ferguson, 2006; Fishman, 2001, McCarty & Nicholas, 2014).

In the U. S., where beneficial contexts for the practice and promotion of multilingualism are many times dependent on policy (Hornberger, 2002), there is in school systems a general and implicit privileging of the English language over minority languages, such that English is associated with more power and status than other languages. To reverse this shift and inclination toward privileging English, there must be an incentive for people to learn and use indigenous languages in the contexts of religion, school, and work (Hornberger, 2006). To create this social change, we must develop this incentive through the education system with support of the LPP orientations and frameworks described above in addition to insights provided by other field experts. Yamamoto (1998, p. 114), for example, gave insight into how we might

approach this social change in his nine factors that help preserve and revitalize minority languages. These descriptions are as follows:

1. The existence of a dominant culture in favor of linguistic diversity.
2. A strong sense of ethnic identity within the endangered community.
3. The promotion of educational programmes about the endangered language and culture.
4. The creation of bilingual/bicultural school programmes.
5. The training of native speakers as teachers.
6. The involvement of speech community as a whole.
7. The creation of language materials that are easy to use.
8. The development of written literature, both traditional and new.
9. The creation and strengthening of the environments in which language must be used.

Clearly, from these nine factors, school systems can play an integral role in the reversal of language loss in multilingual communities (McCarty & Nicholas, 2014). The use and discussion of indigenous languages in schools is a key stepping-stone in the use of language in multiple contexts (Fishman, 2001; Greymorning, 1997), and without this approach, minority languages will not achieve the goal of being used as a primary method of communication within the U.S.

As scholars, educators, and global citizens, it is imperative that we work toward the professional educational ethic that focuses on the best interests of the student (Shapiro & Stefkovich, 2001, 2005, 2011; Stefkovich, 2006, 2013). Linguistic tolerance, native language revitalization, bilingualism, and bilingual education are not

only in the best interests of indigenous communities, in our linguistically diverse state, but are also in the best interests of every student (Crawford, 1997; Lessow-Hurley, 2005; Lopez & Frick, 2010, McCarty & Nicholas, 2014; Menken, 2008; Ovando & Collier, 1985). Our students will have major challenges in this rapidly changing and increasingly globalized multilingual and multicultural world, and by fostering bilingualism and multilingualism for all students, we will fulfill our ethical duty as educators and citizens to act with integrity while affirming the dignity and growth of all students (Starratt, 2004).

As we in Oklahoma have an indigenous and minority language population large enough to support native language revitalization and bilingual education, we should support such programs with state funding and educational policies as well as through strong bilingual education programs. All students, including native English speakers, and speakers of indegenous languages would benefit from learning Native American languages. As stated by Crawford (1997), "Proficient bilingualism is a desirable goal, which can bring cognitive, academic, cultural, and economic benefits to individuals and the nation" (p. 1), and the benficiearies of proficient bilingualism are both native English speakers as well as native speakers of idegenous languages. In summary, by researching Native American language policy and planning issues in the state of Oklahoma, I focus on a setting where language, culture, policy, and schooling converge in a distinct and unique way, synergistically affecting bilingualism, multiculturalism, and indigenous language preservation and revitalization.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The *Esther Martinez Native American Languages Preservation Act* (2006) focuses on and encourages language maintenance and revitalization; however, a number of other national, state, and local policies affect Native American language education in schools as well. The NCLB (2001) reauthorization of the *Elementary and Secondary Education* Act (P.L. 107-110) that aims to measure student performance in reading and math, The Race to the Top (2010) initiative and incentive to reform schooling organization and practices, and state education laws and local policies have all had various effects on Native American language instruction in K-12 schools. At times, these policies are in competition with one another as various policy actors work toward promoting and perpetuating their own community agendas and ideologies. Therefore, the outcomes of Native American language policy on the ground may vary greatly from state to state.

Researcher Reflexivity: Identity as a Researcher

I have spent over half of my 38 years intermittently living in the state of Oklahoma. While living in Oklahoma, I have worked with diverse and many underserved communities through my work in schools and as a university student. Prior to focusing on my path as a university student, I had the good fortune of working, traveling, volunteering, and studying in over 20 countries throughout Europe, Asia, Latin America, and Australia. These experiences engendered a lasting interest in language, culture, and minority and indigenous education that has greatly affected my professional and educational career. For example, my volunteer work at the International Society for Ecology and Culture (ISEC) with Tibetan refugees in northern

India instilled in me a great admiration for Buddhism, land-based cultures, and activism. The following statement from the ISEC website summarizes my volunteer experience in India,

> In both North and South [of India], centuries-old skills and knowledge systems are disappearing and viable rural communities are collapsing. But you can make a difference. By working on a farm in Ladakh you will have the rare opportunity to understand the pressures facing a traditional land-based culture as it confronts the global economy. Your presence can also help raise the status of rural life, thereby strengthening Ladakhis' sense of cultural self-esteem. The program includes workshops on economic globalization/localization and rethinking development, designed to help you develop skills for effective activism when you return home (ISEC, 2014, para. 10).

Additionally, my studies and volunteer work in Central America supported my fluency in the Spanish language and inspired a great appreciation for Hispanic and Mayan culture, traditional healing, and indigenous ways of knowing and living.

After returning and settling down in Oklahoma, I continued my university career that I had slowly been working on while traveling. For two years I lived in Tahlequah, Oklahoma while studying at Northeastern State University (NSU). Although my degree at NSU was in Spanish, I completed a certificate in Teaching English as a Second Language, and I was just shy of completing a dual degree in Native American Studies, which I did not complete due to family circumstances. My interest in language and culture began long ago through my grandparents' discussion of our Lakota and Choctaw ancestors. Similar to many Oklahomans, my family is primarily of Caucasian ancestry,

but has a mix of ethnic background. My closest Native American ancestor goes back five generations and was a Lakota woman and my paternal grandfather's great-grandmother. While attending NSU, I was a member of the Native American Student Association (NASA) and attended conferences as a student representative. I also had the opportunity to take part in a variety of Native American cultural activities during my time living in Tahlequah.

Due to the birth of my first daughter, my career and academic goals quickly changed as I finished my last semester at NSU in 2003. Instead of continuing directly to graduate studies, I began my career in the field of education, teaching Spanish and English as a Second Language (ESL). I taught Spanish and ESL at the elementary and secondary level for approximately five years. During my time teaching Spanish and ESL, I completed a Master's degree in Bilingual Education/Teaching English as a Second Language at the University of Central Oklahoma.

After teaching Spanish and ESL, I worked for five years as an English Language Learners (ELL) Instructional Facilitator for Oklahoma City Public Schools in the department of Language and Cultural Services. This department serves ELL and Native American students through Title III (ELL) and Title VI (Indian Education). While my primary focus related to ELL, I also collaborated with Indian Education staff on a frequent basis. In this position, I worked in partnership with district and school administration to develop an ESL/ELL program that would meet individual school needs. My role in this position was a teacher trainer, coach, and mentor focusing on issues related to second language acquisition and best strategies for teaching English

language learners. In this capacity, I worked and collaborated with teachers in a number of schools at all levels to promote effective methods for teaching ELLs.

During my time as an Instructional Facilitator, I completed a second Master's degree in Educational Administration from the University of Central Oklahoma. Since 2006, I have also worked as an adjunct instructor, first teaching Spanish at OSU-OKC, and now graduate courses for the Bilingual Education department at the University of Central Oklahoma. These positions have given me a complete perspective of the educational process from PK-Higher Ed. In these previously mentioned experiences, I had the opportunity to work with great colleagues and mentors that have aided in my development of quality leadership skills and field specific knowledge. It was with this background that I entered my current doctoral program at the University of Oklahoma.

I have greatly appreciated the individualized and interdisciplinary nature of the EACS doctoral program at OU. From the beginning of my program, with the support of my advisor and committee, I worked toward the development of an interdisciplinary course of study that integrated course work in the college of education and the department of anthropology. As our educational system is a microcosm of our society, anthropological theories and methods enlighten my understanding of our educational systems. The program has fostered in me theoretical and empirical growth in my two primary areas of interest, which are educational policy and language and cultural issues in schools. Through the course of my doctoral studies, my interest and desire to transition from my Master's level focus of ELL to Native American languages was reinforced. Currently, there is an immense amount of research related to ELLs, but the state of Oklahoma has seen little to no research in the area of language education policy

as it relates to Native American languages in Oklahoma. Native American languages are at a critical point in history, and for this reason, I believe my research is of better service in the realm of language education policy and Native American language preservation and revitalization.

As an educator and citizen, I believe that teaching children and adults to appreciate and embrace diverse languages and cultures is the most necessary and important goal of my career path. For this reason, I am dedicated to furthering the goals of Native American language preservation and revitalization within the field of education and the political policy-making arena. It is imperative that we prepare students to communicate across cultures, utilizing a variety of methods that respect minority and indigenous epistemologies. Therefore, my present research is aimed at furthering successful educational practices to these ends. Although I am aware that schooling and public policy alone will not resolve the many challenges that face speakers of Native American languages, school is an excellent avenue for promoting tolerance, justice, and equity for all citizens. When we truly begin to question and research what will help our students live happier, healthier, and more productive lives, we will have a more holistic view of how to promote the best interests of every student (Frick, 2011; Frick & Tribble, 2012).

Research Design

This dissertation research focused on the relationship between language ideology, policy, and the actors who are involved in creating Native American language learning experiences within the state of Oklahoma. As stated in Chapter 1, the guiding questions to this interpretive research study were:

RQ1. What is the architecture of language policy and planning within the state of Oklahoma?

RQ2. What role do states and public school districts have in the preservation and revitalization of Native American languages?

Additional guiding questions included:

RQ3. What supports or barriers are promoted by the primary policy actors through their policies, and what affect do the policies have on Native American language revitalization?

RQ4. What policy planning factors foster successful implementation of Native American language education programs?

To explore these questions, data were collected from March of 2013 through December 2013. A visual overview of the research design for this dissertation is presented in Table 2.

Table 2:
Overview of Research Design

Research Questions	Rationale	Literature	Data	Participants
1. What is the architecture of language policy and planning within the state of Oklahoma?	To learn the complexities of language and education policy both nationally and within the state of Oklahoma	Literature related to language policy and planning as applied to the educational setting	Interviews, observations, policy documents, governmental documents and reports	Field experts, state representatives, state and local administrators
2. What role do states and public school districts have in the preservation and revitalization of Native American languages?	To learn more about the multiple perspectives of the actors who are involved in the creation, shaping, and implementation of language education policy	Literature related to language policy and planning in addition to the politics of power through the use of policy	Interviews, observations, media documents, governmental reports	Field experts, state representatives, state and local administrators
3. What supports or barriers are promoted by the primary policy actors through their policies and what affect do the policies have on Native American language revitalization?	To understand the multiple and conflicting beliefs, values, and ideologies held by the actors involved in the language and education policy process, and to learn how these ideologies affect policy and practice	Literature related to the politics of power through the use of policy and language ideologies in the national and state context	Interviews, observations, policy documents, governmental documents and reports	Field experts, state representatives, state and local administrators
4. What policy planning factors foster successful implementation of Native American language education programs?	To understand to what extent state and local language and education policies are supporting the goals of Native American language preservation and revitalization	Literature on the history of language education and language revitalization	Interviews, policy documents, media documents, governmental documents and reports	Field experts, state representatives, state and local administrators

The primary methodology that grounds this dissertation research is interpretive policy analysis. As stated by Yanow (2000), "interpretive policy analysis explores the contrasts between policy meanings as intended by policymakers—'authored' texts—and possibly variant and even incommensurable meanings—'constructed' texts made of them by other policy-relevant groups" (p. 9). Interpretive policy analysis is characterized by the belief that our socially constructed world exists within the realm of multiple interpretation possibilities. This type of policy analysis assumes that the realm of the policymaker should be evaluated in light of the underlying values, beliefs, assumptions, and feelings that are both tacitly and explicitly expressed through policy documents and artifacts (Yanow, 2000). This semiotic approach to the interpretation of artifacts (language, objects, and acts) reveals the values, beliefs, and attitudes that are held by the diverse groups of policy actors (Yanow, 2000).

An integral part of interpretive policy analysis is the identification of the architecture of policy arguments that exist among communities who are bound together or separated by specific sets of values, beliefs and feelings (Yanow, 2000). In this way, an interpretive policy analyst is identifying boundaries between communities not based simply on location but communities of meaning who share similar sets of values, beliefs, and assumptions regarding particular policy issues. Yanow (2000) suggested that at least three communities of meaning exist within any given policy situation, namely the policymakers, implementing agency personnel, and affected citizens or clients. I would also suggest that each of these communities exists in a policy community web as all of the communities of meaning including the policymakers are also affected citizens (Scheffler, 1984). Policymakers themselves are affected as

citizens by their own policy initiatives and have a vested interest in the outcomes of stated policies. For this reason, it is important not only to understand policy documents themselves but also to understand the beliefs, values, and assumptions of policymakers who are charged with governing policy issues.

The primary role of the interpretive policy analyst then is to frame and provide a "map" of the architecture of the policy debate under investigation (Yanow, 2000). This is accomplished by identifying and understanding the language, actions, and meanings of the various interpretive communities who frame the issue in unique ways (Linder, 1995). As stated by Yanow (2000), an interpretive policy analysis is one that focuses on the meanings of policies, on the values, feelings, or beliefs they express, and on the processes by which those meanings are communicated to and "read by various audiences" (p. 14). In an interpretive policy analysis, policies are simply considered as concrete symbols that represent more abstract organizational and community meanings, values, beliefs, feelings, and assumptions. According to Gagliardi (1990), policy symbols embody three elements of human meaning making: emotive/aesthetic (*pathos*), cognitive (*logos*), and moral (*ethos*). These dimension of meaning-making are made clearer in light of community assumptions, values, beliefs, feelings, and actions. As we interact with one another, these dimensions of meaning making are reinforced, maintained, or changed.

This focus on interpretation of meanings is closely related to the concept of heteroglossia as described by Bakhtin (1982). This concept expresses the view that language is dynamic and cannot be understood in a vacuum that is isolated from the communicative environment. Similarly, policy, once enacted, has somewhat of a life of

its own and changes meaning as interpretive communities place their own values and meanings on top of expressed policy artifacts. Inherent in language policy is the struggle between two tendencies: one a centralizing tendency, the other a decentralizing tendency. These centralizing and decentralizing forces are referred to by Bakhtin (1982) as "centripetal" and "centrifugal" forces, which engender the continual evolution of language and education policy. The centripetal forces work toward homogenization while centrifugal forces work toward diversification. These interactions and interpreted meanings underscore the ontological, epistemological, and methodological stance of interpretive policy analysis, and as stated by Yanow (2000), "the methods of interpretive analysis that focus on the ways in which meanings are made and conveyed are, at the same time, the subjects of study" (p. 17).

To conduct this present study and identify the architecture of language policy in the U.S. and Oklahoma, as recommended by Yanow (2000), I first identified the artifacts or specific policies that carry meaning for the diverse interpretive communities by conducting an extensive web and library search of artifacts and policies at the national, state, local, and tribal levels that relate to language policy. Through reviewing these policies and artifacts I was able to identify the relevant communities that interpret the specified policies. In the next step in this process, I identified the "communities' discourses" about the policy issues (Yanow, 2000), by searching for news and other forms of media that relate to the topic. This process allowed me as the researcher to analyze and come to conclusions about the particular values, beliefs, and feelings that relate to the language education policies relevant to this study. The last step in this interpretive policy analysis, prior to conducting participant interviews, was to categorize

apparent policy and artifact goals into one of two of the following ideological groups: (a) language as a problem and (b) language as a right or resource. This process allowed me to identify the policy goals that appear to be, or clearly are, in conflict among the various communities in an effort to identify where specific interventions may begin.

Interviews, observations, and interpretive document and policy analysis were the primary methods to explore the research questions. These are the central methods for "accessing local knowledge and identifying communities of meaning and their symbolic artifacts" (Yanow, 2000, p. 31). Although interviews were the primary data for analysis in this dissertation research, policy documents, public meeting notes, reports, and media coverage were also analyzed to add depth to the study. As the Oklahoma State Department of Education is currently in the process of developing Native American language teaching certification requirements, observations of public meeting related to this process also added insight into language policy issues within the state.

Therefore, the following three sets of data were triangulated in the analysis for this dissertation: (a) interviews; (b) federal, state, local, and tribal nation policy documents; and (c) public meetings, conference presentations, popular press and media, and governmental reports. The multiple and various data sources provided for an in-depth understanding of the interaction between language policy and the implementation of Native American language education. With extensive analysis of these data sources, it was possible to make legitimate recommendations for policy change within the state of Oklahoma. Ultimately, I hoped that this process would in the future lead to my partaking in negotiations and mediations with the various identified interpretive communities to bridge differences and redefine language education policies. In this

way, I hope to become a relevant and valuable policy actor within the process of language education policy reform.

Primary Data: Interviews

Interview data were collected from state and local interpretive communities and proved important to this study for its in-depth richness, brought to light through the diverse perspective of each participant. This contributed to a broad understanding of language policy as it applies to language preservation and revitalization efforts within the state of Oklahoma. Throughout the interview process, Yanow (2000) recommended that the researcher work to, "identify the overlappings and commonalities that will begin to define borders between communities of different interpretive positions" (p. 37). To depict and define these borders between and within communities and ideologies, I interviewed a variety of actors in the field of language policy and education. The interviews were conducted with various relevant policy actors at the state, district, and local levels. Field experts, Oklahoma state representatives and policy actors, Oklahoma State Department of Education (OSDE) World Languages and Indian Education staff members, in addition to local school administrators and relevant policy actors were focal interview participants. Each participant was interviewed one time with a semi-structured interview protocol that lasted approximately one hour.

Four interview protocols were utilized for (a) field experts, (b) state representatives, (c) OSDE staff, and (d) school administrators respectively (see Appendices A-D). The interview protocols consisted of open-ended questions that supported the semi-structured interview process. This approach was taken to ensure that specific research related questions were addressed, while allowing for flexibility in the

organization of questions and participant response (Creswell, 2008; Johnson & Christensen, 2010).

The utilization of various protocols was important (see Appendices A-D) for each group because each interview group had a different role in the language policy and education process. Interviewing these multiple groups within the realm of language and education policy added to the depth and breadth of the study. Twelve out of 13 interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. Participant number 4 requested not to be recorded; therefore, I took field notes during this interview. Appendices A, B, C, and D contain the interview questions and frameworks that were used and discussed with each of the interview participant groups.

Secondary Data: Federal, State, Local, and Tribal Nation Policy Documents

Federal, state, local, and tribal nation policy documents were collected and analyzed to gain understanding of the goals and ideologies that are represented in the various realms of the policy process. These documents allowed me to compare and contrast the written documents to the perceptions of research participants regarding the actual implementation of policies on the ground. Language and education policies from the past and present were included in the document analysis as a means for providing a background and context for the current issues related to language policy and planning. Additionally, proposed language and education policy and legislation were included in the analysis to contemplate the potential outcome and efforts of the various language policy actors.

At the national level, the following policies were analyzed:

1. *English Language Unity Act* (proposed legislation 2011)

2. *Excellence and Innovation in Language Learning Act* (proposed 2011)
3. *Esther Martinez Native American Language Preservation Act* (2006)
4. *No Child Left Behind* (NCLB [2001])

At the state level, policy documents differ in their level of support toward national level policy goals. The following state level policy documents were analyzed:

1. *Education Law Book* (OSDEa, 2013)
2. *Reading Sufficiency Act* (OSDEb, 2013)
3. *Official English Language Act* (2010)
4. *Oklahoma Indian Language Heritage Protection Act* (2001)
5. *Native American Language Act* (1990)

I also contacted numerous districts and tribal nations within the state in an effort to identify local district level and tribal nation policies that address issues and concerns related to language revitalization.

Secondary Data: Public Organized Meetings, Conference Presentations, and Reports

Perceptions, beliefs, and values regarding language and education policy, planning, and its application are commonly expressed at public organized meetings, conferences, and through publications and reports of various policy actors. In an effort to include the perspectives of individuals who otherwise might not have been able to be included in my research, I attended various events related to education and Native American language revitalization that were included as part of the analysis in my research.

Project Design

As stated previously, this dissertation study was an interpretive policy analysis of language and education policy as it relates to Native American language preservation and revitalization in the state of Oklahoma. Interpretive policy analysis focuses on the deeper meaning of policy that is expressed through the perceptions, values, and beliefs held and communicated by various policy actors (Yanow, 2000). It also investigates, "the process by which those meanings are communicated to and read by various audiences" (Yanow, 2000, p. 14). This research, then, investigated the perceptions, values, and beliefs held by diverse groups concerning Native American language education. These beliefs and perceptions were compared and contrasted to highlight the challenges of implementing Native American language education programs in local settings.

Interpretive policy analysis requires the researcher to identify artifacts and communities related to the policy issue (Yanow, 2000). This process allowed the researcher to understand policy on the expressive level, as policy documents convey meanings that support a collective identity. In this way, the researcher was able to compare and contrast the intentions of various policy actors and policy relevant communities. This, in turn, provided a rich context for an in-depth qualitative analysis of relevant policy issues.

For the purposes of this research, I made use of non-probabilistic, purposeful sampling (Patton, 1990). As suggested by Yanow (2000), I began the interpretive policy analysis process with document analysis, initially focusing on media coverage, transcripts of committee meetings, legislation, and agency documents that relate to

language education policy. This provided the background information for interviews with key policy actors at the various levels of interpretive communities.

This study consisted of qualitative research across the three following distinct yet inter-related levels: state, district, and local. For the purposes of this research, each level was considered as a distinct interpretive community—holding unique and at times conflicting perceptions, beliefs, and values that resulted in part to their particular role in the language and education policy environment. I also found that within this study, not all interpretive communities fit into a tightly knit belief system. The perceptions, beliefs, and values of one interpretive community and individuals within each community may compete with, contradict, and/or reinforce that of other interpretive communities and individuals within a community.

Participants

I contacted over 30 possible participants representing the three interpretive communities, and 13 agreed to be interviewed. Combined, those who agreed to participate, represented a substantial group from each interpretive community (see Table 3).

Table 3.

Participant Description

Participant	Title	State	District	Local
1	Indian Education Director		X	
2	OSDE Education Director	X		
3	Indian Education Director		X	
4	Indian Education Director		X	
5	Tribal Field Expert			X
6	OSDE Education Director	X		
7	University Field Expert	X		X
8	University Field Expert	X		X
9	University Field Expert	X		X
10	State Representative	X		
11	State Representative	X		
12	State Representative	X		
13	Field Expert/ Conservative Policy Actor			X

I used these interviews to understand the varied perspectives and interpretations each community operates under with regard to language education policy and planning. At the state level, Oklahoma state representatives and policy actors, Oklahoma State Department of Education (OSDE) World Languages and Indian Education staff members, and members from the Oklahoma Advisory Council for Indian Education (OACIE) members were interviewed. At the district level, Indian Education directors within districts with high Native American student populations were interviewed, and at the local level field experts and policy activist were interviewed.

All state level policy actors were individuals who have helped create and shape state level language policies. Additionally, school administrators and the OACIE added insight into the implications of state policies on local policies and efforts toward language preservation and revitalization in school. The OACIE is composed of an 18-member board that serves to make recommendations, evaluations, and annual reports on the effectiveness of the public education system in meeting the needs of the Native American students at the local level within schools in the state of Oklahoma (OSDE, 2012).

Analysis of national level policies gave a broad scope to the analysis of this research as it relates to Oklahoma language policy, and state level policy actors were key participants in this study because they are often the bridge between national and local level policy implementation. Additionally, education policy is controlled to the greatest extent at the state level, and as there are more than 130,000 Native American students attending public schools within the state of Oklahoma (OSDE, 2012), state

level policy actors have played an increasing role in language preservation and revitalization.

Participant Selection

As the nature of language and education policy is complex across the various interpretive communities, my research process made use of mixed purposeful sampling (Patton, 1990). In coordinating my initial interviews, I used a self-selected list of potential participants based on my personal knowledge of the individuals' involvement in language and education policy matters. I later relied on a list of contacts provided by my self-selected interview participants. In this way, I was able to access individuals whom I might not otherwise have had the opportunity to interview. Therefore, I made use of purposeful, snowball, criterion, and opportunistic sampling to allow for triangulation of interview transcripts, federal, state, local, and tribal nation policy documents, and public meetings, conference presentations, popular press and media, and governmental reports (Patton, 1990).

The specific criterion-based selection or list of essential attributes (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993) for individuals of each interpretive community are listed below. At the state level, participants met the following criteria:

1. Have direct experience with U.S. and state level government agencies in the developing and/or shaping of Native American language policy.
2. Have been recognized as a leader in the field of indigenous language preservation and revitalization as evidenced by presentations, publications, and involvement in relevant research studies related to Native American language policy issues.

Oklahoma State Department of Education (OSDE) staff met the following criteria:

1. Hold an OSDE position such as director or coordinator which relates to Native American language and cultural issues in schools.
2. Hold active membership in the National Indian Education Association.

Additionally, individuals from the state level included Oklahoma state representatives who met the following criteria:

1. Holds or have held an elected position as an Oklahoma state House or Senate representative.
2. Has played an active role in shaping and creating language education policy.

At the district level, school administrators from at least four Oklahoma districts with large Native American student populations were selected based on the following criteria:

1. Works as an administrator for a public school district that receives federal and state Indian Education funding.
2. Works within a well-established district Indian Education program.
3. Holds active membership in the National Indian Education Association.

Additionally, individuals from the local level included field experts who met the following criteria:

1. Hold active membership in and organization that advocates for policy related to language. For example, the Oklahoma Advisory Council for Indian Education. OACIE members are local representatives who advise OSDE staff members on issues related to Native American language and cultural

issues. Additionally the Oklahoma Conservative Political Action Committee (OCPAC) lobbies state offices on issues related to language policy.

2. Holds active membership in an organization that is involved with language policy (i.e., National Indian Education Association, or English First).

Of the 13 participants, 7 were women and 6 were men, and 12 claimed to be affiliated to at least one federally recognized tribe and others claimed affiliation with multiple tribes (see Table 4).

Table 4.

Participant Demographics

Tribal Affiliation	Female	Male
Caddo		1
Cherokee	2	1
Chickasaw	2	
Choctaw	1	
Kaw		1
Kiowa		1
Muskogee Creek	1	2
Osage	1	
Otto		1
Seminole		1
Non-Indian	1	

While I did not verify the authenticity of participants' claims regarding their affiliation with a corresponding tribe, the majority of participants are very much engaged in efforts

to promote Native American language and cultural preservation. It is also important to highlight that while most participants claimed affiliation with a tribe(s), their expressed opinions do not represent a formal statement or official stance regarding Native American language policy from any of the tribes mentioned in Table 4.

Data Analysis

The primary data that were analyzed in this study came from the interviews of field experts, Oklahoma state representatives and policy actors, Oklahoma State Department of Education (OSDE) World Languages and Indian Education staff members, and policy activists. When permitted, interviews were audio recorded and later transcribed for analysis. In the event that recording was not permitted, I took extensive field notes during the interview. The data collection and analysis process took place from the spring of 2013 through the spring of 2014. During this time, I also attended various public meetings and events related to the topic that contributed as secondary data for this research.

To analyze the primary interview data, I made use of a thematic analysis approach (Bryman, 2012; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Yanow, 2000) while focusing on the interview transcripts from each identified interpretive community. As these analytic methods specifically support applied policy research, the methods suited this study well. As described by Walker (1985), the policy analysis approach offered the policy maker "a theory of social action grounded on the experiences—the world view—of those likely to be affected by a policy decision or thought to be part of the problem" (p. 19).

In this way, a thematic analysis approach supported my detection, definition, categorization, and explanation of the fundamental issues related to language education

policy. This thematic approach to the analysis of data supported a systematic process of sifting and sorting material as it related to key issues and emergent categories of language preservation and revitalization. Once each interview was collected and transcribed, my initial approach to analysis was to listen to the audio recording at least three times while engaging in the development of "contact summary sheets" as recommended by Miles and Huberman (1984, p. 51). In the contact summary sheets, I broadly addressed in writing the following questions and issues related to the interview data:

- What were the main issues or themes that struck you in the contact?
- How were the research questions addressed?
- Summarize the information that you got or failed to get for each target question.
- Was there anything else that was interesting, illuminating or important in the contact?
- What new questions presented themselves in the contact?

A contact summary form simply identifies the main issues and themes that arose in the interview, a summary of information related to each question asked, and considerations for future interviews (Miles & Huberman, 1984). Engaging in this activity allowed me to get a grasp on the main issues that were being addressed by the participants and later supported the development of themes and codes.

After all interviews were completed and all contact summary forms were compiled, I listened once again to the interviews while reading the transcriptions. At

that time, I further developed the themes that were identified in the interviews and secondary research documents and made use of strategies recommended by Miles and Huberman (1984), to build the following list of codes and their respective themes (see Table 5).

Table 5.

List of Themes and Codes

Language Attitudes	LA
LA: Positive	LA-PO
State Representatives	LASR-PO
District Administrators	LADA-PO
Field Experts	LAFE-PO
LA: Negative	LA-NG
State Representatives	LASR-NG
District Administrators	LADA-PO
Field Experts	LAFE-PO
(Language) Policy Architecture	PA
PA: Objectives	PA-OBJ
Support Role	SR
SR: States	SR-ST
SR: Districts	SR-DST
SR: Schools	SR-SCH
SR: Tribes	SR-TRB
Policy Conflict	PC
PC: Support to Revitalization	PC-SR
Funding	PCFND-SR
Curriculum Materials	PCCM-SR
Teacher Certification	PCTC-BR
PC: Barriers to Revitalization	PC-BR
Funding	PCFND-BR
Curriculum Materials	PCCM-BR
Teacher Certification	PCTC-BR
Implementation Challenges	IC
IC: Funding	FS-FND
IC: Curriculum Materials	FS-CM
IC: Teacher Certification	FS-TC
Factors for Success	FS
FS: Collaboration	FS-CLB
FS: Funding	FS-FND
FS: Curriculum Materials	FS-CM
FS: Teacher Certification	FS-TC
FS: Community Outreach	FS-CO

With this list of codes, I also color coded each participant within each transcript and contact summary sheet. I assigned each participant a particular color and color-coded each of their transcripts and contact summary sheets as described below:
P1 (navy blue font), P2 (light blue font), P3 (maroon font), P4 (light green font), P5 (dark purple font), P6 (aqua font), P7 (bright orange font), P8 (grey font), P9 (black font), P10 (brown font), P11 (pink font), P12 (lavender font), P13 (light orange font). I then began the process of dialog mapping and interpreting the data related to each theme and code. In the dialog maps, I associated the color-coded statements that related to a particular theme to a particular research question by cutting and pasting the words of participants within the dialog map. For example, below are excerpts of information that I cut and pasted in the colored fonts described under the Language Attitudes theme and map related to my first research question regarding the architecture of language policy.

> Navy blue font: "So, um, I don't know. I think we have a lot of work to do. I think we're a little bit behind the rest of the nation and, um, I think some tribes are doing better than others, but because they have more speakers, more, um, like Cherokee Nation does a great job I think."
>
> Light blue font: "Like I said my heart just breaks that some of the tribes have already lost their speakers, all of their speakers and the only thing they have left are tapes or some writings in some cases and that's it. So they have maybe stories that people can tell but maybe not even in the language anymore about the culture."

Maroon font: “And that I’m not saying that they don’t care about it, but I believe with the lack of knowledge about it, a lot of teachers I have heard from is they don’t feel comfortable teaching it because they’re not that knowledgeable of it.”

Dark purple font: “Oklahoma Doesn’t have it going on. Without the exception of the Cherokee Nation Immersion School. And there’s a couple other hot spots that the Yuchi language project and Sauk language program. Those really the only- well Seminole Nation has a language immersion school too.”

Bright orange font: “Uhm, it’s –it’s a- it’s a- it's a tragedy It's a human tragedy on a personal day-to-day basis for the lives of, uhm, I would say all Indian people whether they are aware of it or not. It's certainly a state-wide tragedy. I think the- the loss of intellectual and cultural, uhm, benefits, is- affects all of us. Uhm, it's then for national and an international co- you know, tragedy as well.”

Grey font: “But for what it's worth, now that it has gotten this far, we've lost so many of our speakers, and when I look around at my tribe, I never thought my tribe would- would uh- I never thought that language would be... reduced to what it is now.”

Lavender font: “I think having our languages makes us stronger.”

Blank font: “If you lose your language you lose your identity. You lose who you are. You lose that ability to reflect on the esoteric nature of who we are as a people. And for us to be able to maintain our language it allows us to have a voice and a present distinction and really as any people that’s the creator gave us those gifts to celebrate.”

Brown font: “I think that language ties you to your culture you get this mindset where you're thinking ‘Indian’.”

Lavender font: “But we have always found it to be extremely important, and uhm, we’ve gone against the tide, uhm, to be able to keep our language in our home so that we can speak.”

Orange font: “I do believe that western culture based upon Judeo-Christian values is a far superior culture to Native American cultures which was based upon Indian shamanism. And so many -- there were a lot of Indian parents that wanted their children to go and to learn English, and they were very fine with the fact that they were not going to be allowed to speak their native languages.”

From this point I tied the data from each participant to a particular code in the map. Then, I returned to the key objectives and features of the interpretive policy analysis by engaging in the systematic process of analysis for findings, conclusions, and meaning in the research. In this way, I was able to further define concepts, map the range and nature of language policy phenomena, identify and clarify associations, provide explanations, and suggest valid recommendations for future work toward language preservation and revitalization within the state.

While this research was dynamic in nature, I had also pre-identified topics described below, under which specific subthemes and trends emerged (Johnson & Christensen, 2010). Once the interview transcripts and field notes were themed, coded, charted, and mapped under specific categories, I utilized a master list of categories detailed as examples (see Tables 6-8) to triangulate the interview data and media

information with actual national, state, and local polies related to the topic of Native American language preservation and revitalization.

Table 6.

Master List – Categories and Themes from National Level Data Sources

1. Beliefs about language in general		
	Language as a problem	
		English Language Unity Act (proposed 2011)
		NCLB (2001)
	Language as a right/resource	
		Esther Martinez Native American Language Preservation Act (2006)
		NALA (1990)
2. Beliefs about Native American language teaching and learning		
		NCLB (2001) - Academic assessment must be conducted in English
		NALA (1990)- Remove barriers of teaching native american languages
3. Beliefs about the future of Native American languages in Oklahoma		
4. Beliefs about the role of policy and policy actors in relation to Native American language education		
5. Challenges and successes in implementing relevant policy		
6. Impact of other relevant policies that support or conflict with language preservation efforts		
	Creates barriers for language preservation efforts	
		English Language Unity Act (proposed 2011)
		NCLB (2001)
	Supports language preservation efforts	
		Esther Martinez Native American Language Preservation Act (2006)
		NALA (1990)
7. Necessary components for implementing successful language education policies		

Table 7.

Master List – Categories and Themes from State Level Data Sources

1. Beliefs about language in general		
	Language as a problem	
		School Laws of Oklahoma (2011)
	Language as a right/resource	
		Oklahoma *Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 37* ([SCR 37] 2001)
2. Beliefs about Native American language teaching and learning		
		School Laws of Oklahoma (2011)- mixed messages and barriers for teaching Native American languages
		Oklahoma SCR (2001) - seeks to remove barriers from teaching Native American language
3. Beliefs about the future of Native American languages in Oklahoma		
4. Beliefs about the role of policy and policy actors in relation to Native American language education		
5. Challenges and successes in implementing relevant policy		
6. Impact on other relevant policies		
	Creates barriers for language preservation efforts	
		School Laws of Oklahoma (2011)
	Supports language preservation efforts	
		Oklahoma SCR (2001)
7. Necessary components for implementing successful language education policies		

Table 8.

Master List – Categories and Themes from Local Level Data Sources

1. Beliefs about language in general
Language as a problem
no policy data found
Language as a right/resource
few districts take a policy stance
Tahelquah Public Schools has policy that supports Native American language
2. Beliefs about Native American language teaching and learning
few districts have developed methods to support language preservation
3. Beliefs about the future of Native American languages in Oklahoma
4. Beliefs about the role of policy and policy actors in relation to Native American language education
5. Challenges and successes in implementing relevant policy
6. Impact on other relevant policies
Creates barriers for language preservation efforts
lack of policy suggests unspoken barriers
Supports language preservation efforts
TPS Board Policies (2007)
7. Necessary components for implementing successful language education policies

The goal of this type of comparison and analysis was focused on answering the major research questions; therefore, the thematic analysis focused on the following topic areas:

1. Beliefs about language in general.
2. Beliefs about Native American language teaching and learning.
3. The future of Native American languages in Oklahoma.
4. The role of policy and policy actors concerning language and education.
5. Challenge and success in implementing relevant policy.
6. Impact of other relevant policies that may support or conflict with state, local, and/or tribal nation efforts that support language preservation.

7. Necessary components to implementing successful language and education policy.

The master lists from each of the communities were compared to identify parallels and variances of perspective (Miles & Huberman, 1994). From this comparison, the data were combined across the three interpretive communities to see where communities overlapped. These perspectives were then compared to actual policy related to language and language planning issues. To further refine the policy analysis, I followed Riessman's (2008) recommendations for thematic analysis of secondary research documents as a method to return to the policy documents while reviewing the policies in light of specific categories and themes that were further refined throughout the interview process. Policy documents that underscore and further contextualize the interview data were included in my further analysis to help me identify areas where interview data and policy documents might support or conflict with the overall goals of language preservation and revitalization. In this way, I continually returned to the secondary data and policies that reinforced and further contextualized the interview data and multiple meanings that materialized as part of the ongoing analysis (Yanow, 2000). To further conceptualize the research process, I have developed what I call an "interpretive policy analysis web," depicted in Figure 1.

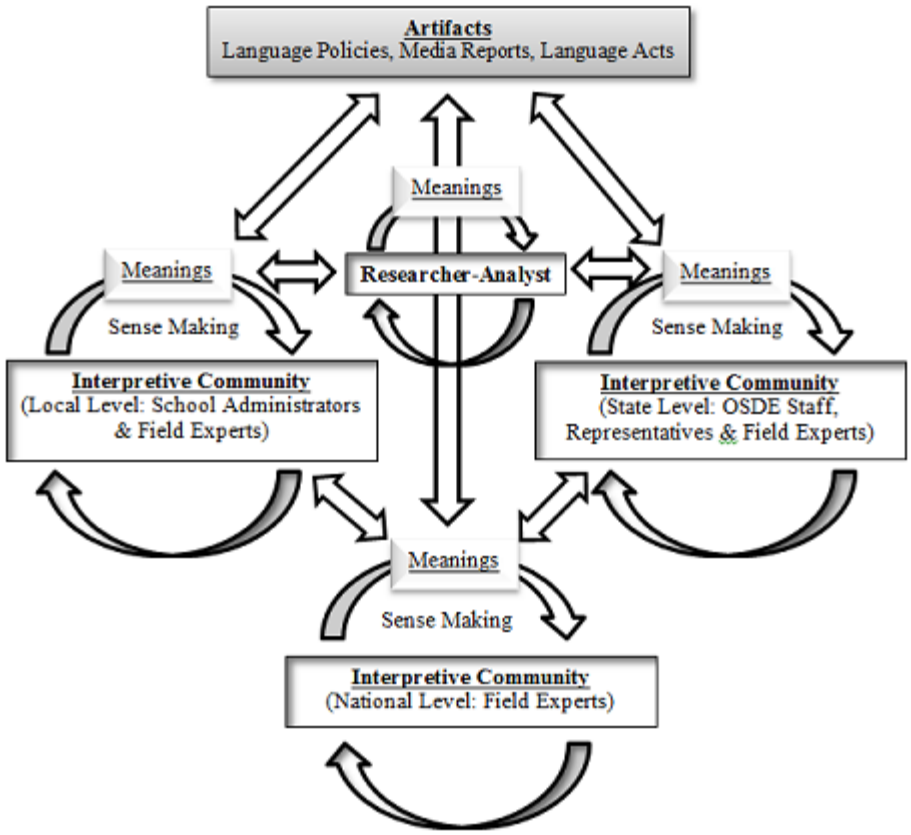

Figure 1. Interpretive Policy Analysis Web

As I was the researcher-analyst in this study, my experience in the process of data analysis evolved based on where I was situated in the policy circle (Yanow, 2000). As a doctoral student within the field of language education policy, my initial understanding and position in the policy cycle were reflected in my analysis. Over time, my knowledge and understanding of the field expanded through the data collection process and through my experiences with participants in the study. This cyclical process of analyzing and returning to documents and interview transcripts over time, also known as "interim analysis" (Miles & Huberman, 1994), enhanced my knowledge and depth of understanding of the policy issues at hand. Johnson and Christensen (2010) described the importance of interim analysis as it allows the researcher to, "develop a

successively deeper understanding of their research topic and to guide each round of data collection" (p. 500).

Upon completion of this analysis, I returned again to my research questions in light of Cooper's (1989) language policy framework, the Accounting Scheme Model, and it's eight components, "(I) What actors, (II) attempt to influence what behaviors, (III) of which people, (IV) for what ends, (V) under what conditions, (VI) by what means, (VII) through what decisions making process, (VIII) with what effect" (p. 98). This process directly tied the research data sources and analysis to the research questions and guided the findings and conclusions drawn from the research. Therefore, this process assisted me in the identification of policy issues directly related to the implementation of Native American language education while helping me identify the competing ideologies that complicate global, national, state, and local efforts to support Native American language preservation efforts.

As with any qualitative study, this research was not meant to be generalized to a larger population as is the case with some quantitative studies; therefore, I do not make claims that this research can be assumed to make prediction or positivistic claims related to causality. The goals of this study, instead, were to gain a deeper understanding of the language education policy process and its implications for education stakeholders as represented by key policy actors. As a qualitative researcher, I am fully aware that the results of this analysis are affected by the limited number of research participants and the interpretive nature of this study. This study does not represent the full picture of language education policy and opinion regarding Native American language revitalization and maintenance within Oklahoma, but I carried out

the study as an ethical researcher to fully represent the views of all participants who took part in this research study while aiming to interpret the data in a method that was true to each participant's understanding of language policy issues. At times, this was difficult, as I have my own beliefs and bias regarding language. I am of the perspective that multilingualism is an asset that national, state, and local level governments should intentionally and actively collaborate with tribal nations to support language revitalization and maintenance efforts. Ultimately, the readers of this study will make decisions about the usefulness of the information presented in this study for other settings (Marshall & Rossman, 1999).

One major challenge of this study was the inclusion of the conservative monolingual perspective. Few individuals with this perspective were willing to take part in the study, as is demonstrated by the following statement from one conservative policy actor, "while I appreciate being asked to participate in your dissertation research, I am going to decline." Although 75% of the voting public in Oklahoma approved the English as official language state constitution amendment, it is also apparent that individuals with conservative monolingual ideology feel that their view is not politically correct, as represented by one conservative policy actor who responded to my request for interviews by stating, "I would be willing to give you some of my time as surely it couldn't get me into any more trouble than I am already in. It seems I often swim upstream in peanut butter when it comes to popular opinion." For these reasons, the conservative perspective is only represented on a limited basis through interviews, but is substantiated through documented position statements, popular press and media outlets, political campaigns and agenda announcements, speeches, and party documents.

While this study included the perspective of a minimal number of participants who opposed linguistic pluralism and diversity, the majority of the participants were individuals who advocated for and attempted to increase linguistic pluralism and diversity in schools. Therefore, the overwhelming majority of participants supported language preservation and revitalization efforts in the state. Additionally, the perspectives presented in this research were that of primary policy actors from the state and local levels and did not include the perspectives of other relevant policy stakeholders who indirectly influence policy such as students, parents, school board members, the media, and specific tribal nation representatives.

An additional challenge in this research was issues related to the economy. Because funding for language education is scarce, it was difficult to decipher policy actors' empty words from true intentions for action related to language preservation and revitalization. I was made aware of a variety of strategic plans for the implementation of Native American language in schools, but due to funding issues, the programs have not gotten off the ground. I also assume that some of the plans and policies related to Native American languages have been utilized, by some policy actors, as a means to appease certain language policy stakeholders, knowing all the while that the plans and policies will be unfunded mandates that typically do not materialize in action. Unfortunately, there is no method to decipher the true stance of the policy actor.

Lastly, I also realized that this study did not include everyone that was initially targeted as participants. Some prospective participants were not able to participate for one reason or another in this study. Additionally, the challenge of obtaining IRB approval from multiple tribal nations meant that the official perspectives of the various

tribal nations were not presented in this study. While public tribal nation documents and interviews with Indian Education administrators, who collectively may be citizens of various tribal nations, were included in this study, interviews with specific tribal nation representatives were not be part of this research. In short, notwithstanding the aforementioned limitations, this study added new insights and invaluable findings to the field of language education policy studies within the state.

Implications for Practice

Native American languages are at a critical point within the U.S., and in Oklahoma particularly. Gaining a deeper understanding into the beliefs, assumptions, and values of policy actors at the national, state, and local levels concerning language education policy has influence on the direction of Native American language preservation and revitalization. This research reflected the nature of both linguistic assimilationists and linguistic pluralists in an effort to understand the multiple challenges that exist in relation to language education policy. This understanding allows policy actors who support pluralistic language education policy to develop more viable options concerning Native American language preservation and revitalization within schools in the state of Oklahoma. The following chapters present an analysis of policy documents and artifacts as well as the findings of interviews with language policy actors at the state, district, and local levels.

Chapter 4: Findings

The subsequent chapters contain the findings of my analysis of interview data, policy documents, meetings, presentations, and reports. The findings are organized around the following central themes that emerged from the analysis:

1. Relevant policies that currently exist related to language revitalization.
2. Policies that conflict with other relevant policies.
3. Beliefs about language and language revitalization.
4. Roles of government and public schools in supporting language revitalization.
5. Challenges of implementing language revitalization policies and programs.
6. Goals related to language policy.

These themes addressed the central research questions related to language policy and Native American language revitalization within the state of Oklahoma, namely:

RQ1. What language policy and planning issues influence the implementation of Native American language education within the state of Oklahoma?

RQ2. What role does Oklahoma (and by analogy other states) and public school districts have in the preservation and revitalization of Native American languages?

RQ3. What supports and barriers are promoted by the primary policy actors through their policies, and what affect do these policies have on Native American language revitalization?

RQ4. What language policy planning components foster successful implementation of Native American language education programs?

Chapter 4 discusses the findings pertaining to the study's major themes. The chapter seeks to answer questions related to the architecture of language policies, how policies conflict with one another, and the various beliefs held by policy stakeholders about language revitalization. This was accomplished by considering Hornberger's (2006) integrative conceptual framework of LPP in addition to Ruiz's (1984) language orientation and the types of responses to language loss (perpetuate, do nothing, document, and revitalize), all of which were discussed in Chapter 2. This approach also helped to answer questions related Cooper's (1989) Accounting Scheme Model for LPP, which include, "(I) What actors, (II) attempt to influence what behaviors, (III) of which people, (IV) for what ends, (V) under what conditions, (VI) by what means, (VII) through what decisions making process, (VIII) with what effect" (p. 98)? In the following paragraphs, I will describe in general terms the architecture of language policy at the national, state, local, and tribal nation levels, and then I will describe in more detail how various policies at times support language revitalization while others conflict with this goal.

The Architecture of Language Policy

The aim of interpretive policy analysis is to form a deeper understanding of the values, beliefs, and feelings about a particular policy issue through an analysis of pertinent stakeholder groups and artifacts associated with the policy issue (Yanow, 2000). The findings presented in this chapter originated from my collection and analysis of interviews. Policies and document data were organized around two themes that supported answering my primary research questions. The two themes were (a) policy issues and (b) parallel and competing policies. These two themes supported my overall

goal of gaining a deeper understanding of the many perplexing policy issues related to language preservation and revitalization. In this way, I hoped to generate knowledge that supported the factors for successful language revitalization and education policy.

Policy Issues and Policy Actors

The outcomes of language and education policy are a result of various policy stakeholders with divergent roles and goals working to meet the needs of relevant communities. The policy symbols that support language and education policy at times are buttressed primarily by emotive/aesthetic (pathos) elements of human meaning making as beliefs and values are often supported by a specific ideology. As policy actors interact with one another, the dimensions of policy meaning making are reinforced, maintained, and at times changed. The primary actors in language and education policy and Native American language revitalization and preservation intersect across diverse sectors from tribal government, to U.S. national, state, and local governments and school districts, as is represented in the following organizational chart.

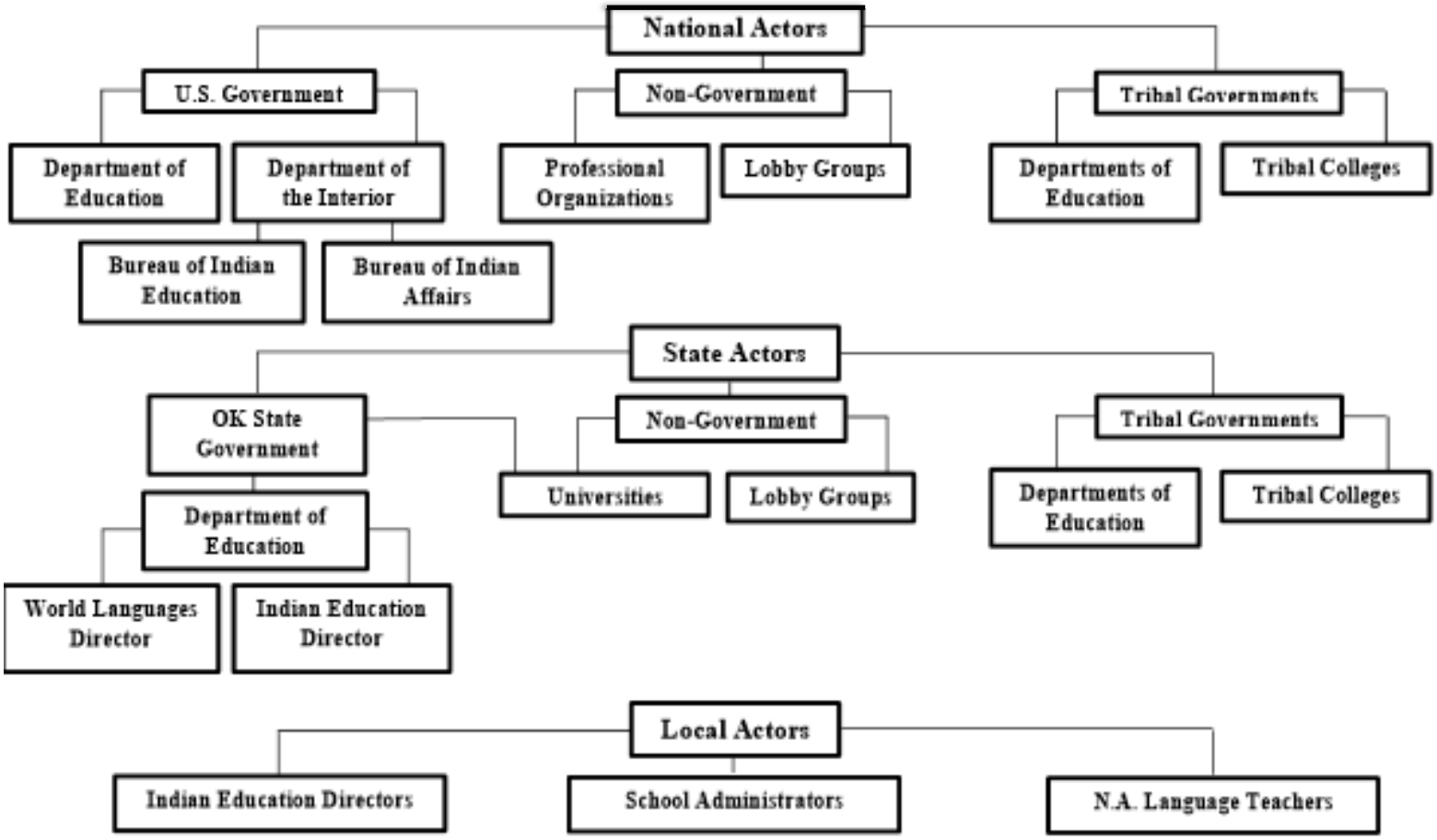

Figure 2. Policy Actor Organizational Chart

***National actors*.** At the national level, three major groups have a stake in language policy: U.S. Government, Non-Government Organizations, and Tribal Nations. At times, these groups coordinate efforts to develop policy that supports language revitalization goals such as in the development of NALA, while at the same time other national level groups, such as the Department of Education and English First, and may work to develop a policy that conflicts with language revitalization efforts.

U.S. government actors. Most U.S. policies that affect language revitalization efforts are formed by policy actors from two U.S. government agencies, namely the Department of Education and the Department of the Interior, which administers the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and the Bureau of Indian Education (BIE). Actors in the Department of Education are focused on language programs that benefit English language learners (Shapiro, 2011) and world language instruction in higher education, rather than K-12 Native American language instruction. While language policies and programs for English Language Learners (ELL) are of critical importance, at times, these policies overshadow the needs of Native American language education programs. For example, Title III and bilingual education funding is primarily used to support dual language and immersion programs with non-Native languages as the focus. Since the passage of the NCLB in 2001, academic achievement has increased for every measured ethnic and racial group, except for Native Americans (The Education Trust, 2013).

Whereas Native American languages are not specifically addressed in NCLB, the law does focus on English language acquisition and promotes the language as a problem orientation by requiring proficiency in English to achieve proficiency on content area exams. This policy approach supports the linguistic Darwinism and free

market capitalism viewpoints that we should just let languages live and die on their own. Policies like NCLB perpetuate language loss and encourage linguistic assimilationist and monolingual ideological beliefs such that in a nation and world where English proficiency leads to many opportunities, we do not need to use other languages.

In contrast to NCLB, and in a drastic change from the 1800s and early 1900s, primary actors in the Department of the Interior are more engaged in coordinating and implementing programs that promote Native American language revitalization and preservation. As stated by the BIE website (2014), "BIE's mission is to provide quality education opportunities from early childhood through life in accordance with a tribe's needs for cultural and economic well-being, in keeping with the wide diversity of Indian tribes and Alaska Native villages as distinct cultural and governmental entities" (para. 1). Many of the tribally run programs that are administered through the BIA and BIE now include a Native American language learning component. Therefore, at this time, the BIE is taking more of a sustain and/or revitalize approach to language loss that supports values and an ideology of linguistic-pluralism that conflicts with NCLB and the Department of Education linguistic-assimilationist policy approaches to school governance.

Non-governmental organizations. Non-governmental organizations such as professional associations and lobby groups play an important role in shaping views regarding language and education policy. For example, the president of the National Indian Education Association (NIEA) stated in a letter to Representative John Kline (D – Indiana), that,

> Native American students who have a strong foundation in their language and culture perform better academically, at the same time Native culture is preserved not in books, but in the minds of our children. To strengthen cultural and language revitalization, NIEA supports: culturally based education and Native language instruction (Roman Nose, 2012, p. 5).

Additionally, actors from other professional associations and organizations in the field of Native American language and education support teachers and school administrators in their efforts toward language revitalization and preservation. Actions taken by these organizations clearly support linguistic pluralism and the language as a right and resource orientations. These actions and policy efforts are important for language preservation and open up new possibilities for historically oppressed indigenous groups and speakers of Native American languages. Current efforts are transforming monolingual assimilationist ideology and policy discourse into discourse about linguistic diversity and emancipation (Hornberger, 2002). For example, one concrete way that NGOs are influencing language policy in liberally progressive trajectories is by developing educational standards that specifically address the cultural and linguistic needs of Native American students.

Conversely, members of non-governmental lobby organizations such as U.S. English and English for the Children are committed to declaring English as the official language through policy and are many times opposed to teaching Native American languages in public schools. For example, Maria Mendoza, a co-chair of English for the Children stated, “I think the tribal leaders should be focusing on getting their children to learn English. Why do they want to keep them as prisoners in their culture and their

heritage" (Gonzalez, 2000, p. B1). This less common but historically significant form of the reinforcement of the loss of linguistic diversity perpetuates linguistic assimilation and continues the cycle of historic trauma experienced by the indigenous peoples of the U.S. These views are realized in policies like NCLB and English as official language policies.

Tribal governments. For obvious reasons, tribal nations support language as a right and resource and consistently hold to those orientations. They work towards sustaining and revitalizing their heritage language. Since the early 1980s, several tribes within the U.S. developed language policies that promoted the use and preservation of their language. For example, during this period the Cheyenne, Navajo, Chippewa/Ojibwe, Arapaho, Southern Ute, and Tohono O'odham all developed policies that reaffirmed the rights of their tribal members to promote and preserve the use of their language. From this point, many tribes also set up tribal language programs within their public school systems in addition to their tribal college in order to elevate and advance the status of their language.

State actors. Similar to the national level policy actors, in Oklahoma, three major groups have a stake in language policy, namely state government, non-government organizations, and tribal nations. The policy landscape of Oklahoma looks similar to the U.S. policy landscape, yet in one of the most politically and religiously conservative states with one of the largest Native American population, actors face unique challenges in implementing language revitalization programs. In a state where Native Americans are spread throughout the general population, popular monolingual, language-as-problem orientations conflict with the minority indigenous response to language and

education policies that support language loss. Policy actors at the state level have become increasing involved in efforts toward language revitalization. An example of this conflict between and among state political actors is represented by the passage of the Oklahoma English as official language state amendment, which was opposed by a number of Oklahoma Native American policy makers, including Lisa Billy (R-Oklahoma).

Oklahoma state government actors. The Oklahoma State Department of Education develops and implements various policies that have direct and indirect effects on Native American language revitalization efforts in the state. Like U.S. education policy, the majority of language education policy has focused, until only recently (2013), on the instruction of ELL and world languages. As will be described later in this chapter, policies that are executed by the Oklahoma State Department of Education both support and conflict with goals of language revitalization, and monolingual oriented policies typically usurp the authority of policies that support linguistic diversity.

Within the state government, the World Languages Director and the Indian Education Director work closely to coordinate language preservation and revitalization efforts. In Oklahoma, the World Languages Director plays a key role in the coordination and development of policies that directly influence teacher preparation and the instruction of Native American languages in public schools. As stated by the research participant and state level education director,

> My heart just breaks that some of the tribes have already lost their speakers, all of their speakers and the only thing they have left are tapes or some writings in some cases and that's it. Within 50 years' time, we're going to lose almost of the

> languages in Oklahoma if something [is] not done. We're going to try to do everything we can to help with this effort.

Therefore, both the World Languages Director and the Indian Education Director support the implementation of language and education policies by informing public school districts of their responsibilities regarding the instruction of Native American languages.

Additionally, state-run universities play a role in language revitalization efforts. For example, the University of Oklahoma offers courses in multiple Native American languages and hosts the annual Oklahoma Native American Youth Language Fair at the Sam Noble Museum. Similarly, Northeastern State University offers courses in Native American languages and hosts the Oklahoma Workshop on Native American Language. These sustain and revitalize responses to language loss in the state operate under state level teacher certification and school accountability policies that conflict with language revitalization efforts, as detailed later in this chapter.

Non-governmental organizations. In Oklahoma, non-governmental organizations and lobby groups also play an important role in shaping views regarding language and education policy within the state. The Oklahoma Native Language Association (ONLA, 2011) is an organization whose main goal is to support and promote the Native American languages of Oklahoma's tribes. ONLA provides a variety of opportunities for training and support of indigenous language teachers, advocates, and other stakeholders.

On the other hand, members of groups like the Oklahoma Conservative Political Action Committee (OCPAC) oppose the instruction of Native American languages in

schools. For example, as stated by one research participant who is the OCPAC president and is influential in the implementation of Oklahoma's English as official language amendment, "I do not believe it's important to the state that they [Native American languages] are maintained." While many policy makers would not make such blatant statements, 75% of the voting public of Oklahoma passed the English as official language amendment (McNutt, 2010), which the OCPAC president so strongly supported.

Tribal governments. While many tribal governments within Oklahoma are working towards the revitalization and preservation of their language, many face daunting challenges to ensure that their language is not lost. The four tribally run colleges of Oklahoma (Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribal College, College of the Muskogee Nation, Comanche Nation College, and Pawnee Nation College) are implementing programs to promote language revitalization, and others are working with public and private universities to develop similar programs. Some, like the Cherokee, are also implementing language immersion programs. While this is true, many of the smaller federally recognized tribes within the state are not implementing language revitalization and preservation programs due to limited financial resources, manpower, and the limited number of living fluent speakers.

***Local actors*.** At the local level, there is variation in the number of actors involved with language revitalization policy due to the range of size of school districts and the level of Native American student enrollment within each Oklahoma school system. Actors at the local level include Indian Education Directors, school administrators, and Native American language teachers. While these local district-level

actors are often times heavily involved with professional organizations that support language revitalization policy, few school districts within the state have policies that address the instruction of Native American languages. Through participant questioning and district policy document searches, I have only found one district within the state that has relevant policy, namely the Tahlequah Public Schools.

Parallel and Competing Policies

Members of congress at the national and state levels have the ability to introduce and vote on legislation and initiatives that affect Native American language revitalization efforts. The understandings and beliefs of these legislators about Native American languages are often times shaped by the various organizations mentioned above. While many policy actors have an indirect effect on Native American language education, those involved in the development and implementation of language revitalization and preservation policies form a well-connected community. In the following analysis, there is evidence that the various policies and policy actors, even among the language revitalization and preservation community, have conflicting attitudes and beliefs regarding language revitalization and Native American language instruction in schools.

As I examined and analyzed the various policy issues, I considered the language orientation (Ruiz, 1984), as described in Chapter 2, that each interview participant and policy document espoused. Ruiz's (1984) policy typology supported the organization of applicable policy into orientations towards three types, namely language as a problem, language as a right, and language as a resource. The language as a problem orientation is supported in the 2010 amendment to the Oklahoma state constitution, which states,

"As English is the common and unifying language of the State of Oklahoma, all official actions of the state shall be conducted in the English language, except as required by federal law" (Okla. Const. art. XXX § 1). According to a Native American research participant and former Oklahoma senator for 20 years, prior to 2010, continual pressure came from influential stakeholder groups to make English the official language.

Because he was a state committee chairman, he had the complete authority to make decisions on bills that were brought up. During his tenure as senator, he would not bring up official English language policy. For this reason, he "was threatened by the English only people that they would run people against [him], find money against [him], wouldn't give [him] money, and [he] refused to budge." At one point, policy actors told him that they were willing to let him write the bill for English only that allowed for protection of the Native American languages. However, he believed that, if Native Americans could promote the use of their language, everybody ought to be able to do that. Soon after the senator retired, the English as official language amendment was added to the Oklahoma Constitution. This example illustrates the power that policy actors and lobbyists have in influencing general public opinion, as a constitutional amendment in Oklahoma involved taking the measure to the poles for a popular vote. As this example readily demonstrates, the one language/one nation monolingual ideology of language policy is not the only available position in the state. Multilingual language policies and ideologies that acknowledge Native American languages and linguistic pluralism as resources are increasingly accepted and promoted. These policies present new worlds of opportunity for historically oppressed indigenous languages and their speakers. While these policies are slowly making inroads and providing

alternatives to monolingual and assimilationist policy, there still exists a strong belief that languages other than English are a problem. Language attitudes and beliefs that support the notions of language as a problem and cultural superiority, while not often openly expressed, are still prevalent today as expressed by one conservative political activist in the following statement:

> I think probably in the late 1800s to probably very early 1900s, most of the tribes were facing the inevitable reality that they were going to have to somehow adapt to the white man's world because the white man was winning. You had the white man on one side not wanting the Indians to continue speaking their native languages. And I think the reason for that, they believe that as long as that occurred, you had the potential for there to be divisiveness there, the potential for them not to adapt to a more singular culture. So… the Indian children that were coming to white man schools were, many times, not allowed to speak their native languages. You also had some Indian parents [who] wanted their children to go to white man schools, so to speak, because they saw this inevitable, what I would even call a, superior culture.

He continued by saying,

> I do believe that Western culture based upon Judeo-Christian values is a far superior culture to Native American cultures which was based upon Indian shamanism. So many Indian parents wanted their children to go and to learn English, and they were very fine with the fact that they were not going to be allowed to speak their native languages.

He elaborated on his ideological position by stating further:

> If you look at the great accomplishments and achievements that benefited mankind, they didn't come out of Indian culture. They came out of Western culture. The Indians that have done the very best in America as individuals are Indians that may live next door to you, your neighbor, your co-worker, or whatever, but they basically adapted to Western cultural ideas. And the ones that are in the biggest trouble are the ones that live on reservations, and just another perfect example of that Western idea of competition and self-sufficiency and such… as opposed to dependency.

In concluding his position, he indicated an acknowledgment of the possible views that Native Americans might hold about their language,

> I'm not so sure that some of the tribes wouldn't very much like for sovereignty to be such an identity that their members' primary language would become their native language, and their secondary language will become English… [a]nd maybe [in the future] even English is not important.

The emphasis of this type of argument is centered in the potential for there to be divisiveness among two or more groups and a fear that a minority group may overtake the majority of English speakers. From this standpoint, to prevent this divisiveness, everyone must give up his or her language and culture to become part of the "superior" culture. This argument supports the notion that all harmful action or coercion committed toward the "inferior" culture by the superior culture is in the best interests of the inferior culture. This overt form of the reinforcement of the loss of linguistic diversity supports the perpetuation of linguistic oppression and cultural superiority. This centralizing and centripetal stance on language supports cultural homogenization and

continues dominant White English ideology. Individuals holding linguistic-assimilation ideologies assume that all speakers of minority languages should not concern themselves with maintaining their language without recognizing the impact that language loss has on communities.

Regarding school policy, similar language as a problem ideology, as described in Chapter 2, are evident in the Oklahoma State Department of Education (OSDE) *State Laws of Oklahoma* when stating that, "instruction given in the several branches of learning in the public schools shall be conducted in the English language except as is necessary for the teaching of foreign languages" (70 O.S. § 11-108.8, 1997). Although the following policy does not directly affect the instruction of Native American languages, the requirement that "Ebonics shall not be recognized as a language art and shall not be taught as a course or class in the public schools" (1 70 O.S. § 11-103.8, 1997), is an explicit display of the language as a problem orientation promoted through policy. Policies that promote the language as a problem orientation are supporting the same hegemonic sentiments that were once promoted by boarding schools in the 19th and 20th centuries in an effort to wipe out Native American languages. This same sentiment was expressed by an Oklahoma political activist and research participant when saying, "I don't think I would do any other languages other than English until a student showed a fairly high proficiency in English. That would be a policy I think would be good."

A primary political argument of policy actors with the language as a problem orientation is that English only policies cut costs for governmental services, while promoting the social, political, and economic unity of the state's citizens. As stated

previously, while these arguments may appear rational, when examined more closely the fallacy of the arguments become apparent. Language as a problem ideologies and policies are at odds with the language as a right and resource ideologies and policies, as language within respective ideological views is so closely tied to one's identity and existence.

Within Native American linguistic traditions and tribe affiliation, this identity and existence was expressed by one research participant and district level Indian Education director when stating, "The BIA [Bureau of Indian Affairs] determines that's one of the guidelines if you're a tribe or not is if you have an existing language." Of course, there are multiple components to achieving the status of a federally recognized tribe, but language is one component considered by the BIA. According to one research participant, "a lot of Indian people would say that without language you don't have a culture because a lot of the nuances or the values or the beliefs or the epistemology are part of language." This statement represents the theoretical linguist notion that much of one's cultural identity is based in language. Language is really almost an identifier of people and held on a sacred level by speakers of all languages.

A statement by a Native American field expert and university language revitalization program coordinator substantiates these claims when saying, "we've already seen two or three [Oklahoma] tribes lose their language. And if you lose your language you lose your identity. You lose that ability to reflect on the esoteric nature of who we are as a people." According to this research participant, tribes maintaining their indigenous language allow individuals to have a voice and to celebrate the gifts that the "creator" gave them. These statements exemplify the differences between views

regarding language as a problem versus language as a right and resource. These conflicting views manifest themselves in the various policies that exist on the national, state, and local levels.

The *Native American Languages Act* (NALA) and the *Esther Martinez Native American Language Preservation Act* (2006), for example, are language as a right and resource policies as they promotes the preservation, protection, rights, and freedom of Native Americans to "use, practice, and develop Native American languages" (Public Law 107-477 § 104.1, 1990). The policies also encourage

> . . . all institutions of elementary, secondary and higher education, where appropriate, to include Native American languages in the curriculum in the same manner as foreign languages and to grant proficiency in Native American languages the same full academic credit as proficiency in foreign languages. (Public Law 107-477 § 104.1, 1990)

An argument can be made that there is nowhere more "appropriate" to include Native American language in the curriculum than in the State of Oklahoma. However, it has been 30 years since the passage of NALA, and as expressed by one research participant and Indian Education Director, in Oklahoma, we are "behind." Across the nation, there has been a big push for language revitalization from policy stakeholders on multiple levels, and many tribes are engaging in multifaceted approaches to language revitalization. According to one research participant, "in Oklahoma I think it is just emerging. I think we're maybe 5 to 10 years behind what other tribes are doing in the nation." This is due in part to the unique land arrangement with tribes within the state, but is also due to the lack of progressive policy on the issue.

While we may be behind, there has been a slow and growing movement to develop policies and actions that encourage language revitalization within the state. For example, in 2001, the Oklahoma Senate proposed the *Oklahoma Indian Language Heritage Protection Act*, sponsored by Ted Fisher, Cal Hobson, Opio Toure, Kenneth Corn, and Bill Nations. It stated that,

> The Oklahoma State Legislature opposes artificial barriers to the instruction or learning of Native American languages and encourages all education authorities to take all appropriate steps to promote and encourage the instruction and learning of Native American languages. The Oklahoma State Legislature urges the Superintendent of Public Instruction to take appropriate measures to foster respect for Native American languages and to vigilantly address any situations that may occur where proper respect for Native American languages is not provided. (Oklahoma State Senate, 2001, SCR 37)

These documents demonstrate that a growing level of national and state support for policies that foster language preservation and revitalization exists, but we continually face challenges to the implementation of Native American language instruction within the state.

As a testament to this growing level of support, the Oklahoma Advisory Council for Indian Education (OACIE) was established in 2010. The OACIE meets quarterly to discuss issues that relate to Native American education, culture, and language revitalization. The council was organized by the Oklahoma State Department of Education (70 O.S. § 3-173) to "promote culturally relevant learning environments, educational opportunities and instructional material for Native American students

enrolled in the public schools of the state," but the council has faced numerous hurdles in working towards the teaching and learning of Native American languages in public schools. As one council member stated, "tribes are losing opportunity to promote native language acquisition" (OACIE, p. 6). To highlight the gravity of the situation, another member stated that, "even four years of a language would not make fluent speakers and that immersion schools are necessary" (OACIE, p. 6). These comments are only a few of many at the local and tribal nation level that demonstrate the challenge behind working towards language preservation within the state.

Because of my analysis of national and state level policies, I have concluded that we have a sociopolitical schizophrenia regarding issues related to language policy. On the national stage, we proclaim that we should support the preservation, protection, rights, and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop Native American languages, while on the other hand we believe that a common language (English) "is the most powerful unifying force known throughout history" (U.S. Senate, 2011). At the state level, we propose the opposition to barriers to the instruction and learning of Native American languages, but are adamant that English is the common and unifying language of the State of Oklahoma. Interestingly, even those who support language as a right and resource express contradictory beliefs and attitudes as represented in the following statements by a Native American research participant and former Oklahoma state representative:

> I think diversity of language is a real important thing for the fabric of America. This country is made up of people from all walks of life from every place, every

> corner of the world and they do come together and speak different languages and their family speaks a different language.

However, the former representative went on to say that,

> If they [American Indians] want to learn our language, that's fine but they need to learn a more practical language that can be used in business or education or other opportunities that might be out there because as you well know, this is a global world.

Within one statement, this research participant presented both a sustain-and-revitalize response to language loss in addition to a do nothing response to language loss. If these inconsistent and ambivalent notions exist within one's own thought process, then it is understandable why local and tribal nation policy actors have difficulty accomplishing mutual goals of language preservation. Within society, there is a preference for English monolingualism, which, at times, is a tide too challenging to fight against. In turn, some who may support Native American languages are placed in an inevitable compromise position yielding to an uncompromising global political economy.

At the national level, NCLB that terminated the Bilingual Education Act requires all public school teachers to be "highly qualified," meaning that teachers must have a bachelor's degree, state teacher certification, and verifiable knowledge of their subject matter. This creates a major barrier for many fluent speakers of Native American language who do not possess teaching credentials and/or university degrees in their native language. Conversely, NALA requires that states remove obstacles to the teaching and learning of Native American languages, but many tribal nations and school

districts have difficulty convincing state departments of education authorities to accept the required NALA exemption for certification.

According to the OSDE School Laws of Oklahoma, "The board of education of each school district shall employ and contract in writing…only with persons certified or licensed to teach by the State Board of Education in accordance with the Oklahoma Teacher Preparation Act" (70 O.S. § 6-190, 1971). To become a certified teacher in Oklahoma, an individual must hold a minimum of a bachelor's degree, complete a teacher preparation program and/or specified number of education credit hours, and complete required competency examinations (70 O.S. § 6-190, 1971). Although a recent rule change regarding exemptions made to certify Native American language instructors in Oklahoma was enacted (OKAC 210-20-§ 9), tribes still face challenges in fully certifying Native American language instructors due to the limited program funding and interest of fluent speakers to pursue state teacher certification requirements that are based in Western epistemologies in addition to other factors described below.

Tribal nations have tried creative solutions to these challenges, but students are only able to get core credit for taking Native American language in very few circumstances. The Cherokee nation, for example, has worked with the Northeastern State University and the Oklahoma State Department of Education to develop a Cherokee language teacher certification program (NSU, 2012; Certification Examinations for Oklahoma Educators, 2012). The Cherokee nation has also worked with Tahlequah public schools to coordinate policies and classes that support Cherokee language preservation (Tahlequah Public Schools, 2012). However, this type of collaboration is currently not the norm, and rare exception rather than the rule; and the

Cherokee language certification is the only specific Native American language certification offered in the state. Other Native American language classes are offered in public schools, through the Choctaw nation for example, as an elective/enrichment credit, but these credits do not qualify as a world language graduation credit requirement. Most Native American language programs in the state are offered through tribal nations, online, after school and/or during the summer, or in master-apprentice programs, that for the most part are not recognized by the public school system.

NCLB also requires state standardized student achievement testing, which is to be conducted entirely in the English language. This creates challenges for immersion schools such as the Cherokee Nation language immersion school in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, which operates on a language immersion model instructing students almost entirely in the target language, and later introduces English to students in the upper elementary grades. The process of learning two languages initially limits the acquisition of English, and for this reason, students may not perform as well on standardized assessments as they would if they were in a monolingual environment, but by the end of their education, students become speakers of both their native language and English. NCLB policy does not recognize the value of bilingualism and does not allow for any flexibility concerning student assessment which is tied to federal funding for schools (Powers, 2014).

Additionally, Oklahoma has recently enacted the *Reading Sufficiency Act* (70 O.S. § 1210.508A) that supposedly ends the so-called practice of "social promotion" in schools through policy guarantees that all students beyond the third grade can read on grade level. The law requires all students in third grade to pass a reading exam to be

promoted to fourth grade, and as a result will have profound effects on the school and life chances of Native American students within the state. The majority of research on the effects of grade retention suggest that, "at best, [it] provides no lasting benefit to the students and, at worst, is considered a damaging practice" (Frederick & Hauser, 2008, p. 719; Lynch, 2013; West, 2012).

This Oklahoma law is troubling in many ways for multiple student groups, but will have an immediate effect on Native American students in language immersion programs. The reading exam, of course, will be conducted in English. For this reason, the third grade reading sufficiency exam, in effect, will be both a reading exam and a language proficiency exam. The 2013-2014 school year was the first year in which this law will affect third grade students, and due to the dramatic number of students who have been retained, many groups lobbied with some success to modify the rules of this policy. These modifications introduce regulations that err on the side of the student and families in decisions regarding retention, but the extent to which students are affected by this policy are currently seen in school districts throughout the state. As stated by a research participant and Oklahoma state program coordinator regarding the RSA,

> A lot of people do worry about especially that third grade test. I do think the Cherokee want to work very hard to make sure that that is something they consider and they may have to change their immersion program to some degree. All of the research shows that immersion programs can be beneficial and that students do as well or better on the test. But I think they would be the first ones to say that of course they want their kids to be successful in both Cherokee and English. And they may have to make some modifications.

This statement demonstrates how a reading policy that does not specifically relate to language revitalization can have vast unintended consequences for language revitalization programs.

Additionally, school administrators across the state are expressing concerns that a large percentage of third graders will be retained due to their reading proficiency exam. This policy is yet another example of how national, state, and local policies conflict with one another and add to the difficulty of implementing Native American language revitalization programs in schools. To add to this difficulty, few policy actors and proponents of revitalization are aware of existing policies that conflict with revitalization efforts as is demonstrated by the following statement from a state level director and Oklahoma Advisory Council for Indian Education member:

> I don't see any [policy conflicts] here at the state department. I think when we worked on this language in the public school that we looked at everything to see if there would be a very barrier or a law or something that would hinder us from getting that in the public school but we didn't see any. We didn't see any laws that hinder language revitalization in schools other than what we could that change in the existing [and modified teacher certification] rule to give them an opportunity to get them in the classroom right away.

This statement represents a lack of awareness even among policy actors at the state level that policies within their own organization conflict with state level policies that support language revitalization. The educational policies and language ideologies that support reforms, such as NCLB and RSA, trickle down to the state, local, and then institutional level—schools, where the intentions of such reform efforts are often times

muddled, making it difficult to interpret the true intents of such reform policies. Ideologically, monolingual educational policies, such as NCLB and RSA, continue to usurp the power of national pro-bilingual and language revitalization policies such as NALA. The effects of these policies, while sometimes unintended, many occur without the full knowledge of language revitalization proponents. Amidst this conflict and confusion, hegemonic monolingual language ideologies continue to take stronger hold in schools while most tribal nations within the state continue to loose fluent speakers of their language on a daily basis.

Understanding the distinctions between each of the communities at the national, state, and local levels described above is essential to comprehending how each group influences language revitalization and education policy. In the following chapter, I will discuss how the previously discussed policy architecture and competing policies muddle Native American language revitalization and preservation policy and relevant goals of policy actors.

Chapter 5: Findings

Implementation Roles and Challenges

Initiatives that promote language preservation and revitalization in Oklahoma have been driven primarily by tribal nation governments and their coordinated efforts with state and local governments and public school districts. While these efforts are occurring, there are many divergent views among actors regarding the role that non-tribal nation governments and public schools should play in language revitalization and preservation efforts. Additionally, even when tribal nation governments successfully coordinate language and education policy with state and local governments, there are a number of major challenges to implementing these policies within schools and other public institutions. For language policy and language education to serve as a vehicle for promoting the vitality, versatility, and stability of Native American languages in Oklahoma's public schools (Hornberger, 1998), it is imperative that we understand the views held by policy actors regarding their beliefs about the role of national and state governments in language revitalization efforts in addition to the multiple practical challenges to the implementation of such programs (McCarty & Nicholas, 2014). Therefore, this chapter focuses on the findings of the analysis of interviews and documents that demonstrate the conflict regarding the role of state and local governments in language revitalization in addition to discussing the challenges of implementing stated policies within schools and public institutions.

Implementation Roles

One key finding of this research is that, while most, but not all, research participants believed that the U.S. and Oklahoma state governments should play a role

in language revitalization, there is not a consensus from all of the interpretive communities regarding the kind of role the U.S. and Oklahoma governments should play in this process. The decentralized education system within the U.S. leaves states with the primary responsibility of supporting educational endeavors; therefore, support for language revitalization efforts in public schools must come primarily from the state and then all details relating to programs must be decided at the local district level.

The focus of following paragraphs on implementation roles is to describe the general views of each community. This description aids the understanding of how these conflicting views support various language policies and confound the work of public schools in the implementation of Native American language instruction. The differing arguments that emerge from the analysis of interviews and policy documents can be categorized on a spectrum into the three following general groups:

1. Tribal Nation Autonomy: It is a burden and waste of time for tribal governments to work with non-tribal governments in language revitalization efforts.
2. Collaboration: Tribal governments have a primary role in taking actions to preserve their language, but non-tribal governments and public schools should support these efforts to help build the prestige of the language and encourage self-respect among Native Americans and tolerance and understanding of tribal culture among non-Natives.
3. Monolingual English Antagonism: The U.S., state, and local governments have no place in Native American language revitalization, and public

Oklahoma funding should not support the learning of a Native American language.

As the majority of the research participants in this study were Native Americans who work for non-tribal government entities, it could be expected that the majority of the analysis related to the collaboration perspective. Eleven of the research participants in this study fell somewhere on the collaboration spectrum; however, the tribal nation autonomy, and antagonism perspectives are represented in this study by one participant in each respective category, and these perspectives do play a significant role in the outcomes of language and education policy.

Tribal nation autonomy. A significant number of tribal nation citizens, for a variety of reasons, believe that their language should not be taught in schools and that non-tribal governments should stay out of language revitalization efforts all together. According to various research participants, some tribes are very protective about their language and believe that it is not the job of public schools to teach Native American languages and that it should not be used in public schools. While the majority of individuals of this perspective view language as a right and resource (Ruiz, 1984), they do not believe that their Native American language should be shared with non-tribal members.

Due to the atrocities and the historical trauma experienced and endured by tribes, some tribal nation members, for justifiable reasons, do not want to collaborate with U.S. and state level agencies. This sentiment was expressed by one tribal nation member at a conference attended by a research participant when she said, "Where do you draw the line? How much are you going to teach these white kids about us, about

our language, about what we do?" Clearly, some are worried that schools may possibly teach ceremonial language or other types of language that are not supposed to be expressed outside of the tribe.

Others believe that it is "a waste of knowledge and a resource" for Native American language speakers to work in a public school setting. They believe that students generally do not learn world languages in the classroom where it is only taught for short periods throughout the week, and they believe that Native American students would be better severed outside of public schools. As stated by one participant,

> How does a [Native American] child that's navigating a school that's funded by the state and has to meet their regulations that are tied to a capitalist industrial complex, uphold their traditional values? This is why there's a break in that continuity of transmission of medicine, the transmission of astronomy, the transmission of any kind of traditional epistemological framework and body of values that concerns who we are.

While these sentiments were not expressed by the majority of participants, among some groups of Native American tribal nation citizens, there is substantial resistance to working with non-tribal governments in language revitalization efforts. According to the majority of participants in the field of education, schools need to do a better job of educating tribal nation citizens to ensure that they understand that schools are not teaching privileged language or information. While language and culture is not separable, confidential language and information can, according to many of the participants, be kept to the tribes while schools teach other language.

***Collaboration*.** Based on the analysis of interviews and policy documents, the majority of research participants and tribal nation government offices support the notion of working with U.S. national, state, and local governments to coordinate language revitalization efforts and Native American language instruction in schools. Individuals of this perspective believe that language is a right and resource (Ruiz, 1984) to be shared and that schools should offer Native American languages as course options in schools similar to Spanish, French, German, and other world languages, because "it offers the same benefits that other languages do." Many participants expressed concern with the over-representation of non-Native world languages in schools, and some even appeared to be frustrated that public schools seem to accommodate the language of immigrant students (namely, Spanish) while ignoring Oklahoma's own Native American languages.

This sentiment was specifically addressed by an Indian Education director from a public school district in northeast Oklahoma when stating, "If we are putting Spanish signs everywhere, why not signs in Cherokee?" Due to the background and historical trauma associated with the loss of Native American languages, some tribal nation citizens believe that efforts by schools to heavily incorporate world languages without recognizing their languages only adds insult to injury. For these reasons, many believe that while state and local governments and schools may not be able to "save" languages, they can have a major role in increasing the prestige of Native American language and culture. For example, as stated by one university level field expert,

> One of the things it [Native American language instruction in schools] can do is raise the prestige of the language. We consider French to be a language that you

> should know, well why Native American languages? It also raises the visibility of the languages to non-native people in those areas that many have lived around [Native] people all their lives and never realized they speak their own language. You also have students that come out [of the programs] and say, you know, I want to go on. I want to become a [language] teacher, and that is one more [Native American language] teacher that you didn't have before.

Additionally, many participants believe that it is important to target students at the youngest age possible, instead of waiting until high school. In this way, children will see that, "this is not just my language; it's a legitimate thing to study." This will encourage some students to become language teachers.

Native languages that are studied in public school districts promote a productive social engagement because students see "districts valuing a component of who they are." This process puts Native instructors into schools and allows students to see someone on a professional basis in a positive and visible role. This opportunity gives students a "positive sense of who they are." Therefore, having Native American languages in schools can improve public relations between Native and non-Native communities while it promotes a positive image of our American Indian community. As a result, Native American students' self-confidence and academic achievement will purportedly increase because they see the school valuing their heritage.

In this collaborative effort, while the language is promoted, the tribes are given an opportunity to increase their level of presence in the community. As stated by some participants, "it may not be significant levels" but any positive interaction in supporting and in fostering the relationship between schools and Native communities cannot be

overlooked. Therefore, having schools and the Oklahoma State Department of Education provide a way to engage tribes within the districts promotes better relationships. As stated by one Native American participant, “we're not going to go away; so, let's work together to improve the journey for our young people.”

While some national and state level policies conflict with language revitalization efforts, this collaborative notion is also being expressed by state level education directors who are involved in the guidance and support of world languages in public schools. Many state level education directors now realize that almost all of the Native languages in Oklahoma are endangered and they believe that the state should do everything it can to help. Many recognize that the word Oklahoma is a Choctaw word that means *Land of the Red Man*, and as stated by one state level education director, “If we do not take the lead role as a state agency in helping to revitalize these languages, I don't know who else should.” Native languages are part of Oklahoma heritage, and many state level directors believe that the languages are very important for people to know.

Over the past five years, a group of Oklahoma State Department Education directors have been working with tribes to coordinate efforts toward language revitalization in schools. As part of this effort, one Native American education director conducted a phone survey of tribal government chairman, governors, and presidents and received a response from approximately 25 of the 39 federally recognized tribes of Oklahoma regarding their thoughts about Native languages being taught in public schools. All of the responses were positive as they stated that they would like to see the languages taught in the schools, and some wanted to know what they could do to help

fund these efforts. This anecdotal report from one of the participants in this study demonstrates that there is a substantial amount of support for teaching Native American languages in schools at the state, local, and tribal levels. Although this verbal support is evident, policies and opinions that oppose Native languages in schools are still prevalent and confound coordinated efforts.

***Monolingual English antagonism*.** On the opposite end of the spectrum, but with similar outcome goals for public schools to the Tribal Nation Autonomy perspective, is the Monolingual English Antagonism view that U.S., state, and local governments should not support efforts toward language revitalization. Although the outcome goals for language instruction in schools from the Monolingual Antagonism perspective are similar the Tribal Nation Autonomy perspective, view of language are poles apart. Individuals from the Monolingual English Antagonism perspective believe that all other languages other than English are a problem (Ruiz, 1984) and that the sooner we forget about these languages, the better. While this sentiment is not openly expressed by many policy makers, when 75% of the Oklahoma voting public supported the Oklahoma English as official language constitutional amendment (McNutt, 2010) it was clear that the non-tribal government antagonism perspective was and remains strong within the state.

While I found it difficult to find policy makers willing to openly express opposition to Native language instruction in schools, one research participant and influential conservative policy actor openly expressed frustration with this concept by stating, “I'm totally against it.” The participant is well aware that Native American languages are currently being taught in “government” schools and stated,

> I'm offended that I'm a taxpayer that has to pay for that. I don't think we ought to be spending our resources on that, all right? I think that's even more harmful to do that with Native American languages than it is with French, Russian, Chinese, or Spanish.

Often, participants with this perspective are also against tribal autonomy and sovereignty. They believe that tribes are "pushing the envelope" as much as they can to "find out where are those boundaries of our sovereignty." They believe the government's role to rein in tribal sovereignty and to provide a free market society for everyone that should not be "giving advantages" to any particular group. They claim that tribal sovereignty treaties were developed to solve a short-term problem, but now they are outdated and currently "run the risk of being more harmful than they are beneficial." For this reason, the government should not support Native American language revitalization in schools because this gives an "unfair" advantage to American Indians.

Monolingual English Antagonism views have persisted in the U.S. for centuries and current views represented by participants in this study continue to preserve the perpetuate language loss views promoted by Atkins (1887) who mentioned "the instruction of the Indians in the vernacular of no use to them" (pp. xxi – xxiii). These views are also supported by a variety of policy actors at the national level, including U.S. Senator, Jim Inhofe of Oklahoma, who sponsored and introduced the *English Language Unity Act* of 2011. While less common than in previous centuries, Monolingual English Antagonism views are prevalent at the national, state, and local

levels and these views are in in direct opposition to policies supporting language revitalization goals.

It is made clear from understanding the different perspectives on the role of government in the instruction of Native American languages that policy actors are not on the same page when it comes to teaching Native American languages in schools. These divergent views support conflicting policies at the national level like *NCLB* and *NALA*, or at the state level like the *Reading Sufficiency Act* and Native American language teacher certification laws. In the event that policy actors and school districts are successful in developing policies that support language revitalization in schools, there remains a multitude of practical challenges to teaching Native American languages in schools.

Implementation Challenges

Layered below the conflicting opinions regarding the role of government in the instruction of Native American languages in public schools, lies the multiple practical challenges of implementing policies that do support the instruction of Native languages in Oklahoma. Addressing these practical challenges is of critical importance in the integration of the language policy planning (LPP) conceptual framework discussed in Chapter 2 (Hornberger, 2006). In this framework, Hornberger (2006) suggested that educational systems can significantly support the revitalization and preservation of indigenous languages through status and acquisition policy, but these policies must insure that the following challenges are addressed (McCarty & Nicholas, 2014).

Depending on the size of the district and number of Native American students within a district, there may be a variety of challenges to implementing these policies at

the school level. In a district like Oklahoma City Public Schools, for example, where over 50 tribes are represented, it may be difficult to decide which languages to teach. District administrators have to be careful not to offend a particular tribe by not teaching their language in the schools. The number of students who would enroll in Native American languages classes is unclear, as there has been no formal survey given to students in districts related to their level of interest in this type of course. Furthermore, in large districts, Native American students are spread out across district schools and there may not be enough students interested in the course at one site to justify hiring teachers. Additionally, due to the heavy focus on standardized testing in English, some principals and other school stakeholders may not be open to taking time away from instruction in English.

While the size of the district and the overall population of Native Americans within a district may present unique challenges to the instruction of Native American languages in schools, the following three common themes arose in this study regarding the challenges to implementing policies that support the instruction of these languages in school: (a) funding, (b) resources and materials, and (c) teacher certification and qualification.

Funding. As is the case with many educational programs, funding is an area of concern regarding the implementation of Native American language instruction in schools. Funding affects all of the implementation challenges including materials and resources and the hiring of teachers to teach language courses. These specific challenges will be discussed later in this chapter. Funding new programs is a challenge for the schools, and with deeper budget cuts of up to 30% to education at the state level,

school districts will have even fewer funds to implement language revitalization programs. For this reason, with the typical conservative mindset of limited government spending in Oklahoma, it is difficult to image that schools will be able to implement these programs without funding support from tribes.

Many participants mentioned the need for funding support from tribal governments, and some tribes have expressed a willingness to provide that support, but not all tribes have sufficient funds to support language programs. The irony of the funding conundrum is that while policies at the nation and state level purport to support language revitalization in schools, few polies are funded, which for all practical purposes, turns the policies into nothing more than "lip service" for Native American language instruction in schools. Considering the linguistic diversity within the state, although dwindling, now is an optimal and critical time in which the State could fully fund Native American language revitalization. When districts are able to find funds to implement other world language courses, some participants wonder why districts are unable to find resources to implement Native American language courses in their schools. Currently, many of the language courses taught in schools are funded by tribes, but why should tribes have to fund these courses? Other countries are not funding their languages that are taught in U.S public schools.

Resources and materials. Yet another challenge related to the instruction of Native American languages is the availability of curriculum and instructional resources and materials. Many of the large tribes have developed materials for the instruction of their language, but the majority of the tribes within Oklahoma have limited resources for the instruction of their language in a school setting. While organizations such as

tribal colleges and the Sam Noble Museum's Collections Division at the University of Oklahoma maintain a collection of resources related to the instruction of Native American languages, few tribes have the capacity to take advantage of the resources to fully develop materials that can be distributed for the use of language teaching.

To add to the complexity of this practical challenge of resource development is the fact that historically, the vast majority of Native American languages were strictly transmitted orally. Only recently have tribes engaged in corpus planning and established language counsels and committees for developing language codification, orthographies, and dictionaries. At times, these codifications are disputed by tribal members, as within-tribe language speakers use diverse dialects; so as is true with all languages, there is disagreement on the standards for language. This challenge is demonstrated in one Native American language immersion school in Oklahoma where some tribal members do not believe that the language is being taught "correctly" at the school. Additionally, once a curriculum has been developed, districts must submit their language course curriculum to the Oklahoma State Department of Education for approval. This is a lengthy process, and if tribes are not taking the lead role in curriculum and materials development, this type of situation sets up potential for additional disputes between public school systems and tribal nations.

From a second language acquisition theory and pedagogical standpoint, it is also difficult to determine what teaching strategies would work best for students learning Native American languages. This fact sets up yet another realm of disagreement and dissention, even among communities that support language revitalization. As stated by one field expert participant, "we can guess from what we know about acquiring other

languages but we don't know for sure." In light of the fact that the traditional grammar translation approach to teaching language has not been particularly effective for the acquisition of language, it is certain that the Native American language classroom needs to be unique and dynamic, which requires particular skill sets and well-trained Native American language teachers. This leads us to one of the greatest practical challenges to implementing Native American language instruction in public schools, teacher certification, and qualification.

Teacher certification and qualification. Another major hurdle in the implementation of Native American language programs in schools involves the challenge of finding qualified language teachers to work in schools. From a policy perspective, the multitude of teacher certification policies at the national, state, and local levels hinders the unambiguous understanding of the teacher credentialing process in Oklahoma. The new Oklahoma teacher certification rules allow for tribes to certify their own Native American language instructors for public schools, but to be considered "highly qualified," according to NCLB, the instructor must also be certified through the Oklahoma State Department of Education. To be considered highly qualified, a teacher must have a bachelor's degree, be certified through the state, and prove that they know the subject they teach. If the instructor is not certified by the state, then the instructor must also have a highly qualified teacher of record working in the classroom. When districts have to find resources to employ a teacher of record, just to comply with policy, it is difficult to imagine that administrators will view this as a high priority.

This is one of the most contentious issues as represented by one Native American field expert, who stated that, "this idea of certification works within the

confine of the colonial system." An Indian Education Director also added, "Why do I need a certificate to know that I am Indian?" With the current rate of language loss, it is difficult enough for tribes to find proficient language speakers who are willing and able to teach in public schools and the certification requirements add another layer of difficulty in this process.

That being said, as stated by one field expert involved in the development of the certification process, "a lot of people felt like that you couldn't dumb it [the certification process] down too much for the teachers." Some individuals feel that without a "highly qualified" teacher, the language course will not be viewed as legitimate. From this perspective, even among some of Native American research participants, there needs to be a means of certifying that the language instructor understands how to manage and operate within a classroom in a formal school setting. Being a speaker of a particular language does not make one a good teacher, and there needs to be a way to demonstrate that the instructor uses pedagogically sound instructional methods. While this may be true, we must also ask whether policy actors at the federal and state levels understand what a quality Native American language classroom should look like. The current certification process, while more collaborative than in the past, still operates under the colonial system and allocates only limited control of the process to Native American tribes.

To make this policy process work, as it is currently written, as stated by one Indian Education director, "we are going to have to change the thinking of our elders." From a cultural standpoint, the ability of an elder to speak their tribal language and get "certified" to teach the language goes beyond language into cultural understandings of

pride. According to some Native American research participants, becoming certified through the Oklahoma State Department of Education is affiliated with "bragging," and elders may not feel comfortable with going through the certification process.

Beyond cultural concerns regarding views about certification are issues related to the validity of teacher certification exams for Native Americans. According to one field expert and Native American university program director, many fluent speakers of Native American languages have faced difficulty getting through teacher preparation program courses and passing teacher certification exams. This fact, as stated by one participant, is not an "intelligence issue, it's more of a testing issue." Teacher certification exams are not developed with the Native American cultural perspective in mind, which makes the tests vulnerable to issues of cultural validity.

At the university and tribal college level, additional National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) requirements add burdens on the development of Native American language teacher preparation programs. One NCATE regulation requires that university language teacher preparation programs must include measures such as an Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI) to ensure that teacher candidates are proficient in the language to be taught. As detailed by one participant, this policy creates specific concerns for language programs such as the Cherokee language education program at Northeastern State University (NSU) during the Oral Proficiency Interview process, because OPI raters must rate the proficiency of the teacher candidate, but few tribes have speakers who are trained to become raters. The frustration of Native American language program coordinators at the university level is evident in the following statement from one the participants:

> I think many people are unaware of what it takes to be certified and also highly qualified. According to federal regulation you have to pass a test. But, there is no [language] test, and there is no one who can make the test because you have to have someone outside the community to be able to rate the test for a proficiency level. But [with the few number of language speakers that remain] the same people making the test would be the people that have to rate it and that is not permissible [according to the NCATE policy].

Adding to the challenges at the university teacher preparation program level are the Oklahoma Regents of Higher Education requirements for university program professors. In most cases, professors at the university level must complete a doctoral program to teach. While there are few speakers of most Native American languages, even fewer proficient speakers have completed graduate level programs. For these reasons, it is extraordinarily difficult for teacher preparation programs at universities and tribal colleges to comply with Oklahoma Regents of Higher Education requirements. As is demonstrated by the challenges of the Native American language teacher credentialing process, the odds are stacked against universities and tribes trying to develop Native American language teacher preparation programs and certify individuals to teach these languages in schools.

While many of the research participants maintain hope that there is enough of an understanding of the urgency for language revitalization that those who still speak their language can teach in public schools, they are also frustrated because, until teacher capacity is built, many want non-degreed fluent speakers to have easier access to classroom instruction in public schools. With the numerous practical roadblocks to the

instruction of Native American language in public schools, it is a testament to the spirit of persistence and determination within the tribes of Oklahoma. Progress, while slow, is being made, and more Native American language classes are being offered in public schools across the state.

Although there are many hurdles to achieving progress, some very persistent individuals, such as Merry Monroe in Byng Public Schools, whose story was reported in a recent *Chickasaw Times* (Lehmann, 2014) article, are successfully jumping through the policy hoops to have Native American languages taught in the classroom. For more than 30 years prior to the passage of NCLB, Mrs. Monroe worked as a teacher's aide and liaison for Native American students, but to be able to continue working with students and meet the NCLB requirements, Mrs. Monroe had to obtain 50 hours of university credit. To the amazement of many, Mrs. Monroe faced her fears of failing course work and certification exams, and today she teaches Chickasaw language courses in the Byng Public Schools. The passion for Native American language and culture and the persistent work of people like Mrs. Monroe is the reason why there is hope for Native American languages within the state.

Conclusion

While there are bright spots regarding the instruction of Native American languages within the state of Oklahoma, from the analysis of interview data and policy documents, we have much room to grow to create social change within the state. The issues that arise due to funding and lack of materials and resources for language revitalization programs demonstrates the challenge of implementing state policy that supports language revitalization. Additionally, the challenges that arise with teacher

certification highlight the lack of coherence and support for language revitalization efforts within national, state, and local policy. In the decentralized U.S. educational system, states are required to serve as a bridge between national policy and local level implementation. Moreover, state leadership for and management of new programs in school districts is critical. Without clear, coherent, and supportive language revitalization policy, school districts will continue to have difficultly developing and maintaining quality programs with sufficient resources and qualified teachers (McCarty & Nicholas, 2014).

Revisiting Yamamoto's (1998) nine insights into how we might approach this social change, it is evident that we need to continue the persistence that has been maintained by Indian Education and Native American language advocates over the years:

1. The existence of a dominant culture in favor of linguistic diversity;

   With a popular vote of 75% on the English as official language of the state (McNutt, 2010), we do not have a dominant culture in Oklahoma that is in favor or linguistic diversity.

2. A strong sense of ethnic identity within the endangered community;

   Some but not all members of language-endangered communities have a strong sense of ethnic identity.

3. The promotion of educational programmes about the endangered language and culture;

   Few schools and organizations within the state of Oklahoma address issues related to endangered languages, and many fewer actually teach these languages.

4. The creation of bilingual/bicultural school programmes;

   Few schools within the state of Oklahoma implement bilingual school programs that include languages other than English.

5. The training of native speakers as teachers;

   The four tribal colleges in the state are making progress in training native speakers to be teachers, but there are many challenges for other tribes and colleges to make progress on this issue.

6. The involvement of speech community as a whole;

   Few endangered language speech communities have the capacity to be organized as a whole in efforts toward language revitalization.

7. The creation of language materials that are easy to use;

   Few tribes have substantial language materials to aid the instruction of their languages.

8. The development of written literature, both traditional and new;

   The development of written literature in endangered language communities is increasing through the efforts of tribes and other organizations such as the Sam Noble Museum that archives materials and hosts the annual Oklahoma Native American Youth Language Fair.

9. The creation and strengthening of the environments in which language must be used;

   Endangered languages MUST be used in very few environments. Language use is optional, and the immersion environment exists on a limited basis within the

state. Schools could support this type environment, and the following chapter details ways in which this might occur within Oklahoma.

Chapter 6: Discussion

In the analysis and findings of this research, I have addressed a series of specific questions associated with language and education policy as it relates to Native American language maintenance and revitalization efforts. More specifically, the research explored how educational policy might support these efforts. The research questions were designed to offer a deeper understanding of the ideologies that support the creation and implementation of language and education policies within Oklahoma. My primary goal in conducting this research was to better inform Oklahoma policy makers and actors in their development and implementation of policy that supports Native American language revitalization in schools. In light of this goal, the following discussion will be framed, in part, within the philosophical position presented by Scheffler (1984), who investigated how policy makers should educate themselves regarding policy issues that affect the communities they serve.

Due to the varied background and experiences of policy actors, we cannot expect that all policy makers become experts on every issue that exists within the state. However, we can assume that policy makers have an interest in serving the needs of various communities. With one of the largest Native American communities in the U.S., we must work to educate Oklahoma policy makers about the interests and needs of these communities. To accomplish this goal, as stated by Scheffler (1984), we must ask, "how, ideally, ought the policy maker be educated?" (p. 152). Through our educative efforts aimed at policy makers, we must promote a "reflexive awareness of presuppositions of value, culture, habit, and knowledge in the policymaker's own activity" (Scheffler, 1984, p. 152).

To support this reflexive awareness for the policy maker, in this study, I made use of a theoretical framework based on the works of Hornberger (2006), Ruiz (1984), and Cooper (1989) and other prominent language policy researchers. The primary research questions were developed directly from this theoretical framework, and data obtained from participant interviews were organized and classified along deductive themes. In addition to using this theoretical framework to initially frame this study, it became essential to make use of conventional means of continual data comparison, analytic induction, and searching for conflicting evidence (Strauss & Corbin, 2007).

With the theoretical framework as a base, I divided participant transcripts into units or blocks that addressed, or seemed to address, a self-contained concept associated with the theoretical model and research questions under investigation. As recommended by Strauss and Corbin (2007)., coding was based on conditions, interactions among actors, strategies and tactics, and consequences. Appendix E is a visual depiction of the initial organization of units of transcript text. These units were further refined into smaller subcategories of associated words and ideas expressed in patterns of the words of participants (see Appendix F for specific coding categories). In these ways, I gave the policy actor direct access to policy stakeholders' feelings and the way they understand themselves, which is a necessary component to the education of policy makers (Scheffler, 1984).

Evidentiary claims, conclusions, and implications related to this study are based on my policy analysis and participants' expressed words found directly in the interview data. In the analysis of relevant policies and interview data, it became apparent that Indian education directors working in public school systems believe that schools have

an important role to play in supporting Native American language revitalization in the state, but they also recognized that there are many challenges to implementing programs that support this goal. It was also made clear that a growing body of policy makers supports these goals, but there is substantial resistance among other policy actors and political organizations. Additionally, many policy actors may support the goals of Native American language in word or deed, but they may not be fully informed regarding present policies that conflict with goals of language revitalization.

Participants clearly identified their beliefs regarding the role of policy and schools in supporting language revitalization efforts. While the majority of participants view schools as places to foster the maintenance of Native American languages, some do not believe that schools should be involved in this activity. On one end of the spectrum, some believe that English should be the only language spoken in schools and communities, and on the other end some believe that language revitalization should be left only to tribes with no support from public institutions. From this general impression, participants demonstrated that there is not a general agreement as to how public schools should handle Native American language revitalization issues, but the vast majority of participants believe that policy makers and schools should work toward common goals with Native American tribes regarding the maintenance of their languages.

Prior to this study, it may have been difficult for a policy actor in Oklahoma who is not actively engaged in language revitalization efforts to understand the important humanistic realm of language policy development and implementation. Until now, there has been little to no policy research within Oklahoma related to Native

American language revitalization. Through studying this research, policy makers and policy actors have an opportunity to encompass a deeper understanding of participants' experiences and values that extended beyond what theoretical notions of policy can explain.

It was my view in conducting this research that policy makers are not "beyond the reach of value considerations" (Scheffler, 1984, p. 154). Policy makers do care about people, and the policy maker is an integral part of community perceptions and beliefs about language; for this reason, it is important that we educate policy makers about the effects of language policies on the lives of local communities within Oklahoma. As stated by Scheffler (1984), policy makers who are concerned to understand people and communities,

> …need to view them as subjects—active beings whose field of endeavor is structured by their own symbolic systems, their conceptions of the world, self, and community, their memories of the past, perceptions of the present, and hopes for the future. (p. 155)

In the focus, approach, analysis, and findings of this dissertation, I addressed the four following major components of encouraging self-reflexivity among policy makers: value, culture, habit, and knowledge (Scheffler, 1984).

Value

One question the policy actor must ask relates to value. What is the value of language? I hoped that the answer to this question would be self-evident through the analysis and findings of this study. As stated by many research participants, language is a major facet of one's identity. Many individuals in Native American communities

believe that their language ties them to something much greater than themselves; it ties them to their community and their ancestors. When a language dies, a piece of their soul and a connection to a greater community dies. Language has great value among Native American communities. This is an important fact for policy makers to consider as they develop policy that relates to language in any way, because as we have seen in this study, a policy that may not directly relate to Native American language revitalization can have negative effects on language revitalization and maintenance.

In contemplating value, I have considered the question of how education has the potential to support language revitalization and maintenance efforts. Education has many possibilities of variable worth, and policy makers must consider the value of education for individual students and communities. I have demonstrated in this study that language and educational policy outcomes have varying effects on language revitalization efforts. These policies have both direct and indirect effects on Native American language communities and the values that are held regarding their languages among Native and non-Native communities alike. Values, attitudes, and beliefs of dominant English speech communities affect the percieved value of minority languages (de Bres, 2010). Until we promote prestige around Native American languages, communities will continue to struggle in maintaining these languages. Whether overt or covert, schools already engage in this language valuation process, but typically schools promote the prestige of English and European languages. Through status planning, the policy maker has an opportunity to engage in policy development with the goal of promoting Native American language prestige.

Historically, many policies supported the loss of Native American languages within the United States, but more recently, growing movements to implement policies that support language revitalization have taken hold. Even so, remnants of monolingual ideologies and policies still affect language revitalization outcomes. With this understanding of the history of language policy and its effects on local communities, we must recognize that the ongoing institutional bend toward monolingualism in the state must be evaluated by policy makers. While challenging the institutional establishment is complex, individual policy agents are responsible for what they do and they must be educated to be reflective about the values of the policy-making institutions in which they participate (Scheffler, 1984).

Culture

A second component of self-reflexivity that the policy maker must consider is the cultural context related to policy issues. The cultural context of a policy maker may differ greatly from Native American communities; for this reason, the policy maker must realize that what the Native American community might open as a possibility for learning may be closed to the monolingual dominant community. This aspect of self-reflexivity is what Scheffler (1984) termed the relativity of potential. As stated by Scheffler (1984), "appreciation of such relativity should serve to draw the policy maker's attention to his or her presuppositions as to cultural context" (p. 157). Scheffler (1984) further stated,

> It is important that policy be informed by cross-cultural awareness, that policy makers be encouraged to look at problems not solely in the context of their own societies, but in the context of others remote in time, space and character.

> Historical, anthropological, and comparative studies, in particular, ought to enter into the training of those involved in the formulation of principles governing educational efforts. (p. 157)

In relation to language, the policy maker must ask, "How might my cultural context and concepts of language differ from that of a Native American community?" In a nation and state where English monolingualism is the norm, might there be other cultural contexts in which speaking other languages be beneficial? These questions have also been addressed throughout my research. Language ideologies, as discussed in Chapter 2, encompass a worldview that drives communities to seek action toward a particular vision for the community.

The movement supported by some Oklahoma policy makers to make English the official language of the U.S. only continues long-standing state-endorsed social inequality and does not entail self-reflexivity of the policy maker regarding cultural contexts of language among Native American communities. The cultural context of language among Native American communities may very well differ from that of the policy maker, but in a state with one of the largest Native American populations in the U.S., it is incumbent then on the policy maker as a public servant to mediate the multiplicity of language ideologies in a way that affirms and expands Native American group interests.

Habit

In addition to considering educational potentials, value of language, and the cultural context of policy issues, the policy maker must also consider the influential power of habits and policies already well established. As described in Chapter 2, there

is a long-standing tendency toward monolingual English within the United States. After the opening of boarding schools in the U.S., language policy became an ubiquitious feature in national policy affairs (Adams, 1997). Native American language eradication became the habit of federally run boarding school policy. During this period, it became acceptable among the English dominant communities to ostracize Native American communities for using their native tongue.

From this point forward, linguistic assimilationist ideologies and policies have maintained a firm grip on habit and policy within Oklahoma, but as stated by Scheffler (1984),

> The customs, habits, expectations, rules, operative programs, and presumptions that form the background of any question of policy are themselves of a piece of policy and, to varying degrees, often alterable by policy . . . Discriminatory treatment of poor or minority [or Native American] children which hapmpers their leraning is not to be assumed an unalterable fact, inaccessible to policy initiatives. (p.158)

Due to the growing movement toward supporting multilingualism and Native American language revitalization, policy makers have a tremendous opportunity to support Native American communities in their efforts to revitalize and maintain their languages. In this way, policy makers can encourage new habits and policy that promotes bilingualism.

Knowledge

The final component of self-reflexivity that must be considered by the policy maker is related to his or her own state of knowledge. The policy maker is confronted with many issues, and due to the background and experiences of many Oklahoma policy

makers, it is reasonable to assume that few state policy makers deeply understand the historical and present issues related to the loss of Native American languages. Policy makers' lack of knowledge and awareness on this issue is little fault of their own, as they have also been brought up in a cultural context that supports monolingualism. Even so, the policy maker must be open to learning about the deeper issues related to this topic so that we may turn "today's incapacity into tomorrow's capcity" (Sheffler, 1984, p. 159).

The knowledge contained in the analysis and findings of this study supports a new awareness among policy makers. It is evident from the majority of the responses of the interview participants that there are bright spots regarding the instruction of Native American languages within the state of Oklahoma, but we also have much room to grow. The policy maker has a role in this growth of tomorrow's capacity. Policy makers have an opportunity to address issues related to funding and lack of materials and resources for language revitalization programs. Additionally, the policy maker has an opportunity to address issues related to teacher certification highlighted in this research. State level policy leadership in this area is critical, and without policy makers that develop clear, coherent, and supportive language revitalization policy, communities will continue to have challenges implementing programs that support language revitalization.

We cannot change the past, but as policy makers gain knowlegde about the historical negative effects of monolingual ideologies and policies, we can change the future. As a public servant, policy makers are expected to live up to a set of informed ethics that support the communities they serve. As stated in Chapter 1, from the time of

European contact with the Americas, monolingual language ideologies and policies have prompted the loss of multiple indigenous languages of the Americas (Garrett, 2004). Moreover, as demonstrated throughout this dissertation, schooling practices and educational policies continue to support a common ideological space by which the loss of Native American language is promoted (Adams, 1977; Bourdieu & Thompson, 1999; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Menken, 2008; Menken & Garcia, 2010). With the knowledge of the loss of Native American languages and the historic trauma endured by so many Native American communities within Oklahoma, the policy maker must take action and become more informed on these issues with the goal reversing the effects of these tragedies.

Policy Dimension

In the multidisciplinary approach to addressing community language problems, a policy maker must have a strong awareness of the historical and temporal dimension of language policy. Recently, policy changes have been made that support language revitalization, but policy is not keeping up with community action and interest. A number of policies that seemingly have nothing to do with language revitalization do in fact have direct impact on language prestige and language loss. When viewing language policy issues as a whole, it is clear that these policies continue to complicate efforts toward language preservation efforts in communities and schools. As discussed previously, the No Child Left Behind Act (2001) and other similar education policy is focused school accountability through mandatory assessment in specific content areas that are only administered in the English language. These policies that support the monolingual ideology of contempt continue to have negative consequences for

bilingualism and language preservation by focusing entirely on English language proficiency.

For these reasons, the policy maker must focus on what policy changes can be made now that will support practical action toward language revitalization at the school and community level. As stated by Scheffler (1984),

> What is wanted [in the policy maker] is a concept of continuity [of policy], a tracing of [policy and] the individual path of a child's growth and education, and an idea of alternative paths that might be followed, given appropriate actions and auxiliary conditions. (p. 161)

In this way, the policy maker must connect the dots between historical and current policy, communities, and individual students to take policy actions that support Native American students' cultural and linguistic needs.

It is important for the policy maker to take this approach because he or she is dealing with real people and the quality of their lives, not objects of policy. While a policy object has a history that determines its own future, so too do collectives and communities. Unlike policy objects, Native American communities understand themselves to be extended from and rooted in the past and directed toward a future based on guided aspirations from conserved past community memory. In the chambers where policy documents are created, it cannot be forgotten that children in Native American communities are dealing with many issues, some of which relate to language revitalization, and "the child's conception of its own potential is not an isolated thing, cut off from such temporal integration" (Scheffler, 1984; p. 161).

Children are acutely aware of their connection to community and the goals of maintaining its continuity through time; and this continuity requires sensitive acknowledgement and support by policy makers and educators. Policy makers and educators must respect and support the background of students, even when their culture, class, race, religion, or native tongue differs from their own. As indicated by Scheffler (1984),

> The memories and aspirations of the child, continuous with the memories and aspirations of its family and community, are threads along which educational matter will crystallize, even as these threads themselves undergo change. (p. 162)

In this way, educational policy affects the child's conception of his or her potential; therefore, the future of Native American language will be affected to some extent by the future of relevant policy as the majority of Native American students attend public schools in Oklahoma. Through the efforts of many Native American language advocates over past decades, the auxiliary conditions to implement Native American language programs in schools exists in Oklahoma, but funding and policy conflicts and constraints continue to hold up movements toward substantial progress. For these reasons, the policy maker must be concerned with the outcomes of their policies and come to terms with how the policies they support affect lives and communities. The lives of individuals within Native American communities are no less important than the temporal dimension and goals of the policy maker. Acknowledging this aspect of the policymaker's work is an important way of embodying the components that encouraging self-reflexivity and historical awareness.

As demonstrated in this policy analysis, a policy solution to a current issue always leaves traces and can present a new challenge that must be faced. Many policies, such as the Oklahoma Native American language teacher certification policy, that seemly support language revitalization, present new challenges. Therefore, the role of the policy maker, as highlighted by Scheffler (1984),

> Involves not simply the making of decisions for the future but also the checking of past decisions by monitoring their presently discernible outcomes. Thus the policy maker not only shapes policy but may also contracture to its improvement… Policy thus reflects, and reacts upon, the long-range time-binding of historical communities, possessed of common memories and shared dreams for the future. It is within the medium of such communities, partially shaped by policy, that individual efforts are conducted, individual lives planned, individual choices made. It is because this impact of policy is so pervasive that the historical awareness I have urged is of fundamental importance. (p. 163)

The policy maker must be more than an armchair politician sheltered from the scrutiny of Native American communities upon which their policies have implications. Every policy decision, no matter how it was initially conceived, may have negative implication as it reverberates outward. Therefore, the policy maker must investigate policy outcomes and freely recognize shortcomings of their policies in an effort to improve outcomes for Native American language revitalization efforts. In this way, the self-reflective policy maker becomes fully engaged in the both theory and practice in the realm of policy.

As stated previously, language policy and planning (LPP) is a distinct facet of efforts toward indigenous language preservation and revitalization and there is consistent and convincing evidence from countries, states and indigenous communities around the world that language policy and language education that support linguistic diversity serve as influential mediums for promoting the vitality, stability, and preservation of indigenous languages, and ultimately help communities move beyond linguistic assimilationist ideologies of contempt to the acceptance and promotion of linguistic diversity (Hornberger, 1998). Schools have a major role to play in moving communities toward the acceptance of language diversity; therefore policy makers must understand their role in the development of policies that allow schools to have a positive influence on linguistic diversity and language preservation.

Implications

As discussed previously, my primary goal in conducting this research was to promote self-reflexivity and increased awareness among policy makers regarding language and education policy issues broadly and more specifically related to the promotion of Native American languages in schools. Understanding these issues is a necessary component of national, state, and local level efforts toward the revitalization and maintenance of Oklahoma's numerous Native American languages. The focus, approach, analysis, and findings of this research demonstrate that there are many policy and political conflicts in addition to practical challenges related to the implementation of Native American language programs in schools. Understanding the link between tribal nations, public schools, state level education coordinators, and state and national level policymakers who in turn interact with professional organizations, lobby groups,

and researchers is fundamental to comprehending the movement around policy implementation. At times, breakdowns in these links create a situation in which the individual policy agendas of one community sacrifice components of the goals of the larger.

The communities described in this research represent a broad picture of the numerous policy actors who develop and implement language and education policy in the state and nation. While the findings touch on actors who oppose using public schools as a tool for the revitalization of Native American languages, the focus of the findings is on how state and local communities work together and at times against each other with the goal of implementing Native American language programs in schools. As demonstrated throughout this study, the perceptions, beliefs, and values of the multiple policy communities has an effect on the outcome of language preservation and revitalization efforts in Oklahoma. This discursive policy analysis supports a deeper understanding of the various language and education issues that affect these outcomes by providing a clear representation of the ideologies that support the creation and implementation of language and education policies within the state.

The sustainability of Native American language programs in schools is affected by national and state policy, community support, funding, teacher preparation, and certification programs. As represented in this study, language revitalization activists are continually faced with long standing and persistent ideologies of contempt and linguistic assimilation. These ideological stances continue to contribute the reinforcement of the loss of linguistic diversity in the state as some policy actors work to perpetuate the belief that the English language is superior to all other languages. The

linguistic-assimilationist response to linguist diversity have been supported through a number of official language resolutions, amendments, and policies at the national state and local levels. Until these ideologies of contempt are overcome, language revitalization activists will continue to struggle in their efforts toward language and education policy reforms.

Additionally, recognition of the fact that Native American language programs in schools cannot fully operate without an adequate stream of teachers has prompted new teacher certification rules for teachers of Native American languages, but at this point the certification requirements still present many challenges for fluent speakers of these languages. The development of pathways and funding for teachers, professional development, and curriculum is vital to the growth of Native American language programs in schools. Without this support, policy that supports these efforts in word will do little to ensure that our linguistic recourse is maintained in the state.

While funding and a qualified pool of teachers are necessary to sustain Native American language programs in schools, neither of these factors in and of themselves can make a program successful. These two factors, in addition to a well-organized and research-based program that fully incorporates Native American epistemologies is the key to successful Native American language programs. The issues of organization and research have challenged educators for years; therefore, tribal leaders, policy makers, and educators must be fully engaged and open to change throughout the policy development and implementation process. This is one of the most challenging aspects of any policy and implementation development, but without this type of collaboration, there is little hope that schools can effectively support language revitalization efforts.

It is apparent in this study that as a society, we are failing in the area of language preservation. It is imperative that policy actors and educational administrators, practitioners, and researchers refocus and work toward a professional ethic that focuses on the best interest of the student, yet we continue to jeopardize our linguistic resources by promoting monolingual ideologies within the state. Bilingualism is not only in the best interest of Native American students in our state, but is in the best interest of every student. Our students are our future, and in this rapidly changing multilingual and multicultural world, by fostering bilingualism for all students, we fulfill our ethical duty as citizens and educators to act with integrity while affirming the dignity and growth of all students (Starratt, 2004).

It has been demonstrated in studies over the past decade that bilingual individuals have cognitive and academic advantages over monolingual individuals (Bialystok, 2001; Diamond, 2010). Additinally, current research suggests emotional and behavioral as well as economic benefits for bilingual and multilingual individuals (Han & Huang, 2010; Shin & Alba, 2009). The question then, is not if we should promote language preservation and bilingualism, but how we should promote bilingualism with local languages among all communities. With the diversity of languages and technological resources within the state, we have the potential for unique language programs within well positioned districts and communities. In this way Native American languages can become acquainted with Native American language use in real life contexts. By viewing our linguistic diversity in the state as an asset, rathan than a problem, classrooms can mutually benefit the linguistic minority and majority

communities. In this way, Oklahoma could lead the way in Native American language preservation and revitalization models.

It is my hope that this study significantly contributes to a variety of collaborative efforts across the spectrum through encouraging awareness and self-reflexivity among Oklahoma policy makers. Additionally, this study offers educators, administrators, and other policy stakeholders a greater understanding of how existing language ideologies and policies affect the creation and implementation of Native American language programs in schools. The future of Oklahoma's Native American languages are at a critical point, and educators and policy makers within the state must work to counteract ever prevalent monolingual ideologies and policy that counteract the work of policy actors working toward language revitalization and maintenance within the state. In the following chapter, the future of Native American languages within Oklahoma will be discussed, incorporating details about specific goals and recommendations for moving forward.

Chapter 7: Goals, Recommendations & Conclusions

The future of Native American languages within the state of Oklahoma is unknown. From the time of European settlement of the Americas, schooling practices and policies have been a common ideological space by which language loss and obsolescence has been promoted through symbolic violence (Adams, 1977; Bourdieu & Thompson, 1999; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Menken, 2008; Menken & Garcia, 2010). Indeed, I have established throughout this dissertation that, "being Indian" in part means speaking the language and that language maintenance is important to many tribes within the state of Oklahoma. I concluded that while speakers of Native American languages are concerned about the future of their language, there are many barriers to ensuring a future for their language. We also found that, in the current schooling environment in Oklahoma, various language policies at all levels confound the process of implementing language revitalization efforts on the ground in schools. There is an array of activities supporting language revitalization within the state, but prevalent monolingual ideologies and policies continue to have immediate negative effects on Native American language instruction outcomes. Consequently, policy actors must become fully informed and engaged in the development, modification, and implementation of language and education policies that support Native American language revitalization.

The sense of exigency about Native American language revitalization policy in the state is heightened because of recent accumulating policy actions where multilingual language policy possibilities and outcomes seem to be obstructed at an increasing rate through new state level policies such as the *Reading Sufficiency Act* described in

Chapter 4, and as demonstrated in this study, the one language–one nation monolingual ideology still holds powerful negative influence over langauge revitaliation efforts. Thankfully, however, the voices of tribes and language revitalization activists are getting stronger and the movement in recent years among pro-bilingual advocates and language educators has helped solidify, support, and promote the enduring grassroots tribal language maintenance and revitalization efforts in Oklahoma.

In this dissertation, Chapters 1 and 2 characterized the present study as one focused on language policy and its impact on outcomes for Native American language revitalization efforts in Oklahoma public schools, with implications for future policy planning. Chapter 1 highlighted that while Oklahoma has the highest density of spoken Native American languages in the United States (Reese, 2011), all of these languages face the challenges of language loss (Living Tongues Institute, 2012). It was also emphasized that of the 38 federally recognized tribes in the state, only 18 have fluent tribal language speakers (Linn, 2007). Many of these tribal nations have programs to address the maintenance of their language, but currently they face numerous roadblocks to the implementation of teaching their language in public schools.

In Chapter 2, the cultural anthropology, sociolinguistics, and educational policy studies literature that supports this research was described. This literature underscores the two primary government competing approaches to language policy, namely that (a) in Oklahoma, for example, the approach leans toward language standardization through state-supported hegemonic power (Wiley, 2014), which in effect is state-endorsed social inequality; and (b) other governments allow local governments and schools to choose their own language policy and adopt their own language of instruction. To address the

monolingual ideological approach in Oklahoma, in this research, I used educational policy analysis to better understand conflicts over language, resources, and power (Ruiz, 1984; Hornberger, 2002; Ferguson, 2006; Menken, 2008).

In Chapter 2, I stated the following research questions:

RQ1. What is the architecture of language policy and planning within the state of Oklahoma?

RQ2. What role do states and public school districts have in the preservation and revitalization of Native American languages?

RQ3. What supports and barriers are promoted by the primary policy actors through their policies, and what effect do the policies have on Native American language revitalization?

RQ4. What policy planning factors foster successful implementation of Native American language education programs?

In Chapter 3, I answered these research questions through an interpretive policy analysis. Ultimately, in an interpretive policy analysis, the researcher juxtaposes the meaning of policy as intended by policymakers ('authored' texts) and variant meanings ('constructed' texts) made of them by other policy actors and relevant groups (Yanow, 2000). Interpretive policy analysis is characterized by the belief that our socially constructed world exists within the realm of multiple interpretive possibilities. The results of this analysis were discussed in Chapters 4 and 5 and to some extent will be discussed in the remainder of this chapter.

In Chapter 4, I established the architecture and conflict that exists among the various relevant language and educational policies at the national, state, and local

levels. The two themes, namely policy issues and parallel and competing policies, were established to support a deeper understanding of the many confounding policy dynamics related to language preservation and revitalization within the state. The outcomes of language and education policy in schools, as demonstrated in this chapter, are a result of competing policies and stakeholders with divergent goals that obfuscate the language policy implementation process.

Chapter 5 addressed the various views held by policy actors concerning the role of government in language revitalization efforts, and the effect of these views and relevant policies on language revitalization. More specifically, the issues discussed in this chapter relate to lack of funding, materials, and resources for language and revitalization programs; additionally, teacher certification issues in the state highlight the lack of coherence and valid support for language revitalization efforts.

The final question of this research project (What policy planning factors foster successful implementation of Native American language education programs?) will be addressed in the remainder of this chapter. Thoughout this dissertation research process, I was both encouraged by the growing language preservation and revitalization movements within the state and disheartened by the continued and concerted efforts of many local, regional, and national organizations that are intent on making White English the only spoken language. When there is substantial research to demonstrate the positive effects of language maintanance and bilingualism among American Indian and non-Inidan communties alike (Au, 2009; Johnson & Johnson, 2006; Jones et al., 2003; Menken, 2008; Rothstein, 2004; Taylor, 2004), why do we continue to base many of our educational decisions on the ideologically monolingual paradigm?

The Future of Native American Language in Oklahoma

With the knowledge of the historical trauma endured by many Native American tribes, one can speculate that there may be hidden agendas when reading between the lines of conflicting educational policies such as *NCLB, School Laws of Oklahoma,* and Native American langauge teacher certification policies. As stated by Kroskrity (2004), "language ideologies represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group" (p. 105). Expressed differently, the language of our educational policies is a means to express thoughts, ideas, and feelings, hopes, and goals of the educational policy actors who are sociopolitical language users who construct and perpetuate their worldview through language and law (Duranti, 1997). There is a significant interplay between the worldview of policy makers and their role in the continuation and manipulation of their worldview through policy (Bahktin, 1982; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Durnati, 1997). Social structure emerges and maintains itself through individuals applying indigenous methods of understanding and communicating to modern day concerns, and in education, these concerns are expressed by the policy elite through educational policies such as NCLB and in the School Laws of Oklahoma (Duranti, 1997).

As detailed throughout this dissertation, the underlying language ideology tensions are apparent in a variety of conflicting language policy initiatives at multiple levels, and when viewed as a whole, from the top down, these language policy conflicts continue to complicate efforts toward language preservation (Lo Bianco, 2014). NCLB is purported to be closing achievement gaps among White and minority students, yet this policy has negative consequences for bilingualism and language preservation

because it focuses entirely on English language proficiency in all content areas (Shohamy, 2006). A language-ideology emphasis on the sociocultural interests of the educational policy maker allows the reader of such policies to recognize interests that are purported to leave no child behind, but instead do quite the opposite. It is also true that the language ideologies that manifest in education policy are grounded in social experience and thus are "profitably conceived as multiple" (Kroskrity, 2004, p. 503), meaning that the educational policies serve multiple interest of various interpretive communities, while disproportionally representing the interests of specific groups.

This perspective helps to explain the apparent tension and conflict between policies like NCLB, NALA, and the School Laws of Oklahoma. The understanding of the multiplicity of divergent perspectives of educators and policy makers helps explain the wide variety of outcomes relating to the implementation of educational policy. For this reason, it is imperative to frame the analysis of educational policies and reform around outcomes in real settings with affected persons, rather than the intent of the policy *per se*. The overall outcome of our current educational policies on the ground in Oklahoma is the continued promotion of a monoligual ideology, which is to the detriment of Native American language preservation and revitalization.

It may be presumed that few policy makers are explicitly aware of the advantages that their language ideologies and assessment policies such as NCLB and the School Laws of Oklahoma provide language dominant communities, but these policies are dominant cultural artifacts that are both hegemonic and epistemologically defined. As stated by Solano-Flores (2011), education policy is

> Part of a complex set of culturally established instructional and accountability practices; they are created with the intent to meet certain social needs or to comply with mandates and legislation established in a society; they are written in the language (and the dialect of that language) used by those who develop them; their content is a reflection of the skills, competencies, forms of knowledge, and communication styles valued by a society. (p. 37)

In the most hopeful sense, one would trust that the majority of policy makers must have more seemingly altruistic motives for educational reform, but NCLB and the School Laws of Oklahoma are explicit examples of how cultural and linguistic hegemony is sustained in society at large and in schools, as ill-informed policy elites construct a worldview that devalues non-dominant communities and languages while non-dominant communities often comply with such reforms for a variety of reasons (Tollefson & Tsui, 2014).

Education policies at the national and state levels are by no means entirely to blame for language loss. As stated previously, educational policies are simply a means to express thoughts, ideas, feelings, hopes, and goals for schooling, and our school systems cannot "solve" the problem of language loss, but they play a part in addressing the problem and working toward solutions. Additionally, some might argue that the problem of language loss is a problem to be solved by tribal nations, and it is best addressed at that endoglossic level (Ruiz, 1995). Endoglossic tribal nation approaches to language preservation are clearly a critical component to language preservation (Ruiz, 1995), but the majority of the 38 recognized tribal nations in Oklahoma are not organized on reservations, and tribal nation citizens, in Oklahoma, generally live among

culturally and linguistically heterogeneous communities that are spread out amidst the population. Consequently, the vast majority of the state's Native American students are attending public schools where each day they hear and speak English for at least 7-8 hours; for this reason, tribal nation language preservation efforts can only go so far.

At the national level, policies such as NCLB contradict with NALA goals, and at the state level, School Laws of Oklahoma complicate the desire for tribes to be able to fully certify language teachers for public schools. The underlying tension between proponents of monolingual English ideologies and proponents of multilingualism continue to threaten the existence of linguistic diversity in Oklahoma. This policy conflict contributes to counter-productive symbolic violence and continues the cycle of historic trauma experienced by so many Native American communities in the state. To add to this challenge, as demonstrated in Chapter 4, funding for public school programs that support language revitalization is very limited.

In a nation, and state, in which a substantial number of policy actors, including some of my research participants, believe that learning a second language is a waste of time and money, gaining public monetary support for indigenous language preservation continues to complicate the issue. Some research participants argued that to assimilate into U.S. society, the advantages of speaking English has made the use of learning and speaking Native American languages obsolete. While it is true that being proficient in English has many advantages, there are also many advantages to being bilingual, and individuals with monolingual ideologies contribute to linguistic isolation and fail to recognize the importance of speaking other local languages. As a state with a primarily monolingual perspective, we have collectively decided to forget all other languages for

the sake of English. In many unspoken ways, we continue to privilege, quite naturally in an unexamined and uncritical sense, White English and Western culture more than indigenous language and culture.

While it appears that some progress has been made concerning policy supporting language revitalization within Oklahoma, it is clear that monolingual ideologies continue to push against this advancement. Influential Oklahoma policy actors with monolingual ideological stances believe that English should be taught at the expense of all other languages, including Native American languages, as demonstrated by one influential policy actor in the following statement:

> We need a policy [in Oklahoma] that states that we won't expend valuable time and effort of our teachers and our students on teaching languages other than English. I'll probably be talking to some lawmakers about that. It probably won't happen this year. But you never know, an amendment could be germane to a bill and that could pop up.

In Oklahoma, where there is a general and implicit privileging of the English language over other languages, including Native American languages, beneficial contexts for the promotion of Native American language revitalization in public schools is dependent on policy. To create this social change, the majority of research participants in this study agree that we must develop an incentive through the education system with support from positive multilingual language policy planning (LPP) orientations and frameworks.

One LPP framework, the Accounting Scheme Model (Cooper, 1989), that contributed greatly to the analysis and conclusions drawn from this research, includes

eight components as described in Chapter 2, "(I) What actors, (II) attempt to influence what behaviors, (III) of which people, (IV) for what ends, (V) under what conditions, (VI) by what means, (VII) through what decisions making process, (VIII) with what effect" (Cooper, 1989, p. 98). As demonstrated in Chapters 4 and 5, policy actors at every level have differing views on the role of government and public schools in Native American language revitalization. These policy actors are simultaneously trying to influence the public and school students' views regarding their language orientation and bilingualism. The effects of LPP on language revitalization in schools to date have been inconsistent, and monolingual ideologies and policies at every level continue to usurp the conditions and means by which schools can positively influence language revitalization within the state.

To reverse the widespread inclination toward privileging monolingual ideologies, there must be an incentive for people to learn and use indigenous languages in the contexts of school (Hornberger, 2006). Schools are primary actors in language status planning and implement outcomes of corpus planning by instructing students on standardized form, structure, and the function of language. Additionally, schools can have a major role in acquisition planning by creating opportunities and incentives for students to be exposed to and increase indigenous language proficiency. While schools clearly cannot "save" Native American languages, schools, in the past, have played a major part in discouraging all languages other than English (Churchill, 2004). For this reason, it is not naïve to believe that schools can also play a part in the reversal of language loss. In Oklahoma, where the majority of Native American students attend public schools, there is an opportunity to take unprecedented steps in the LPP process.

With collaboration among policy actors at the national, state, local, and tribal nation levels, there is hope for a reversal in Native American language loss within the state of Oklahoma. In the following paragraphs, I will discuss the continued challenges we face and multiple possibilities related to the goals and recommendations of Indian Education directors and other pro-revitalization policy actors within the state. According to many of my research participants and a growing community of groups working toward language revitalization, multilingual LPP efforts in Native American communities engender communal and personal well-being and wholeness among tribal members and renew a sense of collaboration among tribal and non-tribal governments. Due to the ongoing and persistent commitment of tribes and other groups, I am confident that there is a bright future for many Native American languages within the state, but there also is an urgent need for policy actors to continue to work together to highlight Native American languages across all societal spectrums, from community-based tribal programs to universities and PK-12 public schools (McCarty, 2013). As observed by one research participant, "we've plateaued, and we need to take it to the next level where Native American languages are spoken on an everyday basis. We need that type of immersion program to help support and promote active language engagement." Without this active language engagement, Native American languages will slip into the dusty canons of textbooks, only to be studied from an academic standpoint primarily resulting from the monolingual "ideologies of contempt" (Dorian, 1998, p. 9), and languages other than English will continue to suffer the stranglehold on progress toward an increasingly multilingual state.

Within the wide-ranging social historical boundaries of Native American language in Oklahoma, compulsory English-only schooling, historically, has been a primary instrument for intended and unintended language loss (McCarty, 2013). However, through collaborative efforts between tribal and non-tribal governments, schools and communities can reverse the linguistic trends faced by so many Native American tribes who have grappled with enormous cultural and linguistic changes over the past two centuries. These initiatives can bring "people back in touch with their roots" (Hinton, 2001b, p. 225). As stated by McCarty (2013),

> The 'ideology of contempt' and views of bi/ multilingualism as pathological continue to hold sway in public discourse and in federal and state policy. More than half of all US states now have English-only statutes. In the education realm these state policies are by federal high-stakes accountability regimes, which, by virtue of their reliance on English standardized tests to measure student achievement, serve as de facto [English Only] language policies. (p. 184)

Therefore, as we work toward language revitalization within the state, issues involving Native American LPP must be considered within a larger sociopolitical context that focuses on proficiency in English for all minorities, not just Native Americans. Despite federal and state level assurances regarding Native American language rights contained in NALA, the *Esther Martinez Native American Languages Preservation Act*, and Oklahoma teacher certification laws, Native Americans in Oklahoma "are nonetheless affected by the harsh language and educational policies aimed at immigrant groups in the society" (Wong Fillmore, 2011, p. 28).

Goals and Recommendations

Against all odds of falling into the grips of prevalent monolingual ideologies, Native American communities within Oklahoma have worked through alternative institutional arrangements over the past century to exert local control over issues related to language, but much work remains to be done. As many of the research participants in this study have been a part of the language revitalization and maintenance process, they offered their ideas related to achievable goals for the future of language revitalization and maintenance within the state. We have a unique problem that requires a unique solution within the state of Oklahoma. To achieve the goal of preserving the linguistic resources that exist in Oklahoma, we must make use of mixed approaches to language preservation (Ruiz, 1995, McCarty, & Nicholas, 2014) at the national, state, local, and tribal nation levels. In the following set of recommendations, based on the analysis of interviews and findings of this study, I seek to outline, in no particular order, some courses of action that need to take place at the state and district levels within the state of Oklahoma. The list is by no means exhaustive, but is a great starting point for taking action on a critical issue within the state.

State Level Action

In consideration of the information presented in the previous chapters, it is clear that the state can do more to support language preservation and revitalization efforts. Below is a list of a few ideas that should be considered by state level policy actors.

- Host an ongoing state-level campaign to engender greater awareness, among all state residents, regarding the challenges we face concerning Native American language loss and preservation within the state. This

campaign must focus on building knowledge, among both policy actors and the public alike, as to why it is important to preserve the Native American languages spoken in the state.

- Develop a state level position for a language preservation leader to work as a power broker to represent the process (Pasque, 2010). Part of the campaign for greater language preservation awareness must be directed by a leader who makes learning Native American language a priority in the public school system.
- Develop a state-level Native American language education framework to guide the goal of making language learning an option for all students in Oklahoma public schools.
- When possible, consider using bilingual education models that support advanced levels of proficiency in English and at least one Native American language.
- Remove teacher certification barriers for Native American language teachers.
- Promote stronger efforts of collaboration between universities and tribes to integrate Native American language teaching education programs at all universities in the state.
- Develop extensive university Native American language teacher certificate programs.
- Allow *all* students to gain high school world languages core course credit for taking Native American language classes.

- Finally, collaborate with universities to conduct further research in the state that continues to focuses on the successes and challenges of preserving Native American language in the state.

The state must lead the way in supporting language preservation and revitalization efforts; without systematic and broad support at the state level, schools and other communities will confront many barriers in the implementation of local programs.

District Level Action

At district level, it is important to maintain a balance between centralized and decentralized measures to support Native American language preservation efforts. In this way, school systems will have flexibility to implement programs under the general framework of tribal nation initiatives. Below is a list of recommendations for district to consider regarding Native American language program implementation.

- Develop and implement ongoing professional learning opportunities to support Indian education directors and teachers in their efforts towards language preservation.
- Collaborate across all interpretive and professional learning communities. Best practices in language preservation, instruction, and learning must be shared to develop programs that lead to specified language learning outcomes.
- Highlight the demand and need for Native American language teachers within tribal nation communities and public schools
- Collaborate with tribal nations to support the development of comprehensive language and education policy that fosters language

preservation, cultivate collaboration among the school, families, and tribal nations.

- Promote district level policies that address issues related to Native American language preservation.
- Develop Native American teacher requirement and retention plans within school districts.
- Develop magnet schools that focus on Native American language instruction and bilingual education, and allow *all* students to gain high school world languages core course credit for taking Native American language classes.

Further suggestions would include developing a method to allow students to demonstrate mastery in a Native American language that is not taught in the student's school system as a means to allow the student to gain high school world language course credit for their mastery of a Native American language, developing parent outreach programs that involve opportunities for parents to learn and use the language on a regular basis, further developing language nests and Head Start programs specifically for the teaching of Native American languages, making use of our multiple technology resources to connect language instructors with a community of speakers and language learners in the school setting, and using culturally based education methods within all levels of schooling in the state to promote deeper understanding of Native American culture and language.

These recommendations, of course, are not an exhaustive list and should be supplemented by continued research and collaboration among national, state, local, and

tribal nation policy actors. Ultimately, it will take the efforts and collaboration of multiple national, state, local, and tribal nation policy actors and stakeholders to achieve the goal of language preservation within this state. On my end, I will disseminate the information highlighted in this study with various policy actors at the state, district, and tribal levels in order to increase dialog and action related to a prominent and concerning issue that exists in a state with the highest per capita Native American population.

Conclusion

I am hopeful that the specified goals and recommendations of this study will contribute to the greater community of individuals who are working to ensure that our linguistic resources are preserved within Oklahoma and the nation. As stated by one Native American state representative,

> I think monolingualism is just part of our mindset as Americans. 'Why do we need another language? We've never had another language. What is so valuable about it?' So, I think changing that paradigm is very difficult to do, and it will take a lot of time, but I'm sure by the time I'm an elder, I will start seeing seeds of the work that I did today to support language revitalization just as my dad who's an elder and sees the results of work that he started back in the '70s with initiating Indian education programs.

As scholars, educators, and concerned citizens, we must consider the professional educational ethic that focuses on the best interests of all students. Clearly, it is in the best interests of Native American students in the state to be connected to their language and culture. Additionally, linguistic tolerance, and beyond tolerance to a deeper level of respect (Crawford, 1997), the instruction of Native American languages, and bilingual

education are also in the best interests of every student (Crawford, 1997; Lessow-Hurley, 2005; Lopez & Frick, 2010, Menken, 2008; Ovando & Collier, 1985). While this is true, it is also important to remember that the issues related to teaching Native American languages in schools is not to be addressed solely by public schools, but rather Native American communities should take the lead role in this process. As stated by Fishman (1982), "languages live in communities and if they 'belong' to anyone, they belong to their speech communities" (p. 18).

Throughout this research process, I have learned a great deal. One important point for readers of this dissertation to remember is that although the interpretive policy analysis methodology supports the organization of information and data related to specific interpretive communities, it does little to help the researcher break down the nuanced beliefs and values within communities. The existence of a homogenous community is a myth, and until we understand this variance, we will continue to struggle to build unity around a common vision of linguistic diversity for all communities. On my end, as an activist for language diversity and Native American language preservation, I will continue to engage in activities that support the existence of a dominant culture in favor of linguistic diversity and a strong sense of ethnic identity within endangered language communities. In my work in schools, I will promote educational programs that support awareness about the many endangered languages and cultures that exist in Oklahoma. Additionally, I will continue to support the creation of bilingual/bicultural school programs for all students, and offer pedagogical training for native speakers of Native American teachers who are persuing

teacher certification. I will also offer my expertise for the development of language teaching curriculum and materials that are easy to use.

Although the *linguascape* in Oklahoma has its unique and uncharacteristic cultural context, it also has many similarities to other national and world contexts. In each case, what is needed for successful language revitalization and maintenance planning and operative use of public school as instruments for these efforts is, as described by Hornberger (1985), "autonomy of the speech community in deciding about the use of languages in schools and a societal context in which primary incentives exist for the use of one, two, or multiple languages in that and every other domain" (p. 582). As mentioned in Chapter 2, our students will be our future in this rapidly changing and increasingly competitive multilingual and multicultural world. By fostering linguistic diversity and teaching Native American languages in schools, we will fulfill our ethical duty as educators and citizens to act with integrity, while affirming the dignity and growth of all students (Starratt, 2004; McCarty & Nicholas, 2014).

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Appendix A: Field Expert Interview Protocol

Background Information:

Organization:

Position:

Involvement with/Relation to language policy:

Questions:

1. How do you and/or does your organization envision the future of Native American languages within the U.S. and Oklahoma?

2. What are your beliefs about the loss of Native American languages within Oklahoma?

3. What role do you believe that states, districts, and schools have in supporting Native American language preservation and revitalization?

4. Are the Native American Languages Acts (NALA) and the Esther Martinez Act achieving their goals? Why or Why not?

5. Do you have any specific examples of the successes and/or failures of the implementation of Native American language programs that relate to the goals of these acts?

6. What are the challenges to implementing policies that support Native American language preservation and revitalization?

   -Who is supporting/resisting the initiatives?
   -What funding issues exist?
   -What challenges relate to resources and materials for the instruction of these languages?
   -What issues surround the certification and preparation of teachers?
   -What policies conflict with policies such as NALA and the Esther Martinez Act?

Appendix B: Oklahoma State Representative Interview Protocol

Background Information:

Organization:

Position:

Involvement with/Relation to language policy:

Questions:

1. How do you and/or does your organization envision the future of language diversity and Native American languages within the state of Oklahoma?

2. What are your beliefs about the loss of Native American languages within the Oklahoma?

3. What role do you believe that states, districts, and schools have in supporting Native American language preservation and revitalization?

4. What state policies currently exist that support or conflict with the goals of Native American language preservation and revitalization?

5. Do you and/or does your organization have future policy goals that relate to Native American language preservation in Oklahoma?

   If YES ask question #6/If NO complete the interview with question #5

6. What are the challenges to implementing policies that support Native American language preservation and revitalization in Oklahoma?

   -Who is supporting/resisting the initiatives?

Appendix C: Oklahoma State Department of Education Staff

Interview Protocol

Background Information:

Organization:

Position:

Involvement with/Relation to language policy:

Questions:

1. How do you and/or does your organization envision the future of language diversity and Native American languages within the state of Oklahoma?

2. What are your beliefs about the loss of Native American languages within Oklahoma?

3. What role do you believe that states, districts, and schools have in supporting Native American language preservation and revitalization?

4. What OSDE policies currently exist that support or conflict with the goals of Native American language preservation and revitalization?
   (What are the goals of the *School Laws of Oklahoma* and how might some of the laws
   conflict and/or support language preservation?)

5. Do you and/or does your organization have future education policy goals that relate to Native American language preservation in Oklahoma?

Are there any challenges to implementing policies that support Native American language preservation and revitalization in Oklahoma?

-Who is supporting/resisting the initiatives?
-What funding issues exist?
-What challenges relate to resources and materials for the instruction of these languages?
-What issues surround the certification and preparation of teachers?

Appendix D: School Administrator Interview Protocol

Background Information:

Organization:

Position:

Involvement with/Relation to language policy:

Questions:

1. How do you and/or does your organization envision the future of language diversity and Native American languages within your district?

2. What are your beliefs about the loss of Native American languages within Oklahoma?

3. What role do you believe that districts and schools have in supporting Native American language preservation and revitalization?

4. What district policies currently exist that support or conflict with the goals of Native American language preservation and revitalization?

5. What state level policies exist that support or conflict with your/district goals related to language preservation?

6. Do you and/or does your organization have future education policy goals that relate to Native American language preservation in your district?

7. Are there any challenges to implementing policies and programs that support Native American language preservation and revitalization in your district?

   -What funding issues exist?
   -What challenges relate to resources and materials for the instruction of these languages?
   -What issues might surround finding qualified teachers for language preservation programs?

Appendix E: Concept Map and Initial Coding Categories



Appendix F: Data Display for Theoretical Framework Categories & Corresponding Codes

Language Attitudes	LA
LA: Positive	LA-PO
State Representatives	LASR-PO
District Administrators	LADA-PO
Field Experts	LAFE-PO
LA: Negative	LA-NG
State Representatives	LASR-NG
District Administrators	LADA-PO
Field Experts	LAFE-PO

(Language) Policy Architecture	PA
PA: Objectives	PA-OBJ

Support Role	SR
SR: States	SR-ST
SR: Districts	SR-DST
SR: Schools	SR-SCH
SR: Tribes	SR-TRB
Policy Conflict	PC
PC: Support to Revitalization	PC-SR
Funding	PCFND-SR
Curriculum Materials	PCCM-SR
Teacher Certification	PCTC-BR
PC: Barriers to Revitalization	PC-BR
Funding	PCFND-BR
Curriculum Materials	PCCM-BR
Teacher Certification	PCTC-BR

Implementation Challenges	IC
IC:	
IC: Funding	FS-FND
IC: Curriculum Materials	FS-CM
IC: Teacher Certification	FS-TC
Factors for Success	FS
FS: Collaboration	FS-CLB
FS: Funding	FS-FND
FS: Curriculum Materials	FS-CM
FS: Teacher Certification	FS-TC
FS: Community Outreach	FS-CO