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# Forging Multilingual Spaces

## Integrated Perspectives on Majority and Minority Bilingual Education

Edited by
Christine Hélot and Anne-Marie de Mejía

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Chapter 3

# Plurilingual Latin America: Indigenous Languages, Immigrant Languages, Foreign Languages – Towards an Integrated Policy of Language and Education

RAINER ENRIQUE HAMEL

## Indigenous Bilingual Education and Elite Bilingual Schools: Setting the Stage

In Latin America[1] two different types of population have created their own specific domains of bilingual practice including that of bilingual education: domains relating to indigenous education and domains relating to elite private education which was originally organised by European immigrant communities. Over 500 indigenous languages (IL) are spoken alongside the national languages by some 30 million people, mainly within their historical territories, but also in the new urban and rural areas resulting from migration.[2] Schooling for the children of indigenous peoples[3] is provided by the state in a public subsystem of indigenous primary education known as 'intercultural bilingual education' (IBE) that functions mostly in rural indigenous areas. These schools, which are generally poorly equipped and staffed, use the two languages for a variety of functions in content-based teaching and learning. Pedagogical achievement is generally extremely low in all countries, according to national standards and programmes defined by and for the mainstream population.

On the other hand, immigrant languages other than Spanish and Portuguese, resulting from a wave of European immigration which became massive during the second half of the 19th century, have played a significant role in the development of private institutions, such as British, French, Italian or German bilingual schools that now form a sector of 'elite bilingual education' (EBE). Most of them were founded by immigrant groups to cater initially for their own communities in their heritage languages. Much later, they incorporated the countries' national language and curriculum and opened their doors to students from

outside the immigrant community. In the 20th century, those schools associated with prestigious and internationally powerful language communities developed into 'global language schools' (Banfi & Day, 2004) that serve a significant segment of the countries' economic and power elites who seek prestigious and differentiated education of high standard for their offspring, alongside the needs of the shrinking immigrant communities.

The two types of communities and their schools position themselves at opposite poles of social stratification and the scales of extreme inequality that characterise all Latin American countries, and their actors hardly ever cross paths or exchange words. Nevertheless, their spaces and educational systems share psycho- and sociolinguistic challenges which lend themselves to comparison and confrontation at certain levels of abstraction. From a macrosociolinguistic perspective, both communities exist as enclaves in sociohistoric formations of nation-state-building processes oriented towards European models of linguistic and cultural homogeneity that seek to assimilate those who are different, irrespective of differences of origin, historical legitimacy and status. Thus, in most Latin American countries both the state and mainstream society traditionally considered their representative citizens to be monolingual speakers of the national language beyond the common rhetoric of support for IL, the value of immigrant communities and the necessity of foreign language learning.[4] This strong monolingual ideology often stirs up suspicion about true citizenship, national loyalty and the lack of assimilation in those who are native speakers of other languages, even if they are equally proficient in the national language, as happens in the USA[5] and, to a lesser degree, in Canada. Therefore, any stable bi- or multilingualism, and the existence of language maintenance oriented communities – be they indigenous or immigrant – face adverse sociolinguistic conditions and will have to develop specific ideological, cultural and linguistic justifications for maintaining their bilingual domains, such as schools, churches or social clubs within an otherwise monolingual context.

Enclave or heritage language schools have demonstrated how mother tongue maintenance oriented education can be successful, without jeopardising the development of high proficiency in both content areas and in the national language. When some of these institutions developed into elite bilingual schools, they profited from top level input in modern applied linguistics and foreign language teaching techniques provided by their countries of origin. Although indigenous schools obtained considerably less support from applied linguistics and modern teaching techniques, in contrast, they received a wealth of anthropological and sociolinguistic insight in identifying complex intercultural and multilingual contact situations.

I will argue that these two spaces and their respective education systems share several common problems and possible solutions, and that the complex interplay of linguistic, cognitive, cultural and socioeconomic factors in the explanation of success and failure, as well as in the design and implementation of promising strategies could greatly benefit from an exchange of experience and expertise across the systems. It is my contention that a reciprocal, unbiased process of exchange and mutual learning could foster the growth of multilingual spheres and the transition towards pluricultural nation states where cultural and linguistic diversity is seen as global enrichment (Hamel, 2008a, 2008b).

In this chapter, I will first outline some general characteristics of each educational setting with regard to the macro level of policy and the micro level of curriculum. I will then explore some basic differences as well as shared problems and solutions in order to postulate possible avenues of pedagogical cooperation. Finally, I will discuss aspects of an integrated interpretation of language and education policy in Latin America.

## Indigenous Education in Latin America

### From colonisation to the modern nation state

From the beginning of colonisation in 1492, conflict arose between the new colonial languages and the pre-existing multilingual systems of communication based on over 1000 native languages. The colonial powers developed two basic strategies of ethnic and language policy in Latin America in relation to the indigenous population which took shape after Independence in the early 19th century. The first and generally dominant strategy considered the assimilation (i.e. dissolution) of Indian peoples and the suppression of their languages and cultures a prerequisite for the building of a unified colonial empire and later of homogeneous nation states. A second strategy favoured the preservation of Indian languages and cultures in this process, without sacrificing the ultimate goal of uniting nation and state.

As a result, a gradual process of language shift took place, which accelerated during the 19th and 20th centuries. The two strategies materialised in education and Spanish teaching – the main pillars of cultural policies for the Indians – through two basic approaches which differed considerably in their cultural and educational philosophy and methods, their view of sociocultural integration and, above all, in their manner of using and teaching Spanish or Portuguese. The first strategy was aimed at linguistic and cultural assimilation through direct imposition of the national language, leading to submersion or fast transitional programmes, to use modern terminology. It was seen as important that education in the colonial language should actively contribute to language shift and cultural change. The national language was to be the sole target

and medium of instruction, and teaching materials, content and methods were the exclusive preserve of the dominant society. The second strategy involved transitional and some rare maintenance programmes. In most cases, diverse bilingual methods were introduced where the Indian languages played a subordinate, instrumental role as languages of instruction and for initial alphabetisation (for overviews see Hamel, 1994, 2000).

Today, the debates about indigenous education centre around two fundamental issues. The first relates to a macropolitical and anthropological dimension. Given the difficulties of building homogenous nation states fashioned on the European model and the strengthening of indigenous movements during the last decades of the 20th century, the question arises whether the dominant societies and the state apparatus will insist in pursuing their historical strategy of forced assimilation. In most Latin American countries a powerful alternative emerges that strives for the transformation of the existing nation states into plurilingual and pluricultural polities which approach their existing diversity from an enrichment perspective. Autochthonous First Nations, African descent and the differentiated European heritage should converge as three distinct roots in the forging of a new type of nation and Latin American integration that reconciles unity with the preservation of cultural and linguistic diversity. As in the past, education plays a central role in the development of pluricultural societies. If this process is to succeed, the earlier ideological orientation to use education as a central tool of assimilation and homogenisation will have to give way to new policy approaches that come to terms with and foster diversity.

In view of previous failures with submersion and fast transitional programmes for the indigenous population, a number of new modalities have emerged since the 1970s. Colombia has developed its own model of ethnoeducation based on indigenous worldviews and teaching methods. However, this is sometimes identified with top-down state education by autonomous indigenous movements (CRIC, 2005). In most other countries, bilingual and bicultural programmes were designed to help to preserve and foster ILs. The bicultural component was replaced by a new concept of 'intercultural' education in the late 1980s, which implied a new approach: a cultural relationship of mutual understanding and respect which should not be limited to the indigenous population but should involve the whole[6] school population of the countries concerned. In the case of Indian students, the idea is to develop indigenous culture through the native language and to foster ethnic identity as a basis for the learning and appropriation of national culture and values. Conversely, mainstream students should learn about indigenous cultures right from the start and be expected to develop positive values towards diversity and intercultural knowledge and practices. In areas of high indigenous

population density, these students should learn one of the ILs of the region (Albó, 2002).

The second fundamental issue refers to the micropolitical domain of the cultural, pedagogical and linguistic organisation of the school itself. The debate focuses on the appropriate modalities of intercultural and bilingual education to fulfil the global objectives discussed above. More precisely, we may ask which cultural model, which pedagogical approach and what functional language distribution will be able to integrate overall cultural and linguistic aims with academic achievement in the context of an asymmetric power relation between the dominant Spanish- or Portuguese-speaking mainstream society and the indigenous peoples organised around their subordinate languages (Hamel, 1988, 2000, 2006b; Hornberger, 2000).

The pedagogical and psycholinguistic dimension relates to the question of how global sociopolitical goals may best be achieved through education. How might a given school population of indigenous children with little or no command of the national language best acquire the content areas they are supposed to learn, starting with their own cultural heritage? What understandings, orientations and ideologies do those in power generate about the role of native languages and cultures in education that would make such a programme politically viable? Would indigenous children have to abandon their native language in order to learn the national language properly and become useful citizens? Or, on the contrary, could their first languages function as efficient instruments to acquire literacy, other academic skills, second order discourses and content matters? Should monolingualism in the state language or should enrichment bilingualism be the aim of indigenous education?

The gulf between curriculum theory and educational practice in the classroom is probably even deeper in indigenous education than in other subsystems. Implementation remains the fundamental problem. At present, a range of pedagogical modalities are in use in indigenous education. In most countries, an intercultural bilingual model was officially adopted that establishes mother tongue literacy and content teaching plus Spanish or Portuguese as a second language for pupils who have an IL as their L1. However, historical discrimination and a pervasive diglossic ideology which is deeply rooted even in indigenous teachers' attitudes, raise high barriers against the implementation of a curriculum that would be more appropriate, both from a pedagogical and psycholinguistic perspective, and from the standpoint of the official declared goals of language maintenance and cultural development.

Even in the Andean (Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru) and the Mesoamerican regions (Mexico, Guatemala), which are home to over 80% of the continent's indigenous population, and where educational reforms have established IBE since the 1990s, cultural and language maintenance

education still does not constitute a solid, well organised and accepted educational practice. In Mexico and elsewhere, the most widespread modality is to teach literacy and content areas in Spanish, to use the official Spanish primers for elementary education as the basic textbooks, and to make use of the IL as the initial medium of instruction where necessary (Hamel, 2008b). An increasing number of teaching materials in ILs are being used alongside Spanish primers. On the whole, due to extended poverty in indigenous regions and poor conditions of education, together with the prevalence of transitional and submersion programmes, the indigenous educational systems show the poorest results in general proficiency among the different subsystems in most Latin American nations.

### Grassroots initiatives of alternative indigenous education

On the local and regional level an increasing number of experimental school projects and other local initiatives have experimented with new ways of improving indigenous education and novel relations between academic achievement and bilingual language use since the 1980s. Most new experimental projects are based on a pluricultural conception of the state and full respect for Indian peoples and their ethnic rights. They claim as their goal the maintenance or revitalisation of Indian cultures and languages. Paradoxically, they comply much more appropriately with the new laws of educational and linguistic rights, as well as with the official IBE programmes, than does *de facto* mainstream indigenous education. Notwithstanding, they are regarded as marginal or experimental both inside and outside the system.

As one example, I will report on a local initiative that I have been involved with over a number of years. In 1995 in San Isidro and Uringuitiro, two bilingual elementary schools (Grades 1–6) in Michoacán, in the west central Highlands of Mexico, the local P'urhepecha teachers introduced radical changes to the previous curriculum which had been based on fast transition to Spanish and submersion L2 Spanish instruction. Academic results had been extremely poor as most children entered primary school as IL monolinguals. Since 1995 all content areas including literacy and mathematics have been taught in P'urhepecha, the children's first language. As a first step, the indigenous teachers, especially those who were local citizens, had to convince the community and the parents to accept the new approach. Once the teachers explained that the new curriculum would not only foster their own language but also lead to higher levels of achievement in literacy, Spanish and other subject areas, the community agreed. The teachers had to create their own materials and decide on an appropriate alphabet. The most difficult part was to develop their own writing skills and the necessary academic

discourse in their language to teach the content areas (Hamel, 2006b; Hamel & Ibáñez, 2000; Hamel *et al.*, 2004).

A few years later, in 1998, the teachers and communities invited our research team to study their school project and to help to improve it. As a first step, we set up an interdisciplinary research group which included indigenous teachers and researchers and designed a comparative study in five schools in two indigenous regions with highly divergent sociolinguistic characteristics: the P'urhepecha area with a high degree of IL monolingualism and linguistic vitality, and the Hñähñú (Otomí) region in the Mezquital Valley, in the state of Hidalgo north-east of Mexico City, where language shift had reached an advanced stage and children entered elementary school as almost monolingual speakers of Spanish at that time. Consequently, the IL played a very subordinate role in the Hñähñú indigenous schools. In the P'urhepecha area we included the two schools mentioned above, and another community which exhibited the same sociolinguistic characteristics, but where the school applied traditional 'Castellanización' (fast transition to Spanish). The study was based on a sociolinguistic survey, extensive classroom observation over a full school year and the administration of a specially designed battery of language proficiency tests. It revealed that much more intensive classroom interaction and meaningful learning of content matter occurred in the P'urhepecha schools based on IL teaching than in the other school in the same area. In contrast to most indigenous schools in Mexico and elsewhere in Latin America, P'urhepecha had become the legitimate, unmarked language of all bilingual interaction at school, a sociolinguistic achievement still quite exceptional in indigenous education.

The findings from the proficiency tests[7] illustrated very clearly that students who had acquired literacy in their L1 achieved significantly higher scores in both languages than those who were taught reading and writing in Spanish as L2. The battery included tests in the four skills for the three languages. The same tests in each language pair (P'urhepecha–Spanish and Hñähñú–Spanish) were applied to all students in the five elementary schools (Grades 1–6) to assess linguistic and communicative growth. Let me single out the results in one of the writing tests where students were asked to rewrite a tale that was read to them. Figure 3.1 shows the results from Grades 2 to 5 in San Isidro where students entered school almost as monolinguals in IL and developed literacy in their L1; Spanish was taught as L2, although in a rather unsystematic way at that time.

The lower part of each column represents the development of writing skills in P'urhepecha as L1, whereas the upper part stands for writing skills in Spanish as L2. Clearly, the parallel growth suggests the development of a common underlying proficiency in writing skills[8] mainly through L1, which is then transferred to or accessed from L2,

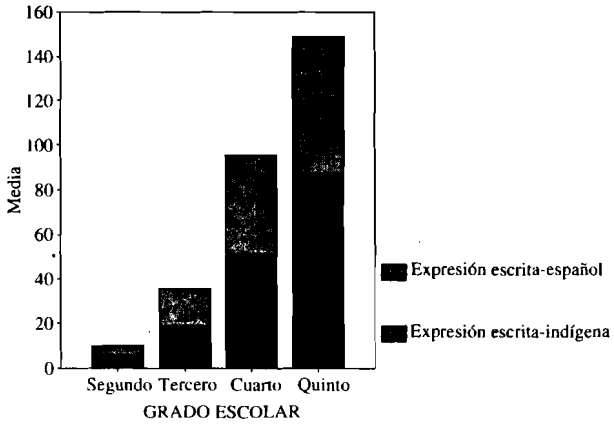


**Figure 3.1** Spanish writing skill (narrative). San Isidro scores in L1 and L2. Cronbach's $\alpha$ is 0.93 for the Spanish and 0.87 for the P'urhepecha

especially if we take into account that students had virtually no access to literacy and to Spanish outside school.[9]

The interdependence between the two languages in the development of a cognitively demanding, decontextualised academic proficiency becomes even clearer when we compare the results of the same tests in the five schools (Tables 3.1 and 3.2).

San Bartolomé obtained by far the lowest scores in the Spanish writing test (Table 3.1). Students there entered first grade as almost monolinguals in P'urhepecha and a hybrid between submersion and a fast transitional curriculum was applied. Students in San Isidro and Uringuitiro, in contrast, achieved scores twice as high, probably because they acquired literacy in their first and stronger language, a skill they transferred to Spanish as their L2. In Decá and Defay, the Hñähñú communities where students entered school as monolingual or dominant speakers of Spanish, literacy and content matters were taught almost exclusively in Spanish. No wonder students scored the highest in this test. In these schools, Hñähñú was supposed to be taught for two hours per week, but many of the teachers who were themselves indigenous bilinguals did not systematically apply this part of the programme.

In the IL writing test (Table 3.2) the San Bartolomé students again obtained the lowest scores of all. Although they had fully developed P'urhepecha as their mother tongue and their command of Spanish was fairly poor, most of them were not able to produce acceptable written texts in their language, most likely because there was no relevant space

**Table 3.1** Spanish writing skill (narrative)

| *Community* | *L* | *N* | *Students: Types of bilingualism* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | *IL monolinguals or incipient bilinguals IL-S* | *IL monolinguals or incipient bilinguals IL-S* | *S monolinguals or incipient bilinguals S-IL* |
| | | | *Curriculum type & language functions* | | |
| | | | *Submersion/ fast transition to S (SB)* | *IL based maintenance with additive bilingualism (SI & UR)* | *All S curriculum with 2 weekly hours IL teaching (DC & DY)* |
| SB | P | 158 | 6.523 | | |
| SI | P | 82 | | 12.617 | |
| UR | P | 79 | | 13.631 | |
| DY | H | 137 | | | 22.415 |
| DC | H | 114 | | | 26.994 |

2001 application
L, language; S, Spanish; P, P'urhepecha; H, Hñäñú
SB, San Bartolomé; SI, San Isidro; UR, Uringuitiro; DY, Defay; DC, Decá
Reliability coefficients: 13 items, $\alpha = 0.8429$; standardised item $\alpha = 0.8504$

for that skill in the curriculum, and the indigenous teachers had contributed to stigmatising the IL. Their peers in the neighbouring communities of San Isidro and Uringuitiro, who acquired literacy and other academic skills through P'urhepecha in a sociolinguistic school environment where their language was highly valued, scored between three and five times higher. The big surprise for both Hñähñú teachers and researchers was the fact that the Spanish dominant or supposedly monolingual students in the Hñähñú area scored roughly three times higher than the P'urhepechas in San Bartolomé in this test. They developed literacy and other components of their academic proficiency systematically through Spanish, which was their 'stronger' language. Many of their teachers insisted that their students really did not speak Hñähñú and they did not teach the language; therefore, they said that we would do better not to apply the IL writing tests. However, the pupils did a marvellous job when writing in their ancestors' language. Especially in Grades 5 and 6, many of them managed to produce

**Table 3.2** Indigenous language writing skill (narrative)

| *Community* | *L* | *N* | *Students: Types of bilingualism* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | *IL mono-linguals or incipient bilinguals IL-S* | *IL mono-linguals or incipient bilinguals IL-S* | *S mono-linguals or incipient bilinguals S-IL* |
| | | | *Curriculum type & language functions* | | |
| | | | *Submersion/ fast transition to S (SB)* | *IL based maintenance with additive bilingualism (SI & UR)* | *All S curriculum with 2 weekly hours IL teaching (DC & DY)* |
| SB | P | 158 | 5.3846 | | |
| SI | P | 82 | | 18.0769 | |
| UR | P | 79 | | 29.4872 | |
| DY | H | 137 | | | 15.5682 |
| DC | H | 114 | | | 16.3352 |

perfectly comprehensible and well structured texts. Our entire test results, as well as classroom observation, show consistent growth in IL from 1st to 6th grade. These results open up the prospect of helping to reverse language shift through the school, based on a programme of IL revitalisation and the development of additive bilingualism at virtually no additional educational cost.

The results seem to indicate a principle that should be taken into account in IL and education planning. In the context of asymmetric relations of conflict between a dominant national language and subordinate ILs, additive bilingualism and optimal academic achievement in content matters could probably be best accomplished if students develop literacy and other academic skills through their 'stronger' language, be that an IL or the national language. Once a sufficient threshold level[10] in the other language is attained, transfer of academic skills can develop powerfully and operate in both directions at an advanced level. These results strongly support Cummins' interdependence hypothesis and provide evidence in favour of differentiated bilingual programmes in indigenous education aimed at enrichment bilingualism and enhanced academic achievement.

In their microplanning of language in education, the P'urhepecha schools in San Isidro and Uringuitiro combined two good reasons for using their own language as fundamental instruments of communication and content teaching. From a political and anthropological perspective, the fact that P'urhepecha 'conquered' the schools that have traditionally been an instrument of state domination in indigenous areas implied a significant step towards its appropriation by the indigenous community. It fostered the P'urhepecha language, culture and ethnic identity in a significant way. From a pedagogical and psycholinguistic perspective, these schools put into practice the old but frequently contested principle (see UNESCO, 1953) that everyone, particularly children from a subordinate ethnolinguistic minority, best acquire academically demanding skills such as reading and writing in their own language if an appropriate learning environment is provided. The better they develop these skills in their L1, the better they will learn content matter and achieve proficiency in reading and writing in the national language.

In several years of cooperation with the research team, the schools developed their own validated curriculum based on L1 literacy, content teaching of most subject matters in L1 and a specially designed syllabus for Spanish as L2 (Hamel & Francis, 2006). This enrichment curriculum now serves as a model for IBE in other communities and schools. The collaborative work shows very clearly that such a curriculum is feasible and more successful than traditional submersion or transitional education. It demonstrates, furthermore, the validity of the 'common underlying proficiency' hypothesis, as success in Spanish L2 literacy is best explained through the previous development of core proficiencies and academic discourse abilities in L1, which can then be more easily accessed from L2.

In conclusion, throughout history the field of indigenous education in Latin America has represented a site of struggle between divergent orientations and programmes – assimilation versus integration with linguistic and cultural maintenance, the role and integration of indigenous and national languages – and a gulf between general programmes and their implementation. One central question that will have to be pursued further is whether the proposed function of indigenous education as a basic tool for the development of cognitive and academic language proficiency and significant academic achievement in content matters, as exemplified in the case described above, will have a chance to flourish under globally adverse economic and sociocultural conditions. We also need to ask in a more generalised sense which modalities of curriculum might be appropriate and feasible in differentiated sociolinguistic and cultural contexts.

## Immigrant and Elite Bilingual Education

### From immigrant to global language schools

The question as to who counts as an immigrant, in the sense of someone who represents a foreign country or culture and is not fully integrated into the national culture, is not easy to answer in Latin America. Certainly first generation newcomers qualify as such. Although the New World rule of 'jus solis'[11] is applied without exception in legal terms, descendants of immigrants may still be considered immigrants, i.e. not fully mainstreamed citizens in cultural and linguistic terms, even if their rights as citizens are respected most of the time. Such a cultural construction of ethnic distinction even applies to descendants of Spaniards in Argentina or Mexico or to Portuguese in Brazil. The blond sixth generation offspring of German immigrants, who does not speak a word of his ancestors' language, may still be affectionately referred to as 'o alemão' (the German) among friends and neighbours in southern Brazil. As the recent process of rediscovering immigrant identity in the Southern Cone shows, those who claim their ancestry without at the same time casting the slightest doubt on their Brazilian or Paraguayan citizenship, may still be regarded as a potential security risk by some mainstream civil servants.[12] All these apparently anecdotal cases are tokens of a complex and sometimes divided ethnic and national identity that provides the historical background for the analysis of immigrant communities and their institutions.

For the purpose of this chapter, I will limit my discussion of immigrant education to those cases where immigrant groups speaking languages other than the countries' national languages organised themselves as distinct ethnolinguistic communities.[13] The history of European and, to a lesser extent, Asian immigration to Latin America is well documented and needs no detailed discussion here. Let me just recall a few highlights relevant to immigrant schools. The countries of the Southern Cone (Argentina, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay) and Brazil absorbed about 90% of the European immigration to Latin America (Rosenberg, 2001). During the period of massive immigration (1875–1930), Spaniards and Italians represented the largest immigrant groups in most countries, followed by the British, Germans, Polish, Yugoslavians (mainly Croatians) and French. Throughout that time, about 1.5 million Italians migrated to Argentina and also 1.5 million to Brazil, more than 100,000 British (mainly Welsh and Irish) and about 120,000 Germans settled in Argentina, 250,000 Germans in Brazil and 200,000 in Chile.[14] Today, between 1.3 and 1.5 million Brazilians are of Japanese and 2 million of German descent.

Around 1900, in Buenos Aires alone, Italians made up 32% of the city's population, and the number of foreigners in the overall population of

Argentina reached 42.7% (Bein, 1999). In spite of their numerical clout, the linguistic assimilation of Italian immigrants advanced even quicker than in the USA during the same period (Fontanella de Weinberg, 1979), while in terms of numbers, they could well have formed a solid linguistic enclave preserving their language.[15] Rapid and pacific assimilation was fostered by Argentina's impressive socioeconomic development, which allowed immigrant peasants and workers to attain a much higher standard of living than they had enjoyed before in most European countries. Various Argentine analysts and educators (Arnoux & Bein, 1997; Axelrud, 1999; Bein & Varela, 1998) argue that the success behind the assimilationist policy of huge numbers of immigrants and the rapid construction of a national identity based on Argentine Spanish monolingualism was largely due to the integrative force of Argentina's developmental superiority and to the high academic level of public education characterised by a republican view of state responsibilities and models of European positivism.

Although immigrants from countries and regions of low socioeconomic status, such as Italians and Poles, maintained networks and founded social organisations within their communities, they rarely set up specific educational institutions of their own. In contrast, the British, French and German settlers adopted a different pattern of immigration. Rural immigrants from the UK, especially the Welsh and the Irish,[16] settled in distant and isolated rural areas specifically because they wanted to set up their colonies and their own educational and religious institutions, as they had suffered from oppression back in Britain. Urban middle-class English immigrants, in turn, established themselves as soldiers, businessmen or set up large-scale modern agricultural projects. Given their perceived superiority and their close links to the British government, they formed enclaves in big cities such as Buenos Aires, Santiago, Montevideo or Rio de Janeiro, very similar to the Germans and French.

German colonisation consisted initially of a professional middle class who migrated mainly to Brazil, Argentina and Chile in the mid-19th century. Later, rural colonisers created large estates in closed network communities and founded German villages in Brazil, Argentina and Chile. Finally, immigrants from working and professional middle class backgrounds arrived in the first half of the 20th century (Bernecker & Fischer, 1992; Rosenberg, 2001).

For 1990, estimates establish some 500,000 speakers and almost 2 million citizens of German descent for Brazil, 300,000 speakers and 1 million descendants for Argentina, and 20,000 speakers out of 200,000 descendants for Chile (Born & Dickgießer, 1989).[17] In all Latin American countries, the German-speaking settlers founded their own schools, churches, hospitals and other social institutions. Initially, they maintained

strong links with their home governments, commerce, churches and cultural institutions. Southern Brazil hosted the largest German colonies in Latin America, which preserved their communities mostly segregated from the Brazilian society, maintaining their language, endogamic kinship, their institutions and traditions. World War II, however, meant a dramatic threat to the German, Italian and Japanese colonies, which suffered repression in most Latin American countries and experienced a rapid process of language loss and cultural dissolution. Today a vast majority of descendants under 60 are either national language monolinguals or limited speakers of the heritage language (Bärnert-Fürst, 1994; Ziebur, 2000).

In sum, a complex array of factors explain the divergent patterns of cultural behaviour and ethnolinguistic vitality exhibited by different immigrant groups: numbers and density of immigration; profession and socioeconomic as well as perceived social status in relation to the host society; rural versus urban settlement implying relative isolation versus integration; religion; the type of relationship with their fatherland; and the international status of the home countries and their languages. These multiple factors explain why, for example, sheer numbers of immigrants alone do not explain organisational patterns and the creation of educational and other institutions by each immigrant group.[18]

Ethnolinguistic vitality developed out of specific combinations of these factors. Immigrant communities that achieved successful cohesion typically shared a common cultural, linguistic and geographical background. They built up dense 'colonies' with multiple and close-knit internal network relations. Their members often belonged to a professional middle class, or they achieved rapid economic success which moved them to a social status equivalent to the upper middle or upper class of the host country. Segregation including endogamic marriages and distinct religious practices maintained over several generations played a key role in community building, either because the groups settled in isolated rural areas or because they practised deliberate segregation in the cities, a conduct often based on attitudes of superiority and racism towards the host society. Such customs were reinforced through the preservation of intensive relations of kinship, commerce and politics with their fatherland, especially in the case of immigrants from powerful countries who spoke prestige international languages. Mostly enclave colonies decided to create their own schools right from the beginning. Preserving their language and traditions were central motives to construct their own institutions. Not surprisingly, the British, French and German settlers created the most important and powerful immigrant schools in Latin America.

Most of these schools went through three historical phases (Banfi & Day, 2004). They were founded as community or heritage language

schools in the 19th or early 20th century to provide the children of the settlers with appropriate education, especially in rural areas where very often no other schooling was available. Teaching was conducted entirely in the immigrant language in most cases, and no students from outside the community were admitted.[19] In contrast to heritage language experiences in developed countries studied in more recent times (see Cummins, 1995 for Canada and Hornberger, 2005 for the USA and Australia), the Latin American bilingual schools did not function as complementary or after-school institutions, but provided full and exclusive education for their students. In most cases they enjoyed high status because they represented the educational system of the most developed European countries at the time. As we have seen when discussing indigenous educational policy, after their independence from Spain at the beginning of the 19th century, the new bourgeoisies in the newly independent Hispano American republics turned away from 'decadent' Spain and focused their search for models of nation building, modernisation and education on France, Great Britain and Germany. Immigration from those countries was encouraged, and the immigrant communities and their institutions were considered ambassadors and models for the development of the host countries' own system of public education.[20]

This explains why the leading immigrant schools were seen as attractive by the local 'high society'. In their second phase, they gradually weakened their character of being enclave and ethnic community schools and joined the group of national elite schools, together with Catholic and other private institutions, opening their doors to the children of the countries' economic and power elites. Although many leading personalities in public life became alumni over time, those schools with formal support from their countries of origin never lost their ambiguous status of being both national *and* foreign. Therefore they often found themselves the target of nationalist attacks and sanctions.[21] Due to shrinking numbers of immigrants and ongoing language shift, in spite of efforts of maintenance, education in these schools gradually became bilingual, and a wide variety of dual language programmes were implemented.

The era of globalisation based on neoliberal economy which began in the 1980s has had a worldwide impact on education. In Latin America, the imposed drastic reduction of state expenditure and the welfare state severely affected public education. Military dictatorships in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay brutally damaged a long history of outstanding quality and a democratic, humanistic tradition in public education. In Mexico and elsewhere a similar process of educational impoverishment came about without military action. The decline of public education at the primary and secondary levels led to an increase in private education which has risen from 15% to over 25% in the last 20 years in Mexico.

In most Latin American countries, virtually no families from the middle and upper classes send their children to public primary and secondary schools any more. Thus, the traditional class character of private bilingual schools is now being reinforced by the increasing class division in Latin America; the growing gulf between rich and poor.

The imposed impoverishment of public education, no doubt a significant trademark of worldwide neoliberal globalisation under the influence of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, has increased the importance of these schools as part of the small group of elite institutes that offer modern, international technology and curriculum together with class segregation and the promise of moulding the future leaders of business and politics at national and international level. Only those former heritage schools that were able to modernise and keep pace with the dynamics of swift globalisation could compete with other top private schools for the offspring of the economic and political elite. High-quality education has become an expensive commodity, and private schools have to offer their services and develop marketing strategies like any other enterprise in this increasingly competitive and capitalised market.

### Bilingual enrichment curriculum and teaching practices

In Latin America, curriculum and teaching practices have undergone significant transformations in response to changes in policy and school population resulting from the transformation from immigrant to global bilingual schools.

At the beginning, fragile schools were created by the urgent need of immigrants to educate their children, especially in rural areas. Those who had any subject knowledge or who had finished secondary school would help with teaching the best they could. The curriculum was what they remembered from their own schooling, or was taken from the schoolbooks that had survived the long journey from Europe. Better organised parties brought their teachers with them, and wealthy families could afford their own private 'institutrice'.[22] Later on, Spanish was introduced almost as a foreign language in the enclave communities to provide the necessary language skills in dealing with the external society. Content matter was usually taught entirely in the immigrant language.

This second phase of dual language education was marked by two convergent processes that triggered significant changes in curriculum and language policy. As the immigrant schools became attractive for the national elites and opened their doors to their offspring, they had to offer a curriculum that could satisfy the educational needs of their new customers. At the same time, general laws of public education promulgated during the last quarter of the 19th century established requirements not only for public, but also for private institutions that sought

state recognition and certification.[23] Except for very conservative governments, there was little controversy about general educational orientations and basic content, as the educational credo of most Latin American liberal elites was based on the same European principles of modernisation, positivist instruction, and the role of science, technology and foreign languages. The question was rather that of a new power relationship which the increasingly nationalist governments wanted to establish to extend their control over the schools, to cultivate patriotism among their students and thus contribute to the assimilation of the immigrant communities.

A wide array of curricula, most of them hybrid in nature, came into being as an outcome of permanent negotiations and the attempt to conciliate sometimes divergent orientations.[24] Some schools taught the national syllabus as the core curriculum, and the foreign language area as an extracurricular programme. In most cases, a dual system of parallel curricula, staff and management developed. The schools had to hire teachers with quite different qualifications for each track (Banfi & Day, 2004). Very often, the requirements of each system increased the work and study load and unnecessarily doubled certain content matters such as Maths, Natural Sciences and Humanities, which were taught in both languages. Some schools maintained segregated tracks, separating the descendants of immigrants, as supposedly native speakers, from nationals who were learning the immigrant language as a foreign language.

The German Humboldt School in Mexico City may serve as an example. It is the largest German school in the system of *Auslandsschulen* (schools abroad) supported by the German government. The director is always a senior teacher and civil servant sent by the German government to constantly renew the relationship with the home country and to ensure that German guidelines and levels of achievements are observed. The vice-director is a civil servant from the Mexican Federal Ministry of Education, often with experience in the foreign language school sector.

Today, over 80% of the student population does not speak any German at entrance level, and their families cultivate no specific links with German culture or history. Students are divided into three sections: the mother tongue track caters for native speakers or bilinguals with a significant proficiency in German who use at least some German at home. From kindergarten to the 12th grade most content matters are taught in German, although the Mexican curriculum requirements are also met, which implies a heavier course load than in most other Mexican schools. Students use German schoolbooks and programmes, even for their English classes taught by German teachers, to the same level as their peers in German public schools. They may present the *Abitur*, the German leaving certificate that grants access to university studies in

Germany. At the same time they sit in for the Mexican equivalent as the implementation of the high school degree follows the guidelines of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico's and Latin America's largest university.

The bilingual track caters for students who are dominant in Spanish but have some German background in their families, although German is not systematically spoken. They follow a similar programme to that of the mother tongue track but with lower requirements in German, and share courses in Spanish with the other tracks. Finally, the German as a foreign language track starts with partial immersion in kindergarten and primary school including reading and writing. Later on, most subjects are taught in Spanish, although content teaching in German continues for some subjects, as also happens in the bilingual track.

The transition from dual language schools still rooted in their immigrant community to modern elite schools with strong links to global educational development is still under way in Latin America. The impact of globalisation on education in the region as outlined above has had significant consequences on the reorganisation of bilingual schools, their student population and on curriculum and language policy decisions. Those schools that compete for the top social stratum of society have adjusted their curriculum to international requirements, including the introduction of IT and other modern technologies, both in organisation and as subject matters. They have improved their teaching methods and materials to meet top international standards, and are committed to surpassing official standards established for public schools in quality and quantity including additional competencies and activities.

Advanced additive bilingualism in highly valued languages, first and foremost in English, has gained significant weight in Latin America and elsewhere in the era of globalisation (de Mejía, 2002; Phillipson, 1992).[25] The Colombian 'National Programme of Bilingualism 2004–2019', a government initiative to transform Colombia into a massively bilingual country in Spanish and English within 15 years (Valencia, 2007; see de Mejía & Montes Rodríguez, this volume), represents a prospect launched to catch up with globalisation via the language highway of the world's most globalised language and the international society it represents. At the same time, it promises significant profit and empowerment for private corporations that teach the foreign language and train teachers for that purpose. Public institutions are often seen as incompetent to lead this process, even to teach or train teachers to the required advanced bilingual level.[26]

As the profile of the student population from the national or local economic and power elite with few links to an immigrant background is largely the same for the whole field of expensive private schools, the bilingual schools compete with the attraction of strong bilingual

programmes right from the start, with exchange and study-abroad prospects in industrialised countries and with improved study and job opportunities for their graduates. As an extra value, international degrees like the renowned International Baccalaureate (IB), a French *baccalauréat* or a German *Abitur* add a cutting edge to the value of these institutions.

Banfi and Day (2004) call these schools 'global language schools'. The concept is certainly applicable to the institutions that teach English. The rise of English as the world's only fully global language (Crystal, 1997; Hamel, 2006a), the hyper central language in De Swaan's (2001) and Calvet's (1999) gravitational model of the world language system, has induced a process of decline for super central languages, such as French, Spanish, German or Italian, that once competed with English on the global scene. As a result, a process of differentiation between bilingual schools emerged. Prestigious institutions, such as the French, German, Italian or Japanese schools, are experiencing a crisis of identity and orientation. Their traditional trademark, a prestige language and culture they represent and teach, has suffered from this decline and does not help them as much as in the past to compete on the market under new conditions. The 80% of parents with no link to German culture who send their children to the 'Humboldt Schule' in Mexico do so because they expect German discipline and excellence in education, and because the school is considered to be one of the best and most expensive in the country. For many, the fact that their children will have to learn German is taken as a necessary price to pay, rather than an asset. Therefore, the other bilingual schools have to offer English as a strong third language and promise that their students will attain a high level of English language proficiency. Accordingly, some advertise themselves as trilingual schools in an attempt to take a lead over schools that are 'only' bilingual.[27]

In elite bilingual schools, students are expected to achieve high levels of academic proficiency in content matter and bi- or multiliteracy; they acquire competence in both cultures, and advanced IT related skills. Even more important, they have to develop the appropriate values and leadership competences that will qualify them to occupy executive positions in the economy and politics that either their parents already hold or that they hope their offspring will aspire to. To achieve these goals and to justify costly fees, these schools have to mark a clear social and educational distance with the available public school system and with cheaper private schools. This includes the pressure to attain significantly higher levels of achievement in all existing instruments of comparison and evaluation.[28]

In general, elite bilingual schools accomplish their mission to achieve high academic levels and to give their graduates excellent perspectives for further education and professional success. A series of problems

remain, however, that need to be taken into consideration in the light of a discussion of appropriate language and educational policies.[29]

Elite bilingual schools share a model of enrichment plurilingualism as a societal perspective and additive bi- or multilingualism as an individual goal.[30] None of the languages involved is under threat or clearly stigmatised as inadequate for advanced content teaching or communication. Students usually come from literate backgrounds where bi- and multilingualism is appreciated and, most importantly, children are systematically encouraged, rewarded and recognised for the bilingualism they develop in the world's 'good' languages. The schools' history is part of each country's history of immigration and nation building. Initially, these institutions fulfilled the dual role of providing education where the state was not in a position to supply it, and of organising the immigrant communities as a central institution of immigrant identity building and the preservation of languages and culture.

In the process of gradual integration of their communities into the host country's society, they opened their doors to non-immigrant students belonging to the middle and upper classes and thus became a significant force for national development, in some cases providing models for the design of the public school system. At the same time, their development led to conflict and constant negotiation with national educational authorities. Both aspects: diverse educational cultures and programmes as well as integration and reciprocal transfer, have shaped their identities and roles. The fact that bilingualism has been established as a visible and positive trademark in a domain of social prestige has helped to add an enrichment perspective and to soften the Latin American policy of building homogeneous and monolingual nation states.

## Two Systems of Bilingual Education: Differences and Similarities

### Bilingual education at societal poles: Inequality and educational success in Latin America

At first sight, the two types of bilingual schooling seem to have little in common. Luxurious buildings identify private elite schools that attract the rich and the powerful. Skewed adobe hutches or plain cement block buildings in the middle of an isolated Indian village embody the other type of bilingual schools. These institutions represent two extremes in Latin America, one of the world's most unequal regions. According to the Gini coefficient, hardly any country in Africa or Asia exhibits such an abysmal distance between the rich and the poor as do Brazil or Mexico, who are among the world's champions of inequality (CIA World Factbook, 2006; United Nations, 2006) (see Tables 3.3 and 3.4).[31]

**Table 3.3** Proportions of inequality

| *Country* | *10% poorest (share of country's GNP)* | *10% richest (share of country's GNP)* |
|---|---|---|
| Brazil | 0.7% | 64.1% |
| Mexico | 1.2% | 57.6% |

**Table 3.4** Monthly income and school fees in Mexico's elite bilingual schools (in US$ 2006)

| *Professions & fees* | *US$* |
|---|---|
| Director of National Health Care Institution | 20,000 |
| Lowest salary in the same institution | 101 |
| Minimum wage in Mexico | 101 |
| Associate Professor B, public university | 850 |
| American School in Mexico City, monthly fee at Senior High School | 1,055 |
| German School in Mexico City, monthly fee at Senior High School | 740 |

The figures chosen represent this extreme inequality. Students who attend the leading and most expensive bilingual schools in Mexico, Brazil, Colombia or Bolivia belong to the top 10% of the population where more than half of the countries' wealth is concentrated.[32] Indigenous school children, obviously, fall within the lowest income group in countries where 40–60% of the population lives below the extreme poverty mark.

The significance of the correlations between social class and academic achievement has been revealed in many studies over the past 50 years and needs no further discussion.[33] The policy debate in the neoliberal era of globalisation focuses on how to improve educational achievement among the lower and lowest classes of society without changing the economic model or increasing their income first and improving other components in the quality of their lives. This debate encompasses all countries, from the USA[34] to the Third World.

The World Bank, which has largely displaced UNESCO in education policy debates and has been imposing guidelines for education for the Third World over the past 20 years, has emphasised the need to improve the quality of public education as a means of overcoming underdevelopment. At the same time it forced poor countries to reduce

state expenditure and to open up state controlled sectors including education for privatisation. The progress of education, as the new discourse goes, will help countries to leave poverty behind and enter the knowledge society of the future. Enhancement in education is sought and promised if the countries follow the rules of the World Bank, alongside growing impoverishment, the reduction of stable and well paid jobs and the deindustrialisation of Third World countries.[35] The history of European industrialisation reveals, however, that the extension and improvement of public education came about as an *outcome* of industrial development and the creation of more and more sophisticated and demanding jobs in the factories and not vice versa. Once economic development required differentiated higher skills and technological, abstract thinking, the educational system not only learned how to provide these competencies successfully, but also how to make sense of them for the actors involved.

Similarly, autonomous indigenous education rooted in the cultural models and modes of production of a non-capitalist society will succeed in providing quality instruction and making sense of its ways of producing knowledge, in as much as it succeeds in mobilising and activating the cultural capital and funds of knowledge of its society while, at the same time, managing to find a way of appropriating the knowledge of the dominant society. That is what *inter*cultural education is all about, as we shall see later.

The general debate on education in Latin America, and more specifically the discussion about indigenous bilingual education, reflects the problems of an educational model that is created from outside which runs counter to economic development. Ecuador has lost 50,000 of its 150,000 primary school teachers via emigration since the 1990s due to its disastrous economic development. In Mexico in recent years, the neoliberal government has supported IBE and distributed teaching materials, and infrastructure including Encyclomedia, a new computer- and Internet-supported technology for primary education, on the one hand. At the same time, the government has demolished the basis of survival of the indigenous peoples by destroying subsistence agriculture through the import of corn and beans at highly subsidised prices from the USA based on the NAFTA agreement. It eroded the ecology of the indigenous habitat via the ruthless development of agrobusinesses and monocultural plantations. In recent decades, several million poor peasants, many of them Indians, were forced to leave their villages and work as migrants in the northern plantations. Between 2000 and 2006, 3.4 million poor Mexicans crossed the border to seek work and survival in the USA, more than at any time before in Mexican history. Thousands of indigenous villages resemble ghost towns today. In the P'urhepecha

communities I have been working with, schools lose up to 80% of their students for several months of the year.

Acute inequality imposes severe restrictions on education as an instrument of national integration, able to create opportunities for social mobility and reduce existing achievement gaps within common objectives of quality, knowledge and competencies. Thus, indigenous educational systems are typically found at the lowest levels on national evaluations testing general standards in most Latin American countries. Extreme poverty, malnutrition, and deficient teacher formation and payment all limit the possibilities of harnessing the enormous intellectual, cultural and linguistic potential of indigenous school children and their communities. Nevertheless, in spite of overall adverse conditions, exciting learning dynamics occur once we leave the level of macro-evaluations and focus on the micro level of the classroom and individual learning processes.

From a sociological perspective of educational policy, elite bilingual schools, as part of a system of socioeconomic stratification and power relations, have, by and large, contributed to the increase in class divergence and to the deepening of the socially grounded achievement gap between private and public education. This may not be the fault of the institutions and their staff. On the whole, however, these schools and the fee-paying communities that sustain them participate in the reproduction of an ideology of elitism that is not based on merit but on socioeconomic segregation and, very often, on a sense of superiority of the developed countries they represent and from which the schools draw in part their prestige. However, their privileged position does not exempt them from structural and pedagogical problems, some of which are similar to those found in indigenous education.

## The integration of psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic factors

In terms of bilingual education typology and language acquisition related to academic learning, IBE and EBE share interesting points in common relating to academic achievement, language use and ethnolinguistic identity. The question arises as to how psycholinguistic, sociolinguistic and pedagogical factors interact with each other and with their socioeconomic contexts.

Since Chomsky's (1959) paradigmatic critique of Skinner's behaviourism and the nature of language acquisition processes, an important strand of thinking and research assumes that all children are born with a similar language acquisition device that allows them to acquire two or more languages simultaneously or consecutively, to develop cognitively demanding academic skills and to transfer or enhance access to these competencies from any of their languages. If, controlling for differences in aptitude, striking differences appear in achievement, these dissimilarities

will have to be interpreted in terms of contextual differences where socioeconomic and ethnolinguistic factors play a significant role. Thus, the fundamental psycholinguistic postulates about the equal, innate equipment of children for the acquisition of various languages and the development of academic proficiency poses a severe critique of the socioeconomic conditions that give rise to such a dramatic achievement gap among the student populations in industrialised and developing countries alike.

The specific functions and weight of different factors that determine educational success and the role of schooling for the development of ethnolinguistic identity are central to a critical, comparative analysis of elite and indigenous bilingual education and the exploration of potential bridges. In both cases the interdependence between the languages involved turns out to be crucial for academic achievement and the development of enrichment bilingualism. I will here narrow the discussion to the relationship between psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic factors, embedded in the more general pedagogical and socioeconomic context of the two types of bilingual education.

As we have seen, many of the private bilingual schools basically combine two types of approaches. The bilingual immigrant students are exposed to a strong component of L1 literacy development and content teaching, whereas the monolingual national language group is often schooled in immersion programmes in the foreign language at entrance level. These syllabuses integrate the advantages of L1 development in one case and immersion in the immigrant/foreign language in the other, as a means of developing highly proficient bilingualism within an enrichment perspective. Once an advanced threshold level of proficiency in both languages is achieved, the two cohorts can be integrated in a number of content areas that may be taught in either language.

In contrast, *submersion* or fast *transitional* programmes in indigenous education show extremely poor results, comparable to the low achievement of Hispanic immigrant students of low socioeconomic status in the US who are schooled in similar programmes. Achievement and proficiency rates in literacy and other academic skills fall significantly behind compared to L1-based enrichment programmes and the general school system in most national evaluations.

If we compare then *immersion* and *submersion* education, at first sight, the programmes look similar in terms of curriculum structure, as in both cases monolingual or incipient bilingual children are taught entirely or predominantly in the 'other' language.[36] How, then, can the strikingly divergent results in academic achievement and in the development of proficient bilingualism be explained? Certainly, a narrow psycholinguistic explanation will not suffice. In the case of immersion, students typically belong to the upper middle class with a rich educational family

background. They voluntarily enter course programmes that enjoy strong parental and school support. More important, they are immersed in a prestige language, and their mother tongue is another prestigious language that is never in danger – nor is their identity – throughout their studies.

Conversely, students in submersion and fast transitional programmes typically belong to a stigmatised ethnolinguistic minority of low socio-economic status. The two languages involved usually maintain an asymmetric relationship of diglossia and of language conflict. Their mother tongue is considered of low prestige and little functional value, an obstacle for the acquisition of the national language and for academic achievement. Thus, submersion programmes constitute an attack on students' identity. These psycho- and sociolinguistic factors explain to a large extent the striking differences in school success and the development of language skills in the two contexts. The divergent values attached to the languages involved reflect sociocultural and economic differences between dominant majority and subordinate minority groups which are then internalised by the students and the education community at large.

This general framework is well supported by research and general educational evidence (see Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000 for references). It may offer an explanatory basis to account for educational success and failure, but only on a very general level. Much inquiry is still needed to explain in detail exactly how psycholinguistic, sociolinguistic, curriculum design, socioeconomic factors and power relations interact in each case. The political and pedagogical challenge will be to significantly improve indigenous education and transform it into a system that empowers indigenous communities and peoples, that fosters their ethnic identity, that upgrades and strengthens their languages to improve their curriculum and teaching as a basis for enhanced academic achievement.

## Integration and conflicting orientations in bilingual education

Both systems of bilingual education exhibit problems of integration on various levels: (1) the internal integration of curriculum and school communities; (2) the external integration or indeed segregation from the sociocultural context of their host countries; and (3) the integration into a global community of education and other international networks. Let me examine these ideas in more detail.

### *Elite bilingual schools*

*The internal integration of curriculum and school communities.* One of the most significant challenges that affect most of these schools is how to integrate curriculum, teaching methods, the academic development of their students and their educational community. From the beginning,

students have to struggle with the implementation of two national curricula that may conflict on various levels. Frequently bureaucratic regulations and their inflexible implementation lead to unnecessary replication of content matter that run counter to any pedagogically based teaching strategy of integration and transfer of competencies and knowledge. Often two separate curricula and their teaching staff exist side by side with little communication and acquaintance with the other language and curriculum. Furthermore, staff are not always fluently bilingual, and teachers tend to adopt role models and align with one or other of the language groups that compete with each other and jealously defend their territories. Differentiated salaries for local and 'imported' staff may also be a source of resentment and conflict.

In my own experience working with elite bilingual schools, I realised that, paradoxically, very little is known about bilingualism and the way bilingual children acquire and use their languages as part of an integrated communicative repertoire.[37] Dichotomising folk theories about separate language domains and the 'terrible danger' of interference and mixing abound, and little is known about modern theories of bilingual education, such as the common underlying proficiency hypothesis, the transfer of cognitively demanding academic skills from one language to the other, or the development of languages through content teaching. Therefore, coordination between teachers of the two language groups in important matters of content and learning strategies often remains weak and subject to divergent cultural orientations. This seems particularly worrying because the integrated development of fundamental cognitive academic skills and the coordination of the languages involved turns out to be a central concern for any successful bilingual syllabus.

Conversely, a bilingual programme that raises barriers between languages, which fails to organise its syllabus in an integrative way and to build multiple transfer routes of knowledge and competencies between them, is destined to failure in the long run, no matter what other advantages it may offer on a daily basis. Integrated multilingual repertoires of communication and academic development, rather than separate language domains, should be the object and the target of any bilingual programme. Common practices evolving out of the orientations described above cast doubt on the depth of conviction about additive bilingualism and enrichment biculturalism in these educational communities. A significant number of schools are aware of these problems and are in the process of working on them with their staff, students and parents. Further research, which is surprisingly rare in the field of EBE compared to other bilingual systems, will have to clarify these questions that seem central for successful future developments.

*External or national integration.* As we have seen, the integration of EB schools has caused problems as they were founded as segregated immigrant institutions. Today some of these problems, which are related to divergent, sometimes conflicting orientations, are clearly evident. Many students from immigrant and non-immigrant backgrounds feel alienated after they leave because the French, English or German schools taught them more about the history or present politics of the European countries than about their own. Such teaching is certainly not limited to factual knowledge; more importantly, it conveys a value system that may conflict with that of the host country, especially when marked socio-economic differences are shaped into stereotypes that, in turn, reinforce ideologies of superiority.

In addition, many EB schools maintain little communication with the public school sector and rarely share their professional resources and know-how with less privileged institutions, the ministries of education and the universities, although there are notable exceptions. Over the years, many Latin American universities have developed a significant body of knowledge in applied linguistics. However, although academics in these countries participate in international networks, these are seldom connected with the private bilingual school sector.

*Integration into a global community of education.* Conversely, in-service teacher training is often provided by specialised institutions from the countries of reference, such as the ministries of education or overseas affairs, and cultural institutions like the British Council, the Alliance Française, the Goethe Institut or the ZfA.[38] These organisations are eager to transmit their particular and culturally biased strand of teaching methods and cultural values; yet at the same time, they often show little knowledge and interest in the broader cultural context and pedagogical traditions of the Latin American countries these schools work in. Their experts operate worldwide and covertly strive to reproduce not only close professional links but also dependency on the metropolitan countries they represent.[39] Moreover, their courses are often limited to the foreign language teachers and exclude the local staff who teach the national curriculum in Spanish or Portuguese.

The present-day dynamics of globalisation have caught many national EB schools in a process of transition that gives rise to a number of contradictions. On the one hand, traditional networks between specific schools and their European countries of reference are strictly segregated and compete with each other. They seem to be reminiscent of the traditional relationships of dependency between the old European empires and their overseas colonies and counterparts. Although today the old empires are integrated into the European Union, they still operate as individual nation states in their international relations. Therefore,

contemporary practices cannot easily be labelled as a process of integration into global society; they may indeed increasingly conflict with globalisation itself.

On the other hand, global integration emerges as a decisive force in an era of national disintegration and international incorporation into what Hardt and Negri (2000) have called the 'Empire', the new invisible world government formed by international corporations that rule the world without democratic legitimacy and dissolve nation states and their governments. At the same time, a growing number of autonomous and regional organisations and movements have entered the global scene. These call for an alternative model of globalisation to that imposed by international corporations. In fact, EBE in Latin America, together with private universities, increasingly incorporates their members into the emerging global arena, which creates new, deterritorialised 'third cultures' and international networks that encompass international management customs, the international community of science and technology, fashion, music and other fields of culture with their own discourses and language use, as well as their own counter movements (Calhoun, 1992; García Canclini, 1999; Hamel, 2006a).[40]

For those who distinguish between globalisation and US-Americanisation and sustain that the position of English as the only global language may decline in the future – Graddol (2006) from the English Company upholds that never again will the dominance of English be the same as during the 20th century – a new perspective of international plurilingualism comes into sight that calls for further elaboration. New assessments of future language needs and opportunities assign a high value not only to any kind of bilingual skills as such, but especially to those that include less widely spoken languages. English monolinguals will soon find themselves at a disadvantage, while English and Spanish bilinguals, though potentially extremely important as they can communicate with a quarter of the world's population as first or foreign language speakers, will find fewer opportunities than trilinguals in English, Spanish and Vietnamese. And, surprisingly, the role of some lesser used languages, even those with no official status, such as most ILs, will probably rise when combined with international languages. The genetic knowledge potential of ILs, i.e. the biological and other non-mainstream knowledge enshrined in them, may well lead to a significant rise in their value in a future society of knowledge, according to Skutnabb-Kangas (2003).[41]

In sum, integration in its multiple dimensions – integration of parallel curricula, integration of the languages taught and used for content teaching, integration of a school population with diverse cultural and linguistic background, integration into the educational system of the host countries and into the global society – emerges as a formidable challenge

for EBE whose schools range among the best and most highly prestigious in Latin America.

The perspectives outlined above, uncertain and speculative as they may sound at present, suggest that EB schools will be well advised to attend to problems of integration in several domains. Although at first sight national and international integration may appear as mutually exclusive targets, a pluralistic orientation of cultural and linguistic enrichment and intercultural learning could point to ways in which both objectives reinforce each other. In terms of language choice, they could open up a truly global arena where English plays a significant role but where plurilingualism is the main goal. Several languages could be included in their programmes in flexible combinations. Most important is the development of basic cognitive and academic skills that have been identified as predictors for both successful multiple language learning and other highly valued academic skills. Non-integrated curricula and ideological barriers between languages, their syllabuses and staff are certainly not the best basis for such developments.

*Indigenous education*

Problems and challenges of integration emerge for indigenous education and language planning in Latin America too, though in different ways. Nevertheless, these can also be traced to similar levels of internal, external and international integration.

*Internal integration.* A truly intercultural curriculum requires that content matters and competencies from indigenous funds of knowledge and world views, as well as from national programmes, be integrated in a culturally and pedagogically appropriate fashion. In order to counteract historical imbalance and relations of dominations that subordinated and fragmented indigenous cultures, many syllabuses have given priority to the indigenous content at the beginning of the programme. First, children should know and appropriate their own culture in order to build a solid base of competencies and values. Starting from this fund of knowledge, the idea is that they will learn about national and global societies and cultures later on, in order to integrate knowledge and competencies from several sources without diluting them.

In similar fashion, where the IL is the children's stronger or exclusive language, it is seen as important that education including literacy acquisition should develop predominantly in the IL, with the national language taught as L2. In many areas, including urban settlements, advanced IL shift moved the national language into the role of the stronger language of primary socialisation. There, education should develop predominantly in that language with the IL as L2. IL immersion

could also provide a successful strategy where sociolinguistic conditions and attitudes permit such an approach.

The IBE approach, which exists more as a model than as an established practice today, is facing a series of difficulties that cannot be discussed here at length. Indigenous funds of knowledge need to be identified, recovered and reconstructed from oblivion and fragmentation, and systematised to serve as input for the indigenous part of the curriculum. The appropriate integration of such an intercultural curriculum that avoids imbalance, unsuitable misrepresentation of indigenous knowledge funds via 'Western' systematisation, and dichotomised juxtaposition presents a significant challenge for curriculum design. As we have seen, the role and the functional integration of the two languages and strategies for their teaching as L1 and L2 or two first languages posit similar yet unsolved problems. Last but not least, such programmes will probably only work where indigenous students, teachers and communities are empowered and gain a significant degree of autonomy over their government and education.

*External or national integration.* Here again, the appropriate degree of integration and distinctiveness of the indigenous educational systems poses problems that need to be taken into account. Experiences range from imposed national programmes that care little or nothing for diversity, to programmes that practice *de facto* segregation. Indigenous education as a subsystem of elementary education needs to develop strategies that will lead to both a sheltered territory and the necessary transfer of knowledge in a process aimed at an appropriate integration without assimilation.

*Integration into a global community of education.* Although at first sight indigenous education in isolated villages seems to have little relation with global issues, a closer look reveals that today indigenous communities and their members participate actively in the process of globalisation in various ways. First, international migration has become the hope of survival of millions of Indians throughout Latin America. Many migrants 'discover' and reinforce their ethnic identity and language use in the USA or Europe, where they build up lively local as well as transnational communities (Besserer & Kearney, 2006) and develop their cultural (Rosaldo, 1994) or ethnic citizenship (de la Peña, 1999, 2002) without a traditional territorial base, although the existence of their home communities as points of reference plays a significant role. As their migration differs sharply from historical one-way immigration, they frequently return to their home villages and maintain close network links with their communities, including significant financial support for their kin and villages.[42] Their homecoming introduces many facets of globalisation into their towns: new consumer goods and habits of

consumption, US and pocho – Mexican transnational – culture, music, Spanglish, English, computers and the Internet.

All such dynamics constitute in themselves powerful processes of education, learning and reorientation for adults and children. The systems of formal education both in Latin America and in the target countries of migration (USA, Canada, European Union) have shown considerable difficulties and resistance to new circumstances and needs of migrants, even more so to indigenous migration that has so far remained largely invisible. The Mexican government has set up special programmes for indigenous migrant children in the north of the country where many work in modern plantations, in the main cities, and programmes back home in the communities for returning children. In addition, although cooperation exists with education departments in a number of US states to cater for migrants, indigenous school children find little specific attention paid to their needs.

The main challenge involves the transformation of existing curricula to include competencies and content that might be helpful for survival and empowerment in migration. Increasingly, indigenous communities in Mexico demand bilingual education, but including English, as they know that their destiny will take them northwards. Such claims have so far been considered disruptive and counterproductive for the implementation of traditional IBE programmes by educational authorities. However, traditional curricular and educational ideologies do not hold anymore. The migrants themselves, who creatively integrate their own languages, Spanish and English, into a powerful communicative repertoire, show the pathways for innovation.

A second strand of powerful globalisation stems from a process of increasing homogenisation, rather than integration, of IBE in Latin America. The World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, UNESCO and the influential aid agencies from industrialised countries (USAID, GTZ, DANIDA, etc.) have cooperated with local governments to develop models for indigenous education. In most countries, except Mexico and Brazil, First World cooperation agencies, their money and their experts have played a decisive role.[43] Significant pilot projects and educational reform programmes have been negotiated between governments, foreign aid agencies and their experts, and the growing indigenous movements in some countries. In particular, collaboration has developed across state borders, especially in the Andean region that shares the macroethnic groupings of Quechuas and Aimaras.[44] However, this integration has mainly operated from the top down. Based on a common agenda established by powerful donors, a handful of international experts intervened as consultants in educational reforms. Therefore, paradoxically, most reform programmes that should reflect the acclaimed diversity of indigenous cultures and peoples look very much

alike and reflect variants of the same basic model that uses, except in Colombia, the common label of 'intercultural bilingual education'. In addition, international cooperation, a euphemism for Third World aid for development that has been present in Latin America for some 50 years, has on the whole rather deepened dependency than helped to overcome it and foster independence and sustainability, as has always been its declared goal.

In sum, the IBE system also exhibits problems and needs of internal integration and modernisation, as well as international integration, that bear certain similarities to those of EBE, but it also differs from the latter in significant ways.

## Towards an Integrative Perspective of Language and Education Policy

Differences and similarities between IBE and EBE have been a substantive part of my personal and professional life. An immigrant family history that started in Chile and spans over a century today has placed me in the privileged position of experiencing the acquisition of native bilingualism in German and Spanish from birth and the learning of several other languages as an immensely enriching process. It includes the transmission of native bilingual proficiency in the same languages to my fourth-generation immigrant Mexican children that have all been actively involved in bilingual maintenance education. For almost 30 years now, I have also been able to develop a deeply inspiring professional experience working with indigenous communities, in Mexico and elsewhere, with their cultures, languages and educational endeavours.

While I observed with satisfaction my children's multilingual growth that included periods of immersion in Portuguese and the almost effortless acquisition of English as a third language, when living with them in the USA at a young age, I experienced, studied and supported the intensive struggles of indigenous children of the same age who acquired their bilingual skills in a context of stigmatisation, inappropriate schooling and economic hardship, but also support from their parents. Every step that seemed so easy for my children usually involved enormous efforts and drawbacks for their indigenous peers. Although the abysmal socioeconomic differences and their educational effects sometimes caused frustration, they also constituted a challenge for me to help the indigenous children to gain access to positive and encouraging experiences with bilingualism the same way as my own children did. It also meant engaging in political and professional action to support the indigenous communities' endeavour to maintain and invigorate their

cultures and languages, and to obtain the most appropriate form of bilingual education for their children.

No doubt the parallel experience of bilingual development helped me to improve my own understanding of bilingualism and to transfer insights from one context to the other. It is within this autobiographical context that I now undertake the challenge of considering possible bridges between the two systems that are so far apart, in order to contribute to the development of an integrative perspective on bilingual education and language policy in Latin America.

## Mutual learning and cooperation

To find bridges over troubled water will not be easy, both in conceptual and policy-driven terms and, even more so, in terms of concrete cooperation. When I stated at the beginning of this chapter that the two bilingual systems are located at the extreme poles of society whose actors hardly ever cross paths or exchange words, this was not meant to be a metaphor but a description of real practice. Little cooperation exists between these areas inside and outside institutions. Although from a comparative academic perspective many common topics come to mind, concrete implementation will probably depend on local initiatives that manage to overcome existing barriers. Additionally, contrastive analysis is only able to lay the ground for a more theoretical and conceptual integration of perspectives in language and education policies for bilingual education.

## Complementary knowledge and experience

In the previous section I outlined a number of structural problems in each system. Although many of them will have to be attended to separately, others could serve as a basis for possible cooperation. A starting point might be to explore the different funds of knowledge, capacities and experiences in each field that could be mobilised as complementary knowledge to converge creatively in the development of proposals for change and better practice.

In many Latin American countries, indigenous education was for a long time strongly influenced and even administrated by anthropologists, as it was anthropological insight that developed an understanding of how indigenous societies existed and survived as distinct but subordinate ethnolinguistic social aggregates in the context of nation states. Anthropological theory developed frameworks to interpret the dynamics of these contacts as either assimilation and acculturation, or independent endoculturation and integration without the loss of a distinct identity. Sociolinguistics provided complementary knowledge about the relations between languages and their speakers, postulating concepts such as diglossia, language conflict, shift and maintenance.

Together they shaped our understanding about the central role of language and other cultural components in the construction of ethnic identity. The conditions of communication, or its impossibility, across cultures constituted the argument to create a distinct system of education, either pursuing the states' goal of transition and assimilation, or, on the contrary, the maintenance of cultures and languages within the system. The new intercultural bilingual approach focuses on the idea that indigenous worldviews and funds of knowledge including the IL should be placed at the centre of indigenous education and should constitute a stimulus for educational development. Such a course of action would empower indigenous societies to gain control over an educational system, which in the past has been an instrument of domination. It should at the same time create a better platform than immersion or fast transitional programmes to gain access to the national language and content areas belonging to the national curriculum.

As we can see, anthropological thought and, to a lesser extent, sociolinguistics were present in the planning and the implementation of indigenous education. Conversely, the system has always been weak in terms of psycholinguistic and pedagogical input to create appropriate teaching methods that would help to enhance the indigenous students' learning under given sociolinguistic, psychosocial and cultural conditions.

On the other side, EBE has not been a topic of significant research until recently (see de Mejía, 2002). Even less did it attract the attention of academic disciplines as bilingual education has done both in industrialised countries and the Third World. On the other hand, EBE enjoys significant international capital in the fields of applied linguistics and foreign/second language teaching, L1 development in a context of diasporas, language through content teaching and the use of modern teaching technologies. There seems to be an acute lack, however, of anthropological and sociolinguistic insight to apply to the understanding of intercultural relations and possible conflict between languages, both inside the schools themselves and in relation to their integration into local and national host societies. Banfi and Day (2004) also mention a lack of self-evaluation.

### Areas of cooperation and mutual learning

Both systems share a number of central tasks and problems, despite other differences. The basic question of how children develop competence in two or more languages for everyday communication and academic learning needs further attention in relation to curriculum design and teaching methodology. Both systems have to improve a curriculum that develops content matter from two different sources, assigns functions and spaces to each language and achieves high

academic proficiency in the languages and content matter. Furthermore, the curriculum should be integrated so as to foster optimal transfer between languages and content areas in the development of competencies and skills. Last but not least, the curriculum should comply with sometimes divergent regulations and will have to be politically and culturally acceptable for students, staff, the communities at large and government authorities.

Let me single out just two common problems. The pursuit of the objectives enumerated above requires, among other things, appropriate teacher training for bilingual education. Certification for teaching-specific subjects including mother tongue and foreign or second languages will not suffice, nor will certification as primary school teachers. Both systems struggle with the development of high proficiency in L2, especially when there is little external support for that language. German or French schools encounter difficulties in their students achieving high levels of proficiency in these foreign languages even when they start at an early age with intensive language programmes. Similarly, indigenous schools in densely monolingual IL areas experience difficulties in teaching Spanish as L2. In both cases, teaching methodologies and student motivation need to be revised.

Over the past 20 years, indigenous education in Latin America has attempted to compensate for its deficit in pedagogy, psycho- and applied linguistics by drawing on bilingual education experiences in the USA, Canada and certain European countries,[45] as well as within Latin America itself, as I mentioned earlier. Although EBE is certainly farther away to serve as a model, there are aspects of EBE experiences that could well contribute to indigenous education. One of the most important refers to the invaluable experience of creating contexts of learning where children develop self-reliance in their own languages and cultures, where they can be confident in their capability of learning and where the whole environment stimulates enrichment education. Successful experiences, their examples and their narratives play a significant role in any educational context.

In addition, and in a more technical sense, indigenous IB schools could greatly profit from L1 development and L2 teaching methodology based on a communicative approach. Content teaching, i.e. the development of linguistic and communicative proficiency in a second language through the teaching of significant content matters, both at beginner and at advanced level, constitutes another area where EBE tends to be successful whereas in most cases, indigenous schools are just beginning to develop such an approach. Transfer of cognitively demanding academic skills or higher-order discourses from one language to the other might be improved in both areas of bilingual education through exchange and mutual learning. In-service teacher training which includes

immediate collaborative application of new techniques is another potential area of fruitful exchange. Academic bodies could help by identifying other important areas of comparative, collaborative research.

For elite bilingual schools it would certainly be an enriching experience to introduce an anthropological perspective into their work, both on the micro level of their internal integration of languages, cultures and learning communities, and on the macro level of societal integration. In the USA, Canada, Asia and Europe there have been a wealth of studies carried out recently on intercultural education, cultural diversity in schools and on related topics. De Mejía (2002: 67) explains why ethnocentrism and taboos about discussing culture have obstructed the development of an (inter)cultural perspective in foreign language teaching in the past, although there is an increasing awareness of its relevance for the development of communicative and cultural competence (Alred *et al.*, 2003). Certainly, the avoidance of potentially conflictive topics may play a role in EBE too. These schools, however, exist right in the contact zone where different cultures and languages interact and create new hybrid worlds of their own. To review their often dichotomised curriculum and their teaching practices from an intercultural learning perspective could help them to reach a higher level of integration. Given the drive towards intercultural national curricula for mainstream education in many Latin American countries, EBE could take a leading role in that process based on their own experience of enrichment education.

Furthermore, cultural diversity in other fields, such as indigenous education, could become an interesting topic for discussion in EBE, which might help these schools review their own situation in the light of an apparently distant example.[46] Such teaching units could create general language and intercultural awareness, including cases of diglossia and language conflict, and the way subtractive language teaching stigmatises subordinate languages and creates or reinforces ideologies of superiority.

## Language and Education Policies in Latin America: From Monolingualism and Multilingualism to Plurilingualism

To interpret the language and education policy behind the two types of bilingual education from an integrated perspective is not an easy task. It requires a broad conceptual framework that goes beyond traditional models of language policy and language planning. Within such a framework, language policies should be understood as historical processes of language change (i.e. the change of whole systems of communication) where state institutions and other social forces intervene. Such a process not only implies a transformation of discursive and

linguistic structures and uses (e.g. standardisation, diffusion, shift, revitalisation, etc.), but also and fundamentally a change in the relationship that the actors involved establish with their own language(s) and others in the field as part of overall power relations (see Hamel, 1993, for a discussion of this approach in language policy theory).

The previous analysis of bilingual education has revealed the existence of multiple links between language and education policies connecting all language types involved: the national language(s) of each state, as well as indigenous, immigrant and foreign languages. In addition, choices on the macro level of state decision and the micro level of institution, classroom interaction, and individual orientations and skills are related. The analysis of decisions and activities should not be limited to overt governmental intervention, as other social forces and sometimes hidden actors also play a significant role. Experienced language planners (e.g. Baldauf & Kaplan, 2003) maintain that language policy decisions are generally taken by politicians, to the exclusion of language specialists and their expertise. Furthermore, the case of Latin America clearly shows how bilingual programmes and their institutions are largely determined by policy decisions that go far beyond language and education policy as such, and represent the intervention of sometimes conflicting social forces and actors from inside and outside each country.

When we analyse the language policies concerning the two types of bilingual education and their communities in Latin America, we realise that the common factor which allows for an integrated interpretation is their relationship with the state and the dominant society as they developed over time. Within such a historical perspective, we can identify three broad ideological orientations[47] in language and cultural policy that correspond to historical phases, but survive at the same time as competing positions today (see Figure 3.2).

Colonialism developed *monolingualism* and *monoculturalism* as the dominant position that was reinforced by the nascent republics after Independence. This orientation denied the indigenous populations the right to exist as distinct ethnic peoples, e.g. in 19th-century Argentina, or it erased its presence and visibility, as happened in Brazil during the early colonial period (Orlandi, 1993). During the 19th century, when the new republics promoted massive immigration from Europe, this orientation was apparently questioned. At that time the distinction between positive and negative minorities and between positive and negative bilingualism was born.[48] Racist and social considerations prevailed over the aim of building homogeneous nation states and admitted, at least for a time, the presence of European immigrants and their languages, as long as they did not challenge the status of Spanish or Portuguese as the national languages. In any case, as we have seen, many of the republics

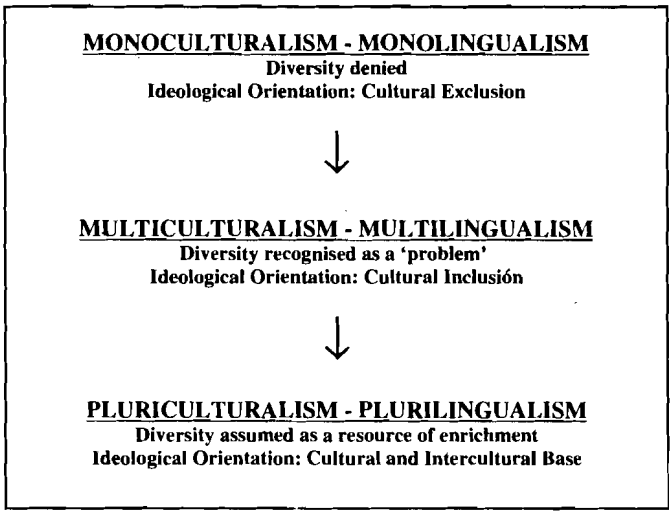


**Figure 3.2** Ideological orientations in language and cultural policy

developed assimilationist policies. A late expression of a monocultural and monolingual orientation can be found in President Getulio Vargas' nationalist policy towards immigrant communities in Brazil in the 1930s, analysed above.

This monolingual ideology was challenged at the end of the 19th century by a competing orientation that I want to frame as *multiculturalism* and *multilingualism*. Multiculturalism acknowledges the existences of ethnolinguistic minorities but defines diversity negatively as a problem ('the Indian problem') that needs attention. It accepts a certain tolerance for minority rights as an inevitable, but uncomfortable necessity. The cultural theory behind this position promotes cultural inclusion (Bullivant, 1984). It distinguishes between global, universal cultures such as the European cultures which can express any knowledge including science, and local cultures which can only articulate their own idiosyncratic wisdom. Such an orientation developed mainly, but not exclusively, in Latin American countries with a high proportion of indigenous population (Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Guatemala or Mexico) during the 20th century. Today, this concept of multiculturalism still constitutes the dominant mainstream orientation, not only in Latin America, but also in the USA, and in many European countries as well. The cultural and linguistic expressions of indigenous and other minorities are recognised both as a problem *and* as a right, and their existence is seen as a barrier to national unity.

*Pluriculturalism* and *plurilingualism* represent a third orientation based on an enrichment perspective. This vision shares with multiculturalism a similar recognition of factual diversity, but differs in its interpretation of this diversity as an asset and potential cultural capital for the nation as a whole.[49] It is grounded in a cultural base theory as developed by the Colombian 'etnoeducación' or the foundations of intercultural education which emerged in Venezuela in the 1970s (Monsonyi & Rengifo, 1983). It assumes that, provided appropriate *Ausbau*, all languages and cultures can express and convey universal knowledge based on their own worldview, interactional styles and languages (see also Stairs, 1988). This orientation was already present as a minority current in early colonial days (e.g. De las Casas, 1542), but only gained momentum as a challenge to previous orientations since the 1970s and 1980s when indigenous movements developed all over Latin America and claimed their right to be recognised as peoples with their own cultures and educational needs. This position, which argues for intercultural and bilingual education and promotes additive bilingualism, has made inroads into sectors of the mainstream society and has aligned itself with other groups that share an enrichment view and the acceptance of different kinds of diversity.

Although the three orientations each represent a certain historical period when they were hegemonic, they still survive and embody competing positions in contemporary society. The fundamental question today is how to move from a multilingual and multicultural orientation that recognises diversity but sees it as a problem, to a plurilingual and pluricultural perspective within the broader context of a general transformation of Latin American societies. Internal pressure, mainly from indigenous movements and civil society at large, and external conditioning from globalising trends, are forcing nation states to open up and enter a process of change.

Several actors come into play in this language and education policy debate. For the conservative forces in each state that represent large segments of the dominant society, assimilation is still an overall goal. Therefore, enclaves where distinct ethnolinguistic groups, communities and peoples reproduce their separate identities, preserving their languages and cultures, constitute a challenge, even a threat to the dominant conception of the state. They are still under suspicion for not being loyal citizens, as they speak a different language, whether they are fluent in the national language or not. Many members of minority groups and subordinate peoples have internalised this traditional hegemonic view and develop defensive attitudes about their languages and language use. Here, a new language policy is called for to transform the relationship that the actors involved maintain with their own languages and the prevailing language constellation.

Bilingual communities and their educational systems at the two poles of societal stratification can also contribute significantly to this transformation in their own ways. They can join their voices with growing sectors in most Latin American societies who increasingly understand and appreciate diversity as an asset for societal enrichment and the broadening of democracy. In particular, they can demonstrate how the specific funds of knowledge stemming from their heritage cultures – indigenous and immigrant – make significant contributions and enrich the dominant societies. The unquestionable educational leadership of elite bilingual schools based on successful enrichment bilingualism can help to further erode the unsustainable ideology of monolingualism as the natural and convenient state of existence of a nation. And the unquestionable legitimacy of indigenous group claims to be recognised as peoples and to have their linguistic and educational rights respected may work towards the same goal from a different societal pole.[50]

There can be little doubt that IBE for indigenous peoples will only succeed if assimilationist pressure is removed as a result of significant changes in the dominant sectors of Latin American society and if these embrace a pluricultural enrichment orientation. Such a transition to a pluricultural and plurilingual viewpoint could open new ways of looking at immigrant and global bilingual schools, in which heritage language knowledge could be seen as a valuable resource for the nation as a whole. Furthermore, new light could be shed on the prospect of massive foreign language learning in public education, not only in the private sector as happens today. Recently, it has become clear that language and education policies for majorities and minorities can no longer be dismissed as marginal components of state policy that may be dealt with outside the domains of mainstream power relations. They have become a touchstone to evaluate the quality of democracy, pluricultural commitment and the construction of modern states in most parts of the world.

## Acknowledgements

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## Notes

1. It may be surprising that the question of which countries belong to 'Latin America' is not as clear as it should be. I will use the term 'Latin America' but limit my discussion to those countries that evolved out of Spanish or

Portuguese colonisation, a unit which in Spanish or Portuguese is usually called 'Ibero America'.

2. Figures for languages and numbers of speakers are matters of debate. Diverging typologies (e.g. Ruhlen, 1987 for Amerindia; Suárez, 1983 for Mesoamerica; and Rodrigues, 1986 for Brazil) count between 300 and over 1000 languages, and national censuses typically underrate native language speakers.
3. In the past, indigenous populations have often be labelled as 'ethnic minorities' as part of a discursive process to subordinate them. One of the central claims of the indigenous movements over the past decades has been to be recognised as peoples, even as nations (e.g. União das Nações Indígenas in Brazil or First Nations in the USA), i.e. as societies with their own organisation and identity that existed prior to the arrival of the conquerors and distinct from the dominant society, independently of the numbers of their members, which may range from a few dozen to several million. Therefore, the term 'minority' is hardly used any more for them in the specialised literature.
4. A caveat against overgeneralisation should be made at this point. Certainly, there are significant differences between countries like Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay, which experienced massive European immigration and had a small percentages of indigenous populations (none in Uruguay since at least the 19th century), and countries based on a symbiosis – albeit unsettled – between indigenous high cultures and Spanish immigration such as Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala and Mexico. The general trend towards the construction of homogenous nation states and a Mestizo or white population of native speakers of the national languages is shared to differing degrees by all Latin American countries.
5. During the US presidential campaign in 2004, John Kerry, the democratic candidate, was accused by the republicans of being able to speak fluent French, insinuating that he was not a true American. See many similar cases in the USA in Hamel (1999), Macías (1997), Valdés (1997) and Zentella (1997).
6. A new Law of Education passed in Bolivia in 1994 established that education had to be intercultural in the whole country and bilingual in areas of high percentages of indigenous population (Albó & Anaya, 2004; López, 2005). Mexico introduced the concept of IBE in the early 1990s and passed a General Law of Linguistic Rights for the Indigenous Peoples in 2003 which established the right to mother tongue education (Hamel, 2008a; Pellicer *et al.*, 2006). Brazil had its own development after the new Constitution of 1988 which established general rights for the indigenous population. Specific educational laws followed in 1995 and after 2000 (Ministério da Educação, 2002).
7. Between 2000 and 2007, some 7000 individual tests were applied in annual series. Their results, which have not yet been analysed in detail, seem to point in the same direction as the few samples analysed here.
8. See Cummins (2000) for an updated version of his theoretical framework that includes the interdependence and the common underlying proficiency hypotheses.
9. For our Spanish L2 programme and its rationales, see Hamel *et al.* (2004); for the debate about access in this process, consult Hamel and Francis (2006).
10. The nature and degree of such a threshold level is a matter of debate as it depends on how L2 proficiency is defined. In the case of our P'urhepecha study, students developed fairly poor conversational skills in Spanish L2

throughout their elementary schooling, given the reduced outside contact with Spanish. Limited productive oral skills seem, however, not to impede the development of comparatively more advance reading and writing skills in L2. Although further analysis of our material is needed, our findings point to L1 literacy skills as a stronger predictor of the same skills in L2 than any other factor.

11. 'Jus solis', the right of the soil, means that those who are born in the country are citizens. It contrasts with 'jus sanguinis', the right of the blood that only concedes citizenship to those who are descendants of established citizens, a principle that is still applied in a number of European countries.
12. Colleagues from Brazil reported that the new Brazilian policy of recognition, which allows immigrant minorities to be officially registered, still causes anxiety among the mainstream population and particularly among civil servants, who fear possible terrorist action against the state if the immigrant communities' claims were not satisfied (personal communication by Gilvan Müller de Oliveira in 2006). This happened long before the US and the British governments started to sow xenophobic paranoia, especially against Muslim minorities, among their population, under the smokescreen of terrorism to justify the war in Iraq.
13. This leaves out important schools such as the Mexican 'Colegio Madrid', founded by republican immigrants from Spain after the Civil War (1936–39), which played a significant role in Mexican progressive intellectual education between the 1940s and the 1980s.
14. Various authors on migration warn not to trust given figures as they vary substantially. Furthermore, statistics in themselves are not the most relevant indicators for social behaviour such as assimilation or ethnolinguistic vitality (see Baily & Miguez, 2003; Lütge *et al.*, 1981; Nugent, 1992).
15. The rapid language shift to Spanish is further explained by the fact that most Italian immigrants were peasants from the poorer southern areas of Italy who spoke very diverse dialects that were hardly intercomprehensible. Thus, communication rapidly switched to the use of Spanish or some kind of interlanguage among Italians. For general information see Baily (2003); for German immigrants to Argentina consult Micolis (1973) and Saint Sauveur-Henn (1995).
16. The Welsh migrants to Argentina fled from economic and linguistic repression in Britain; they settled in the southernmost Patagonia region in order to be able to set up their own Welsh schools and internal government (Nugent, 1992).
17. Figures, again, are difficult to trust. The numbers of speakers for 1990 here seem to be extremely exaggerated and probably include many who may still speak some isolated words.
18. Thus, Banfi and Day (2004) observe that the present-day numbers and weight of international bilingual schools in Argentina bear no relationship with the number of immigrants of each linguistic group. The Italians, by far the largest immigrant group, have only six schools compared to 100 English bilingual schools. And there is no Polish school in Argentina or elsewhere in Latin America that I know of.
19. Language use differed according to each country's regulations and the local context. Most typical immigrant schools provided the curriculum of their home countries, which meant content teaching through the immigrant language. Some included courses of the host country's national language (Spanish or Portuguese) as a 'foreign' language. The relevant point is that

these schools were controlled and administrated by the immigrant communities who often exercised significant power in their host countries.

20. My maternal grandfather arrived in southern Chile around 1900 to set up a branch of a German bank in the newly developed, prosperous town of Temuco. His position as vice-consul of the German Empire implied a close relationship not only with the German community, but also with the local authorities, including the Armed Forces, which cultivated a high esteem for the Prussian military tradition at that time. He was actively involved in the development of the local German school. On the national level, the Chilean government invited Swiss and German pedagogues in 1895 to implement a profound educational reform whose positive effects lasted until the 1960s.
21. Except for Chile, all German schools in Latin America were closed during WWII. Even before its outbreak, the Brazilian populist dictator Getulio Vargas implemented a draconian policy of forced assimilation and the prohibition of foreign language use. In 1938 he dictated a decree called the 'nationalisation of education'. It was directed against Brazil's largest immigrant communities that were later identified as enemies when Brazil entered WWII in 1942: the Italians, Germans and Japanese. The immigrant colonies were accused of maintaining a foreign nationality and of preserving and disseminating foreign values, of plotting against Brazil and of not learning Portuguese. During that time more than 1600 German schools were closed and confiscated, along with other property of the immigrant groups (Kreutz, 1994; Rambo, 2003; Renk, 2005; Seyferth, 1999).
22. This is how my grandmother arrived shortly after 1900, at the age of 17, from Northern Germany to Southern Chile. She accompanied a prosperous German landowner family already established in Chile to teach their children on their long journey round the southern cone of America and afterwards on their farm.
23. Requirements for the curriculum varied according to a number of factors: the developmental stage of each country, the location (urban versus rural) of the community schools and their orientation to be integrated into the national curriculum or not. Between 1870 and 1895 Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, among other countries, promulgated general laws for education which specified curricular requirements to be carried out in Spanish. Other countries would not interfere significantly with immigrant schools until the middle of the 20th century.
24. When my father was sent by the German government to Uruguay in 1957 to be the first headmaster in the post-Fascist era in the German school in Montevideo, I entered the first grade where literacy teaching was divided between the German and the Spanish classes. My German teacher taught me print letters, whereas script letters were simultaneously taught in Spanish. And we were warned not to mix up the two systems and never ever transfer any knowledge acquired in one language to the other.
25. For the state of the art in the teaching of Romance languages in several South American countries, see Bertolotti (2003).
26. See Banfi and Day's (2004) observation that the renowned 'Lenguas Vivas', a one-hundred-year-old public institute for foreign language teacher training in Buenos Aires, is considered not to be capable of producing highly competent bilingual teachers.
27. Thus, some German schools and Goethe Institutes launched a campaign for learning German under the slogan: 'Englisch ist ein muss, Deutsch ist ein plus'.

28. Since rankings have become popular and while the testing obsession swept over from the USA and Europe to Latin America, private schools make intensive use of their success ratings ('third position in maths in the country') as part of their marketing strategies. Under the heading 'Bicultural and trilingual education', the German Humboldt school in Mexico advertised the success of their students in the 2003 international Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) evaluation where their students rated significantly above the national average.
29. Limited space will not allow me to approach the more technical problems of language teaching and learning in these schools. Most of them are analysed in detail in de Mejía's (2002) seminal book on elite bilingual education.
30. From an analytical perspective, societal global language orientations and individual bilingual skills and uses should be distinguished, as they do not necessarily coincide (see Fishman's 1967 classical distinction between societal diglossia and individual bilingualism). Both on the societal and the individual level, positive or negative attitudes regarding diversity in terms of a given culture and a related language may be obtained. They may however diverge between language and culture and foster an instrumental attitude, as is reflected in the slogan common in Asia: 'Yes to English, no to US-American culture' (see Hamel, 2000, 2003, 2006a for a detailed discussion).
31. Thus, the Mexican businessman Carlos Slim, the owner of Telmex, the leading Mexican telephone company, and of a large group of corporations, is the richest person in the world according to the *Fortune* review in 2007. Only in 2006 Mr. Slim increased his personal fortune by US$23 billion, from 30 to 53 billion. This increase almost triples the gross national product (GNP) of Bolivia for the same year.
32. Income on the bottom edge is much lower in other Latin American countries than in Mexico. Teachers and university professors in public institutions in Bolivia, Peru or Ecuador earn a monthly salary between US$50 and 200.
33. The PISA evaluation mentioned above identified socioeconomic differences as a strong predictor of school achievement, especially in the case of Germany, where the three-track school system channels students into lower, middle or higher (grammar school) education as early as the age of 10 (Baumert, 2006).
34. See the debate on the achievement gap and President Bush's 'No Child Left Behind' programme.
35. Chile, the Latin American champion of a supposedly successful model of neoliberal economy and high quality education, returned to its status as primary commodities exporter (copper, fruit, wine) and gave up any effort of industrialisation it shared with its neighbours of the region several decades ago. Apart from having entered the circle of the world's most unequal countries (UN Gini index of 57.1, better than Haiti with 59.2, but almost doubling India's inequality rate with 32.5, see United Nations 2006), the success of its public education has increasingly come under attack from students and staff.
36. The success of immersion education in Quebec, where these programmes first developed for middle class Anglophone students to be taught in French (see Baker, 2006; Swain & Lapkin, 1991), has motivated politicians and educators to suggest the application of the same type of programmes to subordinate immigrant and indigenous students, without taking into account sociocultural differences (see however Tucker, 1986).

37. See the special issue, Volume 7 (2–3), of the *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* edited by Brutt-Griffler and Varghese (2004), which contains a series of interesting papers on the bilingual educator's knowledge base on bilingualism and other related topics.
38. ZfA stands for 'Zentralstelle für das Auslandsschulwesen', the institution of the German federal government that organises the German schools abroad including the provision of German teachers and teacher training.
39. Certainly, the work of the British Council and the Alliance Française reveal a much more straightforward language policy in their former colonies in Africa and Asia, where they rarely have to contend with any competitors, than in Latin America. One of the most insightful critical reports from inside the 'Company' was written about the British Council by one of its former civil servants and language teachers, Robert Phillipson (1992), in his renowned book entitled *Linguistic Imperialism*.
40. Whether Empire really exists as an entity that is totally independent of any nation state and whether all nation states including the USA disintegrate is a matter of fierce debate. The resurgence of nationalism around the question of increasingly scarce resources such as oil, a process that includes the Middle East, India, China and several Latin American countries, casts reasonable doubt on Hardt and Negri's hypothesis. Furthermore, critics like Boron (2002) and Chomsky (2003) sustain that, on the contrary, imperialism is invigorated based on the US nation state among a few others and that the vast majority of international corporations are harboured in only seven industrialised countries (see my critique of 'Empire' related to language policy in Hamel, 2006a).
41. Perhaps for these, among other reasons, when Quechua, the most widely spoken indigenous language of the Andean region, was offered as a second language in an elite school in La Paz (Bolivia), there was a rush for the language courses that surprised most observers, not least the school administrators (personal communication by Luis Enrique López in 2007).
42. Estimates calculate the money transfers ('remesas') of Mexican migrants to Mexico at over $26 billion for 2006, out of which probably $9 billion come from indigenous migrants. Again, the latter amount equals the GNP of Bolivia. Migrant money transfers have become a prime source of national income in foreign currency for many Latin American countries that help stabilise their balance of payment and prevent local communities from starvation.
43. No doubt much of their work has been extremely beneficial and essential progress would probably not have come about in the same way without their intervention, given the lack of state resources and also political deadlocks in many countries.
44. One project that stands out among others is PROEIB-Andes, a postgraduate and research programme proposed by the German government agency GTZ and signed by five Andean states (Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru). During its time of significant foreign financing between 1995 and 2006, it formed an indigenous leadership from many indigenous peoples in the field of IBE and educational policy and management (López, 2005). It operated under privileged conditions (high-level budget, scholarships for all students paid by the participating countries, full-time professors with high salaries, dozens of invited researchers from all over the world, generous research funding) as an enclave in the public University of San Simón in Cochabamba, Bolivia. The programme greatly influenced the orientation and

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