

Review

How Educational Intercultural Bilingualism has shaped indigenous people language learning in Mexico: Decolonial challenges

Xushan Wei 

University of Durham, Durham, United Kingdom

Received: January 15, 2023 / Accepted: March 1, 2023 / Published Online: March 3, 2023
© Pioneer Publications LTD 2023

Abstract

Educational Intercultural Bilingualism (EIB), this approach to language education in multi-ethnic integration countries has received attention from a wide range of experts and scholars. This is because the right to be educated in one's mother tongue and to speak a dialect based on indigenous people often does not coexist with the official language of cultural identity at the national level. Better inclusion and valuing the place of indigenous people in the national cultural identity makes language education a social movement for equity and adaptation progress. This paper will focus on the EIB in Mexico, through a multi-level analysis of the historical processes and challenges encountered in language education for indigenous populations decolonization. The richness of Mexico's linguistic diversity and changing social relations will be useful in helping to build on-board experience in language teaching around the world.

Keywords language learning; Mexico; Educational Intercultural Bilingualism (EIB); indigenous people; decolonization

1. Introduction

After more than three hundred years of Spanish colonisation, Mexico has been confronted with the linguistic obstacles of decolonization, prompting broad issues in intercultural language instruction. This report aims to expand on Duff (2019)'s model of "The Multifaceted Nature of Language Learning and Teaching" by examining the three dimensions of macro, meso, and micro in relation to Blommaert (2010)'s theoretical framework on language and mobility in examine the changing forms of "local" and "translocal" social identities. The focus is on the impact of Educational Intercultural Bilingualism (EIB) (López, 2021) on language learning among indigenous people in Mexico who have survived for a lengthy moment in such a society where Spanish is the official language and are subjected to socially inequitable top-down policies. In the process of learning and utilising Spanish, they have had to conceal their indigenous identity (Aman, 2017; Guerrettaz, 2020; Messing, 2007; O'Donnell, 2010). The language use of indigenous populations is marked by 'Diglossia' (Ferguson, 1959), which signifies that bilinguals who speak both languages prefer to switch between situations. As a

result of the Mexican government reclaiming the right to decolonization, schools at every level became crucial spaces for altering social order and identity. This study explores how the EIB influenced language acquisition for indigenous groups and assisted them in the process while they were under pressure. It has revealed the shifting policies of indigenous groups, exploring the structural characteristics that surroundings support and influence, and placing the causes of their profound suffering into perspective. The analysis is followed by a realistic relevance to the difficulties and a forecast of the evolution of intercultural language education within the context of Covid-19 (New Coronary Pneumonia).

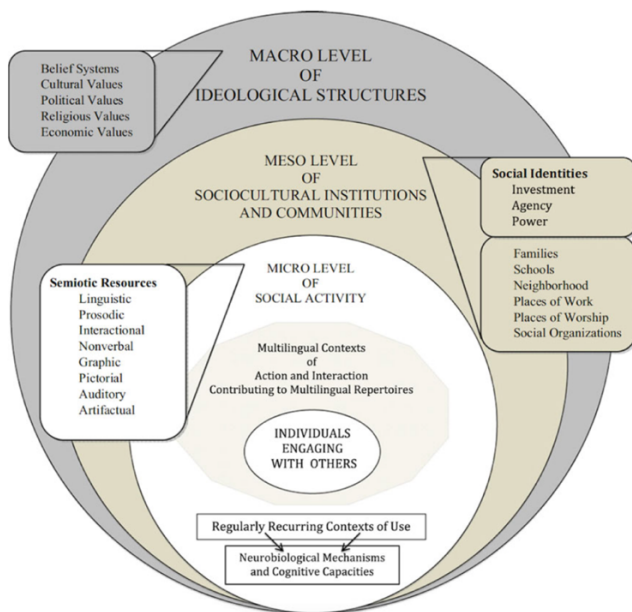
2. Theories and context language(s) background

2.1. Duff's model: process of language learning and teaching

As depicted in Figure 1, this model analyses the social concepts and influences on the language learning process, particularly second language acquisition (SLA), at various levels. Key points are made regarding the need for learners to have equal opportunities for

language learning and to communicate their cultures in a diverse environment, avoiding the effects of the world's worrisome political systems and discursive restrictions, as well as providing guidelines for language learning research on indigenous decolonization. Avoiding discrimination and prejudice in racial exclusion and focusing on recognising linguistic variety would be preferable. This research uses the model's three aspects to a study of language learning and instruction among indigenous groups in Mexico.

Figure 1. The Multifaceted Nature of Language Learning and Teaching (Duff, 2019)



2.2. Sociolinguistic scales

With the process of the modernization and globalisation, indigenous people of Mexico have

steadily migrated from independent dwelling regions to metropolitan areas. Faced with changes in the system of mobilitation, the 'local' and 'translocal' ideas in Blommaert (2010)'s 'Sociolinguistic scale' (Table 1) determine the transitions that occur between migrant populations. This explains the condition of indigenous peoples, whose use of the official language and adaptation to local customs constitute the 'local' shift, whereas their 'translocal' habituation under the policy of intercultural bilingualism in 'code-switching' maintains their capacity to communicate with their families in the indigenous language and to carry out social activities in Spanish. From the dimensions of time and space, the social relationship between the two languages is reflected in the distribution of power-relationships.

Table 1. The general direction of people's move (Blommaert, 2010)

	Lower scale	Higher scale
Time	Momentary	Timeless
Space	Local, situated	Translocal, widespread

2.3. 'Diglossia'

Ferguson (1959) compared four countries with multilingualism in the middle of the twentieth century (Table 2) by comparing the official language and the dialect (native language) of the country, and concluded that countries with colonies generally divide the use of language into different scenarios. The classification of 'diglossia' is as follows: High variety denoted by 'H' for official or majority language and Low variety denoted by 'L' for indigenous language (regional dialect). In European countries, this style of linguistic expression is collectively referred to as "bilingual." Table 3 displays the patterns of indigenous 'diglossia' language use in Mexico based on 'diglossia'.

Table 2. Examples of diglossia in 4 countries (Ferguson, 1959)

		H is called	L is called
Arabic	Classical (=H)	' <i>al-fuṣḥā</i>	' <i>al-ʿāmmiyyah</i> , ' <i>ad-dārij</i>
	Egyptian (=L)	' <i>il-faṣiḥ</i> , ' <i>in-naḥawi</i>	' <i>il-ʿammiyya</i>
Sw. German	Stand. German (=H)	<i>Schriftsprache</i>	<i>Hoochtüütsch</i>
	Swiss (=L)	[<i>Schweizer</i>] <i>Dialekt</i> , <i>Schweizerdeutsch</i>	<i>Schwyzertüütsch</i>
H. Creole	French (=H)	<i>français</i>	<i>créole haïtien</i>
Greek	H and L	<i>katharévousa</i>	<i>dhimotiki</i>

Table 3. Indigenous people language use in Mexico

Context	Indigenous population (American Indians) in Mexico
	Diglossia (Ferguson, 1959)
Language background	Spanish (H)+ indigenous language (L)
	'H' official language use in public
	'L' indigenous language (regional dialect) use in informal areas

3. Background of context

The linguistic community of Mexico is comprised of a variety of indigenous languages and the official language. In a web-based data survey reported by Vega (2022), in 'Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía, e Informática' (INEGI) Agency 2010, it is shown that Mexico still maintains a status of 68 indigenous languages and more than three hundred derived languages and dialects of 'Sociolinguistic scales' of indigenous groups (Blommaert, 2010), and he

addresses seven of the more widespread indigenous languages. In Table 4, I compared the number of language speakers to the total population of the country, from which it can be inferred that a certain percentage of the indigenous population are proficient speakers of indigenous languages, even though Náhuatl is considered by Vega (2022) to be the second official language of Mexico due to its widespread circulation. In contrast to the inferior status of indigenous languages, Spanish is viewed as the dominant language of the coloniser and serves as a proof of identity within the society.

Table 4. The most spoken indigenous language in Mexico

Rankings	Indigenous language	Number of speakers	Total population	Percentage
1	Náhuatl	1,500,000	114,000,000	1.32%
2	Mayan (Yucatecan)	780,000	114,000,000	0.68%
3	Mixteco	477,000	114,000,000	0.42%
4	Zapoteco	450,000	114,000,000	0.39%
5	Tzeltal	445,000	114,000,000	0.39%
6	Tzoltzil	400,000	114,000,000	0.35%
7	Otomí	280,000	114,000,000	0.25%

4. Main text

Indigenous populations reside primarily in the hills, deserts, and coastlines, even so, with modernisation and globalisation, they have begun to migrate towards agricultural, industrial, and urban areas. The authority of the official language had formed a phenomenon that weakened indigenous groups' sense of culture and language by forcing their integration into higher education and assimilation of languages (López-Gopar et al., 2021; O'Donnell, 2010; Tinajero & Englander, 2011). It is demonstrated that indigenous communities are disadvantaged and that their educational environment is complicated and changeable. The discussion that follows is organised around Duff (2019)'s model of language acquisition and education, analysing how did EIB shaped the issues of decolonising the languages of indigenous populations at the stage of political, social, and individual level.

4.1. Macro level: societal values – Colonial power and alliances (Duff, 2019)

From a macro perspective, the colonial-relation changes in the implementation of EIB in Latin America are reflected in López (2021)'s study, which proves that language could gradually achieve assimilationist ideas in the process of cultural education, thereby adjusting

the inherent development of colonial relations at the social level.

Chronologically, the more than three hundred years of Spanish colonisation of Mexico, beginning in the 16th century, left the indigenous people marginalised in terms of quality of life and language, resulting in an absence of superior learning resources for indigenous students in a state of social discrimination. In 1821, when Mexico attained independence and founded a nation, decolonization began. Under liberal reforms, indigenous people were granted the ability to be legally 'equal citizens' in 1857 (Mendoza Zuany, 2009). Prior to the Mexican Revolution of 1921, the national government seriously ignored the education of indigenous children (Tinajero & Englander, 2011). Since the 20th century, governments in Latin America have implemented the EIB strategy to assist minimize ethnic differences among indigenous populations, with the goal of encouraging more indigenous people to acquire the official language and fostering the assimilation of language use in society. This procedure, however, has neglected the necessity for indigenous people to utilise and conserve their own languages, as well as the need to protect indigenous languages through averting cultural loss. The fears of the citizens of Spanish monolingualism that indigenous access to education would unseat the privileges and status of citizens, as well as the opposition expressed in the early years of the development of EIB academic achievement (1940s),

exemplify the conflicting social relations that have always existed in the process of language education. To prevent such inequities and foster harmonious societal norms, Mexico organised government-level consultative forums (López, 2021). In the 1940s, the Mexican government has set up the 'Indigenous Institute' with the intention of integrating indigenous populations into the acculturation of the Mexican nation. Under the government's top-down policy, Spanish-only primary schools emerged, which compelled students and teachers to use Spanish and prohibited the use of indigenous languages, preventing the transmission of indigenous languages to the next generation and causing problems of exclusion for indigenous groups. In these schools where the official language was taught, indigenous youngsters suffered from the poor teaching quality provided by city-based teachers and the cultural bias of the curriculum (Mendoza Zuany, 2009). During the 1960s, the Mexican colonial language policy was still in the exploratory phase of language use (de Suarez, 1973), and there were numerous issues and flaws during this time. The approach influenced the use of indigenous languages as a means of learning official languages and the acknowledgement of bilingualism for indigenous students on a national basis (Hamel & Francis, 2006). The legal application of EIB by the Mexican government provided a swift push for the gradual transformation of Spanishization's homogeneous approach into bilingualism and interculturality. The State clearly acknowledged Mexico as a multicultural and multilingual nation in its laws, and EIB programmes were widely implemented in schools of all stages to foster the dual identity of indigenous learners as national and equal citizens (Paciotto, 2004; Tinajero & Englander, 2011). O'Donnell (2010) reports that indigenous students consistently have a substantially lower participation rate in higher education than urban populations, and that their academic achievement in school is lower than that of other students. During the Spanish colonisation of Chihuahua in the sixteenth century, the indigenous language of the Tarahumara people was severely threatened, and their ethnic group's land area was reduced to half of its original size (Paciotto, 2004). This questionable oppression has resulted in the marginalisation of indigenous languages, and its effects are still recognized presently. In 2011, the government reformed the constitution on indigenous language settings, preserving and developing the normative permit for indigenous language rights in schools and society (López, 2021), affirming the state's obligation to guarantee and expand EIB in the expectation of integrating cultural differences and reducing discrimination against minority indigenous peoples.

In the recent era, EIB schooling has helped indigenous people to gradually move out of the countryside into modern life with the changes of language mastery and habitual adaptations. Investigating the language use of indigenous populations and the effects of state political discourse

and educational policies has received attention (Tinajero & Englander, 2011), as has the emergence of indigenous people becoming monolingual speakers of predominantly official languages and gradually adopting assimilation. In this setting, indigenous communities in Mexico have perpetually unequal social relationships, were materially impoverished, had limited access to higher education, and continued to be discriminated against (López-Gopar et al., 2021).

4.2. Meso level: the role of schools, institutions and communities (Duff, 2019)

From a meso level standpoint, Mexico lost the majority of its indigenous languages during European colonisation, however today's language revitalisation is exemplified by schools, which have launched a global movement to decolonize languages. In an effort to prevent their loss, schools have become more conscious of the need to help revive indigenous languages in recent years. As we encounter the twenty-first century, the Mexican government has enacted a constitution for universalist education that supports the concurrent study of Spanish and indigenous languages in schools; conversely, the formation of indigenous bilingual education models is limited by the lack of teacher capacity. Poverty is the primary cause of this situation (Tinajero & Englander, 2011). Some studies have evaluated the current state of multilingualism in Mexico, anticipating the gradual loss of indigenous languages in the lack of educational support in indigenous communities and even predicting that they could become extinct in this century (O'Donnell, 2010).

In curriculum planning for Mexico's primary schools, the education of indigenous children up to the age of 12 is a specific instance that deviates from the policies of the regular system of education. This stage is the first opportunity for indigenous children to be exposed to normative language teaching away from their original home education environment. The school curriculum, the recruitment of teachers, and educational policies form a separate system, and institutions in remote areas are even less developed. The process of trial and error is fraught with the search for an educational model that is suitable for indigenous students through a variety of approaches (Tinajero & Englander, 2011). The Bilingual Bicultural Education Program (BBEP) policy was implemented in the Chihuahua region in 1991, and background research for Paciotto (2004)'s study of indigenous students and bilingual education in rural primary schools revealed that language use was locally differentiated according to function, for home environments and community settings. The majority of interactions occur in the indigenous language, but Spanish is preferred in school and social situations. Parents and teachers consider school as the first opportunity for indigenous children to be exposed to a diverse culture and learn the capacity to speak and write Spanish. In this circumstance, the learning policy is committed to maintaining and fostering the circulation of indigenous languages and respecting the existence of indigenous cultures. In

terms of facilitating the integration of younger children into a bilingual environment, guidance is conducted exclusively in the mother tongue (indigenous language) in the first year, with oral training in Spanish added after the second year, followed by a gradual shift of the main classroom activities to Spanish after the third year, with materials designed to be as bilingual as possible. There is still opposition to this type of EIB programme, with some students having high dropout and low enrollment rates as a result of negative family attitudes and financial constraints. Hamel and Francis (2006) conducted a study on bilingualism in indigenous primary schools in the state of Michoacan, using indigenous languages as a model for the excellent integration of Spanish as a second language into the classroom. The study reveals the need to address the opening of higher education opportunities at the national level at the middle and high school levels as an incentive for graduates to learn, once the classroom model has been established, in order to assist indigenous groups in retaining their native languages while being willing to learn Spanish.

The issue of intercultural ethnicity in secondary education in Mexico for indigenous middle and high school students is crucial to political concerns and institutional inclinations. In 1993, the inclusion of secondary education in basic education was explicitly included in Mexican law, and the educational transition of public schools for indigenous students was put in place, with the alternative integration of cultural elements of identity in the curriculum, helping to strengthen the identity of indigenous youth and enabling the dialogue of cultural difference to serve out through actual cultural activities.

At the higher education level, the 1960s student movements in Mexico prompted a geopolitical reflection on decoloniality (Fúnez-Flores, 2022), the student perspective being that of a group that perceived the educational system's weak points, and the resistance movements that arose accelerating social processes and providing an ideal for restructuring. The formation of resistance movements accelerates social processes and generates optimal responses to the concept of globalising the social structure. In recent years, the combined efforts of government and educational institutions have produced encouraging results: a study by Mendoza Zuany (2009), which interviewed teachers and students from different regions, noted that teachers need to spend more time instructing indigenous students, based on the nature of intercultural universities, in relation to the process of crossing original cultures and languages. The study recommends that schools acquire an understanding of indigenous knowledge in order to more effectively address the practical challenges that arise with their students. O'Donnell (2010) conducted a comparative study of two groups of monolingual Spanish-speaking students and bilingual indigenous language learners in bilingual Mexican universities. The study demonstrates that university students who are bilingual in indigenous languages and Spanish have an advantage in acquiring

skills in English as a third language, indicating that language acquisition is not the only disadvantage for indigenous people in the expansion of globalisation, but that there is a positive impact in terms of greater access to social opportunities and excellent adaptation skills that can help to challenge inequalities. López-Gopar et al. (2021) also investigated the process of learning English for Mexican learners by assisting three students from indigenous backgrounds with low socioeconomic status (SES). They suggest that multilingual classroom approaches should be utilised to escape the crippling inequities rooted in monolingual homogeneity. In response to the Aboriginal university training approach, Dietz (2009) proposes extending the bilingual education model to the elementary level.

4.3. Micro level: individual identity changes & social activities (Duff, 2019)

Mexico had 92 languages and 62 distinct indigenous communities as of the 1990 census (Tinajero & Englander, 2011). According to a census conducted in 2008, there were 68 indigenous groups, around 12 million Mexicans could be classified as indigenous based on their language use and ethnicity, and sixty percent of the indigenous population spoke only indigenous languages. However, indigenous languages are rapidly fading owing to indigenous communities' lack of educational support. Individual problems at the micro level include lack of access to quality education and social disparities between rich and poor, with private bilingual schools and English-learning higher education institutions in Mexico excluding more than 95% of the population and the persistence of racist colonialism in Mexican society (López-Gopar et al., 2021) English-learning-based higher education is contributing to the construction of social justice and promoting multilingualism while confronting class concerns, gender issues, and colonial inequities. The UNESCO Guidelines for Intercultural Education of 2006 provide an overview of multicultural and intercultural education (Unesco Education, 2006). Inside of it, it is suggested, in relation to the minority cultures in which indigenous people belong, that indigenous peoples are defined as groups living in specific social, cultural, and economic conditions, often requiring government regulation of language and customs in accordance with distinct political institutions, and that 'indigenous' identity is both self-identified and identified by others. This guidance suggested that education systems apply effective and appropriate programmes for indigenous groups to promote the acquisition of knowledge and skills that will help them in better incorporating into the culture and economy of their societies, paying special attention to indigenous women and children as well as migrants. Messing (2007) examined the ideology of identity views of indigenous communities in Mexico and discovered a state of denigration of indigenous identities and misunderstanding of the transitions between tradition and modernity among indigenous populations. In the transformed of language use, it was

proposed that the impact of social shift on the self-concept of indigenous populations should always be considered. The process of language transition and extinction in the Tlaxcala region has highlighted that code switching is not only an individual process, but also a societal and institutional change. Aman (2017) believes that based on the findings of the culture of the Indian Highlands, that at the geopolitical level, colonised indigenous communities were required to speak the colonial language in an official bilingual learning environment. Indigenous groups would view the usage of their language in bilingual classrooms as a stigma. Consequently, power relations determine the development of cultural diversity. Guerretaz (2020) investigated the identity of students in the Yucatec region of Mexico towards their original race, the 'Maya,' and concluded that Mexicans suffer from a persistent identity crisis and wish to restore or preserve their ancestral tongue. As a consequence of their investigation, it was determined that indigenous language revival practitioners have not actually been merged with the objective of addressing postcolonialism. After entering higher education, indigenous students are forced to relinquish more of their indigenous culture, conceal their ethnic identity, and change their official language in order to advance further up the educational ladder and be treated on a par with their monolingual Mexican-speaking urban peers (O'Donnell, 2010). Nieto (2018) addresses the challenge of decolonization by analysing the discourse on civic education in several Latin American nations, highlighting the positive role of multilateral institutions in constructing the desired goals of educational reform, and proposing that collective consciousness cannot be ignored and that unjust and structural global configurations of rights can be avoided epistemologically.

During the Covid-19 epidemic, school systems in a number of nations faced challenges. The Mexican model of intercultural education had both beneficial and negative consequences on online education, and Dietz and Cortés (2021) explain the changes for indigenous children in Veracruz after the closing of bilingual schools. In March 2020, following the closure of schools as a result of the epidemic, the government began exploring the development of an online teaching model. However, due to the wide variety of indigenous languages, the majority of online course content chose Spanish as the only official curriculum language, forcing indigenous students to return to monolingual Spanish. To prevent the spread of the virus, this is the framework of a top-down approach that disregards the bilingual learning environment of indigenous pupils. Therefore, students from poorer areas are unable to continue taking online classes, and others are compelled to drop out of school for economic reasons, widening the gap between native students and Spanish speakers. As a result of the establishment of Covid-19, new shortcomings of top-down policies have been found, as well as the need to further design and strengthen the flexibility of language teaching in the

classroom and change the school's long-term management model following the return to normalcy.

5. Conclusion and recommendation

The findings of this research provide insights to examine the influences of EIB in language use of indigenous peoples in Mexico by reviewing the history of the EIB's development and research on the process of policy implementation, the role of institutions and indigenous groups. Drawing on Duff (2019)'s model of language education, this study evaluates the EIB's influence in different dimensions using literature data. The study finds that, in response to top-down government policies, teaching institutions at all levels have used structural features to play a supportive role in teaching official languages and preserving indigenous languages, while also innovating curriculum design at various stages of history to advance the recognition of language decolonisation. Teaching and learning endangered indigenous languages requires additional policy support and methodological research from a power perspective. The scope of this study was limited in terms of raw data from the context of indigenous people, it would be benefit forward with more empirical investigation to enhance the progression and would be a fruitful are for further research on language education.

Xushan Wei is an MA in Education graduate from the School of Education, Durham University, United Kingdom. Her research interests include the study of pedagogical concepts and the study of international language education. She has a particular interest in educational issues in the international context. She has worked on a study of Kazakhstan students' language learning and intercultural adaptation during their study in China, and the articles had been published in various academic journals.

Email: weixushan2020@163.com

References

- Aman, R. (2017). Colonial differences in intercultural education: On interculturality in the Andes and the decolonization of intercultural dialogue. *Comparative Education Review*, 61(S1), S103-S120.
- Blommaert, J. (2010). *The sociolinguistics of globalization*. Cambridge University Press.
- de Suarez, Y. L. (1973). Shirley Brice Heath, Telling tongues: Language policy in Mexico, colony to nation. New York and London: Teachers College Press, 1972. Pp. xx + 300. *Language in Society*, 2(2), 294-297.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404500000774>
- Dietz, G. (2009). Intercultural universities in Mexico: empowering indigenous peoples or mainstreaming multiculturalism? *Intercultural Education*, 20(1), 1-4.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14675980802700623>

- Dietz, G., & Cortés, L. S. M. (2021). Mexican intercultural education in times of COVID-19 pandemic. *Intercultural Education*, 32(1), 100-107. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675986.2020.1843895>
- Duff, P. A. (2019). Social dimensions and processes in second language acquisition: Multilingual socialization in transnational contexts. *The Modern Language Journal*, 103, 6-22.
- Ferguson, C. A. (1959). Diglossia. *word*, 15(2), 325-340.
- Fúnez-Flores, J. I. (2022). Toward decolonial globalisation studies. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 1-21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2022.2048796>
- Guerrettaz, A. M. (2020). “We are the mayas”: Indigenous language revitalization, identification, and postcolonialism in the Yucatan, Mexico. *Linguistics and Education*, 58, 100765. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.linged.2019.100765>
- Hamel, R. E., & Francis, N. (2006). The Teaching of Spanish as a Second Language in an Indigenous Bilingual Intercultural Curriculum. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 19(2), 171-188. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07908310608668761>
- López, L. E. (2021). What is educación intercultural bilingüe in Latin America nowadays: results and challenges. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 42(10), 955-968. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2020.1827646>
- López-Gopar, M. E., Schissel, J. L., Leung, C., & Morales, J. (2021). Co-constructing Social Justice: Language Educators Challenging Colonial Practices in Mexico. *Applied Linguistics*, 42(6), 1097-1109. <https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amab047>
- Mendoza Zuany, R. G. (2009). Building hybrid knowledge at the Intercultural University of Veracruz, Mexico: an anthropological study of indigenous contexts. *Intercultural Education*, 20(3), 211-218. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675980903138558>
- Messing, J. (2007). Multiple ideologies and competing discourses: Language shift in Tlaxcala, Mexico. *Language in Society*, 36(4), 555-577. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404507070443>
- Nieto, D. (2018). Citizenship education discourses in Latin America: multilateral institutions and the decolonial challenge. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 48(3), 432-450. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2017.1408399>
- O'Donnell, J. L. (2010). The indigenous, national, and international language in higher education: students' academic trajectories in Oaxaca, Mexico. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 20(3), 386-416. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1473-4192.2010.00254.x>
- Paciotto, C. (2004). Language Policy, Indigenous Languages and the Village School: A Study of Bilingual Education for the Tarahumara of Northern Mexico. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 7(6), 529-548. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050408667829>
- Tinajero, G., & Englander, K. (2011). Bilingual-intercultural education for indigenous children: the case of Mexico in an era of globalization and uprisings. *Intercultural Education*, 22(3), 163-178. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675986.2011.592019>
- Unesco Education, S. (2006). *UNESCO guidelines on intercultural education*. UNESCO.
- Vega, E. (2022). Map of the most spoken indigenous languages in Mexico. [online] *Xcaret Blog*. <https://doi.org/https://blog.xcaret.com/en/map-of-the-most-spoken-indigenous-languages-in-mexico/>