2nd Place Winner of the 1994 NABE Outstanding Dissertation

YAQUI VOICES:
PUBLIC SCHOOLING EXPERIENCES
OF URBAN AMERICAN INDIAN STUDENTS[1]

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Abstract

This ethnographic study examines the unique schooling experiences of Yaqui students in an urban public school setting in Tucson, Arizona. The study focuses on life narratives as a means of understanding how contemporary Yaqui adults view formal education, the struggles they endured to maintain their cultural identity within a mainstream educational environment, and Yaqui-defined factors contributing to the diminished and differential school success experienced by present-day Yaqui youth. Insights are provided into the uniqueness of Yaqui school experiences and extend the current body of literature on American Indian/Alaska Native education by considering schooling from a neglected perspective--one informed by Yaqui individuals themselves. By examining the complex array of factors contributing to Yaqui students' diminished school success, the study also joins microethnography, macroethnography, and critical theory in a unified, systemic approach.

The Yoeme

The Yoeme (meaning "*human person*") were an indigenous group who inhabited a fertile area in northwest Mexico. This group sought safety, protection from deportation, and relief from Mexican tyranny in the U.S. territory that became Arizona. Spanish colonizers mislabeled the tribe

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[1]This is based on my dissertation entitled "Yaqui voices: Schooling experiences of Yaqui students." The Dissertation Committee was chaired by Dr. Teresa McCarty, with Drs. Richard Ruiz, Octaviana Trujillo, and Ofelia Zepeda as members.

"Hiaqui" (pronounced "Yaqui"), a term perpetuated by the "outside" world for centuries and which continues to be used today, even by the Yaqui tribe. Between 1900 and 1910, approximately 1,000 Yaquis fled to the U.S. and many settled in the area called Old Pascua , the site of their first settlement in Arizona. The name is derived from "pahko" a Yaqui word meaning "ceremonial celebration of people." Instead of the Yaqui word "pahko," the village came to be known as "Pascua" because of the widely known Easter ceremonies. While maintaining vestiges of a traditional village, the community of Old Pascua has been incorporated into the larger urban area.

Need for the Study

Historically, American Indian and Alaska Native students have not experienced the level of school success enjoyed by majority culture students. Although Yaqui students living in Old Pascua-the primary site for this study-participated in the public rather than the federal boarding school system, Yaqui students' achievement was similar to that of their counterparts in federal boarding schools. These patterns of academic achievement for Yaqui youth are similar to those of other minority groups in the United States.

Included in this study are the educational practices which have impacted the lives of Yaqui students over the course of 45 years. During this time, Yaqui students have consistently met with diminished school success despite their education in public rather than federal boarding schools. In the school district which is the setting for this study, Yaqui students constitute 60% of the district's American Indian population. These students experience a nearly 80% dropout rate. The overall dropout rate for American Indian students enrolled in grades 6 through 12 is 29%, which is nearly four times the annual average dropout rate of any other ethnic group (Shields, 1992). These figures do not take into consideration students who never initially enroll in the next level of schooling, such as middle school students promoted to high school.

From a majority culture view, roadblocks to successful completion of high school include "...poverty, cultural differences--specially in a curriculum designed for white students--racism, crime, alcohol and drug abuse, gang activity, and discrimination by teachers and administrators" (Shields, 1992, pp. 1, 6). This view appears to reflect symptoms and outcomes related to the education of American Indian students, but fails to consider why and how these results materialize. What of the nature and design of the institutions which American Indian/Alaska Native children attend? How does the

institution itself contribute to high dropout rates and lack of academic success?

Too frequently the causal claims for underachievement by American Indian/Alaska Native students focus on deficiencies inherent in the student rather than educational beliefs and practices (Cummins, 1989). Instead of recognizing the "funds of knowledge" (Moll, et al. 1992) which indigenous students bring to the classroom, these students are measured and instructed according to majority culture beliefs and practices. Publicly held attitudes that Yaqui children come to school with English language deficiencies rather than with the asset of fluency in Spanish and/or Yaqui exemplifies how the majority culture's values and practices contribute to the lack of Yaqui students' school success. McCarty (1993, p. 182) describes this in more general terms, stating that while the causes underlying high dropout rates and high numbers of American Indian students in low ability groupings are multifaceted, "at the level of the classroom they are directly influenced by educator assumptions about American Indian students as learners and users of language."

Purpose of the Study

This study examines, through oral historical research and interpretative documentation and analysis, the schooling experiences of several Yaqui students within an urban public school setting in southern Arizona. Educational and life narratives are used to reveal how contemporary Yaqui adults view formal education, and more specifically, the struggles they endured to maintain their cultural identity within a mainstream and often negative educational environment.

A major goal of this research then, is to extend the current body of literature on American Indian education by considering Yaqui schooling from a neglected perspective--one informed by Yaqui individuals themselves. While a considerable body of knowledge is available relating to American Indian/Alaska Native education, few studies have specifically examined Yaqui schooling experiences. This study extends the body of research specific to Yaqui schooling, as well as the more general literature on American Indian/Alaska Native education, by considering Yaqui perspectives contained in oral narratives. These narrative accounts reveal insights into why and how the educational system has been remiss in meeting the needs of Yaqui students. This information may facilitate understanding of the obstacles Yaquis have endured to obtain a relevant and equitable education, and may enable educators to become more aware of how education is viewed by Yaqui

students and the meaning it holds in their lives. At another level, this study contributes to the understanding of *Yaqui-defined* problems now facing Yaqui youth in school.

This research thus assists both Indian and non-Indian educators in transforming the present conditions of schooling for Yaqui students and offers new insights into more general issues of American Indian/Alaska Native and minority schooling.

Background of the Study

This project evolved from my participation in two university-based teacher development programs, the American Indian Language Development Institute and the Southwest Memory Institute (McCarty & Zepeda, 1992), both held at the University of Arizona in 1991 and 1992. Although I had a great deal of previous experience as a teacher and curriculum specialist in schools attended by Tucson Yaqui students, the Institutes deepened by understanding of current school issues and practices by providing a sociohistorical perspective on Yaqui schooling. In discussions with Yaqui tribal members about their schooling experiences, I learned that, unlike American Indians, the Yaquis' educational experiences did not include federal Indian boarding schools. A unique set of historical, political, cultural, social, and economic factors has demanded that Yaqui students participate in formal educational programs within their urban neighborhoods in the southwestern United States.

My work in the Institutes evolved into the long-term oral historical research with Yaqui adults that forms the basis of this study. The significance of these oral histories resides not in the perspective of a majority culture narrator, but rather in the power of each Yaqui voice. This study attempts to evoke those voices and experiences of Yaqui students. As Widdershoven (in Josselson & Lieblich, 1993, p. 12) relates: "A story is a reconstruction of life by which past experiences survive in a more pure way because the inessential is removed, so that only the essential remains."

As a researcher, my role was one of facilitator, documenter and interpreter. The narratives themselves belong solely to the narrators. They selected the critical events which shaped their schooling experiences; they defined the educational problems now facing Yaqui students and Yaqui and non-Yaqui educators. Their authentic accounts provide the access necessary to grasp and comprehend the scope and intensity of the Yaqui struggle for more equitable

schooling. McElroy-Johnson (1993, p. 85) states the importance of such first-hand accounts in this manner:

> Voice is identity, a sense of self, a sense of relationships to others, and a sense of purpose. Voice is power-power to express ideas and convictions, power to direct and shape an individual life towards a productive and positive fulfillment of self, family, community, nation, and the world.

Through, in' and with their voices, the Yaqui participants offer their own essential narrations about schooling. Their experiences, while painful and uncomfortable to express, were shared with the hope that Yaquis and non-Yaquis alike may recall, understand, and appreciate a unique perspective of education.

Research Setting and Participant Selection

The rationale for selection of Old Pascua as the site for this research is that it is the oldest Yaqui village within the Tucson area. This Yaqui village, once isolated and remote from the city of Tucson, is now located within the greater urban center. It is bordered by an interstate highway and major thoroughfares, creating a contrast to its former seclusion. Despite Old Pascua's inclusion in the city replete with nearby business and industry, this village has maintained many of the physical characteristics of Yaqui villages within the RIo Yaqui area. Yaquis live as neighbors around the San Ignacio Neighborhood Center where the church is centrally located. It is in this central plaza area that religious and cultural ceremonies are held. Many residents of this area maintain their cultural ties and their native languages.

Residents of Old Pascua have generally lived in this village since birth and have a rich sense of history and community. They have experienced tremendous change in some respects due to social, historical, political, and educational factors, and, in other aspects have maintained strong cultural beliefs and practices. By including present and former Old Pascua students in this study, the insights and historical perspectives which they contribute are invaluable.

Children of Old Pascua have regularly attended specific public elementary, junior high/middle, and high schools in relative proximity to the village. The alignment of school district boundaries required that Old Pascua students

attend schools within SASD[2]. Because of its segregating practices of ensuring minority enrollment in specific schools ,opportunities for attendance in other than segregated schools was not a viable option for Old Pascua residents. Consequently, most Old Pascua children attended these designated schools over a period of several decades.

Table 1
Profile of Participants' Educational History

PARTICIPANT	GENDER	GRADE LEVEL COMPLETED	DEGREE RECEIVED	EDUCATION STATUS
RT	Male	4 years of college	H.S. diploma	graduated in '94 with degree in business
DB	Female	3 years of college	GED	enrolled in degree program in social work
RP	Female	4+ years of college	B.A.	enrolled in master's degree program
FM	Female	5th grade		taking GED course work
EM	Male	12 grade		recent high school graduate
ES	Female	11th grade	GED	currently enrolled in college
RF	Male	12 grade	H.S. diploma	has taken several college courses
FD	Female	12th grade	H.S. diploma	soon to complete teacher education degree
AG	Male	8th grade		has taken college course work
MB	Female	2 years of college	GED	received AA degree in social work

The significance of this study depended on interviewing a cross-section of Yaqui who experienced SASD educational policies and practices across a

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[2]The agreement with the school district to which I consented required that the actual name of the district or the any of its schools not he named. Therefore, the school district is referred to as Southern Arizona School District (SASD) with each school randomly identified by directional names, not a specific locale within SASD.

spectrum of time. The criteria for inclusion were: (a) that she/he was Yaqui and a resident of Old Pascua at the time of schooling; (b) that she/he was/is a student in SASD; and (c) that she/he attended North Elementary School, either Central Junior High, South Junior High School, Northeast Junior High, or Northwest Junior High School, and East High School. It was also important to ensure that a proportional number of male and female participants was included who represented a varied spectrum of ages. Ten individuals, six women and four men, participated in the interviews (see table I).

Data   Analysis

I used a variety of data - interviews, observations, literature, documents, and archival information - to ensure the accuracy of my analysis and to substantiate the derived theories. Erlandson, et al. (1993, p. 111) offer the following view of data analysis: "The analysis of qualitative data is best described as a progression, not a stage; an ongoing process, not a one-time event." I obtained a considerable amount of fact and information that prompted further investigation. Additional sources and data were then acquired and explored. After I transcribed an interview and realized that I had uncovered something which I did not understand completely or which differed from other interviews, I would ask Yaqui colleagues to explain or seek additional literature on the topic. For example, prior to my study, I was aware of One C[3], a tracking system for non-English speaking students within SASD. However, as I learned more about this program and the impact it had upon the lives of most participants, I recognized the need to research the program more extensively. Through the interviews, I learned about the effects of One C on Yaquis and their interpretations of why the program was implemented. What was needed in this on-going process was information regarding SASD's rationale for the One C program.

A more specific process, emergent theme analysis (Spradley, 1979), followed each interview. Through this form of analysis, I was able to determine major themes and issues which emerged from the interviews. Additionally, this process assisted in determining the presence or lack of a connection within and among interviews. while the actual interview and its

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[3]One C was an assimilation program used by SASD "Americanize" students until 1964.

transcription allowed me to become very familiar with the contents, emergent theme analysis added reflection and synthesis to the process.

Each interview was read first to review the contents. Then it was read and examined more closely with comments added in the margins. In the third reading, those comments were viewed for major themes (Wolcott, 1990). The themes were then color coded throughout the interview (Martin, 1992; Seidman, 1991). This allowed me to refer back to the coded areas for quotes and points of emphasis as I reported my findings. As the interview process continued, it became evident that the themes were similar from interview to interview, providing a means of data testing and validation. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983, p. 183) refer to this as triangulation, a method of "checking inferences drawn from one set of data sources by collecting data from others." The coding process served as an indicator of consistency in the narrative accounts, and hence in the experiences of the Yaqui students. The themes generated through these multivariate procedures provided a greater direction for the literature review. Glaser and Strauss (1967) view data collection and theory building as dialectically linked and strategically guided.

In reporting the findings of this research, I attempted to remain consistent with the notions of: (a) learning *from* the schooling experiences of Yaqui students rather than learning *about* the experiences and, (b) the value of oral historical narratives in relating the significance of these events in individual's lives. I attempted to blend the oral narratives with relevant research literature to build a theoretical stance. In addition, information gained from documents and archives provided background information or further explanation.

Theoretical Framework

Critical theory serves as the framework for this study of the schooling experiences of Yaqui children. Critical theory includes transformative activity that is explicitly political and commits to projecting a future of possibilities (Giroux, 1983). This transformative process requires that the views and voices of the Yaqui students be heard. Giroux (1983, p. 174) discusses the socio-political system in this way:

> The system operates to deny some individuals voice, and their awareness of their lack of voice convinces them either that they have none, or that they want no part of a system that seeks to silence them. Educational institutions, in particular, function to reproduce existing power relations by imposing definitions of knowledge that reaffirm the culture of the dominant.

Although the Yaqui narratives present realities in conflict with those holding power within schools, a critical theory perspective can expose ways in which power silences and inhibits. In each of their personal accounts, the participants in this study have determined, by their choice of narrations, the actions and policies which directly impacted their lives. They recognized that the knowledge which they possess, while not necessarily shared with the majority culture, does shape their Yaqui social reality. Their narratives serve as unmasking functions," cited by Giroux (1982) as the critical spirit of theory. These Yaqui narrative accounts serve as their critique of society and of the educational institution.

By examining these life narratives from a critical, transformative perspective, the struggles of Yaqui individuals serve as the foundation for thought and action. Bennett (cited in Giroux, 1982, p. 21) states that the value of any experience "will depend not on the experience of the subject but on the struggles around the way that experience is interpreted and defined." In each instance, participants examined their struggles within the school setting in such a way that they become a means to ensure that present and future Yaqui students experience emancipating conditions. Through their experiential contexts and their abilities to perceive a different set of circumstances, the participants cited in this study illuminate, appropriate, and motivate others to recognize the need for social change.

The possibilities and positive future of education for Yaqui students is as yet unfulfilled. By investigating the social, political, cultural, and historical factors impacting upon the lives of Yaqui individuals and on constraining institutions, possibilities for transformation exist.

Critical theory acknowledges the need to analyze the nature of domination and resistance as they relate to the relationship between culture and power. Giroux (1982, p. 37) states very precisely that which is the rationale for my study of Yaqui schooling:

> By urging an attentiveness to the suppressed moments of history, critical theory points to the need to develop an equal sensitivity to certain aspects of culture. For example, working-class students, women, Blacks, and others need to affirm their own histories through the use of language, a set of social relations, and body of knowledge that critically reconstructs and dignifies the cultural experiences that make up the tissue, texture, and history of their daily lives.

Each individual has the capabilities to "read" his/her world in the sense of critically examining how one's personal experiences came to be "historically constructed" (Freire & Macedo, 1987). For each Yaqui participant, the ability to read the world and to understand the factors involved in the limiting and constraining policies of "Americanization" has enabled them to realize the possibilities that exist for them-possibilities in terms of transforming the social order as it exists within their lives. As one participant in this study stated:

> Maybe my going to school will lead other people to get their diplomas. They're (my children) going to school and I keep supporting them to keep going on. Cause I tell them my experiences. I did it all on my own. I try to teach them how to be independent, not like me, like I was on my grandmother. And I tell them after they get out of school, "You're going to start working. You're going to be on your own and you got to learn, keep going." I tell them, "You're not going to be dependent on nobody." (FM)

FM reads her world, and through this, she is able to transform her experiences and relationship within the wider society. She establishes herself as in control, based on her own abilities to act with effect (Ruiz, 1991). By affirming their histories and by critically examining mechanisms of constraint, the knowledge gained from this process provides Yaqui participants with possibilities for self-empowerment and social change.

Within the various theoretical frameworks cited, I believe critical theory serves as the most comprehensive and appropriate perspective from which to examine the school success for Yaqui children *from a Yaqui perspective*. The challenges and factors contributing to this historical and continuing lack of

achievement must be explored with a focus not on individuals' deficiencies, but rather on the social and cultural institutions which alternately constrain or enable - with transformation as the overriding goal.

Findings

Three dominant themes emerge from the interviews of the 10 current and former Yaqui students: (a) the hidden curriculum of school (e.g. the impact of language, rules and procedures, classroom social relations, and selection and presentation of school knowledge); (b) family support for education; and (c) perceptions related to academic and life success.

Schools are agents of socialization where the formal objectives and pedagogy as well as the informal, "hidden" curriculum reflect the beliefs and values of the dominant society (Giroux, 1983). Schools are political domains and are linked to power and control within the dominant society. The overt and covert school practices affecting Yaqui students are evident in the impact of language, rules and procedures, classroom social relations, and selection and presentation of school knowledge.

Yaqui students were thrust into a structured system of education intolerant of differences. A school language program which was appropriate for majority culture students was considered equally suitable for Yaqui children (of Walsh, 1991). No consideration or value was given to the fact that Yaqui children had already learned as many as two languages before stepping inside a school. what students generally encountered was an actively promoted assimilationist policy. According to RP, a former student:

> The idea was to have us assimilate. Period. At whatever the cost So that the message we were getting was a very mixed message. For me, anyway, it was that "Ok, fine, you guys speak Spanish and Yaqui, but not here. It's not important. That's something that is important to you, fine, but around here, no, it's not good enough. You need to learn English. You need to behave in a certain manner." The message to me was who you are and where you come from and what you know and who your parents and grandparents are and everything in Pascua is not acceptable.

Additionally, as members of their tribe and as individuals, they had to adjust to the cultural contradictions within the mainstream society of Tucson. The underlying school district concern regarding total and immediate English language immersion was for Yaquis to be assimilated into the value and belief system of the majority culture. McCarty (1992, p. 182) places the SASD policy in a larger historical context:

> It is a history informed by explicit policies designed to extinguish indigenous languages through "sink or swim" methods prevalent in Indian schools-methods based on the unusual assumption that all-English instruction for non-English speakers accelerates their English proficiency and academic achievement.

The obligation for adaptation and change was incumbent upon the students. Any responsibility for lack of student success was/is seen as the students', not as outcomes of the curriculum, pedagogy, or implementation of language programs (Reyes, 1992).

School rules and procedures are a second area where the imprint of the dominant culture is evident. Anyon's (1969) study of the "hidden" curriculum relating to social class provides powerful insights into the practices implemented in classrooms serving Old Pascua students. Dominant society equates social class with behaviors which correspond to different occupational strata.

According to Cummins (1989), classroom teachers have the means to convey crucial but often subtle messages to students regarding the value of their language and culture. Through written and oral activities, the identities and experiences of students can be validated or diminished. As an illustration, one student recalled how he was "renamed."

> The other thing that happened those first years was there was a change in my name. Instead of Raphael, I was called "Ralph" because that was, I guess, the English translation of my name. I never questioned that. My mom put down "Raphael" on my school records, but her belief was that I needed to be part of what was going on. So, my mom had something to do with it [as did] the teachers I had contact with....

> [At school when] I would be asked for my name, I would say, "My name is Raphael." And then they would look at the sign-in and it would say "Ralph." So, instead of asking "What do you prefer?" or Why do you have a different name here?" it just happened that I was called Ralph. I had no say in my name. That was uncomfortable....With the name change and the new experiences I was going through there, I felt very separated from the person I had grown up to be, even though I was seven, eight years old, I still felt real divided.

In the case of the Yaquis, the covert messages channeled to students by teachers and staff strongly signaled a very definite distinction and separation between teachers and students, and a definite devaluing of students' language and culture.

A final area where the "hidden" curriculum is evident is the selection and presentation of school knowledge, which in effect, divorced the "real" world of Yaqui students - Old Pascua - from the world of the dominant society - school. Upon entering school, Yaqui children encountered a system devoid of meaning for them (Hoxie, 1985). RT recalled:

> So it (my life in Old Pasqua) was never really integrated into instruction. That was a major thing for me when I saw that I wasn't included in that. I thought, then who am I? I know who I am when I go home, when I am in the community. But who am I here? So, those small pieces like that really kind of compounded the rest of the issues. I found out very early that I could master some of the things that were fed to me, but I didn't know how to place them internally. Tell me and I will spit it out back to you, but how it fits in my perspective, it didn't make sense. what do I need these formulas and this information about people I don't even have contact with?

Parents' responses to the educational system and their children were the means of responding to and mediating the structures and practices which attempted to negate and subordinate children's cultural identities. RP shared his experiences:

> I had a grandmother who very early on recognized that education was important. She encouraged us to learn English. She said, "No, if these children are to survive in a larger society, they have to do what is required of them - that means learn English." But what ended up happening is we, my generation, lost our native language. We speak Spanish and English, but Yaqui very minimally. So, in that situation it was a trade-off. My grandmother didn't see it that we could retain both and gain English - retain Yaqui and Spanish and learn English. She didn't see it as a choice. She saw it as either or.

Within their creative acts of resistance, parents expressed their hopes for freedom and transformation of existing institutional conditions. The notion of support for education versus encouragement was pervasive; participants were cognizant of the fact that, while their parents supported their educational efforts, the element of encouragement was missing. The participants came to recognize that functioning within school required one behavioral mode and life within the Yaqui community necessitated another.

> My family did not go to the school when I was punished because the school personnel were "always right." whatever they decided was right. when these things were happening, I think back, and I know that if I told my father or he had been there at the time, he would have taken me back and questioned these people. But, see, my dad spent time out on the ranches. And if I told my Mom...she would say, "what did you do? What did you do for them to do that? And if they say you have to just speak English, then you just speak English."
>   ...So maybe, that's where learning to function in a dual world started - my having to do something different at school and my having to do something different at home. And my mom saying "That's Ok. You just do what they say, but go by the rules. And then you come home and you can be yourself again.

Fishman (1982, p. 31) refers to this compartmentalization of behaviors as di - ethnia - "a socio-cultural pattern that is maintained by means of specific institutional arrangements." To pursue an education required learning the culture of the "outside" world.

The notion of success as promoted by the dominant culture differed from the view held by participants' families, which supported involvement in and continuance of cultural beliefs and practices. RT explained:

> I felt successful at home, but I didn't know how there could be a demand for success in the other [world]. It didn't make sense to me. I didn't know what the definition was. I heard monetary, I heard those kinds of things, but when I looked around me, I didn't see any of those things. The demand on the other side was, "You do this because you are going to have to succeed in life" and I thought what I was already feeling was success. But the indoctrination I got must have not been right because I was living in a poor community. I was living in a situation where, now they call it dysfunctional, where people were very huddled together, very isolated from the larger community. And what I was hearing in school was that I wasn't successful yet, so I must be off and I must not be right in my successes.

Participants stated that schools must recognize that each student, while an individual, is connected to a larger community and the efforts of that individual to succeed can be appreciated and accepted when they are related back to a students' value system and the community to which he/she is connected.

Yaqui participants in this study clearly understood how the educational system shaped and thwarted their efforts to receive an equitable education. RT offered his reflections:

> The system and the Yaqui people both want success. We kind of have the same idea of the success they want, it's just the means and the process, the process diverges a little. where you are being asked to do this project that doesn't make sense. Even though you want to get to the same place and then later on in the educational system it brings you back

into focus. We wouldn't reach it without the help of the educational system but a lot of our people don't get there. A lot of our people get discouraged... And sometimes I feel that there's a lot of reasons for that. You started out with goals and dreams but somehow the educational system is a critical point through which the dreams and goals get developed.

These participants rejected the beliefs and practices inherent in the overt and covert curriculum of school; they and their families resisted the schools' attempts to negate and undermine the Yaqui cultural system; and they defined "school success" in an inclusive and collective, rather than an exclusive and individual way. The participants have used these experiences as a foundation for support and for transforming the educational system.

Implications

Based on the recommendations outlined above and the larger data analysis of this study, this section addresses more specific implications for changing the institutional structure in ways that will enhance Yaqui students' school success. In effect, this section is an attempt to operationalize the calls to action that are implicit and explicit in the narrative accounts.

First, meaningful partnerships must be developed and fostered among Yaqui parents, community, and schools. Such partnerships must be grounded in the notion that education is all-inclusive - a shared responsibility. Schools and their personnel must actively seek to become "open" to Yaqui parents' participation, to attend to their needs, and to appreciate and legitimate the values of the Yaqui community. To accomplish this, Yaqui parents must be included in school decision making in meaningful and significant ways; for example, it is essential that parents and community members be involved in development of the vision and mission of schools. Their skills, culture, and language should be reflected within the curriculum, and when possible, parents should be involved in instructional activities. Parent and community involvement in curricular activities, such as career, health, and culture fairs promotes opportunities for them to highlight various aspects of their professional and cultural backgrounds, to feel comfortable within the school setting, and to recognize their own contributions to children.

Schools must also ensure that students' and families' language needs are met. Schools and their leadership must insist that English is not the sole medium of communication in the classroom or the board room.

Furthermore, schools may need to take on new roles in a changing social, economic, and political context such as that of Old Pascua and the Tucson metropolitan area. Schools can serve as sites for community outreach programs, such as family resource and wellness centers, and adult literacy education. By developing schools as a resource to the community, parent and community access to and participation in school programs will be greatly increased. Such changes in the definition and role of schools themselves will not only nurture a spirit of school-community responsiveness, but will also encourage shared efforts in resolving community and school issues and concerns.

Second, to make schooling genuinely relevant and inclusive of students' home and community requires more far-reaching reforms that address the academic needs of diverse student populations. To reverse the dominating structure of school curriculum and pedagogy, instruction must include the Yaqui students' language and culture, reflect high expectations, aspirations, and value the resources which students bring to the school setting. For such changes to occur, the educational institution must revise its policies for preparing educators to teach and interact with students from diverse populations. Cultural awareness and establishment of classroom conditions conducive to student involvement and participation must be included within the scope of teacher education programs. Teachers must learn strategies to design classroom environments which promote critical thinking, decision making, and creativity. Not only must opportunities be provided for teacher innovation, but these efforts must be reinforced through on-going and consistent staff development programs. Support for implementation of these strategies must be included in the evaluation and supervision process to ensure that teachers recognize the significance these changes have for student success.

Colleges and universities must be directly involved in this aspect of the process to ensure that their teacher preparation courses and certification requirements are reflective and inclusive of current educational research and practice in minority education. Programs such as the Institutes which led to the present study -- the American Indian Language Development Institute and Southwest Memory Project -- illustrate the possibilities for deepening educators' understandings of the historical conditions that gave rise to the present situation, and of current schooling issues and practices.

Colleges and universities must also be cognizant of the educational needs within the local community. Course offerings and research assistance should include issues related to the community's student and teacher needs. With large numbers of American Indians located in areas surrounding a college or university, forums, workshops, and classes supported by these institutions and related to the education of indigenous groups would promote the efforts of teachers and administrators to create awareness and appreciation of those native cultures.

Finally, systemic institutional change must include the development and support of "cultural models." The presence of Yaqui role models within schools is a source of great community pride and reinforcement for students. Yet participants in this study indicated difficulty in continuing their educational pursuits due to financial constraints. A combined effort by colleges, universities, and local school districts to promote the attainment of teaching credentials by native people should be given high priority. Potential and creative sources for financial support, such as scholarships, corporate funding, and grants should be investigated as means to generate support.

Through these oral histories, educators may more readily understand the importance and the necessity of creating educational environments which promote and value the culture and language of each student. Negation of a child's identity, as described so eloquently and with great anguish by Yaqui participants, cannot be permitted to continue as classroom practice. Perhaps by becoming aware of the impact that routine school policies and practices have upon these students, teachers and administrators as well as other school personnel may understand that within their own personal sphere of influence resides the possibility to create empowering opportunities. Awareness establishes the potential for school personnel to reflect upon these unique Yaqui perspectives for the sake of transforming present schooling conditions.

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