ETHNO-NATIONALIST POLITICS AND CULTURAL PRESERVATION:
EDUCATION AND BORDERED IDENTITIES AMONG THE
WIXARITARI (HUICHOL) OF TATEIKITA,
JALISCO, MEXICO

By

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A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
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Dedicated to the *Wixaritari* of *Tateikita* and the *Centro Educativo Tatutsi Maxa Kwaxi* (CETMK): For teaching me the true meaning of what it is to follow in the footsteps of *Tatutsi*, and for allowing this *teiwari* to experience what you call *tame tep+xeinuiwari*. My heart will forever remain with you.

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This dissertation examines the relationship between "indigenously controlled"

education and cultural preservation among the Wixaritari, or Huichol, of the Sierra Madre

Mountains of Jalisco, Mexico. Studies of indigenous identity and schooling are still

lacking in anthropological fieldwork. While such studies have, in the past, focused on

native education in the United States, there has been little research done on the impacts of

indigenous-controlled education on the enculturation process of Indian youth, particularly

in Latin America, and whether such educational environments really serve to fortify

indigenous identity, and if so, how it is done. Recently, there has been resurgence in

ethno-nationalism or self-determination among the indigenous peoples of Mexico and

Latin America. This study examines the role of so-called indigenous-controlled

community schooling in light of these larger pan-Indian movement goals, showing that

indigenous people are themselves divided over the process of cultural preservation due to their own changing sense of ethnic identity. Conflict results, creating a reliance on notions of an "imagined community" to unify social actors in a drama of power-knowledge relationships in which intellectuals, not traditionalists, control the educational process, channeling knowledge to meet the goals of the "imagined community" which may or may not be shared by all social actors.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Research Questions and Hypotheses

This dissertation research is an addition to the existing literature on indigenous

language and culture preservation. It is also an analysis of community-school relations

and the politics of ethnic identity transmission and transformation within the context of

formal education in an indigenous community in Mexico. The results of this research

help to explain the social and ideological processes of ethnic culture change, and, in so

doing, may be used to improve indigenous-directed education, and language and culture

preservation programs worldwide.

The principal research question is: What happens when indigenous people create

their own school, define its role, and teach according to their own agenda? And,

subsequently, does indigenous-controlled education lead to preservation of ethnic

identity, or is there little to no difference between this kind of education and that of

schools that are not run by indigenous people? Moreover, Is there a unified concept of

cultural identity among indigenous peoples, or are they really composed of ethnic

factions with varying degrees of what it means to be "traditional" or "modern."

In examining the central question, a number of secondary questions arise: 1)

What are Huichol attitudes toward formal education, especially at the secondary level (a

recent government mandate), when it is indigenously (locally) controlled? Do these

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attitudes differ from the attitudes of those attending *telesecundarias* (video schools) or non-indigenously controlled schooling? 2) Is there any internal conflict that results from indigenously controlled education? If so, how are opposing definitions of cultural identity accommodated (or not) by indigenous schooling? 3) What role does Huichol formal education play in the enculturation process of Indian youth? 4) Do the Huichol have a uniform sense of cultural identity? 5) Lastly, what exactly does indigenously controlled education mean?

The case of Huichol education first interested me, when prior to beginning field research I learned that there was little to no record of anthropological research dealing with education and culture change among the Huichol. Dr. Salomón Nahmad conducted research in the late 1960's and early 1970's while he was the regional director of the National Indigenous Institute's development projects for the Cora, a neighboring indigenous group, and Huichol. In subsequent articles, he called for a need for further educational research among the Huichol (Nahmad 1981, 1996). Because of the problems involved in Huichol integration into the national infrastructure of a collective Mexican identity, the choice to work among the Huichol appeared ideal, as there were significant gaps in Huichol ethnography other than research pertaining to archaeology or religion.

The scope of applied anthropology today comprises issues of local control of indigenous affairs, from development projects (Mathur 1989, Sodusta 1993), to environmental management (Hornborg 1998) and education (Bernard 1985, Cleary and Peacock 1998, Szasz 1999). It is generally thought by those working in native education that indigenous control will lead to higher retention rates for students, better student performance, and greater community involvement (Cleary and Peacock 1998; De

Aguinaga 1996; Freedson and Pérez 1998). But is this really the case, especially in situations of rapid culture change? Do indigenous peoples in their homelands possess enough of a unified sense of their own cultural identity to be able to determine their own direction without outside assistance and/or intervention?

The sorts of questions mentioned above become particularly important when discussing a people who have traditionally lived in an isolated environment, in so-called "closed corporate communities" (Wolf 1957). As a result of such an environment, the indigenous people were able to practice their religious traditions, speak their native language exclusively, and in general, live with little or no outside influences upon them.

Recent development projects under proposed aims of improving accessibility to remote areas in Mexico are, however, quickly putting an isolationist lifestyle in jeopardy, leading to a state of confusion, distrust, and fear among some native inhabitants of previously undeveloped regions, such as the Huichol (Chávez and Árcos 1998; Nahmad 1996; Rojas 1993; Schaefer and Furst 1996). The Huichol believe the nationalist Mexican agenda is to create a collective national identity with a language, values, and traditions foreign to the indigenous peoples it ostensibly wishes to unify (Ramírez de la Cruz 1995; Stavenhagen 1994; Von Groll 1997).

The research conducted for this dissertation shows that there are in actuality many factors that determine the success or failure of indigenous education programs. It will be shown that some factors, such as the boarding of students in ethnically indigenous areas, can have a positive influence on the educational attainment and attitudes of Indian youth within threatened cultures, and also serve as a mechanism for creating a sense of community continuity among students, teachers, and local community members. Other

factors, such as identity fragmentation and conflict in the local community, can inhibit

programs in cultural preservation. How the culture of the school community is directed

and advised become crucial for understanding the effectiveness of the school culture in

meeting the goals set forth in its mission. Power and the control of information flow,

principally knowledge, determine the school's path and, ultimately, its success or failure

in language and culture preservation.

<u>Research Site</u>

<u>The Huichol Homeland Communities</u>

The Huichol homeland encompasses roughly 4,000 "officially recognized"

kilometers (of some natively claimed 90,000 square kilometers) located in the Sierra

Madre Mountains of what are the modern day Mexican states of Jalisco, Nayarit, and

Durango (see Figure 1.1). Within this area, or *kiekari*, live approximately 18-20,000

Huichol divided between three communities: San Andrés Cohamiata (*Tateikié*), San

Sebastian Teponahuaxtlán (*Waut+a*), and Santa Catarina Cuexcomatitlán (*Tuapurie*),

although sometimes the peripheral areas of Tuxpan de Bolaños (*Tutsipe*) and Guadalupe

Ocotán (*Xatsitsarie*) are included by the Huichol because of their historical significance.[1]

The most numerous settlements are located in Northern Jalisco and Eastern Nayarit (see

Figure 1.2).

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[1] While three communities are noted in contemporary analysis, there were historically as many as five Huichol communities. Due to land loss to *Mestizos* and Huichol population decline, these geographic areas are no longer officially recognized as Huichol communities, though Huichol people may constitute a majority of the inhabitants in the regions.

The Sierra Madre Occidental is a very isolated, yet beautiful, area that straddles the coastline of western Mexico. It varies in elevation from several thousand feet to well over 8,000 feet (2,400 meters). Perhaps two of the most striking characteristics of this region are the climate and topography.
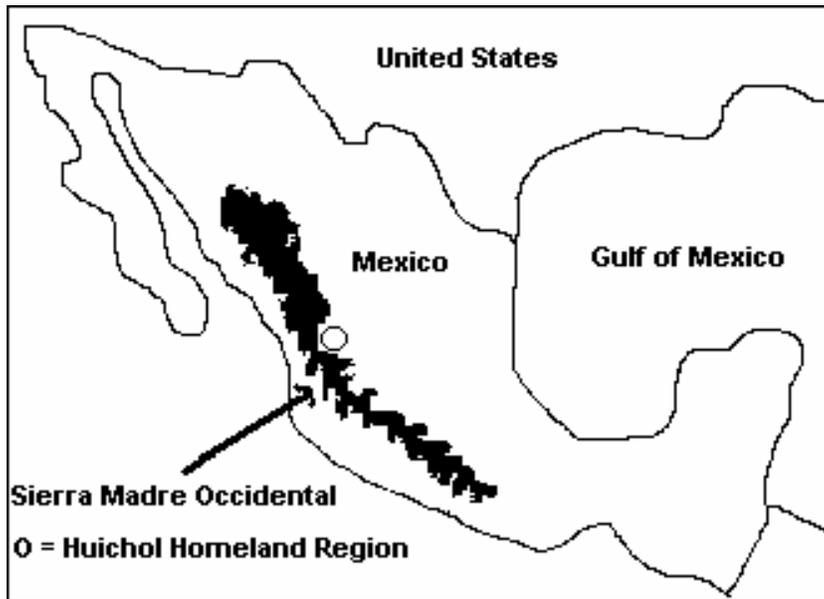
Figure 1.1. The Huichol Homeland

The climate of the region is extremely dry. Apart from the summer monsoon season, the area receives little or no rain. Climate is largely a factor of altitude, varying from a subtropical zone with lush vegetation at lowest elevations, to pine-clad forests at its highest. Topography within the homeland consists of a series of mesas jutting up several thousands of feet, cut by the powerful Chapalagana River. Between the mesas lies a wealth of canyons and valleys. The Huichol populate the mesas for the most part, like the Hopi Indians in Arizona, preferring to migrate with the seasons, from the villages during the winter months, to family ranches located at higher elevations during the summer, while retaining their agricultural plots at a slightly lower altitude. The Huichol

utilize runoff rainfall to cultivate their fields, locating many of them on steep slopes

leading down hillsides (see Figure 1.3). At these altitudes, the principal crops that can be

grown are corn and some squash, using a type of slash-and-burn horticulture on collective

familial plots. The hillsides are very slippery and covered with volcanic rock. Trails

wind over, down, and around canyons and mesas. They are difficult to traverse for

humans, and nearly impossible for horses and pack animals (see Figure 1.4).
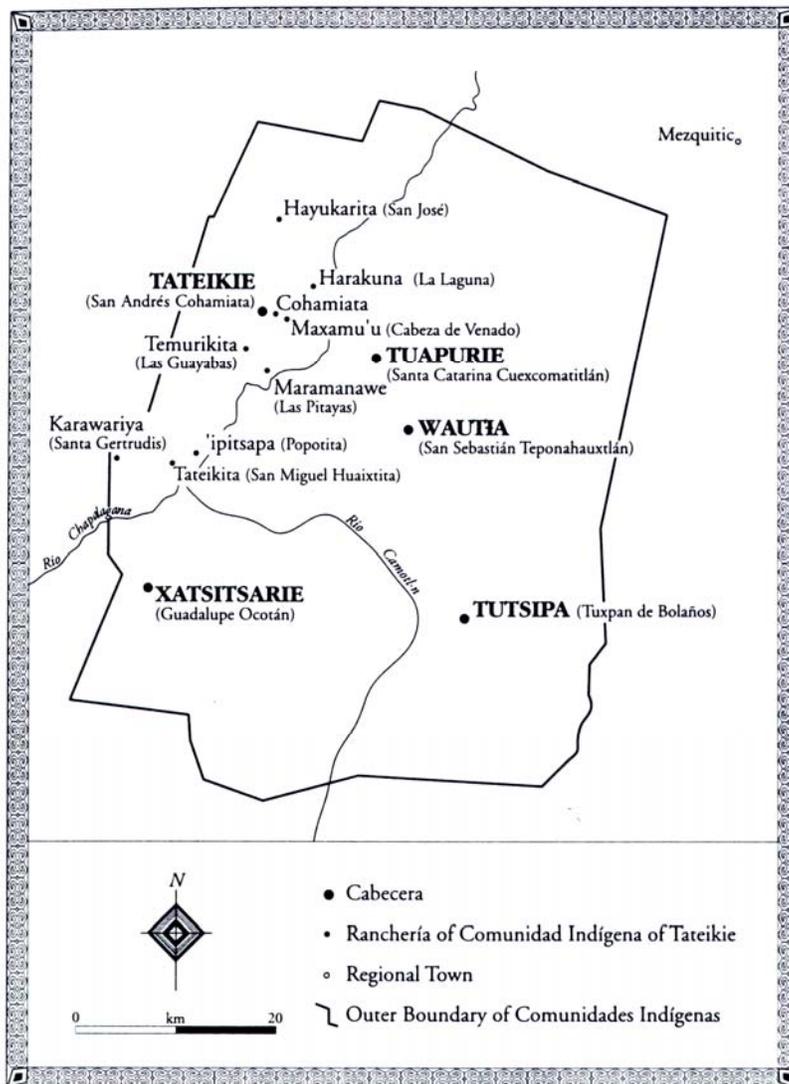
Figure 1.2. The Huichol Communities (Source: Liffman and Coyle 2000:4)

When not in village settlements, the Huichol generally migrate in summer to family-owned ranches at much higher elevations within the pine-clad forested region of the Sierra. There they maintain cattle ranches. But, unlike their *Mestizo* neighbors, the Huichol do not kill their herds for meat. Rather, they use their cattle for producing milk. The milk is then turned into cheese so that it can be stored and used throughout the winter months when the ranches are no longer occupied.

A further complication to the Sierra Madre region is a lack of water. There are no streams at the higher elevations, making life difficult. What water that does exist, bubbles to the surface at *ojos de agua* (waterholes) that dot the region. While not plentiful, these waterholes sustain what life there is in the region, and limit the location of permanent human settlements.

At riverside, the climate is hot and extremely humid year-round. Settlements are generally abandoned during the summer months at these elevations for the cooler ranches of the highlands. The advantage to lower elevations, however, is that a variety of crops such as squashes, fruits, and beans can be grown. Water is also readily available, as are opportunities for fishing.

The Sierra Madre region is home to not only the Huichol, but also several other indigenous peoples, including the Cora, Tepehuán, and Mexicanero peoples. Collectively, they are referred to as the *cuatro pueblos* (four peoples). The various peoples of the region generally keep to themselves and, only occasionally, primarily through trade, becoming involved with others. This strategy has assisted the peoples in maintaining their own identities with separate traditions and languages. Yet, at the same time, this has hindered their ability to build pan-ethnic alliances.

Figure 1.3. Hillside Cornfields at *Huaixtita*.

Figure 1.4. Burros Carrying Corn from *Huaixtita*.

The Huichol do not make use of the term *comunidad* (community) in the same

manner as the modern political conventions used today by geographers, demographers,

and development planners either in the U.S. or Mexico. A *comunidad* for the Huichol is

a politico-territorial distinction having pre-Hispanic significance. Each Huichol community comprises a geographic area equivalent to that of a U.S. county, but running directly in conflict with the Mexican *municipio* system which divides Huichol communities under the jurisdiction of different *municipios*, and even states. Like a Mexican *municipio,* each *comunidad* contains a number of principal village settlements that is home to several *rancherías* (extended family households). Each of the three Huichol *comunidades* (communities) is considered to be autonomous, electing its own political leaders according to the historic *gobernador* colonial system remaining from the days of Spanish occupation of Mexico, and also choosing its own religious leaders.

Although the three communities are autonomous, they are loosely bound together by a governing board known as the *Unión de Comunidades Indígenas Huicholas* (Union of Huichol Indigenous Communities or UCIH) (see Figure 1.5). All members are elected and appointed democratically by the Huichol communities. The UCIH does not directly intervene in the daily affairs of any of the Huichol communities, but rather serves as a mediator for disputes at state and national levels over indigenous affairs. The UCIH also serves to disseminate information among the various communities and acts in collective bargaining agreements with other organizations such as the *Procuradería de Asuntos Indígenas* (Agency for Indigenous Affairs or PAI) of Jalisco and the *Instituto Nacional Indigenista* (National Indigenous Institute or INI).

The largest of the three communities in both geographic area and population is *Tateikié*. This community contains approximately 1750 adult Huichol members according to Rojas (1993:19). This figure, however, dates from 1950, and there is no current breakdown of Huichol population by indigenous community since that time.

More recent statistics released from the *Instituto Nacional Indigenista* (INI) in 1993

indicate that there are 19,363 Huichol, irrespective of residency within the three

communities (Instituto Nacional Indigenista 1993). Two years later, however, this

number jumped to an astonishing 28,001 Huichol speakers, a figure that no doubt

includes urban Huichol as well *(Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e*

Informática 1995). The fact is that no one is exactly certain how many Huichol there are,

since birth records, in many cases, are inaccurate or nonexistent. Only if people attend

school or obtain some form of official employment do they usually obtain a *Cédula*

Única de Registro de Población (CURP) number, analogous to U.S. Social Security

Numbers. Also, many children do not attend school, at least according to the *Instituto*

Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática (INEGI), which states that greater than

40.1% of those six years of age or older do not attend school (INEGI 1990). Another

52.7% or more of the general population are illiterate (INEGI 1990).

Figure 1.5. Student Banner Promoting the UCIH

Tateikié is located on the Northern edge of the Chapalagana River, bordering the community of *Tuapurie* on one side, and the state of Nayarit on the other. It is the community that has experienced the most land loss of the traditional communities –some 4,000 hectares since the start of agrarian reform legislation in the 1960's.

Tateikita

Tateikita is the Huichol name for the village where I conducted my research. Literally, it means "small place of our mother," since it is located in the Huichol community of *Tateikié* (Place of our mother peyote). Containing a number of *rancherías* (extended family households), *Tateikita* is one of the principal small villages within the Huichol community, and is home to 280 people. *Tateikita* is located approximately five hours from *Tateikié* via a newly constructed road completed in April 1998, and eight hours from the town of Huejuquilla el alto, the town that serves as the northern gateway to the Huichol communities. Until the existence of the road, the only way in or out of the village was by foot or by air. Due to the time required to use the road, and its seasonal impassibility, the most efficient, and costly, method to reach *Tateikita* is by plane (see Figure 1.6). While not an option for most Huichol, because of the expense, planes can be contracted from locations in the state of Nayarit to reach the Sierra communities. There are also occasional flights available from missionaries who operate within the region. Flights take from 30-45 minutes depending on the points of departure and origin.

Tateikita is located at the edge of a small plateau overlooking the Chapalagana River at an altitude of some 5,500 feet (see Figure 1.7). Like much of the Sierra region, the climate is dry eight to nine months of the year, with only seasonal rains striking the region from June till mid-September. As a result, the topography is dry and rocky. Annual monsoon rains make the road impassable, and this serves as a constant reminder

of the power of nature and the way of the past. The Saludos family founded the village in

the 1920s.[2] They continue to be the main caretakers of the village. One of the local

features in the village that reinforces this notion is the painting of the words *Puro Saludos*

(Pure Saludos) on the side of one of the prominent buildings near the village plaza.

Figure 1.6. Plane of the Franciscan Missionaries.

Figure 1.7. View of Airstrip and Surrounding Mesas from *Tateikita*.

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[2] All names have been altered, when necessary, to protect individuals from possible harm, or the community from unnecessary (and undesired) visitation.

Tateikita has eight small shops or stores that sell a variety of goods such as coffee, eggs, canned goods and *Maseca* (a brand-name corn flour baked with lye, used for making tortillas in the absence of one's own corn). Most are goods that cannot be readily obtained by those within the village and surrounding ranches. These items must be trucked in from Huejuquilla. The small stores are family run, except for the *Compañía Nacional de Subsistencias Populares* (CONASUPO), a state-subsidized general store, and the recently constructed *almacen* (cooperative store) built with assistance from the Jaliscan Association for the Support of Indigenous Peoples (AJAGI) in Guadalajara (see Figure 1.8). Because most shopkeepers have other employment (many are teachers), there is rarely more than two to three shops open at any given time.

Figure 1.8. The *almacen* at Completion in November 1999.

The CONASUPO sells necessary foodstuffs, mostly flour, corn, and other necessities per its connection with the national *Secretaría de Desorrollo Social* (SEDESOL) office. All foodstuffs are sold at a reduced price to families through this store.

In contrast to the CONASUPO, the *almacen* focuses on selling necessary hardware items such as barbed wire for ranches, sewing items, and tools. Items are shipped on a scheduled basis from Guadalajara, an eighteen hour trip by road.

The central buildings in the village are constructed around a plaza, much like the pattern seen in other Mexican towns and villages. In *Tateikita*, the plaza consists of a combination basketball-volleyball court and an open area used for gatherings and meetings. The local agency of the traditional Huichol authorities is located at one end of this plaza and a health clinic at the other (see Figure 1.9).

Tateikita, because of its remote location and only recent access via road, does not possess many of the amenities taken for granted in more urban areas. There is no electricity in the village or phone service.[3] Water is provided by a series of plastic tubes that route water from a holding tank near the village, where it is collected from a water hole in the Sierra. Its availability, however, is often reduced due to leaks and other complications with the system that may leave the village without water for days at a time.

Tateikita has been home to a number of educational development projects in recent years. Rural education in small ranch settlements near the village is controlled by *Consejo Nacional de Fomento Educativo* (CONAFE) which offers the first three years of primary education to children in areas that have fewer than ten students, and in areas where attendance at a regular primary school might prove difficult. *CONAFE* also donates scholarships and materials to students in the region. In addition, there is a

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[3] In the spring of 2000 a cellular tower was constructed on a high mesa overlooking the Chapalagana region. It offers access to local numbers only. Prior to this, all cell calls had to be placed from the highest peaks of the Sierra region, ones that provided line-of-sight to the *Cerro de Tepic*, adjacent to Tepic, the capital of the state of Nayarit.

preschool in the village and a recently remodeled primary school with dormitories

operated by INI and with direct assistance from the *Secretaría de Educación Pública*

(SEP) and the *Departamento de Educación Indígena* (DEI) in Guadalajara. The primary

school covers grades one through six (there is no equivalent of kindergarten in the

Mexican public education system). Due to increasing attendance of students in recent

years, the primary school now provides education to over 300 students from throughout

the local area. Because primary education has been mandatory for many years, those

students who are from more remote ranches often stay in the dormitories at the school

during the week, returning home to their families on the weekends.

Figure 1.9. The Local Agency of *Tateikita*.

The *Centro Educativo Tatutsi Maxa Kwaxi* (CETMK)

In 1991, the Mexican government passed legislation making secondary education

mandatory in Mexico. The 1997 figure for the state of Jalisco places the level of post-

primary level education at only 47.6% of the general population (INEGI-ENADID 1997).

Because of such low figures, the state concentrated first on establishing secondary

education in the cities, reserving rural areas for last. With this resolution in mind, it was

not until 1995 that the first secondary school opened its doors in the Huichol region of the

Sierra. The location of the school, by agreement of authorities, parents, and coordinators,

was *Tateikita* because of its large educated, and mostly sedentary, population. Also, the

resultant availability of teachers and specialists that could meet the needs of forming a

rural secondary school existed.

Before the CETMK, the only option available for secondary education was to

travel away from the homeland communities, usually to Tepíc or Guadalajara. These

migrations were thought to be further alienating the younger population from their

Huichol identity, since in the city schools, Huichol children could not use their language

or learn about their own traditions. Instead, they were forced to learn and speak Spanish

on a daily basis. Children were also taught traditions that were alien to their own cultural

heritage. These traditions urged them to shed off their Huichol identity and become

"Mexican" as the only way to succeed.

The Mexican states resorted to a cost-effective solution to providing education to

rural areas. Using *telesecundarias* (video schools), the various state entities of the

Secretary of Public Education (SEP) opted to provide a bare minimum of instruction to

rural areas. *Telesecundarias* often have only one or two instructors on site who give all

subject matter. At the time of the CETMK's founding, there were no *telesecundarias*

available locally to the Huichol. While this has changed in the past two years, their level

of instruction is considered inferior to that of a regular secondary school. Teachers are

poorly trained, provide a minimum degree of service (usually one year), and have many

difficulties dealing with the native environments in which they are placed. They also

experience problems related to the limited Spanish proficiency of local inhabitants. As a result, the SEP is slow to construct these schools and has problems finding replacement teachers who usually do not like the harshness of life presented in the Huichol communities.

The CETMK was organized to be an "indigenous" school in the strictest sense of the word. Instructors were chosen from among the Huichol themselves, instead of relying on Mestizo teachers who would know little to nothing about the Huichol way of life or language. While genuinely certified teachers were desired, teachers were selected based on special skills they could contribute to the school, some with little or no formal education experience. The school began initially as a joint project between the Huichol, with assistance from the coordinator Rocío de Aguinaga of *AJAGI,* and the *Instituto Technológico y de Estudios Superiores del Occidente* (ITESO) as the only secondary school in the Sierra. Under de Aguinaga's guidance, the Huichol obtained permission for the school as an experiment in bilingual-intercultural education within the SEP. De Aguinaga also organized teacher training seminars and workshops, with a group of assistants at the ITESO, as a way to help Huicol teachers earn their full credentials.

The founding of the CETMK was not without controversy. Initially the CETMK was housed in buildings demanded from the local Franciscan mission, starting with a small base of students and borrowed *plazas* (paid positions) from the local *municipio*. With assistance of parents, new sets of classrooms were constructed below the mission (see Figure 1.10). The name of the school, *Centro Educativo Tatutsi Maxa Kwaxi*, means, in translation, "Educational Center of the Tail of Our Grandfather Deer." It

employs eight full-time faculty and staff and 108 students divided among three grade

levels. I was employed, by parental approval, as one of faculty at the Center.
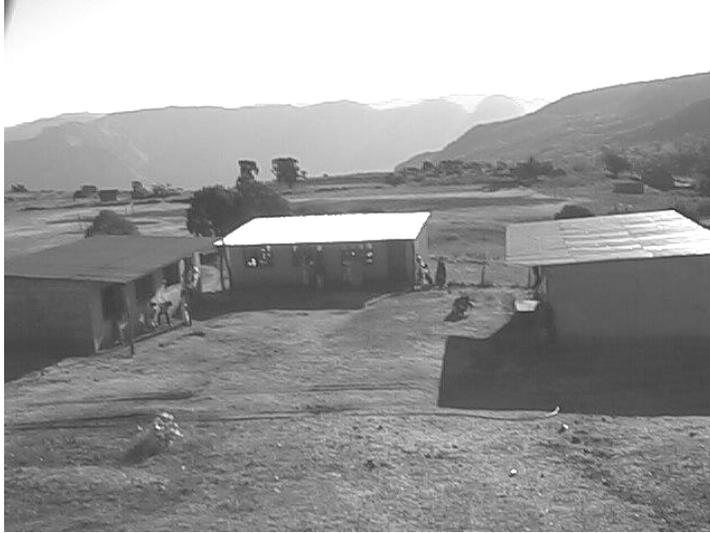
Figure 1.10. CETMK Classrooms.

Dissertation Outline and Layout

Chapter 2 begins a review of the relevant Huichol and identity studies literature.

The first section deals specifically with the history of the Huichol people. By examining

the history of the Huichol people, the conditions leading to the present-day political,

religious, socio-economic, and educational situations can be better understood. The chief

authors of Huichol history, namely Phil Weigand and Beatriz Rojas, illustrate the

growing tensions leading to a culture of resistance among the Huichol. Modern history's

responses to outside pressures in such areas as rural development, religious conversion or

education reform, have deep roots in the historical record and its 500+ years of effects

upon the Huichol.

The second section of chapter 2 concerns nationalism and ethnic identity. The

present status of the Huichol is one where local interests may often conflict with those of

the state or nation. The nationalist literature of Stalin and Díaz Polanco are key to understanding the roots of nationalist movements as they affect the ethnicity of people in Latin America. In this growing age of globalization and the fragmentation of ethnic groups in Europe and Latin America, many of the same issues that confronted ethnic groups following the outset of World War I are arising once more: What constitutes a nation of people? Do ethnic groups have a right to autonomous organization by claiming they are nations of people? Or do nation-states have a right to assimilate indigenous peoples in the fight for a symbolic national identity? The concepts of autonomy and sovereignty lead to a discussion of indigenous identity from the opposing viewpoints of view of the scholars Michael Kearney (1996) and Bonfil Batalla (1987,1996).

Chapter 3 is the second half of the literature review, this time focusing on educational research, principally among indigenous peoples of the U.S. and Mexico. This dissertation is about the steps involved in building and running an indigenous school. The model followed by the school is one designed to promote a celebration of Huichol identity through cultural preservation that aims to combine the best of indigenous schooling with that of the dominant society in a bilingual/intercultural methodology. In Chapter 3, the histories of indigenous education in the U.S. and Mexico are compared.

Chapter 4 is a breakdown of the theoretical concepts and research methods used in this study of Huichol education and identity. The prevalent theories are those involving the negotiation of what I call "bordered identities," or fragmented collectives that are unified by a native cosmology that is radically different from the individualist-centered cosmologies of the dominant society. The bordered identities of the Huichol are

the result of confusion and uncertainty at the onset of rapid culture change and development, and are explained within theories of sociological anomie and materialism. Lastly, I combine political and educational theory to discuss macro and micro level processes of identity negotiation from the views of Foucault, Habermas, and Gramsci.

Chapter 4 concludes with a discussion of the various methods used in the research for this dissertation. These included questionnaires of third year students at the CETMK, measuring their attitudes toward the indigenous school, their identity and traditions, and sense of their own future. Formal and informal interviewing, as well as participant observation of students, faculty, parents, and community members, contributed to a holistic perspective on the present educational situation among the Huichol in *Tateikita*.

Chapters 5 and 6 comprise the actual fieldwork observations and reflections. Chapter 5 discusses the complicated nature of doing applied anthropology among the Huichol. The Huichol are generally suspicious of all outsiders, particularly anthropologists and "researchers." Distrust of researchers who have, in the past, written about the Huichol, usually with good intentions but unverified information, has created an atmosphere that is especially difficult for current and future anthropologists to penetrate. I discuss in Chapter 5 my own process of integration into Huichol society, and highlight the delicate balance between being an outsider, living in a rural area, and gaining trust and acceptance through example.

Chapter 6 comprises observations and interviews at the CETMK. I begin by examining the history behind the school's construction and its place within the village and community. I follow this historical account by reconstructing a day in the life of the school and pointing out the various activities that surround its existence in the minds and

actions of its social actors. I conclude chapter 6 by placing the school's mission and its

daily activities within the light of the "imagined community" through the telling of tales

revealed during the years 1998-2000.

In chapter 7, I summarize the observations and quantitative data from chapters 5

and 6. The results of surveys are tabulated, and results are stated. I conclude chapter 7

with the politics surrounding the results of interviews and surveys. I also demonstrate in

what ways the culture of the CETMK contributes to its successes or failures in meeting

its mission.

Lastly, chapter 8 includes a discussion of the conclusions and results, with

implications for the future of Huichol identity and indigenous education. I conclude with

a discussion of suggestions for future research on the issues.

CHAPTER 2
HUICHOL HISTORY AND IDENTITY STUDIES

"My prayers fly, my prayers rise with the wind; They were born in the place of the rain message, They were born in the blue space. We are the seed of the people, and the gods remain among us in the abode of the gods. . . ." Huichol *mara'akame* chant. (Source: Norman 1977:848).

<u>Historical Setting of the Huichol</u>

This purpose of this chapter is to introduce the reader to the historical data contributing to the creation of the Huichol people as they are today. I mention the prehistory and general history from archaeological, mythological, and ethnological viewpoints, all of which are interwoven into the fabric of Huichol history. This chapter concludes with a section addressing the identity studies literature, reflecting back upon Huichol history to explain the foundations of Huichol identity and the reasons for its present delicate state.

<u>Prehistory and General History</u>

The reconstruction of Huichol prehistory is a complicated affair. The exact prehispanic origins of the people who became the Huichol are, at best, uncertain. One prominent author, Beatriz Rojas (1993:24), says that we must wait until at least the end of the 16th century to understand the Huichol as a people. Due to the lack of information surrounding Huichol origins, the bulk of research concerning the Huichol begins with history since colonial times. There are, however, a few things known about Huichol

origins derived mainly from mythology, accented with archaeology and linguistic data, where possible.

According to Rajsbaum (1994), the Huichol have their origins in the history of several prehistoric Indian peoples who came together in the Sierra Madre Occidental region of Mexico. Moreover, it has been widely speculated that these tribes were probably of Aztecan origin (Furst 1996; Weigand 1981). This appears to be consistent with Huichol self-declarations. I have even heard the Huichol point westward towards the coast when mentioning "Áztlan," the mythological homeland of the Aztecs. If the Huichol did indeed form as a result of a melding of several tribes, this could explain the duality of Huichol mythology whereby Eastern Huichol are more oriented toward desert-centered emergence stories in *Wirikuta*, land of the sacred peyote cactus, a point at which there is a convergence of the five cardinal directions (north, south, east, west, center) (Furst 1969a).

In opposition to these stories, Huichol along the Western edge of the Sierra Madre Occidental associate their emergence stories with *Haramaratsie*, the Huichol name for San Blás, Nayarít. Weigand (1981) believes this conglomeration of aboriginal peoples to be a reason for the diversity of Huichol mythology. These various connections, or associations, coupled with sacred sites associated with the other cardinal directions, determine Huichol cosmology in its broadest sense. Liffman (2000) likens these attachments between sacred sites and sense of place (*kiekari*) to gourdvines, illustrating how Huichol historical territoriality is rooted in an open cosmology that includes over 90,000 square kilometers as opposed to the officially recognized 4,000 square kilometers that encompass the Huichol homeland. It is due to this very open patterning of Huichol

territoriality that it becomes most difficult to situate the origins of the Huichol, especially with a lack of archaeological evidence to support or deny such allegations.

The foremost authority on Huichol archaeology, Phil Weigand, himself acknowledges that "archaeological investigations in the areas where rural Huichol Indians now reside are nearly nonexistent" (Weigand 1981:9). Using data collected from several surrounding areas, Weigand believes that the present-day Huichol have their origins in four distinct prehistoric influences: *los nayaritas* (the people of the Western Coast, including the Cora), the Huajimic-La Yesca archaeological cultures for the southern Chapalagana Huichol, the *Chalchihuites* culture of Zacatecas for the northernmost Chapalagana Huichol, and, finally, the *Bolaños* valley sites for the eastern and central Chapalagana Huichol (Weigand 1981). Many of these conclusions are drawn from the similarities in the construction of circular ceremonial structures and centers, as well as settlement patterns throughout the region. These circular ceremonial centers, so he believes, served as models for the circular *kalihuey* temple of the modern Huichol, and date to the early Classic period of 200-700 A.D. (Weigand 1979:101).

In his work, Weigand refutes another popular theory held by Furst (1996) that places Huichol origins in the *Chichimec* desert complex, along with ancestors known as the *Guachichil* people. It is Weigand's (1981, 2000) belief that this analogy is based on inconclusive evidence from small linguistic similarities between modern Huichol phonology and that of these purported ancestors.

Linguistic data from the Sierra region shows that there are significant linguistic similarities among the Pima, Tepehuán, Tarahumara, Yaqui, Cora, Huichol, Nahuatl, and Mexicano speaking peoples (Grimes 1964). Reconstructed through glottochronology, these similarities are most pronounced between Huichol and Cora, suggesting an accurate

depiction of these languages as a subfamily (Grimes 1964). If these inferences are accurate, than the Huichol and Cora are not only neighbors linguistically, but also could share a common kin ancestry.

In classes I observed in *Tateikita*, indigenous instructors taught that the *Guachichil* were one of several ancestral groups to the Huichol. They also acknowledged the role of the *Tepecanos* and *Teochichimecas* in forming the present-day Huichol. This illustrates Huichol uncertainty with their own origins and support for Furst's model.

The collection of Huichol mythology as it relates to cultural origins was largely the work of Peter Furst (1969a, 1969b, 1972, 1974, 1989, 1993; Furst and Anguiano 1976; Furst and Myerhoff 1966) and Barbara Myerhoff (1970, 1974). Through the collection of origin myths and migration stories, Furst connected East with West in the formation of modern Huichol society. Variations in mythological accounts were said to be the result of the orality of Huichol culture, with regional variations developing across time as other influences affected the stories. In fact, Fikes (1985) wrote a dissertation on variations within Huichol myths in the community of *Tuapurie*, illustrating the fluid nature of these stories in Huichol oral culture.

The real problem in dealing with uncertain origins is the tendency to rely exclusively on one domain (linguistic, archaeological, or cosmological) to reconstruct Huichol origins. Like Weigand (1981), I argue that these domains must be taken collectively to paint as accurate a picture as possible of Huichol origins. This is also the position adhered to by Williams (1990), who has traced archaeological data from maize cultivation and temple construction to place Huichol origins to about AD 200. He has also uncovered figurines of early forms of *Tatewarí* (Grandfather Fire), also mentioned by Lumholtz (1902), during his late nineteenth century travels throughout the Sierra and

meticulous classification of the symbolic material culture of the Huichol, Cora, and neighboring tribes. If these speculations carry even an inkling of truth, then they are further proof for early and continuous occupation of the Sierra by the Huichol.

The Huichol, according to Ramírez de la Cruz (1995), were practically unknown before the famous Norwegian traveler Carl Lumholtz visited the Sierra region. In his text *Unknown Mexico* (1902), Lumholtz was one of the first ethnographers, along with Léon Digüet (1899), to document the cultures of the Sierra region. While comments about the Huichol being "unknown" was an exaggeration of the elusiveness of the Huichol, it is true that the Huichol did little to make themselves known to the outside world. It was not until the sixteenth century that the Huichol were "discovered" by the Franciscan missions. In an attempt to avoid contact with Spanish colonial authorities, the Huichol moved higher and deeper in to the Sierra Madre. In fact, they have existed in their present location for a little over 500 years by this theory.

From the viewpoint of mythology, the Huichol encountered "Majakuagy" (*Maxa Kwaxí*, or Grandfather Deer Tail) who was a white spirit person from the heavens (Digüet 1899). *Maxa Kwaxí* then taught the Huichol people the ways of the peyote and showed them a place to settle in the Sierra Madre (Furst 1996). For quite some time, this story was thought to be of a "white man," perhaps of Spanish descent, who taught the Huichol their current way of life. The reference to "Majakuagy" being "white" is, in fact, a reference to the white tail of the deer (Schaefer and Furst 1996).

If we take the most restrictive dating considering Huichol prehistory, they have occupied their present-day location for at least 500 years. The first European contact with the Huichol was in 1531 by the Spanish conquistador Nuño de Guzmán and soon thereafter the Franciscans set up the first missions (Furst 1996; Rojas 1993). Nuño de

Guzmán was relentless in his march through the coastal regions of the Sierra, causing countless tribes to relocate, many joining and becoming assimilated into Cora and Huichol peoples of the Sierra. The difficulty of the terrain made conquest of the Sierra a troublesome endeavor. It was not until 1580, roughly 50 years after Nuño de Guzmán's first contact with the peoples of the Gran Nayar coastal region, that missionary activity began in the Gran Nayar because the Sierra region was very inaccessible from the North, East, and South (Furst 1996).

Soon after the Franciscans entered the Sierra, mining operations began and continued until 1700. These mining operations coincided with a series of territorial conflicts between the Huichol and Chichimeca. The Huichol still proved to be elusive, although the much more easily accessible Cora were rounded up into eleven Jesuit-controlled villages in 1722 (Franz 1996:79). Eleven years later in 1733, the Franciscans established a catholic mission in *Waut+a*, leading quickly to the founding of missions in several other key Huichol communities. Shortly thereafter, the Franciscans entered, on several occasions, the heart of the Huichol territory, each time being unsuccessful in converting the Huichol from their "primitive pagan ways" and, ultimately, forcing them into retreat.

According to Franz (1996:80), "the Huichol were apparently the least affected of all the Sierra tribes, since they were never congregated into nucleated mission settlements." Their seasonal patterns of migration and geographic dispersion made religious conversion among them a difficult task. Whereas the neighboring Cora Indians fought aggressively to resist acculturation, the Huichol response was primarily to "flee," thereby having as little contact with their aggressors as possible. This fleeing activity,

Vogt (1955:253) believes, is the impetus for the Huichol being "withdrawn and reticent" in direct relations with Mestizos in the historical era.

The Huichol retreat into the Sierra created a "region of refuge" (Aguirre Beltrán 1967). As a natural geographic boundary, the Sierra enabled the Huichol to resist the acculturative pressures around them. Huichol avoidance of Mestizo aggression, however, assisted them in developing a more open style of relationships with outsiders. This style is in direct opposition to the Cora, who through the aggression of missionaries and settlers turned into a "closed" society.

I often draw an analogy to cultural distinctions between the Navajo and Hopi. The Hopi are quite closed in their relations with the outside world, whereas the Navajo have constantly been adapting to the outside world by taking in various aspects of the dominant society's material culture and ideology and adapting them to a "Navajo style of life." Vogt (1955) compares the Huichol and Cora acculturative struggles with that of the Navajo and the Zuni of the American Southwest. He makes the contention that Navajo hogan settlements are "much like the scattered extended family *rancherías* of the Huichol" (Vogt 1955:254). Moreover, whereas Navajo social organization is dependent on a matrilineal clan system, Huichol social organization is not, making their society even more mobile and flexible than that of the Navajo.

Missionary and Mestizo aggression began in the early nineteenth century and continued until the Cristero revolt of 1930 when many Huichol fled the Sierra for the cities or the basin of the Lerma River.[4] These periods of aggression, however, had little impact on traditional Huichol religion. In the late 1930's, the Huichol were able to return

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[4] The Cristero Revolt was a mostly peasant based Catholic revolt against the revolutionary government in western Mexico in the late 1920's and early 1930's. Cristeros fought under the motto "*Viva el Cristo Rey*" (Long live Christ the King).

to their home region, but with a considerable loss of ancestral lands to which they no longer held title. The cultural consequences of the loss of these ancestral lands still plague Huichol society today, with lack of land entitlements being key to why the Huichol continue to struggle to reclaim these lands. Of the nearly 67,000 hectares that are in dispute, the Huichol have successfully regained 10,320, though several key ancestral areas near *Tierra Blanca* and *San Juan Peyotán* remain difficult to reclaim (Chávez and Arcos 1998).

Contemporary Huichol History

Contemporary Huichol history continues to be muddied by struggles to reclaim ancestral lands. This section explains the most recent history of the Huichol, particularly of *Tateikié* and *Tateikita*. It is meant to outline the various development projects within the community and village.

Much of Huichol contemporary history is shaped by the efforts of the National Indigenous Institute (INI), founded in 1949. Under plans for rural development, INI offices were located throughout the various indigenous regions of Mexico, and each was headed by an anthropologist charged with training workers how to conduct development projects among indigenous peoples. In 1960, the Cora-Huichol Coordination Center (HUICOT) was created to direct development within the Sierra (Nahmad 1996). The *Plan HUICOT* was the program instituted to add roads, assist agro-production, create schools, and generally improve living conditions in the Sierra. It was under the *Plan HUICOT* that the first airstrips were created in the various Huichol communities, including *Tateikita* (Nahmad 1996). It wasn't until 1968, however, that formal non-religious schooling was first brought to the Huichol under Salomón Nahmad, coordinator of the *Plan HUICOT*.

No formal history of *Tateikita* has ever been constructed other than that recorded by "Fray Hugo" and the Franciscans at their mission in *Tateikita*. In March 1999, during an indigenous rights workshop held at the CETMK, students, together with instructors and parents/elders, attempted to reconstruct a chronological timeline for the history of *Tateikita* (see Appendix B). The timeline was constructed to put the development of the local village in parallel with developments in land reclamation and indigenous rights. Highlights of this reconstruction are noted in this section.

Although they reached the Sierra in the sixteenth century, the first arrival of the Franciscans to *Tateikita* occurred in 1963, shortly after the construction of the first airstrip. Arriving on mule, they established the local mission (see Figure 2.1). Development in *Tateikita* was rapid after that. The local agency was constructed in 1964, and in 1971, water was piped in from the Sierra to a holding tank outside *Tateikita* near the Rancho *Robles*. Two years later, a health care center was constructed and the airstrip was improved.

Figure 2.1. Franciscan Mission with CETMK Library in the Background.

The Franciscans started the first school in *Tateikita* in 1976. Local resistance abounded, and shortly thereafter, a primary was built, along with a boarding dormitory for students. Most of these structures were completed during the time of the *Plan HUICOT* of the *Instituto Nacional Indigenista*. Current projects have aimed to get a road to *Tateikita*, linking it, at least seasonally, to the outside world. This project was completed in April 1998. Also, Missionaries of various faiths have penetrated the Sierra, disguising religious conversion under seemingly legitimate development projects.

Social and Political Organization

Huichol social organization is best perceived at three levels: the household *ranchería*, the village or pueblo consisting of several *rancherías*, and the traditional politico-religious *comunidad* (community). At the smallest of these levels, the household is typically a nuclear family with husband, wife, and unmarried children (Grimes 1962). More common in the traditional homeland, however, is the *ranchería*, or extended family household that consists of a matrilocal family with husband and wife, their married female children's families, and any unwed male children. The male children remain in the household of their parents until such time as they are wed, at which point a couple will establish residency with the husband's wife's family (Grimes 1962:104). This differs from Weigand (1979:112) who says that the ideal pattern of postmarital residence is patri- or neopatrilocal.

Huichol marriages are traditionally "arranged," and this practice continues to this day (Weigand 1981). In recent times, however, individual choice has replaced arranged marriages as the dominant marriage system. In the case of those still practicing arranged marriages, however, they are "bilateral and often between first cousins from within the same community" (Schaefer and Furst 1996:8). Marrying and staying within the same

community decreases the risk factors associated with subsistence farming, since families are within accessible distance from one another, should sharing of crop harvests or labor become necessary.

Although social organization is matrilineal, the male is still the religious and social head of household. It is no doubt that much of this is probably due to the infusion of Mexican *machismo* into Huichol society. Women usually control the land, however, with men tending to any cattle they may own. Inheritance is unilineal, with daughters receiving from their mothers and sons from their fathers. Sometimes, women receive cattle through inheritance, in which case they may come to control ranch land and all animals on it over time (Weigand 1979). It may be possible that these changing inheritance patterns are why patrilocal residence is not as common as it once was.

Huichol children live in the nuclear household, though caring for them is a communal affair involving all members of the child's extended family. Huichol children are enculturated through a series of formal ceremonies and informal maternal instruction. The most important of these ceremonies for a child is what is known as the *Fiesta del tambor* (Festival of the drum) that coincides with the annual harvest festival in the fall (Schaefer and Furst 1996). Only after the completion of five of these ceremonies is a child truly considered whole, showing the importance of the number five in Huichol cosmology. At each of these annual ceremonies, lasting roughly two days, children are positioned on blankets before their mothers and are blessed by the gods. A series of offerings are made and a constant vigil is maintained through the aid of a *cantador* (shaman-chanter) and the incessant beating of the *tepu* (drum). At the end of the ceremony, all families with participating children offer a feast to attendees. In the feast, other kin and guests are treated to tortillas, tamales, and traditional *tehuino* drink. This

ceremony serves for many children and adults as a mechanism to solidify social bonds (see Figure 2.2).

The historical significance of the ceremony lasting five years for each child is probably rooted in high infant mortality rates (Schaefer and Furst 1996). It was common in the pre-development era for many children to die before their fifth birthday. The conclusion of the ceremony therefore marks an important passage for Huichol children into participating members of Huichol society.

Figure 2.2. Child in *Tateikita* at the *Fiesta del Tambor*, December 1999.

At a collective level, Huichol society is egalitarian, but as noted by Schaefer and Furst (1996:11), "increasing participation in the market economy has inevitably created some inequalities, especially in differential access to certain economic and social advantages." The same market factors are applied to social status. Traditionally, social status is based on age (Schaefer and Furst 1996). At the highest rankings in political organization, this continues to be the case. At the village level, however, a market economy is beginning to show its face. At two village *asambleas* (community meetings) I have observed in *Tateikita*, it was not uncommon to see the most economically

prosperous picked to serve a term in public office at the January *cambio de varas* (change of local authorities). Whether or not they accepted such gestures of appointment was another matter entirely. Those picked to hold public office, because of the financial constraints involved, are therefore either those with some public debt, or those who the community believes can economically bear the hardship of serving in public office.

The current Huichol political system originated in the late eighteenth century under the Franciscans "who introduced the *comunidad* (community) political structure" (Weigand 1979). I have mentioned earlier that there are three Huichol traditional communities. There are, however, five *gobernancias*, which remain from earlier civil-religious hierarchies. Further complicating these political divisions are the presence of temple districts (Weigand 1979:13). Each temple, or *kalihuey,* has its own religious authorities connected with maintaining it.

Huichol political organization is usually discussed at the level of civil-religious hierarchy. According to this system, the highest traditional office is the *gobernador* (governor). This individual's functions have been reduced to that of a figurehead in current Huichol organization. His principal role has been as an arbitrator to mediate disputes with the assistance of a panel of judges. He is "generally the eldest member of a community and serves a term of one year" (Weigand 1979:107). The community governor is the head of a council that includes a number of other positions, among them the *capitanes* (captains), *alguaciles* (political representatives) and their assisting *topiles* (police-servants). Alongside the Governor's council are the *mayordomos* who are responsible for overseeing that particular ceremonies, in the various *pueblos* (towns or villages) and *rancherías*, are conducted according to tradition (Weigand 1979).

The members of the council that hold the highest authority and prestige are the

kawiteros, who are the elder esteemed members of the community. They are the experts

of tradition. According to Weigand (1979:108), "a man becomes a *kawitero* through

lifelong study of the customs, history, religion, and myths of his *comunidad.*" *Kawiteros*

are often *mara'akame,* though they may no longer be practicing healers. They

traditionally were responsible for overseeing the numerous *kalihuey* temples throughout

the communities. Figure 2.3 illustrates the traditional political hierarchy in the mid-

1970s. The structure is roughly the same today, though the Plan HUICOT, as indicated

in the diagram, is no longer in existence.
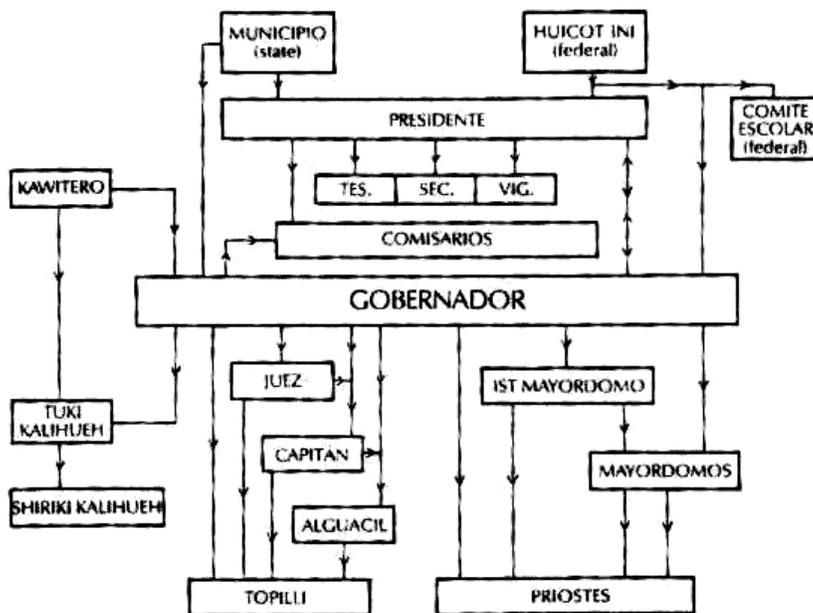
Figure 2.3. Huichol Political Organization. (Source: Weigand 1979:103).

At the village level, the head authority is the *comisario* (commissioner) who

serves a joint role as mayor and police chief of a village settlement and temple district. It

is his responsibility to mediate local disputes, wed couples, and provide for the general

upkeep of the pueblo. The *comisario* is normally chosen from among the people in the

village who are most prosperous or owe a term of service. This is because the position has a lot of responsibilities that can be economically taxing during the one-year term. Someone must also be chosen who holds some knowledge of the rules and regulations of traditional and civil law. To help him in his duties, the *comisario* is assisted by *topiles* who are his message carriers and police force. Their responsibilities include policing the district and keeping the *comisario* informed of political and social "doings" in the region.

Contemporary Religious Organization

Huichol spirituality, at least for the past 500 years, has been based on a cosmology centered on the ritual use of the peyote cactus. The peyote cactus (see Figure 2.4) is the place from which life emanates, and from which it will return upon one's death. Furst, the foremost authority on Huichol ceremony, says in his documentary of a Huichol peyote pilgrimage, "It is the doorway to the fifth dimension" (Furst 1969a). Annually, sometimes biannually, the Huichol from various communities will make trips to the sacred land called *Wirikuta* located in the desert near San Luis Potosí. It is there alone that the sacred peyote cactus grows. It must be harvested by those entrusted to do so, the *peyoteros*, and brought back to the many village communities for use in rituals and ceremonies.

In the past, pilgrimage trips would involve considerable personal hardship, as the pilgrimage would take up to a full month to accomplish on foot, during which time fasting from salt intake is obligatory. In recent times, personal hardship has changed to economic hardship. No longer are the pilgrimages conducted on foot, but rather by bus and truck, vehicles that must be contracted to carry the people to and from the various sacred sites along the journey, and assist them in returning to their communities with the harvests of peyote cactus (Muller 1978). The major expense has become transportation.

These problems with expenses have limited the Huichol ability to make pilgrimages in anything other than organized temple district groups. It is now the plan of INI to assist the Huichol economically in conducting pilgrimages.

Figure 2.4. The Peyote Cactus (Source: Cullman, et al. 1986:202)

Each pilgrimage group is led by a *mara'akame* (shaman, or healer) who acts as a spiritual guide to the followers (see Figure 2.5). *Mara'akate* (pl.) may be male or female, though I have yet to hear or see a female *mara'akame*, even though Valadez (aka Susan Eger 1978, 1989) has equated female master weavers and artists with *mara'akame* status. Moreover, Schaefer (1990, 1996) says that women weavers historically underwent an initiation ceremony much like a "rite of passage." She acknowledges, however, that these ceremonies did little for a women's ability to enter the religious-political hierarchy. This is consistent with Schaefer and Furst (1996), who say that the role is chiefly a male occupation. Were Valadez's statements to be correct, there would be many more female *mara'akate* than their male counterparts, as most all women embroider, sew, weave, or use *chaquira* (beads) to make necklaces and bracelets. These items are chiefly for personal or family use, though there are some rural Huichol, and many urban Huichol,

who do make crafts to sell to dealers and tourist shops in Puerto Vallarta, Tepíc, or Guadalajara.

To be a *mara'akame* is a multifaceted role. Spiritually connected with the gods, one must be a diviner, a healer, and an expert in myth and lore (Fikes 1985). Furthermore, a *mara'akame* must be willing to make personal sacrifices to achieve prominent status within a given community. A good *mara'akame* is observant, humble, and personable. To be otherwise may label one a witch. One earns the status of a *mara'akame* only by example. It is necessary for a potential *mara'akame* to complete the peyote pilgrimage at least five times to be honored and respected as such. Many have, however, completed the journey numerous times beyond the bare minimum. Because being a *mara'akame* is not a paid position, these spiritual leaders are dependent upon donations from those they serve. It is not uncommon these days to see a *mara'akame* go from family to family seeking monetary donations for a pilgrimage, a journey to acquire materials for a ceremony, or for travel funds to perform a ritual in outlying areas of the Huichol homeland (Muller 1978:92).

Huichol cosmology includes a view of the world that interconnects all people and places. The ritual use of peyote is for the purpose of receiving messages from the gods, as well as for honoring them. It is one way to make a direct spiritual connection with the ethereal world. Unlike images portrayed by the popular media, Huichol use of peyote is strictly sanctioned. There are certain contexts when it is permissible to use peyote and others when it is not. Permissible contexts usually involve the presence or guidance of a *mara'akame* at ceremonies and the occasional use by artisans to receive divine intervention in artistic creations. Individuals, to prevent or cure sickness and ill health, may also use it. Peyote is present at most ceremonies, though in no way is it as prevalent

as it once was in the historical accounts of Schaefer and Furst (1996), Mata Torres

(1970), and Benítez (1994). In fact, the modern media continues to present a watered-

down and stereotypical view of Huichol religion and the people in general.

Representations such as those portrayed by Ibáñez and Lavidon (1997) and Zarembo

(1999) promote inaccurate images of contemporary Huichol society and religion. In an

age of global information exchange, views of the Huichol as peyote consuming secretive

people who "are distrustful of outsiders" are detrimental to external relations.

Figure 2.5. *Mara'akame* and Village Elder at *Tateikita* Rodeo.

Huichol spirituality revolves around a series of ceremonies performed on an

annual cyclical basis. These ceremonies are connected with events such as the planting

of corn (*fiesta de la limpieza*) in the late spring, and the harvest season (*fiesta del tambor*)

in the late fall (Muller 1978). Some are connected with the peyote pilgrimage. At any

given time within the year, the Huichol may visit sacred locations located throughout

Western Mexico. These visits are often informal and family-centered, whereas major events in the ceremonial calendar involve many relatives and families who come together to celebrate an event (see Figure 2.6).

Figure 2.6. Huichol Woman Leaving Offerings. (Source: Geomundo 1997:76)

According to Huichol mythology, peyote, maize, and the white-tailed deer form a trinity in much the same way as the "Holy Trinity" serves as a unifying dimension of Western Christian religion (Schaefer and Furst 1996; Myerhoff 1970). Many names are assigned to each of the three items, as they are constantly associated with deities in the spirit world and are interchangeable, easily confusing the amateur interpreter. For example, peyote, apart from being called *hikuri*, is also referred to as *Kauyumari* (Mother Deer). Because peyote flowers possess white tufts of hair atop them, they are also called *Maxa Kwaxí* (Deertail). The mythological deer that showed the way to the peyote is reverentially called *kauyumari* (Mother Deer), but may also be called *Tatutsi Maxa Kwaxí* (Grandfather Deertail), representing the gender-neutral nature of the figure. In these intersecting themes, the Huichol trinity is inseparable.

Huichol religion is "pantheistic" (Muller 1978:91). All deities are personified by associating them with kinship terms, the most prominent of which are *Tau* (Father Sun), *Tatewari* (Grandfather Fire), *Kauyumari* (Brother or Mother Deer), *Nakawé* (Grandmother Growth), *Tatei Yurianaka* (Mother Earth), *Tatei Niwetsika* (Mother Maize) and *Tukakame* (God or Goddess of Death). Each of these deities is honored in ways to manipulate the natural world. These honoring rites usually involve offerings or sacrifices to the deities. Travel to sacred sites is also common. Among the cardinal directions associated with deities are *Haramaratsie* (San Blas, Nayarit) in the West, *Xapawiyemata* (Lake Chapala, Jalisco in the South), *Wirikuta* (near San Luis Potosi in the East), *Teikata* (the Huichol homeland) and *Hauxa Manaka* (a site to the North) (Liffman 2000). Prayers and rituals frequently are for a good harvest, rain, and success in peyote rituals.

Taking the five key directional locations in mind, the number "5" plays an important role in Huichol cosmology. Not only are there five sacred directions, but also Furst (1969a) says there are "five levels to the underworld," five stages and colors to the corn, and, frequently, five parts to an average peyote button. It can be said that five directions add centrality to the "here and now" orientation of Huichol space and time.

<u>*Tateikita*: A Community Profile</u>

<u>*Tateikita* Land Tenure and Economy</u>

The village of *Tateikita* is more reminiscent of recent urbanization trends within the Huichol territory than as representative of traditional Huichol economics. While in outlying ranches the Huichol rely more on traditional subsistence, those within *Tateikita*, much like other centralized villages, such as *Tateikié* or *Tuapurie*, are now dependent on a foreign economic system that requires them to purchase foodstuffs they are unable (or unwilling) to grow themselves.

The Huichol within each community possess land collectively and families work plots of land using cooperative labor from family members, friends, and more distant kin (Weigand 1979:109). The fact that land is collective means that the territorial lands cannot be individually bought and sold. It is communal in that "individual titles to plots of land within the overall unit are not granted" (Weigand 1979:111). Weigand (1979:111) continues, however, "lack of title does not imply lack of very strong and inheritable use rights." Instead, individual families retain possession of plots of land within tracts that are cleared annually utilizing a slash-and-burn technique. Within each cleared tract of land, several different families may have planted crops. Boundary divisions between familial plots are delineated by color of corn that has been planted. In addition, there is little population pressure on the land, so disputes are not common.

Not only may several families share a tract of land, but also each individual family may possess multiple locations where they have a right to plant. These may be at different elevations so as to maximize the types of crops that can be grown. For instance, while some crops, such as corn and squash, still grow well at higher elevation, other crops, especially beans, do not yield at such elevations. These crops, instead, will be planted at lower elevations, interspersed amongst corn stalks, if they are planted at all.

Because land is considered "women's property," men do not ordinarily clear, plant, and harvest their own tracts of land, but instead will be responsible for preparing and harvesting crops from the lands of their spouses, if married, or those of their mother, sisters, or other female kin. Land is passed on matrilineally, meaning use rights will pass from a mother equally to each of her daughters. Upon the death of a female, her portion of the land will pass directly to her surviving daughters. If none are present, the land will be subsumed and reallocated to another family by the traditional authorities. These

observations are in contrast to Weigand (1979:111), who says "farm plots and farmsteads, however, also go to the eldest son of the first wife if he is capable of managing them and is present to do so." It may be that, in many cases, the absence of the eldest male, due to urban migration, has resulted in females becoming more in control of land than they were in the past. Males are still, however, preferred to female children, and receive considerable more economic input from their parents than female children. This is noticeable especially in clothing and food allocation.

Use rights for women are very strong, and preserved through inheritance (Weigand 1979:112). This is probably a secondary factor determining the collective nature of families, particularly sisters, in maintaining access to lands for planting. So, while official roles may show a plot of land as belonging to a male, because of use rights, women will actually be the owners of the land, delegating labor for maintenance of the land and crop tending to male kin.

Within *Tateikita*, most families still use their familial plots. The variety of individual crops planted, however, has greatly diminished from the past. Families still plant the traditional five varieties of corn, but this is more ceremonial than practical in nature, as families prefer blue, red, and yellow corn to the other varieties. The planting of additional crops is usually limited to squash. Other smaller crops, such as radishes and cucumber are planted, if at all, within individual ranch homesteads. Some families also have fruit trees in their family compounds, especially orange, lemon, and lime varieties.

The Huichol mainstay continues to be subsistence farming, as noted in the literature (Nahmad 1996; Schaefer and Furst 1996; Weigand 1981). By subsistence farming, I mean that food production is for familial use, and that surpluses are not ordinarily generated. If so, surpluses are traded with relatives who may not have had a

very productive year. In this way, the system maintains equilibrium. A Huichol subsistence economy does not mean, however, that the Huichol produce the entire realm of food varieties necessary for their diet. This is especially true when it comes to protein intake. Huichol families, for the most part, are very nutritionally deficient. Families have a difficult time clothing their children, let alone worrying about a proper diet. Protein intake within *Tateikita* comes mainly from eggs, beans, and canned tuna fish. These items are brought in by truck from Huejuquilla, where they are sold in local shops or distributed at a discounted price through the government-subsidized *Compañía Nacional de Subsistencias Populares* (CONASUPO). Poorer families will restrict their diet to beans and tortilla, while those who can afford to, will purchase the extra items.

The Huichol of *Tateikita* are not skilled, trained, or educated in small animal husbandry. They do, however, supplement purchased items by the occasional chicken, pork, or, in rare instances, lamb. These animals are allowed to run wild throughout the *rancherías* and villages, feeding on garbage and human waste. Chickens are not raised from birth, but are purchased at a discounted rate through promotional programs of the *Departamento de Infancía y Familias* (Department of Infants and Families or DIF). Others contract truck owners and/or shopkeepers to bring in animals from outside the Sierra.

While Huichol families will have tracks of land to plant through the collective system of communally owned lands within each of the three rural Sierra communities, many also possess separate family ranches. In contrast to the areas used for planting crops (which are located on the steep hillsides or inter-mesa areas of the region), families from *Tateikita* will possess individual "ranchos" located outside the village, at higher elevations within the Sierra. These ranches are the primary place of residence for many

families during the rainy summer months, when they will leave their homes in the village. Within the ranches, families will possess cattle and small animals, with the cattle being used for milk production. The milk is then processed into cheese, which, when preserved, will keep for many months. Cattle are not normally killed for their meat, except when they have become old or no longer can be used for breeding purposes. Cattle are allowed to wander freely on the ranches during the day to graze, and returned to their corrals in the evening. Families from *Tateikita* will only return to the village if they need additional supplies or if foodstuffs are depleted.

The rural ranch homesteads, unlike the planting fields, are regularly referred to as male property (Gerardo's ranch; Agustín's ranch). Women will work with the cattle during the summer months, but because these ranches are used almost exclusively for cattle (men's property), they are labor intensive, something requiring regular maintenance by males. Several families may come together on a ranch, working together for a share of the dairy products, and these groups are always centered on female kin networks (a wife's sisters).

Each of the eight shops in *Tateikita* is a general store, and all are independently owned, except the CONASUPO (state discount store) and the newly created *almacen* (hardware store) that is run by a women's collective. Being general stores, they all carry largely the same items. Foodstuffs include eggs, canned goods, pasta, oil, sweets, sodas and beer, Maseca™ (a commercial ground corn-flour mix), flour, salt, beans, rice, canned milk powder, coffee, and a limited selection of fruits and vegetables (chiefly apples, cabbage, and peppers). In addition, stores carry pesticides (bug sprays and insect powders) and general items (sandals, batteries, flashlights, candles, cigarettes, sewing

items, and writing materials for the schoolchildren). All of these items are brought in by truck from outside the Sierra, resulting in prices being high for most items.

Not all families can afford to purchase items at the local shops. While most families receive some sort of assistance either from INI and the *Departamento de Infancia y Familias* (DIF), for children attending school, or the *Secretaria de Desorrollo Social* (SEDESOL) (for planting particular crops), malnourishment still runs rampant, emphasizing economic differences between have and have-nots. The nutrition of those who can afford to provide additional essential vitamins, minerals, and protein supplements to their diet is much different from that of poorer families who may only be able to provide one meal a day to their children, and this may only be a monotonous daily consumption of beans and tortilla.

The Huichol are very reluctant to try new foods, which makes introducing new foods into their diet quite difficult. Weigand notes:

> Huichols have shown little enthusiasm for other introduced plants, such as carrots, lettuce, radishes, and the like. The scanty use of these garden crops is less a matter of adaptation to soil than one of taste (1979:11).

I found Weigand's observations to be trye. Attempts by the biointensive agriculture project at the CETMK at introducing lettuce and carrots to students resulted in little interest in their consumption, despite successful yields. The Huichol prefer cabbage to lettuce, because of its durability. Lettuce is also more delicate than cabbage, making it an easy target for hungry ants and other insects.

The Material Life of *Tateikita*

The Huichol of *Tateikita*, due to their unusually high income levels compared to those in outlying areas, have developed an interest in material goods. These range from battery-operated radios and tape players, to expensive television sets and videocassette

recorders. In the case of the former, cheap radios now abound throughout the Sierra, allowing people to listen to news on an INI-sponsored AM radio station, or to one of several Spanish-only ranchero stations available at night. FM signals do not reach this portion of the Sierra. As for the "fetishism" for high tech gadgets such as televisions and VCRs, people with a regular source of income will purchase these items *de crédito* (on long-term loans of two to three years). The items will continue to sit in boxes as "status items" for many months because electricity has not yet reached *Tateikita*, nor will it probably be available any time in the foreseeable future.

Although there is no electricity in *Tateikita*, homes of the economically advantaged (teachers and shop owners) have solar units. These units are panels mounted atop poles that convert the sun's energy into a 16-volt current, which, when run through a regulator unit, is downgraded to 12 volts in order to charge batteries. At night, these industrial-strength 12-volt batteries provide enough electricity to run fluorescent lighting within the homes and outside kitchen areas. Two families now possess AC/DC power invertors that enable them to show an occasional video. The local health clinic does the same, on occasion, but uses a gas-powered generator to create the necessary electric current to run a television and VCR.

Tateikita Geography

Tateikita is more developed than the average Huichol village. Located at the end of a newly created road, *Tateikita* has become an educational mecca for many remote *rancherías* and group settlements in the area. Education exists at preschool, primary, and secondary levels. Most recently, in January 2000, an open preparatory school was founded. In addition to educational advantages, *Tateikita* also serves as a health center for other small settlements in the area. With these recent developments in mind, the

geography of *Tateikita* represents that of a Mestizo plaza-style settlement as opposed to a traditional Huichol settlement that would be dominated by the local *kalihuey* (religious temple). *Tateikita* possess a small *kalihuey* along the edges of the plaza, but the main religious and ceremonial center is located about two kilometers away.

The geography of *Tateikita* consists of a central plaza, dominated by a concrete court used for basketball and volleyball by local residents and students. Surrounding the plaza, are several of the local shops, with others located down nearby side roads. The prominent feature of the plaza is the health clinic. Its chain link fence and concrete foundation make it stand out compared to the adobe brick and weathered appearance of the other buildings in the plaza. The local agency is located opposite the plaza from the health clinic, consisting of no more than a two-room adobe structure with dirt floors.

The spacing of buildings in *Tateikita* is such that the most centralized area of the village is where most of the wealthy families live. They stay close to their shops, managing them themselves during the day and into the evenings. As one approaches the fringes of the village, approximately 100 meters in any given direction from the central plaza, the homes tend to include small plots of land, whereas those living close to the plaza do not have any immediate land at their disposal. Those who live at the fringes of the village, however, are the most economically disadvantaged of the Huichol citizenry. They generally keep to themselves, preferring to only come to the village when it is necessary to purchase supplies, attend meetings, receive government assistance, or participate in ceremonies.

Located within the boundaries of *Tateikita*, but near the road's departure from it, is the primary school *albergue*, or dormitory, and across from that, a one-room pre-school. As one heads east out of the village, the road approaches the airstrip, newly

constructed primary school classrooms, and, finally, the secondary school, located below the village next to the soccer field (just prior to the edge of the mesa). In-between the primary school and the secondary school is the Franciscan mission. Its doors stay locked, save for the presence of a Franciscan friar who continues to live within the mission's confines. One rarely, if ever, finds any Huichol attending or making use of the services of the mission. While once an important landmark, tensions with the local Huichol over evangelism and land-use rights have resulted in its activities taking place in seclusion. Mass is still held nightly, but one will not find any Huichol in attendance. Only visitors and the local doctor attend mass.

Gender Roles in *Tateikita*

Gender roles within *Tateikita* are strictly defined. Women are the primary caregivers of children, while men take a more peripheral role. Women's work consists of preparing meals, making and embroidering clothing, and tending to small animals. It is not a woman's place to be vocal publicly. Traditionally, women did not hold political offices. While this continues to be the case within Huichol society, some women within *Tateikita* are more vocal as advisors, though they do not hold public office. This is especially true of those who are teachers at the primary and secondary level (a traditionally male occupation for the Huichol), the local indigenous nurse, and those whose husbands are economically advantaged shopkeepers. These women will freely express their opinions in public (something very rare traditionally), and tend to be younger, educated women. Sex segregation continues to be common, however, as women's social networks do not intermingle with those of males. This division of sexes has an important historic basis as a means of discouraging adultery.

It is men, not women, who are the most concerned about their children's education, particularly that of their male children. Fathers are very protective of their daughters, however, due to traditional marriage occurring shortly after menarche (ages 13 to 15). The education of female children is considered a substantial economic investment, because the early marriage of a female child will bring more labor into the family economic unit. Men are expected to contribute financially to the well-being of their nuclear and affinal extended families. As a result, migrant labor is common, although within *Tateikita*, the population is not as fluid as in more remote *rancherías*. This is because several economically advantaged kinship networks (e.g., the Saludos family) dominate the local economy.

Nationalism and Ethnic Identity

The remainder of this chapter is about the connections between nationalism and ethnic identity among indigenous peoples. I will define the terms "ethnicity" and "identity," showing how they are interrelated in discussions about indigenous peoples in the modern world. I will then discuss how the themes of autonomy, self-determination, and resistance have generated arguments among indigenous peoples, particularly in Latin America. These debates serve as arenas for the assertion of ethnic identity at national and transnational levels. I conclude here by discussing the literature concerning the relationship between freedom and culture, and how indigenous peoples associate their reasons for mobilization with rights of sovereignty to control their own internal affairs and cultural traditions.

Who are We? Defining Ethnic Identity Among Indigenous Peoples

No discussion of indigenous peoples and culture change could be constructed without first going to the roots of what indigenous people are and how they perceive their

world. At the heart of ideology for indigenous people lie discussions of their identity and

ethnicity. What are these concepts, and what roles do they play in defining the daily life

of indigenous peoples? Moreover, how are these notions created and recreated?

According to Eriksen (1993), a sensitivity to these types of questions has been

common in cultural anthropology since at least the 1960s, and perhaps earlier. These

questions continue to be important in the late twentieth century and early twentieth as

well, because groups of indigenous peoples are continually striving to define who they

are and where they see their future taking them. Constructions of identity and ethnicity

serve political and social functions for people to control their own livelihood. As such,

they are core attributes in the life of a people.

When one speaks of "identity," it is usually heard in conjunction with "ethnicity"

as "ethnic identity." "Identity," in its most common definition, pertains to the distinct

personality of an individual. Defined more broadly, identity is "the collective aspect of

the set of characteristics by which a thing is recognizable or known" (American Heritage

Dictionary 1989). This second definition encompasses the vast number of individual

traits that make an individual who he or she may be. On the other hand, "ethnicity" is the

"perception of oneself as a member of a social group which allows the culture to exist as

a meaningful entity, make sense of the past and present, and give direction to the future"

(McBeth 1983:19).

What makes ethnicity distinct from identity is that it is both an emic and an etic

construction.[5] Emic "self-ascription" enables people to create a personal sense of

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[5] Borrowed from the linguist Kenneth Pike (1967) from the terms "phonemics" and "phonetics" and further elaborated upon by the anthropologist Marvin Harris (1990, 1999), emics and etics serve to define the differences between "insider" and "outsider" domains of perception in anthropology.

belonging, a connection if you will, with others. Ethnicity is also etic as it requires

others, such as social scientists, to recognize that one pertains to a particular group of

people. These joint emic-etic constructions of ethnicity are what Barth (1969:13) calls

"self-ascription and ascription by others, and are consistent with those found by other

scholars, including De Vos (1995), Hutchinson and Smith (1996), and Mead (1995).

Ethnicity is a social category as opposed to a personal-psychological one. As a

social category, ethnicity is defined by one possessing certain cultural or linguistic

characteristics that serve to form boundaries between one's reality and that of others. It is

probably Weber (1996) who first pointed out the exclusionary basis of ethnicity through

its delimiting of social groups. He said, "it is primarily the political community, no

matter how artificially organized, that inspires the belief in common ethnicity" (Weber

1996:35). Moreover, Weber saw that there was a distinction between ethnic membership

and a purely kinship definition, because one's ethnicity is based on a series of perceived

similarities with some individuals, yet differences from others.

The point I have been trying to make regarding "ethnicity" and "identity" is the

way in which they are almost always considered synonymous, yet there still remain

important differences between the two. These differences are important when one begins

to look at "representations of identity" in ethnic variation. There is a dynamic interplay

between self and group that may cause an individual to behave one way in some social

contexts and still another way in others. As a result of these connections, most scholars

consider ethnicity and identity as inseparable parts of a two-sided coin. When one looks

at Native American peoples, however, the link is not so simple because we must include

social definitions of native peoples as a "race."

Creating a "race of Indian peoples" has its own complications because to be "American Indian," in the U.S. at least, one must possess a certain blood quantum that meets the minimum requirements for tribal enrollment. As Fogelson says:

> It is assumed that there exists a linkage forged by a chain of blood and continuous social interaction between historical tribes and their modern descendants, even though there may be such radical discontinuity that present-day Yoruks or Sioux would have a difficult time recognizing, let alone identifying with, the culture of their ancestors (1998:43)

Upon proving one possesses, in most cases, at least one-quarter Indian blood as reflected by generational kinship charts from historical "lists" of Indian tribal enrollment, one can be officially enrolled as a member of a particular tribe with various membership cards. Because of a growing concern that requirements are too strict, many tribes are now reducing the percentages required for affiliation to one-eighth or even one-sixteenth (National Public Radio 2001). These legal definitions of American Indian "race" using biology are problematic. As Fogelson (1998) pointed out, one may be affiliated with a tribe even though s/he may not practice or even be aware of his/her cultural heritage within a particular Indian tribe.

In order to more clearly define indigenous identity in the United States, Fogelson (1987, 1998) has proposed three characteristics by which Native American identity is constructed: blood and descent; relations to land; and sense of community. These broader definitions of native identity characterize the other ways that definitions of Indian identity can be constructed. Relations to land and sense of community lie at the heart of arguments about ethnic group membership, particularly in what is known as "symbolic ethnicity" among individuals who no longer have any direct familial and/or traditional ties to ancestral homelands. It is an issue especially affecting urban Indians in the U.S. and elsewhere who in response to continual contact with a dominant culture and society,

must "negotiate" their identities, becoming truly "bicultural" as has been argued by those who study contemporary Indians (Furst and Havighurst 1973; Moore 1998; National Public Radio 2001; and Thornton 1978). These "bicultural identities" are in constant renegotiation as one adapts to societal change. Like Sandstrom's Aztec-descendent Indians in *Corn is Our Blood* (1991), the Huichol make it a point to stress their Indian identity when it may be advantageous to do so. In essence, they are carefully weighing a cost-benefit analysis when choosing which identity to place forward.

Arguments about the biculturality of Native American identity can be used to point to consistent parallels between identity negotiation among U.S. American Indians and those of Latin America. There is, however, one additional factor in identity determination among the indigenous peoples of Latin America: Indigenous peoples of Latin America do not have blood quantum criteria that can legitimize their status as indigenous peoples. Instead, they must rely on notions of self and group identity. For the Huichol, as will be pointed out in later discussions, relations to the land appear to be of primary importance in determining Huichol membership. Other factors include use of the native language and participation in ceremonies, but these are of secondary importance. One can be urban and still be Huichol, but one must retain familial ties to the ancestral homeland in the Sierra. Once that pattern is broken, urban Huichol would no longer be considered to be Huichol by some rural members, regardless if they still spoke the language.[6]

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[6] The experiences of one Huichol teacher at the CETMK who had considerable difficulty reintegrating into *ranchería* society after a period of prolonged upbringing in an urban setting, helped reveal this aspect of Huichol identity. For second and third generation urban Huichol, the divisions between urban and rural Huichol are even more apparent.

Distinctions between "identity" and "ethnicity" lead to a discussion of "ethnic identity." What are the components that make up one's ethnic identity and how do these components factor into the Huichol situation? According to Keefe (1992:38), "the domain of ethnic identity consists of: the perception of differences between ethnic groups; the feelings of attachment to and pride in one ethnic group and cultural heritage as opposed to others; and, at least where there are perceived physical differences, the perception of prejudice and discrimination against one's own ethnic group." Indigenous peoples in Mexico, including the Huichol, have struggled to remain distinct from the collective *mestizaje* (Mestizo or "mixed") national identity that indigenous peoples see as assimilationist and therefore destructive to their survival as a people.

Until recently, research on the role of ethnicity in indigenous cultural identification and preservation was limited to American Indian peoples of North America, even though the concept of ethnicity was applied to immigrant groups worldwide, including the African Diaspora, and the former Yugoslavia and Soviet republics (Alba 1990). Studies dealing with indigenous ethnicity in North America concentrated on the importance of blood quantum and an emerging concept known as "symbolic ethnicity" (Gans 1979; Roosens 1989; Sprott 1994). It was for quite some time that researchers struggled with how or whether to remove blood quantum percentage as a necessary component to defining ethnicity among indigenous peoples. The main problem with doing so is that in the opinion of many indigenous scholars, removing blood quantum from discussion of indigenous peoples' ethnicity would "dilute" their ability to remain distinct peoples and make it easier for their rights to be gradually stripped away (Nagel 1996; Thornton 1987). Among the Huichol, and others of Latin America, historical classifications of ethnic identity have been based on appearance

alone, as no clear biological links have been established. It was not unusual to hear racial stereotypes of "gradations of skin pigmentation" factored into identification of people as indigenous. And the dominant Mexican ideology favors "light skin" over "dark skin" in social constructions of superiority-inferiority (Amselle 1998; Nassau 1994). Coupled with geographic residence and language, appearance helped label someone as indigenous or not. Such generalizations, based on attributes often measured independently of one another, caused confusion and inaccuracy in historical demographics of indigenous peoples in Latin America.[7]

One way to counteract the removal of blood quantum as a determinant for ethnic identity has been to concentrate instead on self-identification and degree of involvement in what are called "traditional cultural practices." Weigand (1981) and Keefe (1992), like myself, claim that the cultural component to ethnic identification is much more important than blood quantum. Fishman (1980) used participation as an important component to his "being, doing, and knowing" model of ethnicity. The reasoning here is: "If you don't participate in your heritage, how can you claim it?" By focusing on participation as a necessary component of ethnic identity affiliation, categorizing people based on levels of melatonin in the skin (appearance) is limited, and we shift from racial definitions of identity to cultural distinctions. For the Huichol, participation in a multitude of religious practices is inseparable from daily existence. By intertwining the daily with the spiritual, a complex cosmology emerges that defines one's social and spiritual relations.

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[7] The population enumeration procedures for indigenous peoples in Latin America have varied from one census to the next, explaining why there is a lot of variability in the figures. The most recent population estimate of the Huichol by INEGI was done independently of one's use of a native language, relying instead on self-declaration and place of residence.

A final theme needs to be discussed when considering ethnic identity among indigenous peoples: symbolic ethnicity. If one can become a member of an ethnic group without blood affiliation, but instead through cultural participation and self-declaration, what is the secret ingredient that brings together this ability? Gans (1979) proposes that "symbolic ethnicity" is one way to look at ethnic identity among people who are several generations, third or forth, removed from their ancestors. While he applies this reasoning to looking at the future of ethnic groups and cultures in America, it has use in cultural revitalization and preservation movements for indigenous peoples. I argue that much of the "pan-Indian" movement relies on a people's ability to create connections with other individuals based on perceived cultural similarities, when in reality there may be a lot of difference between a person's behavior and the traditional cultural practices of his or her ethnic group. By creating and using symbolic ethnicity, ethnic lines are dissolved and people can be united based on common beliefs and goals.

When talking about the Huichol, symbolic ethnicity may explain one way in which the intelligentsia think and act when they create a school culture. By aligning themselves with the common goals of all indigenous peoples, they see the ability to "fight for the common good of all." At the same time, constructing a new collective social identity may act as a device to alienate traditionalists within the community, causing conflict and political side-taking when it comes to conflict resolution. Creating a collective symbolic ethnicity, however, may help to maintain group identity by justifying some acculturative (or assimilationist) aspects of culture change, such as changes in one's dress or language to that of the dominant culture as non-indigenous. Pacheco Salvador (1995:209) writes about this from the point of view of a traditionalist when she speaks of the Huichol children of today who "combine traditional festivals with Christian ones,"

"play the same games" as the Mestizo children, and "swear off the Huichol language by not speaking it with other Huichol when there are *mestizos* present for fear of being criticized." I have been fortunate in a rural setting to have not seen this linguistic drop off to habitual Spanish use when in the presence of *teiwaritsie* (outsiders). Huichol appeared to be comfortable shifting between their native language and using a translator or switching to Spanish when something was said for the non-Huichol speaker to understand.

Peasant Economics and Indigenous Class Formation

Kearney (1996) and Hale (1996) suggest that the identities of indigenous peoples of Latin America historically have been cast in terms of a domination-exploitation model that restricts the dynamics of a peasant economy and casts them in a series of core-periphery relationships first identified by Wallerstein (1976). By labeling indigenous peoples as "peasants," they are stripped of their collective identities. The reality is that these very "peasants" have become a sort of "post-peasant," something that Kearney (1996:141) refers to as "polybians." Imbedded in this term, argues Kearney, are the multiple identity roles that peasants must negotiate. They are not only living biculturally, but have learned multiple coping strategies that enable them to shift comfortably within an economic system that has recast our thinking of Wolf's (1957, 1986) "closed corporate community." Indigenous peoples, including the Huichol, have maintained two distinct economic systems that act parallel to one another, one is communal, and the other is capitalist. By keeping these systems distinct, the Huichol have been able to resist acculturative pressures on their ethnicity, preventing what Stavenhagen (1963) saw as the disappearance of distinct Indian cultures and separate identities due to capitalist expansions into formerly indigenous regions. While the Huichol and other indigenous

peoples of Latin America do partake of the capitalist economy, their communal economy (subsistence horticulture) remains largely intact and separate from capitalist ventures.

Stavenhagen has since taken an interest in ethnic resurgence among the indigenous peoples of Mexico. He believes the ethnic resurgence is the result of indigenous organization, pan-Indian transnationalism, and the formation of the *intelligentsia* class (Stavenhagen 1994). These forms of collective organization are yet another aspect of "identity politics" that Hale (1997:568) calls "collective sensibilities and actions that come from a particular location within society, in direct defiance of universal categories that tend to subsume, erase, or suppress this particularity." Identity politics then serve as a form of resistance to national policies, such as Mexican *indigenismo* that seeks to marginalize indigenous peoples to promote the existence of national culture (Aguirre Beltrán 1970; Díaz Polanco 1997; Giroux 1983; Stavenhagen 1994).

The studies of the indigenous peoples of Mexico and Latin America have been significant since Redfield (1941) first examined Chan Kom and espoused his idea of a "folk-urban continuum" where he saw peasants at the mid-point of a continuum between traditionality and modernity, receiving modern traits, which, via their acceptance, would transform the peasantry out of existence, killing off traditions considered to be backward or no longer necessary. Redfield's idea of a changing peasantry is synonymous with the pristine view of indigenous peoples of Mexico that do not acknowledge intracultural variation.

The Huichol, and other Indian groups, are often portrayed as disarticulated from the economic systems of the dominant society. Foster's theory of the limited good (1965) sees disarticulated peasant economies as the determining factor in peasant

behavior. Based on his research in Tzintzuntzan (Foster 1967), Foster has expressed

peasant communities as "closed systems" whereby, "except in a special but extremely

important way, a peasant sees his existence as determined and limited by the natural and

social resources of his village and his immediate area" (Foster 1966:296). Although he

views peasant economics as a closed system, Foster's model of the limited good

recognizes that "an individual or a family can improve a position only at the expense of

others" (Foster 1966:297). These types of economics explain how one may be

predisposed to use capitalist economics in order to transcend the level of poverty present

in a community. In *Tateikita,* those who appear to possess the most capital (i.e.,

participate in a market economy) are becoming those with local and regional political

influence. In an area of rapid culture change, these associations with a capitalist

economy are creating divisions within Huichol society between what I call here

"Traditionalists" and "Progressives." To be traditional entails practicing subsistence

horticulture on communally held plots of land. It also means participation in religious

practices and livelihood. The progressives, on the other hand, appear to be those that

straddle the line between traditionality and modernity, embracing aspects of both

economies, and following Chayanov's (1966) theory of peasant economies. Some have

primary labor responsibilities that lie in teaching or shopkeeping, while still others have

turned to selling traditional arts and crafts to vendors for profit, or travel to coastal fields

to pick tobacco for money. The selling of surplus food has yet to be established as a

viable economic option for the Huichol, as a precarious mountainous environment has

too much annual variability in crop production for anything other than subsistence, and,

perhaps, the selling of homemade tamales or tacos at local gatherings.

The gradual expansion of a market economy among the Huichol has had the impact of creating classes through these social distinctions. These class distinctions are emerging in contrast to traditional ranking systems that emphasized prestige as a prescribed status earned by *kawiteros* (elders) and *mara'akates* (shaman). The new distinctions are creating a two-class system among the Huichol, which, according to Marx's (1906) critique of a political economy, are between the capitalists or bourgeoisie (those who own and control capital) and the proletariat (those who must earn their living by selling their labor).

Marx's class divisions are not only existent at micro-scale levels, but are most apparent between that of the dominant society and that of the indigenous peoples. These principal economic relations are rooted in a history of domination by colonial Spanish forces down to the present day exploitation of indigenous peoples by national governments. The idea is that by destruction of indigenous lifeways, a dominant market-style economy will prevail that will strengthen the legitimacy of the nation-state.

Autonomy, Self-Determination, and Resistance

Relations that fall into domination-subordination characterize the history of indigenous peoples in Mexico and elsewhere. The Huichol, and others, have long recognized that economically, religiously and territorially they have been denied the ability to continue traditional cultural practices in a system that, in their eyes, has historically stripped them of their homelands and fields, limited their ability to practice their own religion and language, and exploited them economically. Moreover, the indigenous regions have been regions of drastic undervelopment in the areas of health care and education.

Five hundred years of conflict recently came to a head in January 1994 in Chiapas, Mexico when an organized uprising by the *Ejercito Zapatista de Liberación Nacional* (EZLN) took control of key villages within the state of Chiapas in Southern Mexico as a way to protest actions by the government against the indigenous peoples of the region. Government offices were occupied and there was a cry of "*ya basta*!" (enough!) throughout the state. The Zapatistas, named after Emiliano Zapata, a peasant hero of the Mexican revolution, sought autonomy for the people of the region as a way to counteract the oppressive measures of the Mexican military and government.[8] By seeking autonomy, the EZLN called for the ability to be recognized as an autonomous people with the right to elect their own government officials and control their own affairs in the highlands region of Chiapas (Díaz-Polanco 1998). The Zapatista uprising resulted in a period of warfare throughout the region, with EZLN forces remaining elusive and strong throughout the conflict. For 25 months the battle continued, finally "officially" ending with the signing of "The Accords of San Andres" by the EZLN and the Commission for Concord and Pacification (COCOPA) on February 16, 1996. The accords awarded the indigenous people of the region the right to practice their own religion and control their own internal affairs. Within seven months of the signing of the accords, however, they were nullified by President Ernesto Zedillo's refusal to implement the changes addressed in the accords. Violence erupted once more in the region, culminating in 1997 with the massacre of 45 indigenous people by paramilitary forces in the town of Acteál and the ultimate displacement of more than 15,000 indigenous people from the highlands and northern region of the state of Chiapas, according to non-governmental sources (Olmos 1999).

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[8] See Appendix C for a copy of the EZLN Declaration of War.

It did not take long for the repercussions of the EZLN uprising and the militarization of Chiapas to extend beyond the confines of the state. Among the intellectual indigenous community, the news spread quickly. Soon, knowledge of what was going on in Chiapas spread nationally and internationally. The indigenous communities of Mexico identified with the Zapatista cause, and the Mexican government feared an uprising in many of the indigenous regions of Mexico.

The Huichol were among those to identity with the causes of the Zapatistas. While generally a passive people, they had experienced periods of harassment by authorities during their pilgrimages to sacred sites, and in carrying peyote back to their villages. Most recently, in March 1998, a group of *peyoteros* (those on the peyote pilgrimage) from *Tateikié* was detained at a military outpost outside Huejuquilla del Alto, Jalisco and charged with drug trafficking, a federal offense (Valadez 1998). These actions were considered to be in direct violation of Article 4 of the Mexican Constitution, which says that the Huichol use of peyote is legally protected. Moreover, according to Valadez (1998), "in the International Vienna Treaty of Psychotropic Substances, ratified by Mexico in 1961, there is a clause that specifically states that indigenous groups who use psychotropic plants in their magicoreligious ceremonies are exempt from legal prosecution." After a public outrage, the *peyoteros* were released, but the peyote was confiscated, creating anger and distrust among locals in the town and within the Huichol communities. Up until that time, the Huichol had mostly been passive. The state of Jalisco has been primarily friendly toward the Huichol, which has enabled them to maintain a limited degree of autonomy within the homeland region. The Huichol feared that this friendly period was coming to an end.

Since the incident of March 1998, the militarization of the Sierra region has

increased significantly. There are now military forces present at community assembly

meetings, bags are checked for contraband (principally arms) when flying in or out of the

Sierra, and intellectuals are watched closely. The killing of the American reporter Philip

True in December 1998 did not help the situation, and the Huichol have grown extra

suspicious of uninvited visitors in the Sierra since that time.[9] Because of their dealings

with the Huichol, the non-governmental association AJAGI has been threatened on

numerous occasions, including the attempted kidnapping of the child of one its

directors.[10] Despite these threats, AJAGI continues to help the Huichol with legal

counseling in land disputes and development projects within the community of *Tateikié*.

Tied in with discussions of autonomy for the indigenous peoples of Mexico are

the ideas of "self-determination" and "regional autonomy." Díaz-Polanco (1996:15) says

that it is not possible to understand "the indigenous problem of Latin America without

understanding the regional-national context in which it exists. As such, the origins of

quests for autonomy must be placed within the socio-political foundations of the nation-

state. We must also understand the difference between autonomy and self-determination.

According to Díaz-Polanco (1997:98), "the distinction between self-determination

and autonomy is usually based on an identification of the former with the right to

political independence and the establishment of a nation-state, while the latter is reserved

for the assumption of certain special faculties (such as self-government) without

statehood or political independence." He believes that many indigenous peoples are

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[9] I personally witnessed the explusion of a pair of anthropologists from *Tateikita* in the Fall of 1999. Despite good intentions, they did not follow proper authoritative channels in requesting to do their research on "dance and symbolism" in the village.

[10] Personal Communication with Ángeles Arcos, March 1999.

afraid of the International Labor Organization's resolutions from Convention 169, passed

in January 1989. These resolutions, ratified into the Mexican constitution in December

of 1992, gave the indigenous peoples of Mexico the right to practice their religious and

social traditions, but at the same time, the wording is not clear and can be interpreted in

different ways. The vague wording is the very thing that plagued Lenin during the 1930s

as he struggled to define the "self-determination" of ethnic minorities as independent of a

right to form a federation (Nimni 1991:75-76).

For the Huichol, the road has been mostly one of limited autonomy, rather than

the more radical picture of self-determination that implies the formation of an

autonomous Huichol state. Díaz-Polanco (1997:151) says that autonomy must include

three elements: 1) political-territorial foundation; 2) autonomous self-government; and,

3) competences (skills and knowledge that allow the political decentralization essential to

autonomy). The Huichol have already banded together to form various associations with

political objectives.[11] At this point in time, the Huichol are content with negotiations

aimed at reclaiming lost territory and preserving their language and cultural traditions. It

is not their prerogative to be militant and to risk losing the largely positive negotiations

they are currently experiencing. In the past, the Huichol generally kept to themselves,

and this remains to be the case today. They are, at least at a certain mental level, "free."

Questions of Ethnicity and Nationalism

Emancipation and freedom are inherent qualities of mobilization in a quest for

ethnic autonomy. In explaining the status of emancipation as "liberating," we are left,

however, with the "national-ethnic" question. The "national-ethnic" question arises from

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[11] The *Unión de Comunidades Indígenas Huicholas de Jalisco* (UCIHJ) and the government's *Procuradería de Asuntos Indígenas* (PAI) and *Departamento de Educación Indígena* (DEI), mentioned in Chapter 1, are examples of this phenomenon.

how autonomous ethnic groups and regions fit into the national image of a nation-state. It was Stalin (1953:300-301) who first defined a nation as "an historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life and psychological make up, manifested in a common culture." By this definition, it is possible to see that a nation of peoples can be quite distinct from a "nation-state" which includes a political dimension. If an indigenous ethnic group, such as the Huichol, can be considered a "nation of people," such as is common among the many indigenous peoples of Native North America, then without freedom, how can they be autonomous? The term "nation-state," on the other hand, expands the idea of freedom to the formation of an almost idealistic state. This idealistic state then possesses a political dimension that is seen as the "liberating force" for the freedom they seek. The ethnic group uses their political power to retain their culture.

Cruz Burgette (1998:98) refers to these political dimensions as methods of "resistance" by which an ethnic group can maintain itself as a distinct nation of people. She further states that these ethnic traits are present in three dimensions: "social, cultural, and historical" that act as legitimizing factors in quests for ethnic autonomy (Cruz Burgette (1998:99-100). Lastly, she also points out that native language use is one of the most important strategies for survival of an ethnic group (Cruz Burgette 1998). Along with its loss, she believes, comes the loss of an understanding of traditional religious symbolism. The Huichol believe that their language reflects their reality and equate loss of it with loss of their native ways of thought (Gómez López 1995). This is further supported by Altamirano and Hirabayashi (1997:10) who define "the uses of a native language," in conjunction with "religion," "common conceptions of time and space," and

"music and dance" as significant characteristics in defining regional identities needed for ethnic mobilization of nations of people.

In Mexican *indigenismo* policy of the past, the identity of indigenous groups in Mexico was diminished. The idea of being "Indian" was stigmatized into being something negative. The nationalistic movement among indigenous peoples of Mexico is now changing this idea, especially since the Zapatista uprising in 1994. Friedlander (1975), in her classic study of forced identity in Hueyapan, Mexico, noted at the time the negative stigma attached to being "Indian." At that time, the dominant ethos among Hueyapan villagers was to deny their indigenous identity as something shameful and backward. She writes, "early in my stay I learned that villagers were embarrassed about their Indian identity" (Friedlander 1975:72). To be Indian meant that one was lazy, did not speak Spanish, or was poor. Friedlander found villagers referred to the term *indio* (Indian) as a synonym for "backwardness." According to her interviewees, being Indian was closely connected with the idea of "underdevelopedness," and was the result of "progressivist propaganda" that equated modernity with adoption of an *identitdad mestiza* (Mestizo identity). Conditions of a Mestizo identity included fluency in Spanish, conversion to Catholicism, and movement from an agrarian society to a society that included centralized social agencies and their respective services (Friedlander 1975). The *identidad mestiza* would, in turn, create an illusion of unity among Mexican peoples, despite social class divisions.

In Friedlander's (1975) study, Traditionalists and Progressives were virtually unanimous in their rejection of being labeled *indios.* Among the Huichol, there is no apparent rejection of indigenous identity. The conflict between the two is more centered on what it means to be indigenous, or, more to the point, how much of the "other" can we

accommodate into our own culture and still consider ourselves to be Huichol. One

cannot rely on Friedlander's study alone, however, without realizing the historical

situation from which it arose. At the time of her study, nationalist propaganda ran strong.

In fact, she labeled those that espoused Indian identity as "extremists." She was also

quick to point out that those that advocated cultural preservation were primarily Mestizos

from outside the village who came to warn villagers of the evils of "assimilation" into

mainstream society.

Perhaps, because of their prolonged isolation in the Sierra, or because of their

present situation of sudden contact with outsiders, the Huichol in this study do not

conform to the same set of attitudinal beliefs mentioned by Friedlander among the

Hueyapan villagers. Instead, the Huichol do not reject their indigenous identity. I do not

argue that there are not those among the Huichol who consider their state as being one of

underdevelopment, but rather that the overall attitudes among the Huichol appear to be

ones anchored in preservation of their traditional ways of life. In contrast to other rural

peoples in Mexico who have sought urban migration as a way to escape the poverty and

underdevelopment of their surroundings, the Huichol are most interested in preserving

their traditional language and customs, and this requires them to stay in their rural

homeland.

In Friedlander's study, it was the outsiders who influenced the actions of local

extremists among Hueyapan villagers. Among the Huichol, the outsiders are only

solicited as political puppets for their interests. The pan-Indian movement, mobilized

chiefly through the actions of the *Ejercito Zapatista de Liberación Nacional* (Zapatista

National Liberation Army), shows that the Indian peoples of Mexico are not the closed-

corporate communities that they were once thought to be. The Huichol, despite their

geographic isolation, are quite aware of the larger political climate in Mexico. Some of this can be attributed to the movement of intellectuals into and out of the various Huichol villages and communities; still other awareness can be attributed to their current legal struggle to reclaim more than 4000 hectares of land which they consider to have been stolen by cattle ranchers and logging and farming industries.

Lastly, another trend in ethnic identity and nationalist literature, particularly in education, is the use of the term "intercultural." Used by indigenous scholars, chiefly Nahmad (n.d.), Mondino (1993), Acevado Conde, et al. (1996), and Rojas (1999a, 1999b), this term has been applied to the blending of native and non-native educational systems, and proposed as a solution to defining indigenous people in the context of social change. This process, while seemingly beneficial on the surface, trivializes the degree of ethnic variation within a group and irresponsibly used can actually serve as integrationist and assimilationist propaganda that gradually introduces aspects of a dominant culture, down to language use, into the lives of indigenous peoples. The proposal is that "indigenous control" can counteract any misuse of intercultural education, and that more research needs to be done in this area to determine the long-term positive or negative affects on an ethnic group.

CHAPTER 3
EDUCATION AND CULTURAL PRESERVATION

"La escuela me da chanza de aprender del mundo ajeno mientras quedarme igual. No me pueden cambiar [los mestizos]. Ya sé quién soy yo"[1]

"The School gives me the chance to learn about the outside world while remaining who I am. They [the Mestizos] can't change me. I already know who I am."

Indigenous Educational History

Indigenous education is a recent area of concern in educational philosophy. This chapter begins with a general history describing the historical developments leading to the creation of indigenous education programs in the U.S. and Mexico. Despite geographic separations and different governments, the historical timelines of federal Indian education policies in the U.S. and Mexico are surprisingly similar. As of yet, there do not appear to be any comparative approaches to studies of indigenous education programs in the U.S. and Latin America, with reasons lying in linguistic, geographic, and political-territorial distinctions. In each of the subsequent sections, I mention the various forms of legislation leading up to the present state of indigenous self-control of public and private Indian education on both sides of the border. I do so in order to show that the shifting tides of political climate have influenced claims for Indian sovereignty that now appear to be entering a new era emphasizing local control of education.

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[1] Personal Communication with 3rd year Huichol student of the CETMK, July 2000.

Native peoples, regardless of geography, have been at the whims of federal policies. For Mexico, the slower progression towards Indian self-empowerment may, in part, be due to their limited understanding and views of the imperfect success of native attempts at self-empowerment in the U.S. On the U.S. side, tribal efforts at indigenous self-control developed faster because of shifts in federal policy towards Native Americans, while in Mexico, two parallel (and competing) systems developed, one marked by federal assimilationist policy, and another marked by community development (Nahmad 1998). Both U.S. and Mexican dominant-subordinate cultural histories began, however, with religious conversion agendas by missionaries. With a strong basis of indigenous activism in education approached from a U.S. perspective, I conclude this chapter by looking specifically at previous educational research among the Huichol, explaining how knowledge gained from U.S. studies of Indian education can assist in understanding the present situation in *Tateikita*. Much can be learned about effective Indian education program implementation in Mexico by looking at the successes and failures of indigenous programs in the U.S. and applying what is useful to analyze and improve upon indigenous education in Mexico or elsewhere.

A General History of U.S. Indian Education and Policy

The history of American national policy towards the education of indigenous peoples dates to a treaty signed in 1794 between the federal government and several Indian elders (Pewewardy 1998). Although this treaty called for Indian children to be educated, it did not include any specifics for policies determining the methodology of such education. The history of Native Education as it relates to current classroom and institutional processes cannot be discussed without first relating the different stages in

Native American history and putting the development of reservation schooling within that context.

Little is known about American Indian education before the American Revolution. What is known, however, is that the start of Western education and the concept of formal schooling were first brought to Native Americans by Roman Catholic priests who arrived with the first missionaries to the Americas (Fuchs and Havighurst 1972). The Midwest and East were primarily under the territory of the Jesuits, while the Southwest was the territory of the Franciscans who organized the many Indian peoples into settlements near missions. The Jesuits concentrated on teaching French language and customs, whereas the Franciscans were more concerned with practical skills such as agriculture and carpentry. There was, as McBeth (1983:75) states, "no clear distinctions between separation of Church and State with respect to Indian education in the 1700s and early 1800s." It must not be forgotten, however, that apart from teaching practical skills, Indian education served little purpose. Fuchs and Havighurst note the following trend:

> The school was established as an agent for spreading Christianity and the transmittal of Western culture and civilization. No consistent attempts to incorporate Indian languages, culture, or history were made in the curriculum offered. The issues raised by the white man's efforts to extend the benefits of his educational tradition to the peoples of the new World were clearly defined at an early date—and still endure. (1972:3)

The impact of education on the Indian peoples of North America was quite limited at this point in time. Indians strongly resisted attempts at conversion, and there were frequent periods of violence and unrest.

There are five generally accepted historic cultural periods of importance in U.S. national policy towards Indian peoples. They are: 1) extermination; 2) assimilation; 3) separation / autonomy / sovereignty; 4) termination; 5) separation / autonomy once again.

Each of these periods influenced the development of reservation schooling today, as well as native attitudes toward national Indian policy. These indigenous policy periods differ slightly from the official designations, outlined by Fischbacher (1967:201-203): the Reservation Period (1870-1887); the Allotment Period (1887-1934); the Reorganization Period (1934-1952); the Termination Period (1953-1972); and the Self-Determination Period (1970s to the present).

The first period, which I call "extermination," occurred during the 1860s and was marked by repeated attempts to subdue and eliminate Native American peoples by U.S. forces stationed in the Southwest. Native Americans were considered a threat to the territorial expansion of the United States under the "manifest destiny" program, and the prevailing attitude was that they should be eliminated because they were "savages" incapable of being "civilized" (Berkhofer 1979, Morris and Weaver 1990). The Fort Fauntleroy massacre of 1861 and Navajo slave trade were examples of this policy, as was the attack on Fort Defiance in 1860 that led to the "Long Walk" in which Navajos were removed from their homes and retained at Fort Sumner (Roessel 1983). The government had no intention of educating Native Americans at this time, but only of terminating their existence according to what Duran et al. (1998:63) call "cultural genocide" and a "holocaust" (1998:66).

The Second period, "assimilation," lasted from 1868 into the 1920s and reflected a policy change from one of extermination of Indian peoples to one that involved an attempt to assimilate Native Americans into the general population by destroying their culture and lifeways. With the treaty of 1868, the Navajo reservation was established, and, soon thereafter, came the first regulations requiring mandatory Indian schooling and

attendance. In addition, the first major treaty affecting Indian education was passed, effectively allocating $100,000 for creating educational programs for Indian peoples. It was quickly followed, however, by congressional action that prohibited the creation of further treaties with Indian peoples.

This period also saw the production of the first federal boarding school at Fort Defiance in 1881, and it quickly led to a proliferation of such institutions by the 1920's (Roessel 1983). Federal boarding schools were intentionally placed long distances from Indian communities, if possible. Students were actively discouraged from, and often beaten for, expressing their heritage and language publicly, and the schools were organized around the concept of producing "productive citizens" out of "savages." Boarding schools were established in major urban centers and students were shipped in from remote locales, separated from their families to partake of a foreign formal education. Students frequently fled from these schools, experiencing "culture shock" and wishing to return to their families and old ways of life (Johnston 1988, Szasz 1999:22).

The educational situation for Native peoples was further complicated by the passage of the Dawes Act of 1887 that "broke up communally-held Indian lands into individual allotments" which could freely be bought or sold (Fischbacher 1967:222). By breaking up communally held lands, the federal government saw yet another avenue into gaining control of Indian-occupied lands. With the dissolution of Indian lands, there was reason to push Indians into mainstream society and into trade occupations. Students were encouraged to attend coeducational facilities by the start of the 20th century, and these types of coeducational facilities sprung up throughout the Midwest, where Indian peoples were not as isolated as those of the Southwest. McBeth (1983:74) writes that there were

twenty-five off-reservation schools by the start of the 20th century. In the Southwest,

institutions were few and far between. A congressional act of 1918 led to large numbers

of Indian children who had no way to attend school because they were either considered

state citizens or of less than one quarter Indian blood (Fuchs and Havighurst 1972:9). By

making Indians citizens of the United States, the U.S. could escape honoring previous

treaties and legislation regarding Indian education and federal policy.

The next historical stage was "separation / autonomy / sovereignty," which began

in the 1920s and continued until 1953. With results of the 1928 Meriam Report, the

problems with the under-funding of Indian boarding schools were brought to light (Fuchs

and Havighurst 1972). These revelations were studied hard when John Collier became

Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1933, appointed under President Franklin D.

Roosevelt. He held the position until 1945. During Collier's tenure, the Indian

Reorganization Act of 1934 was passed, returning much local control to tribes that were

subsequently encouraged to develop their own tribal governments (Adams 1971:75).

This act eliminated individual allotment of tribal land and made native peoples

responsible for their own economic rehabilitation.

It was during this era that many of the boarding schools were converted into "day

schools." Day schools enhanced the learning experience for Native Americans by

allowing students to complete their schooling in much closer proximity to their families,

with the privilege to return home at night. It was also at this time that the government

pushed Indian tribes into public school attendance. Many of the Indian boarding schools

had met their quota, making it difficult for other Indian children to be educated without

constructing more federal schools, or by what seemed to be the easiest solution - the transfer of Indian children into the state public school systems.

The Johnson-O'Mally Act of 1934 also gave special monies to public schools that had Indian students in attendance (DeJong 1993:178). Most public schools receiving funds through the Johnson-O'Mally Act, however, were much more interested in the federal funds they would be receiving than in the act's true purpose, monetary assistance to public schools to help them to better accommodate Indian students (Szasz 1999:92). Transportation proved to be extremely difficult in some rural areas, particularly of the U.S. Southwest where lack of roads and sporadic-seasonal variations made accessibility a troublesome endeavor.

The turnover at the federal level to the Eisenhower administration in 1953 produced a drastic change in federal policy toward Native Americans in general. President Eisenhower did not support Indian self-empowerment, and as such, there were cuts in federal assistance programs and progress came to a near standstill. Once again, the policy had returned to one of "termination," though not as drastic as the previous period of the 19th century had been. President Eisenhower believed that Native education should not be actively encouraged as "separate," but instead proposed an integration of Native Americans into the contemporary public school systems. Under the Eisenhower administration, what little funding was appropriated to the federal boarding schools was insufficient to keep many of them running, forcing them to close their doors.

It was not until the late 1960s that the tide turned, yet again, towards Indian "separation, autonomy, and self-empowerment," where it has remained ever since. One of the main reasons for this shift was the American Indian Movement (AIM) that

considered tribal control of education as crucial to their goals of gaining tribal

sovereignty for all Indian peoples (Pewewardy 1998:31). This current period in Indian

education has seen the creation of public school districts, private tribally run and

controlled schools, contract schools, and the growth of community colleges.

The start of Rough Rock Demonstration School in 1966, the forerunner of Navajo

Community, was just one such example of this period's accomplishments. Rough Rock

was essentially built from the ground up as a "community school." As such, the school

board and dormitory attendants were all local Navajo residents (Szasz 1999:172). The

school was the first of its kind anywhere in the U.S. A core curriculum was built around

Navajo history and culture. Teachers were encouraged to develop curriculum within this

content area. Conflicts erupted between the states and "upstart" schools because the

states felt that the tribal schools were not meeting the state-mandated curriculum.

Moreover, in order to obtain experts in local language and culture, tribal schools such as

Rough Rock and the subsequent Ramah Indian school in New Mexico, employed

individuals who did not hold state teaching credentials. As a way to compete with these

upstart tribal schools, public schools attempted to improve their image, but subsequent

research conducted by the National Study of American Indian Education (NSAIE) in the

late 1960s found much of the public school curriculum to be "stereotypical" (Fuchs and

Havighurst 1972; Riner 1979).

The focus since the 1970s has been on increasing the numbers of Indian teachers

and exploring issues in "Native American Learning Style" research. The education of

Indian youth, while having been impacted by changes in national policy regarding Indian

peoples in general, primarily remained in the hands of non-indigenous teachers and

administrators. It was not until the first Native peoples became educated, and began practicing in the classroom, that anyone approached problems related to language and culture in a formal academic setting. Several pieces of federal legislation passed during the 1970s aided the Indian self-determination movement, including the Indian Education Act of 1972, the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975, and the Title XI of Education Amendments Act of 1978. These amendments assisted Indian peoples to gain contracts over federal schools formerly controlled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. At the same time, the 1980s were especially difficult for Indian education. Indian peoples and Bureau officials, because of cuts to federal education grants and contracts, have heavily criticized the Reagan administration. These cuts resulted in the eventual closure of many tribal schools in the late 1980s (Szasz 1999:203).

The Indian Nations at Risk Task force (INAR) reported in 1991 that there was little change in the conditions of Indian education (Szasz 1999:217). Despite the growth of Indian self-control of education, the huge national debt built during Reagan's administration is blamed for causing the subsequent closure of many tribal schools during the 1990s. Luckily, by the 1990s, argues Szasz (1999:203), "there was an effective network of Indian educators" who had the skills and abilities to reform Indian education. There just was not much in terms of funding. Native political interest groups such as the National Advisory Council on Indian Education (NACIE) and the Office of Indian Education Programs (OIEP) were crucial to the survival of Indian-controlled education. Using their political power, indigenous educators pushed for more monetary assistance, resulting in the passage of the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1987 and the Native American Languages Act of 1990. While the former act aided tribes

in obtaining funds to control their own schools, the latter piece of legislation said that the U.S. government had a duty to "promote and preserve the indigenous languages of the USA" (U.S. Congress 1990).

The trend of the 1990s has been towards establishing programs to teach, preserve, and revitalize indigenous languages (see Rehyner 1995, 1997). Indigenous scholars stress the importance of "native ways of knowing" and different cosmologies that influence how Native American students relate to and experience the educational environment (Cleary and Peacock 1998). I will talk more about this in the section on contemporary Indian education.

Despite the passage of these legislative acts, some indigenous scholars have remained critical of the intentions of these self-determinist acts, chief among them being Vine Deloria (1995) and Ward Churchill (1998). It is the view of these individuals that passing national amendments with little or no monetary assistance to tribes was a way to make the Indian peoples responsible for their own demise, should their attempts at educational self-determination fail. One interesting rebuke to a "debatable" scenario such as this is that since the proliferation of tribal gaming and state compacts, the numbers of tribal community centers and language revitalization programs have grown immensely. Native people are now exploring issues that they deem to be relevant in manners consistent with their own cultural epistemologies.

A Brief History of Indigenous Education in Mexico

Indigenous education in Mexico has historically been caught up in the same types of conflict as U.S. Indian education. Since Spanish colonial times, a system of education was implemented with the primary goals of converting the Native peoples to Catholicism and teaching them the Spanish language (Nahmad 1998). Both the Jesuits and

Franciscans established mission outposts in the indigenous areas of Mexico in order to Christianize the Indian peoples and extend their sphere of cultural influence worldwide. Rippberger (1992:34) has divided indigenous education in Mexico into three distinct time periods that prove useful for a study of shifting policies towards indigenous education: Spanish colonization, the Mexican revolution, and since the founding of the National Indigenist Institute.

We know from various historical sources and codices that Indian education before the time of colonization was both informal and formal. For the non-nobility, education was in the home, stressing the values of loving the gods, modesty, honesty, sobriety, hard work, love of virtue, and respect for elders (Acevado et al. 1996:17). While the general populace was not separated for special instruction, among the Aztec and Mixtecs, children of the nobility were trained in special schools controlled by the religious hierarchy (Acevado et al. 1996:17). In these special schools, the nobility received cosmological, religious, and mathematical instruction. In contrast, the general populace learned trades informally in the homes. It is important to note that both women and men of the nobility received special instruction, meaning that it was in no-way gender-biased.

Indigenous education at the time of Spanish occupation of the hemisphere was not much different from the prior integrated religious education. In 1523, the Franciscan friar Pedro de Gante founded the first elementary school for Indians in Texcoco (Acevado et al 1996:18). The primary duties of the school were the evangelization of the Indians as well as the formation of a literate populace because the Franciscans taught the Indians the ability to read and write Latin. Soon thereafter, other schools opened

throughout the New World, including a school especially for the education of women in 1534 by the Jesuits, who were deeply involved in women's education.

While these early colonial schools focused on making the indigenous peoples of Mexico knowledgeable about Christianity, they also performed an important function that would impact the goals of indigenous education in much more recent times: by making people literate, they aided indigenous peoples in the recording of their literary works for future generations. While education was principally in Spanish and Latin with a practical orientation, the ability of indigenous peoples to read and write allowed them to record their customs and mythology, contributing significantly to our understanding of these peoples. The period of promoting indigenous scholarship was short lived, however, for in 1688, under King Carlos V, the mandate was for Spanish-only instruction (Acevado et al. 1996:19). This stance has continued in many areas, even into the present day, through "Indigenist" Mexican national policy.

The period from 1833-1910, prior to the Mexican revolution, was a period of little preoccupation with indigenous education. Education continued to be primarily religious, and a decree was made in 1842 declaring education to be both free for all, and compulsory as well (Acevado et al. 1996:20). Education's purpose was beginning to shift from religious education to education in skills and crafts for the general populace.

The time of the Mexican revolution saw the first significant changes in the Mexican educational system. In 1910, barely into the start of the revolution, a school for the Indians of the *Sierra Nayarita* was established in *El Zapote, Nayarít* (Acevado et al. 1996:21). Although there is little documentation about this school, it was probably for the Cora and not the Huichol, because of the difficulty in penetrating the heart of the

Sierra, and because Huichol settlements were dispersed as opposed to those of the Cora that were clustered into densely-packed villages due to relocation by missionaries. This school marked the first non-missionary school (public) within the Sierra region. A year later, federal decree in 1911 declared a national campaign to establish schools throughout the rural regions of Mexico for indigenous peoples (Acevado et al. 1996:21). The extent of the growth of these rural schools was limited, however, due to the revolution.

A significant turn of events began with the conclusion of the Mexican revolution in 1917, and the writing of the Mexican constitution. Several years later, in 1921, the *Secretaría de educación pública* (SEP) was created (Vaughn 1997:4; Nahmad n.d.:3). Its primary purpose was an "action policy" used to create federal rural schools to educate and discipline the peasant population (Vaughn 1997:27). It was thought that by channeling their energy into other endeavors rather than rebellion, Mexico could begin to focus on national cultural formation. The purpose of schools was to give a primary level education to everyone, principally through teaching basic literacy skills.

The SEP maintained its original mission in building a national collective by establishing the Department of Education and Indigenous Cultures (DEIC) in 1923. One of the first projects of the department was the formation of the *Casa del Estudiante Indígena* (the Indigenous Student School) (Nahmad Sittón 1980:4). The indigenous student boarding school eventually became the *Escuela Nacional Rural* (National Rural School) that aimed to "better the life and literacy" of the 27 different ethnic groups represented at the school (Acevado et al. 1996:21). In addition, the DEIC created 690 rural schools in indigenous areas and attempted to educate teachers to become experts in the regions to which they were assigned. The purpose of these schools, however, was

identical to the overall national agenda of raising literacy levels and training students for trade professions. Indigenous identity was ignored.

The post-revolution period of 1934-1940, under the administration of President Lázaro Cárdenas, was probably the most substantial for the growth of public education in Mexico. During this time period, the public education agenda was significantly socialist in nature, following the labor-dominated PNR party that chose to educate teachers as "political actors" (Vaughn 1997:5-6). The new government administration made good on its efforts to study the *problema indígena* by initiating studies of rural Indian education at this time. During the 1930s, the SEP entered Yaqui territory and Michoacán, appropriating former military and state run schools, and first learning of the problems of alienation and boredom in the classroom by Indian students whose teachers knew nothing of local languages and customs. These studies led to the transfer of control of federal schools to the Department of Indigenous Affairs whose job was to improve indigenous educational relations (Vaughn 1997:153; Nahmad Sittón 1998:59). At the same time, President Cárdenas founded the National School of Anthropology and History to study the social and linguistic issues of Mexico's indigenous peoples. The decade culminated with Cárdenas holding the first Pan-American meeting to discuss the issue of the incorporation of the Indian into the Mexican nationality.

It was from this point on that education took a decidedly assimilationist stance in all endeavors, at about roughly the same time as the post-WWII administration of President Eisenhower took a similar position. The Department of Indigenous affairs was dissolved in 1946 and capacitation for teachers was passed directly to the SEP where it took on a "secondary importance" in the SEP's mission under the *Dirección General de*

Asuntos Indígenas (General Office of Indigenous Affairs or DGAI). According to

Nahmad (1998:59), "the National Indigenist Institute (INI) was formed in 1949 in direct

opposition to this policy, creating two contradictory agendas in the direction of

indigenous education in Mexico," one via the avenue of assimilation, the other geared

towards accommodation.

At the national level, a number of moves were taken that limited the ability of the

INI to better the conditions of indigenous peoples. This began in the 1950s, becoming

labeled *indigenismo*. *Indigenismo*, contrary to the suggestion of "indigenist" as meaning

self-directed, was an educational and political propaganda aimed specifically at

monolingual Spanish instruction and nationalist history, neglecting the diversity of the

indigenous peoples of Mexico. In 1968, the SEP eliminated the DGAI, following this

with a national program aimed at decentralizing education that continued up until 1994

(Freedson and Perez 1995:384). Included in this decentralization process were the 1973

Federal Law of Indigenous Education and the 1974 National Plan of Castillianization that

limited the curricular options available to indigenous schools.

Within the INI, argues Nahmad (1998), a different agenda was taking place. INI

promoted indigenous education, including the active recruitment and training of

indigenous teachers who lived in the various communities. The idea was that these

teachers would be bilingual. In 1978, the General Directorate of Indigenous Education

(DGEI) was created specifically to introduce the concept of bilingual education into the

indigenous communities of Mexico (Nahmad 1998:59).[2] By 1979, INI was operating in

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[2] There is some confusion over an accurate date for the DGEI, as Burns (1998) equates
the establishment of the DGEI with the making of bilingual-bicultural policy official in

85 indigenous regions with 918 *escuelas-albergues* (boarding schools) (Nahmad Sittón 1980:28). INI continues to offer scholarships to top students in both primary and secondary indigenous schools in Mexico.

Despite INI's strong interest in preserving indigenous cultures in Mexico, national policy has proven to be quite inconsistent in its approaches to indigenous education. Recent accomplishments, such as the 1990 constitutional article number 4 and the 1993 Federal Education Law, still sought Spanish as the primary language of instruction for primary schools, even though they officially recognized bilingual-bicultural education (Freedson and Pérez 1995:392-393). The national "free text" program at that time still was limited to Spanish-only texts, with histories that did not recognize the contributions of Indian peoples to Mexican national society. This was in contrast to primary schools in the indigenous regions of Mexico where many children were still monolingual. Bilingual-bicultural education was never meant to build full fluency in both languages by indigenous students, but rather, to serve to form a "bridge" to eventual monolingual Spanish use. In addition, teachers in the indigenous regions were poorly educated. According to Freedson and Pérez (1995:398), by 1995, 61% of teachers in Chiapas had not completed a preparatory level education and only 24.76% a secondary level.[3]

1955. Freedson and Pérez (1995) and Nahmad (1983) originate the DGEI in the DGAI that was founded in 1946 and dissolved in 1968.

[3] Although Freedson and Pérez do not elaborate on whether the survey was of primary and secondary teachers, I suspect, because of the conservative nature of the statistics, that they were primary school teachers. Mandatory secondary education was still something new in Mexico at that time, and a shortage of teachers in rural areas would be likely.

Indigenous Language and Culture Preservation

Recent trends in indigenous education have focused in the areas of language and culture preservation. The remainder of this chapter will look at the issues related to language and culture preservation studies, particularly in the context of the indigenous self-determination movement. I will compare the relevant literature in U.S. native education to that of Mexico and Latin America. I will conclude with a discussion of current research in Huichol education and how it impacted my decision to do the research for this dissertation.

Border Pedagogy and Cultural Diversity

The lot of indigenous educational research belongs mainly to educators and not anthropologists. In fact, there has rarely been collaboration between the two disciplines. The interdisciplinary studies of "anthropology and education" is something that has been limited to several key authors, Margaret Gibson, Allan Burns, and Elizabeth Eddy among them. In looking at the perspective from which studies of indigenous education have come, it is from what the critical theorist Henry Giroux has coined a "border pedagogy." By border pedagogy, he means "an understanding of how the relationship between power and knowledge work as both the practice of representation and the representation of practice to secure particular forms of authority" (Giroux 1992:29). Moreover border pedagogy attempts to "develop a democratic philosophy that respects the notion of difference as part of a common struggle to extend the quality of public life …a radical democratic society" (Giroux 1992:28).

Critical educational theorists root the troubles of indigenous education worldwide in an aura of oppression by dominant philosophies that silence the voice of minorities. They are concerned with the political aspects of agency, voice, and control (Cleary and

Peacock 1998). Philosophies of dominance-submission have marked educational critical

theory for decades, and ultimately determined the direction of Marxist and neo-Marxist

approaches to educational assessment.

Cultural Preservation vs. Cultural Revitalization

When studying indigenous education, a distinction must be made between cultural

preservation and cultural revitalization. Cultural preservation, as pertaining to this

dissertation, is the ability to maintain a culture at its present status without losing any

additional characteristics, be they linguistic or cultural. Cultural preservation is the norm

for ethnic peoples where there has been little to no acculturative effects caused by contact

with a dominant society. Ethnic peoples who have lost much of their heritage, yet seek to

retain what is left for future generations, may also use it. Cultural preservation is

characteristic of indigenous peoples or ethnicities where the native language and customs

are still practiced by a majority of the group. It is particularly relevant to studies of

indigenous education in Mexico because there are 62 officially recognized indigenous

languages spoken in Mexico today (*Consejo Nacional de Población* 1998:116).

According to the 2000 census, 6.8% of the population speaks an indigenous language,

while 29% of the national population is considered to be indigenous (*Instituto Nacional*

de Estadística, Geografía y Informática 2000). This is greater than in any other country

of the Western Hemisphere. With such a high number of indigenous people, many of

whom are concentrated in rural areas where monolingual language use is the norm, it

appears to make sense why cultural preservation is the educational direction.

Cultural revitalization, on the other hand, pertains to the efforts of indigenous

peoples and societies to "reclaim" their heritage. Revitalization is the goal of most

indigenous language and culture programs in the United States because of the significant

impact of the dominant society on indigenous "ways of being and knowing." In cultural revitalization, there are frequently few people left, usually elders, who are competent in a native language or heritage of an indigenous nation. Cultural revitalization is concerned with disseminating the knowledge and providing ways to facilitate its continuance within mainstream indigenous societies. Both preservation and revitalization position share, however, the common theme of maintenance of a pluralistic society that values difference.

Recent Trends in Native Education and Anthropology: A U.S. Perspective

Native education in the United States, as shown by the historical section, has, until the recent self-determination period, focused on the conversion of native peoples' lifeways to fit into a national concept of American identity. In this new collective identity there was no place for the Indian child as "Indian." In describing his own experiences growing up in public schools, Professor Thomas Peacock at the University of Minnesota, Duluth recalls:

> My own schooling had reminded me that American Indians were a neglected part of the American story. My Minnesota history was the history of non-Indian settlement. American history began with the landing of Columbus. During Thanksgiving we decorated our classrooms with pilgrims, turkeys, and Indians. That was the only time it was good to be an Indian. There were no American Indian teachers, teacher aides, or bus drivers. There wasn't even an American Indian janitor. Once I got on the bus for school each morning it was like taking a trip to another country, a place that bore no resemblance to my own world. It was as if American Indians were invisible. We didn't count. We weren't important. (Cleary and Peacock 1998:16-17).

These types of experiences were commonplace in the Wisconsin Northwoods as well as other parts of the country. I recall as late as the 1980s receiving no Native American history despite being within 50 miles of three Ojibwa reservations, one being

only 10 miles away. Dropout rates for Native American students were very high as they struggled to find a bicultural balance between being Indian and being "White."

Historically, anthropology, unfortunately, did not take an active role in the preservation of native peoples, but rather a documentation stance that aimed to record the material culture (Boas, Kroeber, Kluckholm, Reichard), linguistic (Whorf, Hymes), and cultural data of native peoples before their inevitable disappearance. The Bureau of American Ethnology's founding in 1879 was specifically for this purpose of documenting indigenous lifeways, rather than on actively seeking to preserve them. In addition, anthropologists always had a "fetish" for the exotic, and as such, focused mainly on religion, often neglecting the other aspects of a people's cultural heritage. Such backlogs of data collection in the mind of some Indian peoples have done nothing to better their situation and have caused resentment by Native peoples of anthropologists (Biolsi 1997; Deloria 1995; Mizrach 1999).

What little work done in the area of anthropology and education, however, proved useful in establishing an understanding of community-school relations (Riner 1979; Wax et al 1964; Wolcott 1967). The recruitment of anthropologists was also crucial in federal assessments of Native American education (Havighurst 1970; Indians at Risk Task Force 1991) and local studies of classroom ethnography (Erickson and Mohatt 1982; Rohner 1965). Unfortunately, there has been little work by anthropologists in recent years dealing with the Native education situation. Due to the global Indian self-determination movement, these studies have been left in the hands of the indigenous peoples themselves to conduct their own assessments of progress and change, and as previously stated, the

academic shift has been towards better ways to teach Indian languages rather than on classroom and school ethnography.

Recent studies of Native American education in the U.S. have concentrated on two areas: learning styles research and language revitalization. Learning styles research looks at the reported special ways that Native people live, work, and think. In addition, these studies aim to provide special training for teachers both native and non-native who work with Indian children (see Gilliland (1992); Walker, Dodd and Bigelow (1989); John (1972); Moore (1989); and Swisher (1991)). These studies have focused on the special visual, oral, and holistic education needs of American Indian children when placed in a formal educational environment (Cleary and Peacock 1998). Indigenous teachers argue that Native peoples order their world differently, focusing on mutual collaboration and stressing values of the family, humor, and time that are radically different from "white man's values" (Cleary and Peacock 1998:21-46).

Language preservation and revitalization studies, on the other hand, examine the connection between native modes of thought and school performance. The focus of research by Kraus (1996), Crawford (1995) and Hale (1992) has been on what can be done to save the remaining strands of indigenous languages that are left. In these studies they argue for "lived in" indigenous language use and the presence of elders as mentors for Indian children.

Anthropologists have finally begun to collaborate with those in the field of education and linguistics to come to an understanding of the complexity of issues

affecting the contemporary Native American.[4] Ethnolinguistic collaboration by

anthropologists with educational and aboriginal scholars, however, has been limited to

the U.S., and being a new and emerging area, there is still considerable room for future

research. Battiste states the following:

> Little classroom research has been done on the effects of teaching students about their culture, history, and languages, as well as about oppression, racism and differences in world views, but consciousness-raising classes and courses at the elementary and junior high school levels, and at the college and university levels, have brought to the surface new hopes and dreams and have raised the aspirations and educational successes of aboriginal students (Battiste 2000:206)

Battiste's comments call for longitudinal research to determine whether the

effects of these new and emerging indigenous language and culture programs really

impact indigenous peoples in the ways that she suggests. The lack of classroom school

ethnography can be seen both in the U.S. and in Latin America as the polarization of

disciplines accelerated, with teachers and administrators primarily concerned with

practical educational assessment tools, and educational philosophers left writing about

problems in education without the assistance of applied anthropologists to work in

schools. Anthropologists chose to leave academic studies to educators, and so the rift

between the disciplines grew wider.

Recent Trends in Native Education and Anthropology: A Latin American Perspective

A study of the current climate of indigenous studies in the U.S. has been

important to understanding the politics regarding doing anthropology, particularly

educational anthropology, among the indigenous peoples of Mexico and Latin America.

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[4] See Reyhner's (1997) *Teaching Indigenous Languages* and (1995) *Stabilizing Indigenous Languages* for a articles from ongoing symposiums regarding indigenous language preservation.

The previously stated timeline of educational policy in Mexico shows that since the revolution two distinct sets of policies have governed the actions of development projects in Mexico. Whereas anthropologists took very non-applied approaches to the study of the indigenous situation in the U.S., this has not been the trend in some other countries. In Mexico, there have been three foci in studies of anthropology and education: bilingual-bicultural education, intercultural and interethnic education, and language and culture preservation.

In contrast to the U.S., there is little documentation of the lifeways of indigenous peoples of Mexico other than those done by American anthropologists, such as Redfield (1935), Foster (1965), and Lewis (1951), to name a few. These studies are largely contemporary, focusing on the issues of culture change affecting the indigenous peoples of Mexico under the policies of *indigenismo*, previously mentioned in this chapter. They were also works done principally by American anthropologists without collaboration with Mexican researchers. As a result of these studies, American anthropologists, just as in the U.S., created an atmosphere of distrust and ambivalence on the part of Indian peoples toward their work. American anthropology conducted in Mexico has been labeled "individualist" (Kemper 1997:479). There is, however, an oft-neglected parallel between the national policies in both countries, one that sought to eliminate or assimilate indigenous peoples into the national infrastructures of their respective countries. Aguirre Beltrán, a Mexican activist, has said:

> The entire process of national formation demands the assimilation of regional populations that participate from a distinct culture than that of the population that forms the dominant national character (1973:251).[5]

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[5] Translation from the original Spanish.

Fortunately, several studies of anthropology and education exist throughout Mexico and Latin America. The bulk of the research in Mexico, however, has been limited to Chiapas, although others are now trying to change this limitation. Several of these studies prove useful to an understanding of Huichol education, especially the work of Bernard (1985, 1995, and 1997) in Oaxaca, Burns (1998) among the Maya, and Freedson and Pérez (1995, 1998), Modiano (1973), and Rippberger (1992) in Chiapas. In addition, research in other Latin American countries by Gustafson (1998) and Corvalán (1989) on Guaraní in Bolivia and Paraguay, and Mondino (1993) among the Asháninka of Peru ,deal specifically with indigenous education and language and culture issues.

In Mexico, as previously mentioned, federally instituted bilingual-bicultural education programs were for acculturative purposes. The lack of credentials of Indian educators, as well as ambivalence about the educational process made finding quality native teachers difficult. The situation began to change in the early 1990s. Rippberger (1992) noted that native Tzotzil-speaking Maya teachers were the first ones to make significant headway in Indian education in Mexico. Much like their American counterparts, these indigenous teachers worked gradually to bend bilingual-bicultural education to fit local needs as best as possible given the national agenda's scope and limitations. By bending the rules, indigenous teachers were trying to truly make their educational experience intercultural.

The first generation of college-educated native peoples are beginning to change decades of previous policy—but at an expense to local communities. Rather than entering anthropology, native people are becoming critical theorists who reflect upon their culture's problems, but leave the problem-solving to an intellectual class that has

difficulty gaining voice among the general populace because the avenue of information dissemination is written rather than in a traditional oral form (Iturrioz et al. 1995).

Because indigenous educators and community members saw that bilingual education was not reducing culture and language loss, they pushed within the SEP a move towards what is called "bilingual intercultural education." Already noted by scholars such as Freedson and Pérez (1998), the bilingual-bicultural model was not working. Elders were often ambivalent about it, and community divisions were created between those who thought the native language was "holding them back" as opposed to those who wanted to preserve it (progressives and teachers).

In Paraguay, Corvalán (1989:601) stressed the importance of regular use of Guaraní language in the classroom by teachers, finding that using a different language in the classroom other than what students used regularly outside the classroom caused literacy problems for native students. They were becoming literate in neither language because the structure of the educational experience did not enable them to gain a grasp on their native literacy skills before introducing foreign concepts and ideas in an unfamiliar language.

The bilingual-intercultural education model was meant to erase the negative "us" vs. "them" bipolar distinctions in education. Instead of teaching two separate systems of education, the bilingual-intercultural model sought to equally divide time between native concepts and foreign ones. Its goal was also to recognize the dynamic nature of Indian peoples. Instead of seeing Indian peoples as only traditional, the model realized that their life was in a constant state of flux. According to Mondino, bilingual-intercultural education is:

> An education planned to impart knowledge in two language and two cultures. It is meant to increase value in native language and culture; Spanish is gradually introduced utilizing in it special materials adapted to the user (1993:129).

and that the following should be taken in mind when analyzing it:

> The traditional is important. It isn't the only trait that should be considered as part of a culture. Denial of culture change is to deny that it (the culture) is living and found in a constant process of transformation (1993:130).

Intercultural education stresses the ability to become fluently literate in both languages as the best way to preserve a culture (Bernard 1985; Ramirez de la Cruz 1995). It is argued that the community must take an active role in the school for it to survive.

The third area of concern in indigenous anthropology in Mexico has to do with language and culture preservation. In contrast to the revitalization programs occurring across the U.S., in Mexico the focus is on cultural preservation. Bernard (1985, 1995) believes that if you can teach someone to read and write his or her language, it will survive. Establishing the Centro Editorial de Literatura Indígena, A.C. (CELIAC) in Oaxaca in 1993, Bernard's project aims to encourage indigenous authors to write and publish in their native languages. This project has assisted over 150 indigenous writers in over a dozen indigenous languages to preserve their languages (Bernard 1997).

Burns (1998) has written as well about the influence of pan-Maya ideology on Maya education in the Yucatán of Mexico. Like Oaxaca's 1996 intercultural education law, numerous Yucatec-speaking Maya banded together to demand legalization of their language for all government institutions, as well as for mandatory Maya education. Acting as a consultant to Yucatec Maya teachers, Burns saw that group consciousness aided indigenous teachers to discuss and develop curriculum relevant to Maya language and culture.

The Huichol direction in language and culture preservation has been shaped by relations with the University of Guadalajara's *Centro de Investigación de Lenguas Indígenas* that has published several works in the 1990s, mostly in Spanish, dealing with aspects of Huichol language and culture preservation. Until recently, these works included writings by intellectuals about the state of their culture and some translated poetry. Recently, the first work entirely in Huichol for the Huichol was published: *Wixaritari Wayeiyari* ('+kix+ and López de la Torre 1999) that recounts the Huichol peyote pilgrimage as well as talks about the location of various sacred sites throughout the *kiekari* (traditional Huichol homeland). It is hoped that this book will stop the decline in traditional practices and ensure that they are conducted correctly in the future. While this book is designed for use by older Huichol, especially those at the secondary level, a series of five books for teaching Huichol have also been developed for the primary school level and marketed under the "free text" program of the SEP. These texts mix elements of the natural environment with word concepts, hoping that by attaching language-learning concepts to the natural world, Huichol children will learn faster.

A central problem for language and culture studies among the Huichol has been the standardization of a written form of the language. Despite an elaborate orthography developed by Grimes (1964), there are inconsistencies in the scripts used by various agencies. In some, crucial diacritical marks are neglected; in others, orthographic inconsistencies impair rather than assist Huichol to become literate in their own language. In 1984, Burns (1998:51) says, the Yucatán adopted "a standardized Spanish writing

system for Maya." This has not occurred yet for the Huichol, and the dialectical differences make it difficult to establish orthography consistent with that of Spanish.[6]

<div align="center">Educational Research and the Huichol</div>

Contemporary, educational research among the Huichol has chiefly been by those involved in the CETMK project. Rural education for the first three years of primary education is conducted by the *Consejo Nacional de Fomento Educativo* (CONAFE). A division of the SEP, CONAFE has been instrumental in bringing education to rural areas where otherwise there would be no opportunity for schooling. At the secondary educational level, Huichol educational research has been done by Corona (1999), De Aguinaga (1996), Rojas (1999a, 1999b), and Von Groll (1997, 1999). All of these writings and publications deal exclusively with the CETMK project, and from a positivist orientation.

De Aguinaga, the coordinator of the *Centro Educativo Tatutsi Maxa Kwaxí* project, is the *figura mestiza* (Mexican person) most instrumental in helping the Huichol to establish a secondary school. After having examined several different projects in other parts of Mexico, the Huichol from the community of *Tateikié* together with various authorities from the *Instituto Nacional Indigenista* (INI), the *Unidad de Comunidades Indígenas Huicholes de Jalisco* (UCIHJ), *the Asociación Jaliciense de Apoyo a Grupos*

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[6] One common difference in Huichol orthography is the "x," which may be pronounced like a Spanish "rr," yet in other dialects it is pronounced as an "sh." Spanish scribes have written these characters in different ways depending on the dialect observed by the researcher. Huichol also contains a vowel sound that is incompatible with the Spanish vowel system. It has been transcribed as everything from an "iu" to a "u," causing confusion in word meaning because important contrastive phonemic distinctions are not accurately recorded. See appendix A for an explanation of Huichol orthography and important contrastive vocalizations.

Indígenas (AJAGI), the *Secretaría de Educación* Pública *de Jalisco* (SEP-Jalisco), and others, voted to establish a secondary school in *Tateikita* to begin during the 1995-1996 school year.

The first year of the school's existence was full of conflict. De Aguinaga (1996) writes about the formative pre-CETMK years of the school and the struggle involved in bringing the school to the Huichol. Before the CETMK, she writes, "a culture of the West dominated for 20 years" (De Aguinaga 1996:65). She adds that there were "35 primaries, 14 of which were dormitory-schools." There were also "21 Unitarian schools with 1380 students on scholarship," bringing the total to "2880 students in the Sierra" (De Aguinaga 1996:66). At the secondary level, there was only one *telesecundaria* (video school) that was struggling to survive in the Sierra, but suffered from attrition and only had 20 students in attendance at the time in 1996. De Aguinaga (1996) mentions that many parents were sending their children away to be schooled, but the results were more detrimental than advantageous for the students and their parents. Besides being expensive, it alienated children from their culture and family. The current bilingual curriculum stressed Spanish in the curriculum, much more so than anything indigenous. The Huichol, in founding the CETMK, "wanted to move away from this model" (De Aguinaga 1996:67).

The first ethnographic work involving the CETMK was done by Maren Von Groll (1997). As a candidate for *licenciatura* in psychology from the *Universidad Nacional Autonoma de México* (UNAM), Von Groll wrote about the construction of self and other. Her main thesis was to explain the construction of space between self and other that was to serve as a meeting place between Huichol and the dominant Mestizo culture. Focusing

primarily on the formative process of the CETMK, Von Groll spent portions of several

months during the Spring of 1996 doing qualitative ethnography in the school,

interviewing primarily teachers to gain through their voices of perspective on how the

Huichol construct their collective identity that then emerges through stories of conflict

with Franciscans and Mestizos that have historically exploited the Huichol. She then

applies her psychological model to a series of observations in the Sierra, from the conflict

with Franciscans and the media when the school was first constructed, to describing how

environmental education and the *kiekari* form crucial parts of Huichol self-identification.

She concludes, by recounting through brief stories from the teachers, how the Huichol are

not static but rather, divided themselves over change and how to deal with it. She leaves

the question open about whether the CETMK can really be a space of intercultural

communication.

Sarah Corona (1999), investigator, coordinator of the Master's program in

Journalism at the University of Guadalajara, and an assistant to the CETMK project,

expanded upon Von Groll's negotiation of self and other through an ethnographic

account of a series of student plays. In her account of a Huichol theatrical performance,

presented by CETMK students, Corona says negotiation of the "other" can be seen

through the dress and actions of various "Mestizo" characters in student-created plays.

She discusses the plays as "habitus," where we are able to see how we think the other

constructs us.[7] She says that students describe the Mestizo as "immoral," "paternalistic,"

"legalistic," and "very powerful" and that we can see these attributes in the Mestizo

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[7] *Habitus,* according to Pierre Bourdieu (1990), are locations of meaning that can be
analyzed as scenarios of "being and knowing."

characters they create for their plays (Corona 1999:44-47). Through these images, the

Huichol show their preoccupation with historical domination by Mestizos who are

"smart," because they know how to manipulate scenarios to their advantage when dealing

with the indigenous peoples of Mexico.

The last ethnographer to write about the CETMK was Angélica Rojas (1999a,

1999b). She was also the first anthropologist to look at the CETMK and discuss the daily

life of the school, most especially from the point of view of its students. In her Master's

thesis in social anthropology, Rojas described the daily life of students at the CETMK,

recounting through their stories, how (or if) they experienced the "intercultural space"

that Von Groll (1998) was hinting about in her own work. Her primary goal was:

> to reach an understanding of the development of the educational process
> of the *Centro Educativo Tatutsi Maxakwaxi* and if possible find the
> intercultural aspects of its daily life (Rojas 1999:4)

and

> to show how the educational process of the secondary school is reflected
> in its praxis, with an ending effect of identifying how the students live. It
> is an ethnographic study of sociocultural focus that allows a retroanalysis
> of the educational practice of the center, and gives the Huichol teachers, or
> at least the Mestizo aides, elements to better their collaboration with the
> secondary school (Rojas 1999:5).

Rojas' thesis was released at the end of my first academic year in the Sierra

(Summer 2000) and presented to the community in the Fall of 2000. Rojas chose to play

the roll of observer more than participant, although she said she played volleyball,

embroidered, and made tortillas with her informants.[8] Her research was conducted for

two months between September and November 1997, with a break of ten days. She then

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[8] These are all exclusively women's activities. I argue for a balanced gender stance to gain a better understanding of the complexity of social interactions that take place in a school environment.

returned for fifteen days during the month of February, and for three days during the closing ceremonies of the school year in late June of 1998 (Rojas 1999a:58, 1999b:29). These periods were during the year immediately preceding my own arrival, and I had no knowledge of her or her work prior to my arrival for long-term fieldwork in the Sierra in the Fall of 1998.

Despite Rojas' limited time in the field, she did attend at least one of every class, a couple of community assemblies, and interviewed primarily third-year students. It was a classic systematic approach to qualitative ethnography of education. Her results show the way students experience the school culture, focusing mainly on their aspirations.

One significant part of Rojas' work was a portion of her thesis on the student assemblies of the school, published as a separate article by the revista *Sinéctica* of the ITESO University in Guadalajara (Rojas 1999b). In this article she talks about the oral experience of the assembly meetings and how they allow students to take political roles in leadership through the election of officers, abilities to speak, and the overall communitarian nature of problem solving that is nearly entirely student-directed.

Although this work was released during my time in the field, I feel that doing short-term ethnographic fieldwork in indigenous communities missed a number of important considerations. From experiences I have had in Native American research among the Navajo, it is a particularly lengthy process to become accepted into an indigenous community (although one will never truly become part of it). Von Groll (1997:22) believes that it took her a month to become accustomed to the culture. Rojas experienced considerable problems of integration at first too. She writes that she was

viewed as an *antropóloga* by the Huichol community, and for these reasons people maintained a cautioned distance from her at first (Rojas 1999b:28).

When I began to work among the Huichol, I knew that performing longitudinal research was a better method to truly get at an understanding of school-community relations. Although this was one of Rojas' principal goals, I feel that one could not have gained a true understanding of conflict and community dynamics over such a short period of fieldwork. Rojas did, however, make it her point to work primarily with students. For my role, to be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 of this dissertation, I was to take a three-fold role as a teacher, community resident, and applied anthropologist. It is my belief as well, that being a male, in contrast to recent trends in female ethnography, as well as serving as a teacher at the school, allowed greater rapport with community leaders and school personnel. Contrary to both Von Groll and Rojas, I did not experience such long-term problems getting close to the culture of the school. Being asked to teach various courses, I was immediately thrust into being a participant within it.[9] I also did not present myself openly as an anthropologist, although many knew me to be one, instead trying to downplay the category, showing my dislike for the ethics of some anthropologists in the past, and through being a social activist for indigenous preservation.

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[9] The scenario of "insider anthropology" and "action anthropology" creates its own set of problems in the eyes of some who see one as being unable to distinguish "emic" from "etic" social categories of meaning.

CHAPTER 4
THEORY AND METHODS

<u>Theoretical Perspectives</u>

The theoretical perspectives for this dissertation fall under three main headings:: ethnicity and identity, political, and educational theory. In this chapter, I introduce each perspective with its corresponding theories as it pertains to the Huichol at macro and micro levels of social organization. Only then, by taking these perspectives together, can the current status of Huichol education and community-school relations be understood. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of the qualitative and quantitative research methods used in my research.

At macro (societal) level for the Huichol, pan-Indianism, the collective binding of indigenous peoples together as a minority people based on perceived cultural similarities with other Indian peoples defines who the Huichol are collectively vis-à-vis the dominant Mestizo socio-political hierarchy. In addition, the macro-cultural situation of the Huichol can be defined by using Marxist dialectics and historical materialism. Opposing economic systems (capitalism and social egalitarianism) are in competition due to newly emerging social classes holding different political and material ideologies that affect the Huichol way of life in the rural Sierra. Lastly, I feel that the type of educational theory that fits the Huichol situation of traditional informal education is one shaped by democratic-socialist theory from the philosophical perspectives of Jürgen Habermas (1990, 1992) and John Dewey (1938, 1966).

At the level of micro theory, the theories that fit my findings and observations fall under those that explain how overarching beliefs of autonomy and differing notions of Huichol ethnicity are accommodated within the immediate school and community. This is why "power-knowledge, Foucault's (1982) equation of power with knowledge, and its limiting of discourse strategies, plays such an important role in describing the control mechanisms involved in the struggle between educational factions within *Tateikita* brought about by the rapid culture change within the Huichol community.

The theoretical stances that explain Huichol identity(ies) appear to grow from a dominant/subordinate frame wherein the Huichol situation is explained as one with a history of self-inflicted isolationism as a response to political and cultural exclusion by, initially, the Colonialist regime and, more recently, the dominant Mestizo culture, which sees the Huichol as an underdeveloped people (Weigand 1981; Nahmad 1996). In terms of their indigenous identity in Latin America, indigenous scholars emphasize the pan-Indian trend whereby the Huichol cannot be considered as an isolated people but, rather, as a people who share common goals with other indigenous people and possess a "shared consciousness" of identity with them that extends beyond being Huichol (Ramírez 1995; Nahmad 1998). While among intellectuals, particularly urban and educated Indians, this may be the case, among the average rural Huichol citizenry, lack of rural development that facilitates communication has made such measures difficult.

Despite the intelligencia, the Huichol still possess their traditional native cosmology that is rooted in a small-scale horticultural society with egalitarian methods of social control (Weigand 1981). From the perspective of their cosmology, then, there can be no separation between their subsistence economy and their religious practices and

traditions. They are intimately woven together, as evidenced in various ceremonies surrounding an annual horticultural schedule (Schaefer and Furst 1996). Huichol cosmology comes to represent the groundwork for explaining other aspects of the Huichol condition, such as their desire to remain separate and autonomous.

In Huichol traditional society, status was accorded based on age and experience and was largely egalitarian (Schafer and Furst 1996:11; Weigand 1981:17). That model is now being replaced by one based around those who are members of the petit-bourgeoisie who control access to resources, or, in the case of neo-Marxist micro-level theory, those who control knowledge and access to it (Weigand 1979:113, 1981:18). The situation in this dissertation is one in which the macro-scale oppressive economic and political situation of the Huichol has begun to filter down to micro societal (*ranchería*) level. This micro (school-community level of social interaction) is where I observed the fragmentation of Huichol identity taking place.

While there appears to be a unified sense of Huichol identity, there is individual and intercommunity variation - "homogeneity of Huichol culture is often an artifact created by anthropologists relying upon urban informants" (Weigand 1979:102). There is such a competing set of actors at the local level that only those with the real control over knowledge can determine the direction the school takes. Student attitudes about formal education, as evident from questionnaires and interviews, closely reflect the ideals instilled by their teachers (an emerging intelligentsia class), but the reality of traditional norms (early marriage for females, a need for cooperative field labor, etc.) is at odds with some of these ideals desired by Huichol teachers and Mestizo intellectuals.

Ethnicity and Identity

Theories of ethnicity and identity lie at the heart of Huichol collective social organization. It is only through collective social and religious organization that the Huichol can form the in-group / out-group distinctions necessary to create boundaries that distinguish them as a unified ethnic group from the rest of society. Already mentioned in Chapter 2 by Barth (1969), the creation of ethnic boundaries is one of the primary factors for delineation of an ethnic group. Combining self-imposed identity formation with greater indigenous nationalistic political objectives is what has led to the self-determination movement among the indigenous peoples of Mexico. The following two sections show how a theory of ethnic identity among the Huichol is formed, how it is propagated, and what purpose it ultimately serves.

Pan-Indianism and Regional Cultures

The idea of the existence of a pan-Indian ethic is central to discussions of indigenous quests for self-determination and autonomous regions within Latin America. According to pan-Indian rhetoric, there is a collective notion of Indian identity that transcends cultural differences. "Pan-Indianism" has been variously used to justify collective mobilization by native peoples based on a shared ideology that includes the belief in a common history of oppression that has destroyed or limited the plurality of cultural ways of knowing and being in a global world-system (Battiste 2000; Burns 1998; Ramírez de la Cruz 1995). Through the spread of information and general awareness of the similar position of other native peoples, an ethnic group may see pan-Indianism as a "consciousness provoking" ethic that can serve as a catalyst for accelerating tribal concerns over ethnic, political, religious, linguistic, and human rights matters to national and international levels.

Pan-Indianism is useful to an understanding of Huichol language and culture preservation because the intellectual community shares its goals. In *Tateikita*, the majority of influential residents in the social hierarchy are also teachers, be they primary, secondary, or *educación inicial* (preschool). As teachers, they are in positions to control information (Apple 1995, 1996, McLaren 1998). They can propagate or limit the dissemination of thoughts and ideas regarding ethnicity and culture, and they can also be markers of traditionality or agents for social change. Since teachers are the ones who receive payment on a regular basis for their instruction, they are also the most likely individuals to be literate and travel outside the Sierra. Burns (1998) found the native Maya teachers he assisted in curriculum development in the Yucatán to be primary agents of voice in discussions of pan-Indian ideologies. With this in mind, they were also the most in control of traditional educational values that were now shifting from informal to formal educational institutions, be they in encouraging the use of the local Maya dialect, or in regulating the school year cycle (Burns 1998). When looking at the educational atmosphere in *Tateikita*, one must not neglect the power of teachers as both agents of change and social discourse moderators in discussions of pan-Indian goals of self-determination that the Huichol share with neighboring indigenous peoples. Huichol acknowledgement that they share common goals with EZLN mandates, those of the International Labor Organization, and COCOPA resolutions is further proof that they are not as ideologically isolated from the outside world as they may, at first, appear to be.

Anthropological discourses on pan-Indianism seem to fall short at the level of regional cultures. According to Lomnitz-Adler (1991:198), regional culture is "the internally differentiated and segmented culture produced by human interaction within a

regional political economy." He further states, "…within a given region one can discover similarly constituted identity groups, whose senses of themselves (their valued objects and relationships, their boundaries) are related to their position in the power region. Likewise, a regional culture implies the construction of frames of communication within and between various identity groups, and these frames also have their spaces (Lomnitz-Adler 1991:198)." When applying the concept of regional culture to pan-Indianism, the realm of intercultural variation is exposed which would otherwise be masked. Likewise, the concept of "regional culture" blurs the lines of distinction between ethnic groups, returning one to a discussion of economic and intellectual similarities that extend across ethnic lines. It returns the discourse to Marxist and Weberian notions of power called for by Roseberry (1997) and mentioned in the "identity politics" of Hale (1997). It is therefore useful for discovering underlying infrastructural materialist conditions that lead to social and intellectual class differentiation among native peoples and peasantry who may share common sentiments for factional organization and historical rebellious uprisings in rural areas of Mexico.

During the course of my research I was repeatedly drawn aback at the level of intercultural variation seen within the culture of the school as well as that of the community. I was forced to ask myself whether there might be intercultural "hierarchies of power" that had developed within Huichol society. Once again, Lomnitz-Adler (1991:201) lays the groundwork for a discussion of regions of power that she says leads to hegemony that "is a fundamental concept for the study of regional cultures." Moreover, these regions of power refer to culture "as it exists and operates in a space that is organized by…and articulated through…class domination" (Lomnitz-Adler 1991:201).

As alliances between community members and teachers are forged (or broken), I began to wonder if there were not ideological differences that were closely tied to class formation which had, in turn, resulted from the emergent capitalist economy that had so quickly invaded Huichol society. These resulting class cultures when applied to a particular setting, such as a school, are what Lomnitz-Adler (1991:202) calls "intimate cultures," which are the cultures of classes in specific kinds of regional settings. When one intimate culture gains control over localist ideology in a particular setting, it is likely to become the consensus creating mechanism for how identification of the pan-indian movement is expressed on a regional level.

Native Epistemology and Cosmology

A second component to ethnicity and identity theory as it pertains to the Huichol is in the area of native epistemology and cosmology. An understanding of these areas is particularly useful in explaining Huichol world-view. Moore (1998) argues that Native American epistemologies are inherently bound by religious cosmologies. As such, they cannot adequately be described by Western philosophies using such core terms as "nominalism," "idealism," "empiricism," and "realism." Instead, he argues that Native American philosophies are radically different from European philosophical epistemology because they rely on a "spatially constructed native cosmology" (Moore 1998:272). In constructing his argument, Moore presents evidence from Cheyenne and Mvskoke philosophies where secular questions of reality cannot be separated from the religious. He clearly states that he bases his reasoning on "smaller-scale egalitarian societies living north of Mexico before the coming of the Europeans" (1998:271). I argue, however, that Moore's contentions can be applied as well to native peoples south of the border (i.e., Mexico). While some may argue that this cannot be done due to the significant impact of

European, namely Spanish, colonialism on the indigenous peoples of Latin America, I

find that the indigenous peoples of Latin America have much more in common with their

kin north of the border than either Mexican or American anthropologists care to admit.

Much can be learned about Native peoples on either side of the border by opening up the

grounds for comparative research between them.

Huichol epistemology, as discussed in chapter 2, is one that is concerned with the

entire life cycle. Bound closely to agricultural cycles and to the environment, to not

engage in these practices, which are often communal, would be not to live as a Huichol.

While other anthropologists, namely Grimes (1964) and Vogt (1955), emphasize the

individualist nature of Huichol culture, I tend to disagree. It is my belief that ceremonies

have become "ritualized" and "formalized" to the point that they are communal activities

that take precedence over individual acts (such as traveling to sacred sites to leave

offerings). The primary residence shift from cultural dispersion to concentration in

small-scale village centers further accentuates the gradual change towards more

formalized communal religious rituals as "clinging mechanisms" to traditional Huichol

identity. Whereas elsewhere in the world residence shifts from rural to urban centers

resulted in individualism, at least in *Tateikita* religion appears to have become more

communal. As for economic considerations, however, there is now a shift from

"communal property" to the idea of "personal property," which previously had been

unknown to the Huichol. The only personal type of religious experience that appears to

remain is that associated with ceremonial peyote consumption. One's experience, much

like that shared by Cheyenne and Lakota vision seekers, is personal. Its use, however, is

closely linked to communal ceremonies, and the experience is frequently evaluated by a

mara'akame (shaman).[21] Like Moore (1998:285) noted among the Cheyenne, there is a distinction between "personal religious knowledge" and "collective religious knowledge." While individual knowledge gained in visions is one's own business, collective ceremonies demand a different type of behavior that limits the options available to the self. Roles, attitudes, and expected behaviors are closely regulated.

On a native cosmological level, Huichol personal-identity is inseparable from a collective identity. Interactions take place in a natural environment that limits individual actions. A pantheon of gods control the environment's actions on the group, and poor individual behavior can cause serious environmental consequences for the self and / or group. The role of Huichol native cosmology in the daily life of the school and community is important. If Huichol cosmology does, in fact, emphasize communal rather than individualistic behavior, one would expect to see its importance central to describing the school culture of the CETMK. Furthermore, a native cosmology that emphasizes the power of the natural environment over the self would, in theory, mean that student attitudes towards traditional cultural values would remain strong at the school.[22] Likewise, if there were a shift away from traditional cultural values (Huichol cosmology) in the school or the community, this would be observable in the daily life of each.

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[21] While it is not my intention in this dissertation to analyze Huichol religious matters, a general discussion of their epistemological role in the overarching Huichol cosmology is necessary.

[22] One aspect of using questionnaires among a student sample population was to determine exactly what they thought these traditional values were and then to compare these to researcher observations made at the school.

Political Theory and the Aims of Indigenous Movements

The second component to the theoretical perspective taken in this dissertation is political. The process involved in language and culture preservation for indigenous peoples is inherently "political," because it involves a process whereby the culture seeking to preserve its traditions feels that it is necessary to do so, feeling that there is some political justification for their actions. Political theory can be used to explain the actions of individuals within the school and community as they seek to define their own positions vis-à-vis the dominant society. I have chosen to use political theory to explain the various actions of the social actors in the struggle for Huichol identity and ethnic change both within the CETMK secondary school and within the context of the village of *Tateikita*. Political theory uses the positions of Marx, Merton, Foucault, and Gramsci to explain the holistic scenario of relationships between micro and macro levels that cannot be adequately explained using any one theoretical approach.

Dialectical Materialism and Anomie

The first subset of political theory is that of dialectical materialism and anomie. Most political theory about indigenous peoples in Latin America that is not concerned with ethnicity and identity is derived from either classical Marxism or neo-Marxism (Hale 1997). In analyzing the Huichol political-economic climate within the Sierra (namely, *Tateikita*), a dialectical approach is useful for explaining class differentiation and interethnic political boundaries.

According to dialectical materialism, "reality is not a static substance in undifferentiated unity but a unity that is differentiated and specifically contradictory, the conflict of opposites driving reality onwards in a historical process of constant progressive change, both evolutionary and revolutionary" (Bottomore 1983:120). In the

Huichol economic model, there are two competing modes of production: the traditional, and an emerging petty-commodity production that harbors the seeds of capitalism. The traditional Huichol economy is what Nash (1976:163) refers to as a "quasi-tribal system." As such, they are a people that are characterized as primarily egalitarian subsistence farmers who produce material goods for the home or exchange, but not generally for profit. Household food resources are shared, when necessary, and full-time craft specialization or lack of participation in subsistence agricultural practices is rare.

The competing developing system in *Tateikita* appears to be petty-commodity production that fits the model developed by Chayanov (1966) in which families may be engaged in horticulture, crafts, and trades. What appears to be happening among the historically isolated Huichol is a sudden shift towards capitalist activities within the more concentrated village centers. The primary points for contact with the outside world are limited to the village centers, where some have shifted their primary responsibilities, particularly since the arrival of a road in Spring 1998 (in *Tateikita*), from horticulture to shopkeeping.[23] These additional sources of income have created economic divisions between "have and have-nots" where there was previously little difference. Moreover, shopkeepers tend to follow dual roles as teachers at the primary level as well, so that in some instances they may be collecting considerable income and choosing a "plant less and purchase more" scenario.[24] They may also delegate planting to their children or

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[23] Before the arrival of the dirt road to *Tateikita*, there were two stores, one being part of the federal rural assistance program (COPUSI). There are now nine, although the population of *Tateikita* has remained largely constant the past several years.

[24] I was shocked during the course of my research in *Tateikita* by the quantities of Maseca, a brand-name nixtamalized corn mix, which was purchased by some individuals in the community.

more distant kin. In addition, at least three of the shopkeepers in Tateikita are members of the political-ruling family faction within the traditional ascribed hierarchy status system.

The implications of this shift away from a quasi-tribal system creates constraint on time that must be balanced between traditional cultural participation and that necessary to obtain a profit, so that food may be purchased for the self and family. In terms of educational considerations, since the concept of money invaded local power hierarchies, a class system has begun to emerge, placing primary teachers and shopkeepers at the top of the hierarchy, followed by secondary and pre-school teachers who obtain a *quincena* (twice monthly) salary from the state. In the middle are those who specialize in crafts and who may travel to the coast or city to sell them to a dealer. At the bottom are those who have little to no occupational specializations or who only subsistence farm. The result is that as traditional occupations become increasingly devalued, an "anomic state" results.

The sociological theory of "anomie" was first developed by Durkheim (1951) and was enhanced upon by Merton (1968). In the theory of anomie, more recently referred to as "structural-strain theory," stresses developed by lack of cultural adjustment to changing social conditions manifest themselves in deviant behavior. "Anomie," in Durkheim's *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1965) refers specifically to a "state of normlessness or lack of social regulation" that promotes higher rates of suicide (Akers 1999:119). Merton (1968) expanded upon this notion of normlessness, applying it to modern society, where there is "dissociation between valued cultural ends and legitimate societal means to reach those ends" (Akers 1999:120). Discrepancies between means and

ends can result from class divisions. These discrepancies, for Merton (1938), are accommodated via fives modes of adaptation to strain. He called these: conformity, innovation, rebellion, retreatism, and ritualism. Each of these modes of adaptation, in Merton's opinion, is an individual way to cope with the pressures of society (anomie).

Turnbull (1987) used anomie theory to explain the violent and dissociative behavior of the Ik in Uganda. According to Turnbull (1987), Ik relocation resulted in starvation and sickness. The presence of these life-threatening conditions led to a breakdown in Ik social order. Similarly, for the Huichol, anomie theory may help explain the various forms of identity adaptation to rapid culture change and development in *Tateikita*. In *Tateikita*, retreatism and ritualistic conformity serve as ways to hide from rapid change, whereas rebellion and innovation drive the culture change process.

Power-Knowledge Relations in Historical Materialism

The second section of political theory is composed of neo-Marxist discussions of power-knowledge derived from the philosophical positions of Michel Foucault and Antonio Gramsci. It is my belief that the micro-culture of the school functions within a framework that converts knowledge into a form of "cultural capital." Community factions within the school and *Tateikita* begin to emerge around selected discourses that control the flow of information, rather than create an ideal egalitarian educational environment.

Foucault (1982), like Habermas (1984, 1990, 1998), is concerned with discourses. But unlike Habermas, he removes the Hegelian historical nature of critical theory and instead uses a "presentist" focus that reconstructs historical geneaologies of discourse from the present. He is concerned with the rationale of why one particular discourse comes to dominate other discourses. In his principle of discontinuity, Foucault says:

> We must make allowance for the complex and unstable powers whereby discourse can be both an instrument and effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy (1982:101).

In relation to the CETMK, teachers and the intellectual community advocate a particular discourse strategy. Ball (1990:3) stresses that educational institutions "control the access of individuals to various kinds of discourse." This is an important consideration for the CETMK, because the school's purpose and mission arose from supposed community consensus and is deeply rooted in a political agenda. Teachers, as members of the intellectual community, propagate this agenda that may be at odds with some of the ideas of the local community. Marshall, in applying Foucault to institutions, identifies the school as an institution in the following way:

> In institutions, knowledge has been developed about people, and their behavior, attitudes, and self-knowledge have been…used to shape individuals. These discourses and practices have not only been used to change us in various ways, but are also used to legitimate such changes, as the knowledge gained is deemed to be 'true'. (Marshall 1996:15)

Foucault's (1972) approach is that you have to construct historical genealogies of opposing (conflicting or dialectical) discourses and only by doing so is it possible to discover why one particular discourse has taken political hegemony over another, thereby silencing the positions of some members of a culture or ethnic group. He is not concerned with macro-levels of political power, but rather with discovering how power is exercised at micro-levels (Marshall 1996:120). For Foucault, knowledge is "a function of human interests and power relations" (Marshall 1996:120). Moreover, power is "a mode of action which does not act directly and immediately on others … [but] … instead it acts upon their actions … on existing actions and on those which may arise in the present or in the future" (Marshall 1983:220).

While Foucault discusses many themes in his political philosophy, it is his concept of "power-knowledge" relations that can be applied to the CETMK and *Tateikita* as a way to explain questions about the school's effectiveness for uniting (or disuniting) the Huichol in their efforts at language and culture preservation. I, like Roseberry (1999), do not consider Foucault's ideas as a break from traditional Marxist theory, but rather, see it as a complement to micro-scale levels of cultural analysis, and as a way to achieve a generality for Marxism in explaining different historical time periods and their prevailing ideologies. Foucault, however, did not see power-knowledge as necessarily repressive (Marshall 1996:135). Instead, it only dictates the current of a prevailing discourse.

Gramsci takes the ideas of Foucault one step further, having a wider focus than Foucault. According to Kenway,

> [Gramsci's] interest is in the processes through which hegemony in society as a whole is achieved, sustained, adjusted, and challenged. He is particularly concerned with the forms of domination associated with social class, with the ways in which ideology binds together classes and class factions in domination and subordination. (1990:176-177)

Gramsci also believes that there is intracultural variation that can serve as the basis for conflict. "Gramsci asserts that there is no such thing as a pure class ideology" (Jessop 1982:193). He also believes in "ideology is the 'cement' upon which hegemony is built" (Gramsci 1971:324). Lastly, he believes that intellectuals serve as the key figures in the development of class ideologies.

Gramsci's ideas prove fruitful in application to the daily life and culture of the CETMK. If the culture of the school is broken down, different social actors struggle to control the course of education at the institution. Some may come from more traditional elements of society and possess differing notions of ethnic identity. These various

positions in an ideal atmosphere could be "argued out" as Habermas (1992) contests. At the CETMK, these discourses may be accommodated at assembly meetings, and discussed at village gatherings. But the question really remains of which discourse is the prevailing one, and, how, if at all, opposing views of schooling are accommodated within the school and the community.

Educational Theory: Developing a Philosophy of Education for the Huichol

The third theoretical perspective for this dissertation comes from the realm of educational theory. Much of educational theory about indigenous peoples and educational pedagogy in general are concerned with empowerment issues in the classroom for both teachers and students (Apple 1975, 1995, 1996; Ball 1990; Cleary and Peacock 1998; Dewey 1989; Giroux 1992; Levinson 1998; Lima and Lima 1998; Marshall 1996; McLaren 1998). As an inseparable part of educational theory, an overarching philosophy of education is critical to understanding the emancipatory nature of education. A philosophy of education is, in effect, a general "mission statement" made up from group norms and aims that determines the purpose and function of education within a given population or community (Whitehead 1967). A sound analysis of Huichol education would not be complete without addressing the larger philosophy of education that dictates its mission and function within the greater Huichol society.

In the following two subsections, I will introduce the central ideas involved in a critical pedagogy of education, and ultimately tie them together as socialistic means to achieve an idealistic scenario of social egalitarianism that revolves around discussions of voice, agent, and action. The critical educational theory that shapes this area is derived from the positions of Paulo Freire (1993), Henry Giroux (1992) and Peter McLaren

(1998). The second subsection, democratic socialism, is a position taken from the works

of John Dewey and Jürgen Habermas.

Critical Theory in Education

The educational theory position taken in this dissertation is one that addresses the

connection between micro-culture and macro-culture. On a general level, Huichol efforts

to control their own educational destiny are influenced by critical theory because of its

emphasis on information control and power. Huichol education, until recently, was

dominated by a system that did not recognize the value of indigenous languages and

cultures (De Aguinaga 1996; Ramírez 1994; Rojas 1999a, 1999b; Von Groll 1997, 1999).

As seen in Chapter 3, various national titles only masked the true agenda of Mexican

national education, one which sought the assimilation of Mexico's indigenous peoples.

Even national programs in bilingual-bicultural education continued to focus on Spanish

fluency and a denial of a pluralistic state. This is despite official recognition in the

Mexican constitution, since 1992, which states:

> The Mexican nation has a pluricultural composition based originally on its
> indigenous peoples. The Law will protect and promote the development
> of their languages, cultures, uses and customs, resources and specific
> forms of social organization, and will guarantee their members effective
> access to the jurisdiction of the state. In judicial and agrarian proceedings
> to which they are a party, their legal practices and customs shall be taken
> into account in the manner established by law (Stavenhagen 1994:80).

In addition to macro "dominant society-indigenous society" relations, a critical

philosophy of education is useful in describing why the Huichol developed a macro-level

ethnic position that emphasizes traditional communitarian cultural values as opposed to

dominant individualistic ideologies commonly associated with capitalism. At a macro-

ethnic level then, an ideal Huichol educational philosophy would be socialistic and

egalitarian, emphasizing values that include respect, honoring commitments to others,

maintaining the family, and truthfulness. These values are in contrast to the competing philosophy of education presented by the dominant Mexican society that includes self-development and achievement, and neglects the family. Furthermore, for the Huichol, the school is not considered to be an isolated environment. The idea of a "community school" emphasizes a connection between the school and the community on ideological and practical levels.

At the micro level of analysis, the culture of the school itself, the CETMK seeks to be a model for indigenous education. From the outside, schools like the CETMK appear to be egalitarian environments where various discourses about education come together and consensus is achieved that creates an educational environment that is advantageous towards achieving "shared goals." The CETMK's objectives reflect the idea of presumed shared set of goals. These objectives are:

1. To recognize the trunk [group] so that the branches [children] may grow

2. To fill the center [CETMK] with the Huichol culture

3. To give classes in Huichol

4. To learn about one's people in order to learn about the world

5. To promote and fertilize the seeds, and to learn to solve the needs of the community

6. To create unity for autonomy

7. To integrate the school with the community and the UCIHJ

8. To get parents to become involved and disseminate information to the community in general

9. To ferment [develop] autonomy and decision

In addition, teachers felt the objectives of the school should be:

1. That students learn about and come to know the significance of their culture

2. That the student first begin to learn about his/her community, municipality, and combining these with the national culture, take what is really found to be useful to him/her

3. That the children don't go to the city. To promote the seed so that children learn about the needs of their own community

4. That the children become strong when they are older, and also united in their culture and in autonomy

5. To give classes in Huichol and recuperate Huichol forms of expression

6. To integrate the school with the community and the UCIHJ

7. To teach elements that serve one to confront his/her surroundings in an integrated manner. "Autonomy has to be seen as a way that nobody can direct us, neither outsiders nor ourselves." (CETMK 1996)

From these mission objectives for the CETMK, it can be seen that the objectives of teachers and those in the actual community-mission of the CETMK are largely the same. The school was constructed with a political self-determinist agenda from the beginning. It was also largely critical of the outside world that the Huichol felt were eroding away at their lives. Using critical educational theory, the Huichol macro situation fits a "pedagogy of the oppressed" (Freire 1993) whereby "the interests of the oppressors lie in 'changing the consciousness of the oppressed, not the situation which oppresses them'" (de Beauvoir, *in* Freire 1993:55). According to this rationalization, the oppressed have "internalized the image of the oppressor and adopted his guidelines" (Freire 1993:29).

The traditional bilingual-bicultural program of education used by the SEP among the native peoples of Mexico falls within an attempt by the dominant society to incorporate native peoples into the mainstream society by affecting their consciousness of

their situation, or, essentially, getting them to accept their situation as something that is unsurpassable. Freire says that some come to see freedom as an impossibility because of the risks involved in achieving it. Others, however, have not accepted their submissive status and, according to Freire (1993:49), it is their responsibility to raise the consciousness of others and organize "collective action towards liberation."

Giroux's (1992) development of a theory of "border pedagogy" attempts to answer the means by which a community, as a whole, can address the effects of a dominant society's pedagogy upon them. Border pedagogy is more a philosophy than a theory. According to Giroux (1992:33), "a theory of border pedagogy needs to address the question of how representations and practices that name, marginalize, and define difference as the devalued 'Other' are actively learned, internalized, challenged, or transformed." It must also "provide the conditions for students to engage in cultural remapping as a form of resistance" (Giroux 1992:33). Giroux believes that the way to attain a democratic (free) education is through the avenues of discourse and voice that include the positions of teachers, students, and community members. It is an issue of "representation" that involves moving marginalized discourses to a position such that they become central discussions (Giroux 1992:218-226).

McLaren (1998:168) summarizes the position of the critical theorists when he says, "critical educational theorists are united in their objectives" which are "to empower the powerless and transform existing social inequalities and injustices." McLaren goes on to discuss the intricacies of hidden curriculums and agenda that impose foreign forms of thinking, being, and acting, that Bourdieu (1986) refers to as "cultural capital." Using the discourse of youths and teachers in suburban Toronto, Ontario, McLaren tells a tale of

how "cultural imperialism" and exploitation marginalize ethnic minority school youth into violent forms of resistance within the school, largely because of shared feelings of powerlessness in the educational environment.

The conclusion is that the Huichol macro-situation shares the goals of a critical pedagogy of education. If the objectives of the school's mission and that of its teachers are to be met, there must be some degree of "autonomy, decision, and collective unity" within the school itself that will listen to the voices of community members, teachers, students, and parents.

Democratic Socialism

A type of democratic-socialism proposed by Dewey (1938, 1989) and Habermas (1984, 1990) explains the ideal situation of Huichol society and the CETMK. While Habermas is normally placed in the Marxist critical social theorist camp, his intentions for a "communicative action theory" of education are largely social, democratic and ideal. Democratic-socialist educational theory calls for a philosophy of education that can achieve the discourse balance sought by critical theorists.

John Dewey has carried various labels in the history of educational philosophy, from "idealist" to "pragmatic liberal" and "democratic communitarian" (Noddings 1995:164). He was also an "egalitarian" (Hutchins 1953:49). It can be said, however, that Dewey was instrumental in pointing out the individual and social connections necessary for participation in a democratic society. For the Huichol, the ultimate goal of self-empowerment in education is to achieve a democratic ideal that will give them voice and control over their own future. For them, equation of learning with their own cultural agenda constitutes freedom in the sense advocated by Dewey (1989). Instead of taking

up violent resistance to cultural hegemony, they seek to preserve a socialist-cooperative culture, reinforcing these values through the objectives and mission of the CETMK.

The CETMK's objectives are not to promote individuality, but rather, collective unity. In traditional Huichol society, that which the school intends to preserve, furthering one's own interests at the expense of others does not benefit the group. Dewey's philosophy of education was critical for a social democracy in this same regard, as he implied that "conduct in which individuals were essentially furthering their own interests was morally unacceptable, not because such conduct goes against moral law, but because it does not further the well-being of society." (Morros 1978:45). The individual is, consequently, "under obligation to the community of which he was a member to perform his function as expected." (Dewey 1967:327).

Dewey not only saw the importance of the individual to the maintenance of a society, but also believed that society was in a constant state of change, and was, in essence, "evolutionary" in that regard. It was evolutionary because he believed that values would change over time. Ends, in Dewey's reasoning, do not exist. Noddings (1995:104) states, "For Dewey, ends are always ends-in-view and not finalities."

For the Huichol, Dewey's ideas of "flexible ends" and a "focus on means" have important theoretical implications. First, the Huichol cultural situation is one that is changing from isolation to one of constant contact with the dominant society. Cultural values are beginning to change from communal toward more individualist endeavors. The objectives of the CETMK are made to be flexible to changes in the overall culture of the Huichol, stressing that students take and maintain from their educational experiences "that which is useful" (CETMK 1996).

Second, a focus on "means" leads to a processual position that concentrates on experience and the complexity of social interactions that ultimately define educational praxis at individual and group levels. Dewey (1938, 1966) introduced the concept of "experiential learning" that was to be done cooperatively and not with the competitive nature of capitalism. He stressed collective activities such as gardening or occupational work.

Part of the mission of the CETMK is to reduce flight to the cities. Students at the CETMK are encouraged to participate in artistry, construction, and carpentry as skills they can use at home. The atmosphere is both cooperative and environmental. It is for the betterment of the group, and not for the sake of the sole individual.

A second useful tool for helping to explain the democratic-socialism of Huichol education is the "communicative action" theory of Habermas (1984). Communicative action theory (Habermas 1984) involves social actors as self-interpreting subjects who acquire and reproduce their identities through communicative interaction. Moreover, communicative action requires shared norms of validity and legitimacy that are established according to ethical standards. For Habermas, "at the back of every act of communication is the implication that we could reach a consensus on the validity of these claims" (Outhwaite 1994:40). It is his position that of all the various discourses, the one that is best and true will prevail over the others through a process of argumentation. The very nature of argumentation, in which various discourses are presented, will ultimately show that "language as communicative discourse is emancipatory" (Rasmussen 1990:18).

Communicative action theory is useful towards understanding the ideal culture of the CETMK, one that is rooted in a shared moral consciousness of what a community

indigenous school ought to be. Habermas' subsequent works, *Moral Consciousness and Communicative Action* (1990) and *Inclusion of the Other* (1998), turn communicative action theory into a political theory, pulling out the idea that sometimes the historical legitimacy of a prevailing discourse takes a strategic-action position that may not be accepted by some members of the discourse community.

Returning to historical materialism, as presented by Marx (1970) in his *A Contribution to the Critique of a Political Economy*, Habermas also took an evolutionary perspective towards the development of normative discourse, yet, at the same time, he acknowledged that the rules for discourse cannot be separated from the infrastructure that gives rise to them (Habermas 1994:82). The discussion for Habermas of the Huichol situation, then, boils down to the possibility that on a collective level, the favorable discourse has been socialistic while, at the same time, being emancipatory for its participants. The social institution of the school can serve as a location for the argumentation of competing norms and values that are challenging the traditional Huichol way of life.

A summary of the three theoretical perspectives (educational, political, and ethnicity and identity) and their potential matching at macro and micro levels of analysis for the Huichol is as follows:

Table 4.1. The Comparison of Theoretical Positions to Macro and Micro Levels of Analysis.

	Educational	**Political**	**Ethnicity & Identity**
Macro	**Egalitarian and Emancipatory**	**Oppressive**	**Pan-Indianism and Regional Cultures**
Micro	**Egalitarian? Oppressive?**	**Anomic and with Power hierarchies**	**Native Epistemology**

The educational theory that best fits the micro level of analysis is left ambiguous on purpose. Its true nature lies at the intersection of competing discourses that determine the role of the CETMK within the local community, and the culture of its adherents. The following section on research methods discusses the various approaches I used to assess what might actually be the true nature of the micro-culture of the CETMK school and the community dynamics of education in *Tateikita*.

<div align="center">Research Methods</div>

The research methods used in my research were a combination of qualitative and quantitative ethnographic methods. I began my fieldwork knowing that by combining both techniques I may be able to see if there are any similarities between what people say and what they actually do. Because I was asked to teach at the *Centro Educativo Tatutsi Maxa Kwaxí* by the school director, assistant director, and parents, I knew that I would have an opportunity to be involved inside and outside the classroom on a regular daily basis.

Formal Interviewing of Key Personnel

I began my work a year in advance in the Summer of 1997 by visiting the school coordinator, Rocío de Aguinaga, in Guadalajara. Put into contact with her through Salomón Nahmad, an anthropologist from CIESAS, it was at that time that I first learned about her school project with the Huichol. In a series of several chats, she taught me about the difficult process in bringing a secondary school "para los huicholes, de los huicholes" (for the Huichol, by the Huichol).[25] Visiting with her, I could tell how enchanted she was with the Huichol. Whereas, at that point in time, I had actually only

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[25] Personal Communication from Rocío de Aguinaga, July 1997.

read about the Huichol, she had spent four years during the 1970s in *Tateikié,* the

traditional community that includes the village of *Tateikita*. I could tell from the

interviews that she was excited about the CETMK and the potential she saw that it had to

prevent culture loss. Our email communications continued for the next year, during

which time I had mailed her copies of my proposals and my initial solicitude. This

permitted her to act as a liaison between the Huichol community and myself.

During the same trip to Guadalajara, I met with the other personnel of AJAGI. I

interviewed the director, Carlos Chávez, formally in two different hour-long sessions. In

these interviews he gave me the background on the Huichol struggle to reclaim portions

of their traditional homeland that were stripped away by cattle ranchers and government

projects. I also met with lawyers involved in the legal litigations with the state of Jalisco

and met my first Huichol youth through them.

Upon my arrival in the community of *Tateikita* in September of 1998, I began by

formally meeting with the director and assistant director of the CETMK.[26] Each of these

individuals was instrumental in introducing me to the school and village communities.

Meeting with them, I learned about the school organization and discussed my proposal

for research within the school. At the same time, I offered my assistance to the project.

Through their guidance, I was allowed to sit in on my first classes and discuss my

objectives with students and the other teachers. Discussions about school organization

led to my formal presentation of my proposal to the *padres de familia* (school-parent

society) at one of the weekly-held meetings at the school. Whereas community personnel

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[26] CSD was to become first "acting director" and eventually the director of the school
during my first year of teaching at the CETMK.

were normally reluctant to allow research to be done, these two individuals acted as initial gatekeepers into the Huichol culture for me.

Population Demographics and Sampling

One of the most difficult endeavors proved to be finding accurate population statistics for the Huichol in general, let alone, for *Tateikita*. Rojas (1999a) says that there are 250 plus boarding-school students living in the primary dormitory. This makes the number approximately a conservative 490 (factoring in 40 students per year of the primary). The number recognized by local inquiry was 275 residents.

One of my first tasks was to make a map of the local community indicating who resided in each building. Due to the mobility of people, this was no easy task. Some included students who stayed with them in the sample; others included kin who were rarely present in the village. A second problem was in marking the boundaries of the village, as some nearby ranches were not included in *Tateikita* samplings. Quickly learning that such measurements were considered "invasive," I decided to stop my sampling in the community by accepting a rough figure constructed from official *Centro de Salud* (health center) figures and my own sampling, placing the number of local residents at 292 for 1999. If surrounding ranches are included, the number jumps to 402 over the age of 18.

For interviewing purposes in *Tateikita*, I used a "snowball sampling" approach (Bernard 1994). In snowball sampling, the researcher makes use of anyone willing to approach and talk to him or her. Because gaining trust in field research is difficult, particularly in indigenous communities suspicious of outsiders, the best way to find out about a people's responses to questions was merely to ask them through the course of casual conversation.

The school chose to be a much better environment, statistically speaking. In this environment, I had a large sample of students, faculty, and parents from whom I could elicit attitudes about the school, the community, and their culture. Among teachers, I conversed with all seven at the school, whenever possible, and visited their homes on numerous occasions. I also lived with one of the teachers and a member of CONAFE in a "community house" for my first five months in *Tateikita*, before relocating to the village center. Among the students, I worked primarily with those in their third year of attendance at the CETMK, numbering twenty-three. In addition, through teaching at the CETMK, I was in contact with the first and second year students as well. For interviewing purposes, I made use of snowball sampling within the school as well. As I spent more time involved in school activities, ethnographic informal interviewing expanded to include many first and second-year students.

Student Questionnaires and Huichol Cultural Values

My only formal questionnaire interviewing was done among third year students at the CETMK in March of 1999. Using a questionnaire composed of open-ended questions, free-listings, and a series of Likert scales, I solicited student attitudes about the effectiveness of the school, what they valued most about their culture, and career and future goals.[27] I chose to administer these questionnaires to third year students because I had been informed by teachers and students alike that limited Spanish proficiency of first and second year students might prove to be a barrier to their ability to use the questionnaires. I also chose third year students because they are the ones who could best assess the totality of three years' experience at the CETMK, and they were the most

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[27] See appendix D for a copy of the Spanish questionnaire and variables used for statistical analysis.

extroverted of the student body, making them the most favorable sample for acceptance of such a test. As for first and second year students, I knew that they had limited Spanish proficiency and would be reluctant to ask me for assistance if any of the instructions or questions were unclear to them.

The students, as a group, agreed to help me with my research, resulting in questionnaires being administered anonymously to twenty-three individuals all at once. I explained the questionnaires to them, including their ability to "opt out" of participating should they so choose to do so. I justified the questionnaires by explaining their significance to understanding Huichol culture change from the students' perspective. I also said that their responses would help teachers to assess the school's mission and make any necessary adjustments that could be discussed by everyone (parents, teachers, and students) at a future school assembly meeting.

Informal Interviewing and Oral History Reconstruction

As mentioned above in the sampling section, informal interviewing was an extremely important technique involved in this research. After I administered questionnaires to students and had formally interviewed key personnel involved in the CETMK project, informal interviewing became the primary data collection method. Informal interviewing was conducted in the course of daily participation within the secondary school and community, involving teachers, students, parents, and various members from the community who were shopkeepers, primary teachers, or otherwise involved in community affairs within *Tateikita* and the surrounding area. As an effective tool for qualitative data collection, informal interviewing is both reciprocal and building. By reciprocal, I mean that both questions and answers are mutually contributed to the process by those involved in a conversation. As such, the conversation "builds" so that

more information can be obtained over time through many conversations. These interviews were recorded in field journals, primarily through using traditional pen-and-paper. Some observations were immediately recorded, while others were recorded shortly thereafter.

Informal interviewing has a disadvantage in that it requires an unspecified period of time to establish rapport with informants. Working in indigenous communities, particularly ones that do not welcome outsiders and are suspicious of the intentions of all "researchers" and "anthropologists," can be a difficult task. It is for this reason that I argue that longitudinal research is necessary to adequately use this method in indigenous communities. Short-term residence is disadvantageous to building long-term social bonds necessary for people to freely share aspects of their lives with outside researchers. By combining long-term residence with participant observation, one can gain a better understanding of the socio-political mechanisms that contribute to culture change within a given community. For research in *Tateikita*, I cannot stress enough the importance of observing change over time, rather than in "snapshot anthropology" that does not lend the researcher to establish any potentially permanent-bonds within the community. Short-term ethnography also limits the ability to seek out answers to emerging questions during the course of the research process.

A still further advantage of informal interviewing is shown among non-literate societies (or at least those that rely chiefly on an oral tradition). The Huichol, as a traditionally oral society, have not preserved a written record of their existence and accomplishments. They have been described as possessing a "presentist" orientation, and therefore not concerned with either the past or the future (Grimes 1962). Considered to

be the result of subsistence agriculture, the Huichol present-time orientation is attributed

to seasonal concerns that may restrict or assist in a productive growing season and

harvest. In the course of informal interviewing, a timeline for historical incidents in

Tateikita was created by the Huichol at the school. As part of the informal interviewing

process, I elaborated upon this timeline and presented it to various individuals for their

critique. This "oral history" reconstruction perspective ended up proving useful for

developing written accounts of activities within the school and community (see Appendix

B).

Participant Observation

    Participant observation was the primary ethnographic technique used in my

fieldwork. My roles were threefold: teacher, resident, and applied anthropologist of

education (consultant). Each of these roles provided the ability to observe daily

occurrences within the school and the village. Participant observation took place during

the following time periods that roughly correspond to one and a half school year cycles:

September 5-10, 1998; November 22nd to December 17, 1998; January 11 to March 11,

1999; March 31 to July 8, 1999; September 1 to December 20, 2000; and a week from

June 24 to July 5, 2000. The longer periods from January to July 1999, and September to

December 2000, were complimented with three days of departure to the city, usually

Guadalajara, every four to five weeks for making copies of fieldnotes, obtaining supplies,

and keeping abreast of news at home in the U.S.

    At the school, I had been asked by teachers, parents, and students to offer English

classes at the CETMK to students. In complying with this obligation, I was directly

involved in the daily activities of the school. While bringing me closer to the teachers at

the school, being in the dual role of teacher-researcher did not alienate me from an ability

to gain rapport with students so that they would freely talk to me about their lives and aspirations. As a *teiwari* (outsider) I was in a position that I was both part of the school community, yet not part of the community. Having come to the Sierra from so far away to be with the people of Tateikita, made people curious and generally friendly in their relations with me. I also gained rapid rapport with students through telling stories about *el otro lado* (the other side). This dual-role relationship of insider-outsider would be important during the course of my tenure in *Tateikita* and at the CETMK.

Through the course of being a teacher at the CETMK, I was able to observe student behavior in my own classes as well as those of others. I interacted with other teachers on a daily basis and became involved in sharing the administrative duties with other teachers and the directors when it became time to fill out various reports for the SEP and other state organizations. Working on an administrative level also gave me the opportunity to understand the number of organizations involved in sustaining the CETMK and better understand its mission, and potential limitations on its power from that perspective.

After an initial period of five months, I decided to move my primary residence from the community house into the greater village community. The impetus for this change was threefold: to move closer to the village community itself and away from the school culture in order to gain a better understanding of its role within the village; to remove myself from a community house that had become cramped with the arrival of the other resident teacher's wife and regularly used as a meeting place by CONAFE, therefore having a considerable number of people who came and went on a regular basis; and lastly, to show my appreciation for a well-respected teacher's offer of another

residence within a ranch compound. In that location, I would have my own room in a building shared with a family of four.

Apart from daily contact at the school that included attendance at all student assemblies, faculty meetings, and regular reports on the status of my investigations during the research period, I attended a large number of community events. These included: five *fiestas del tambor* traditional child ceremonies (two in *Tateikita*, two in a neighboring ranch cluster known as *Robles* with a teacher's family, and another in yet a third ranch known as *Ocolote*); participation in two Mexican "Flag Day" festivals within the village, one "Independence Day" celebration, two celebrations for the patron Saint of the village; attendance and participation at two traditional community-wide assembly meetings in the community head of *Tateikié*; four assembly meetings in *Tateikita*; two graduation ceremonies of the primary school, and one of the CETMK school in *Tateikita,*[28] and finally, one *despedida* (parting ceremony) of peyoteros from *Tateikita* and subsequent festivities surrounding their arrival back in Fall 1999.

In addition to occurrences within *Tateikita,* I also went along with one other teacher from the school as chaperones for a trip by second year students to Mexico City during an eight-day period, in May 1999. It was during this trip that I was to learn that it was the second year group of students rather than those in the third year who were the most outgoing. Over the course of the trip, I was able to closely observe the actions of Huichol youth with the outside world, as many of them had never been outside the Sierra before, and had not previously seen the city and its lifestyle. I established close bonds

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[28] The closing of a second school year was missed, but I was able to interact with newly graduated students from the CETMK shortly thereafter in July 2000.

with them that would endure throughout my remaining time in the Sierra, especially during the fall semester of the following academic year. Lastly, I traveled to several remote ranch clusters by family and student invitations during the period from 1998-2000. These visits allowed me to observe similarities and differences between lifestyles in *Tateikita* and those in outlying remote areas.

CHAPTER 5
DOING APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY AMONG THE HUICHOL

Applied Anthropology and the Question of Researcher Roles

The research conducted for this dissertation and data collected are the result of

doing applied anthropology. Because of the nature of applied anthropology versus

traditional anthropology, a brief discussion of its meaning and impact on my fieldwork

are necessary.

Applied anthropology, as expressed by van Willigen (1993:7), is simply

"anthropology put to use." It is a synthesis between theory and practice in cultural

problem solving. It is also known as the service of anthropology to organizations,

businesses and other groups because the anthropologist is frequently contracted by one of

these affiliates. When it is done as a fulltime occupation, it is known as "practicing

anthropology" (Van Willigen 1993:7). In applied anthropology, the researcher usually

fills a consulting or collaborative role that may be paid or unpaid. The assumption is that

the history of anthropological ethics is such that the "anthropologists of new" must atone

for the "sins" committed by anthropology in the past. It is believed that anthropological

research has historically exploited indigenous peoples and other ethnic groups purely for

the sake of research itself. Any research results were either not shared with informants

and cultural groups, or in no way contributed to their own benefit. The knowledge

retrieved from these types of traditional research is often considered "stolen" by locals

who considered it sacred intellectual property. Many local people felt as though the

results of anthropological research did not accurately represent their beliefs and often used marginalized informants who contributed lies, suspect, or misleading information to anthropologists. This information was subsequently recorded as fact. The resulting information then contributed to the creation of cultural stereotypes and biases used by dominant society to exploit a minority culture, or to maintain its subservience.

Recently, those who feel they have been exploited, particularly indigenous activists and intellectuals, have acted out in ways that cry for reforms in the way anthropology is done. Among some peoples, steps were taken to prevent the further exploitation of indigenous knowledge by restricting access to it as "intellectual property" and traditional cultural property, thereby putting the property under localized control. Some societies outright prohibited anthropologists from conducting research, while still others demanded something in return, a compensation, for their information (Greaves 1995).

The Huichol are quite suspicious of anthropology and anthropologists in general. Most all anthropology among the Huichol has focused on the religious aspects of the culture (its ceremonies and practices, particularly, the peyote pilgrimage).[29] Because of this specialized focus and lack of attention to other cultural details, most especially intracultural Huichol variation, the Huichol hold very opinionated views of this type of work that explains bits and pieces of their own private knowledge to the outside world, but does little for their own benefit, especially when the transcripts and publications of

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[29] See Furst (1969), Ibáñez and Lavidon (1997) Mata Torres (1970), and Myerhoff (1974) for examples of the religious-dominated themes of Huichol ethnography. Also, a Japanese film crew recently came to *Tateikita* to film peyoteros in what locals say was a "payoff" of traditional authorities with alcohol and other luxury items.

these ceremonies are frequently not accessible to them, or are in a language they cannot understand.

When I first approached the Huichol in *Tateikita* about doing anthropology on culture change and formal education, I pointed out that I was not just another "foreign anthropologist" who was interested in "becoming rich through writing and selling books containing Huichol lies."[30] In a school and open community meeting in September 1998, I announced my intended research to all who came to listen. I made it clear that I in no way intended to profit from any of my work and that the results were to be fully shared with the school and community. It was at this meeting that I was given permission to pursue my research. The community was certain, however, to place a number of demands and restrictions on my research. These included my duties as an English teacher at the CETMK and assistant to the directors for the following year. In addition, I was restricted from writing about anything religious, taking pictures that did not involve my research at the school, using video, and was restricted in my travels.[31] I was to keep the local *comisario* informed of my comings and goings and was not allowed to travel outside the village on my own. I was told that these restrictions were for my own safety. Although these restrictions were eventually relaxed, they were taken very seriously. At the same time, I offered my assistance in helping to keep the school going and specified

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[30] While in *Tateikita*, I repeatedly heard criticism of the work of several authors by teachers of the CETMK who referred to anthropologists as "liars" who do not record the truth, and only wish to make a profit.

[31] Local Huichol traditionalists, *marakate* in particular, believe that video and pictures remove portions of their spiritual power. Even when eventually permitted, photos of people and ceremonies were limited to specific requests to do so by the subject or at my prior request.

that I would seek to find materials that could benefit the school. I had intentions from the beginning that were to help them succeed in their language and culture preservation efforts by working collaboratively and acting as a consultant for any problems they might see in the school. I made it clear that I had previously worked with indigenous cultural education while obtaining my Master's degree at Northern Arizona University. I told them about various Navajo, Hopi, and Zuni projects that I thought could assist the local Huichol in their pursuit of self-determinist education.

One of the difficulties in doing applied anthropology is that the researcher must fill a variety of roles that may include consultant, impact or needs assessor, planner, manager, or therapist (Van Willigen 1993:3-5). While at the same time aware that I was labeled as an "anthropologist," I made it a point to stress my concentration in education, as a teacher more than as an anthropologist. I told them that the bulk of my past research had to do with indigenous language and culture education, and that I was all but a few courses shy of holding a doctorate in education, as well as my pursuit of a doctorate in anthropology at the University of Florida.

It is a well-known fact in applied anthropology that an anthropologist may work under titles that obscure his or her anthropological specialization (Chambers 1989; Van Willigen 1993). While I was an anthropologist, I was at the same time a teacher and a student, willing to accept criticism along the way. An important part of professional development is that an applied anthropologist realizes that he or she must be versatile by possessing training in multiple areas, be it in education, business, or, as I was for years myself, technology and computer information systems. Not only was I confronted with

the role of research, but also I was being called on to fulfill the additional roles of teacher, consultant, and administrative assistant.[32]

The type of research called for in order to work with the Huichol is what is known as "advocacy anthropology." Community advocacy anthropology can be summarized in the following way:

> Community advocacy anthropology is a value-explicit process by which the anthropologist as researcher acts to augment and facilitate indigenously designed and controlled social action or development programs by providing data and technical assistance in research, training, and communication to a community through its leadership. Although community advocacy is primarily a research activity, the anthropologist is also involved in change-producing action. The anthropologist serves not as a direct change agent but as an auxiliary to community leaders (Van Willigen 1993:109).

As a teacher within the school, I worked within the mission of the school and greater community to promote indigenous-centered development. Advocacy anthropology, however, was not the only method used. Along with the role of an advocate, as a teacher and researcher I was thrust into the role as a "culture broker" internally within the school between teachers and students, and also between factions within the local community, as I attempted to build communication channels between social and ideo-political classes of people that "make programs more open and responsive to the needs of the community, and of improving the community's access to resources" (Van Willigen 1993:126). Important to this role is an understanding that factions are equal or "cocultures," and that the anthropologist is a mediator or link between these groups (Van Willigen 1993:127). The role of culture broker is especially difficult, as the

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[32] I clarified directions and assisted in filling out paperwork for numerous state agencies, headed grade calculations, edited and revised a music and dance program grant, and typed memos and reports with the CETMK director.

mediator must be familiar with the positions of competing cocultures and serve to unify them based on a shared mission. It is an extra complexity when the mediator is working in an indigenous community and is not indigenous his or herself, as was my case. Longitudinal work and rapport-building become key contributors to the success or failure of such a role.

Traditional anthropology is usually at odds with applied anthropology when it comes to being "paid for research," "conducting research with a specific agenda already in mind," or by seeing the applied anthropologist as "unable to maintain research objectivity." These issues make the study of ethics and ethical research conduct of particular importance for applied anthropologists (Van Willigen 1993:41-54). While these are valid areas of concern in applied anthropology, I feel I must clarify my position in regards to each.

First, I was not paid for my research. As part of an agreement with a host family, I was given a place to stay in *Tateikita* and would eat with household members of a teacher at the CETMK. In return, I would offer manual labor and contribute to a "kitchen cooperative" that consisted of the teacher's immediate family, three CETMK students staying at their residence, and one other teacher from the CETMK. All contributed food items to the maintenance of the kitchen and bought necessary items, or contributed monetarily to it. Over time, I learned that locals were impressed that I had come from "so far" to be with them, without compensation of any sort. Because I was there of my own free will and accord, people were open to me that might not otherwise have shared their thoughts and opinions quite so openly.

Second, goal-specific research is a criticism of traditional anthropology. On both conscious and subconscious levels I wanted the school to succeed. If that had not been the case, I do not believe anyone would have given me the opportunity to do my research. Everyone knew that the CETMK held a "probationary status" within the SEP and that anything written that spoke negatively of the school might damage the Huichol's ability to maintain it. As a part of my research dealt with identifying problems seen in the school's daily activities, I was to give regular *informes* (reports) on my research and what I saw occurring at the school. I informed the school and community that these analyses were to identify current problems as well as potential problems so that they could decide any necessary actions that should be taken.

Third, my role as a teacher at the CETMK, as well as researcher and *teiwari* (outsider), contributed to my ability to obtain a grasp on both emic and etic aspects of school culture. The anthropologist Marvin Harris (1980, 1990) has expressed that a researcher can never truly understand the emic aspects of culture because he or she is not, and never can be, a member of the subjects being studied. In his opinion, etic research techniques can only lead to an understanding of etic structures. But this, in his opinion, is part of doing scientific research.

In applied anthropology, the lines between emic and etic become "blurred." An anthropologist is thrust into a position that makes one a subject, as well as an object, of the research process. By being a teacher at the CETMK, I became part of the school culture itself, no-doubt affecting the very environment I was attempting to research by my presence within it. At the same time, I was an outsider, soliciting information about culture change and education. On a personal level, I did not see my dual status as

problematic. I knew that while I was teaching, I would still never be "one of them." At the same time, I could use my regular involvement at the school to ease my integration into the life of the participants in the school. I was identified as an educator, a researcher, and a friend at the same time. My status as an outsider, especially one who was friendly and involved himself in as many activities in the life of the school as possible, greatly eased my ability to get to know students, teachers, and parents. I was openly critical of anthropology that did not benefit the needs of the community, and little by little, people took notice of this fact. By the end of my research time in the Sierra, I had changed internally through the various people I had met and who had shared their lives with me.[33]

Doing Anthropology in a Huichol Community

I have already mentioned the importance of approaching anthropology among the Huichol from an applied anthropological focus. One of the most difficult endeavors was gaining rapport with community members, as opposed to those involved in the school. Because anthropologists were considered "distrustful," I tried to downplay this aspect of myself as much as possible, while still remaining true to my research intentions. As I was soon to learn, the Huichol regard honesty, respect, and integrity above all else.

After my initial presentation in *Tateikita* in September 1998, I arrived once again in the village in November of the same year. I took up residence in what was called the *casa de la comunidad* (community house). This house was to become my primary residence for the next five months. Consisting of two rooms and being only one of two houses in *Tateikita* with an indoor toilet, it was considered lavish by local standards.

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[33] The Huichol, in general, are understanding of mistakes. Conduct must be watched at all times, however, and will be noted by others. If something is done wrong, the accused will likely be group sanctioned.

There was still no running water or electricity, but the community house was well built. It was previously the home of a woman by the name of "Kata" and was sometimes referred to as the "house of Finerty." A woman by the name of "Kathryn Finerty" constructed it during the 1980s. She had come to the village as a nurse and religious missionary. At the time, *Tateikita* had no health center or medical doctor and she cared for many patients, becoming a friend of the local community and immortalized in Huichol lore as *la señora kata* (Ramirez de la Cruz 1995). She and her son Mike were instrumental in preventing a smallpox outbreak in *Tateikita* and *Tateikié* through vaccination in 1989. This same outbreak killed approximately 400 children in the community of *Tutsipe*. Her son Mike has spent parts of more than twenty years in *Tateikita*, and resided in the house while working as a biologist in the area.[34] He subsequently passed the house to the local community during the 1990s, whereupon researchers and visitors used it over the following years.

At the CETMK, I began holding beginning English classes for all three grade levels at the secondary school. In contrast to the classes of the other seven teachers at the school, my classes were held chiefly in Spanish. It was interesting to note that I was using my second language (Spanish) with limited Spanish proficiency students who also held Spanish as a second language, in order to teach them a third language (English). I was surprised with the ease with which they grasped a third language, especially when I took an approach that solicited the students themselves for things they wanted to learn

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[34] Mike continues to visit the community annually and assist them in science projects. He was instrumental in helping me maintain my connections with the outside world during long periods of isolation in the Sierra, as well as supplying me with his long-term knowledge of community members and relations in *Tateikita*.

how to say. As time progressed, we moved from common salutations to a more thematic

approach involving "getting about in a city" and "shopping." The classes turned into

more than just English classes, but were discussions about life in the United States and in

Mexico. I used these classes to dispel myths about American life and economic success.

We talked about the reality of families and city life. Students did not know that there

were also native peoples in the United States, nor did they know about the similarities in

their own history with that of native peoples across the border. English classes became a

way to interact with students both formally and informally as we learned more about each

other's cultures. Teaching English also helped me to build up a vocabulary in Huichol by

asking students how something was said in Huichol as compared to the Spanish and

English equivalents.

Aside from my English classes at the CETMK, I became as involved as possible

in the affairs of the school. The school is best considered as a unique community in and

of itself. School days are long, running from eight in the morning until five-thirty or six

in the evening, with only a two-hour recess in the afternoon for lunch. Teachers and

students have many duties to perform apart from being in the classroom, and these duties

build strong alliances between teachers and students that go beyond their respective

formal educational roles. All work is done cooperatively, rather than individually,

stressing the importance of sharing and working together for everyone. Sports take an

important role among the culture of the school, and teachers, if able, are expected to

supervise and participate in recreational events and tournaments. For boys, this is soccer;

for girls, it is volleyball. Both play basketball. Team competition is important for

fortifying group solidarity. Boys' teams, especially, travel regularly to other Huichol

villages to compete against mission and telesecundaria teams throughout the Sierra.

<u>Living Wixarika--Being Teiwari</u>

One of the most difficult tasks for anyone wishing to integrate into a foreign

culture or community lies in the ability to adjust one's lifestyle to be compatible with the

culture at hand. The Huichol lifestyle in *Tateikita*, because of its educational focus,

enables people to be much more sedentary than in other homeland villages, including the

community head of *Tateikié*. *Tateikita* is still uniquely Huichol despite the infusion of

educational centers, a largely ignored Franciscan mission, and a health-care center.

Huichol is the language of choice and is used exclusively in daily conversation. It is only

in the presence of an outsider, a *teiwari*, that Spanish may be spoken, and then, only

when the speakers wish the *teiwari* to understand.

Although Huichol is used exclusively, some Spanish words, primarily for items or

concepts that have no Huichol equivalent, have been adopted. Children, teachers, and

those who have traveled or spent time in the city are most likely to be bilingual, although

degrees may vary significantly from one individual to another. Among non-teachers and

students, men are more likely bilingual than women. When it comes to literacy rates,

most *Tateikita* residents are not literate (i.e., cannot read or write) in their own language

or in Spanish. Due to recent standardization efforts in Huichol orthography and phonetic

transcription, including an aggressive effort to provide medical information in Huichol

for monolingual speakers, it is now not uncommon to see advisories posted in *Wixarika*

(Huichol) (see Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1. Huichol Cancer Advisory. (Source: Secretary of Health, Jalisco).

Life in *Tateikita* revolves around both religious and school, or secular, calendars; otherwise, there is not much difference between any given weekday. Saturdays continue to be "work days" and will often involve community projects such as fixing the road to the village or mending the barbwire fence around the airstrip in order to keep out animals. All local communal projects come under the jurisdiction of the *comisaría* (commissary or mayor's office). While community improvement projects generally take place on Saturdays, this is no hard and fast rule. Women must clean (sweep) the plaza area on a rotating schedule a couple of times per week, including Sundays, and after, or before, all public ceremonies or meetings.

For residents of *Tateikita,* life begins at the crack of dawn where women will arise to begin to prepare tortillas for the morning meal.[35] The most frequent accompaniments at breakfast are eggs or beans purchased from one of the locally owned shops in *Tateikita.*[36] For some this will be their only meal all day, apart from a few tortillas in the afternoon and evening. Other students of the CETMK eat with their families at their home ranches and then will walk to school. Otherwise, those students who are being boarded with local families will eat with them. Those who do not have a "host family" in *Tateikita* will frequently go without breakfast until a break in morning classes, when they will have a type of school lunch provided by a cooperative kitchen for a small fee of several pesos. For primary students, boarding is almost exclusively at an INI-sponsored *albergue* (dormitory) that provides three meals a day to students.

To live the "Huichol way" means to be at harmony with one's surroundings. There is no electricity, and, oftentimes, running water, in *Tateikita*. The sun and the seasons therefore determine the length of a productive day. The Huichol are quite open among themselves. Because labor is usually cooperative, there is little room for individualism. To be independent is looked down upon because no one can survive under such harsh living conditions without the assistance of family and friends. As a result, kin play an important role in daily affairs. It is not unheard of for distant kin to

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[35] Although corn is usually nixtamalized (boiled with lime) in the evening, the resulting mix must be ground, watered, pressed, and baked on a *comal*. A typical adult will consume 6-8 tortillas at a meal.

[36] The Department of Infants and Family (DIF) has unsuccessfully tried to get the Huichol to raise chickens. Most obtain small amounts of money monthly for food from various development agencies, student scholarships from INI or CONAFE, family planning through PROGRESA, and agricultural assistance agencies such as SEDESOL.

visit and stay for unspecified periods of time. They may help relatives with chores or

horticulture in exchange for a share of the coming harvest's returns. Along with a dislike

for individualism comes a dislike for the values associated with it: greed or self-

indulgence, extravagance, and exploitation of others. To be *Wixarika* (Huichol, or of the

Huichol way), one must realize that all space is "shared space" and all property is

"communal property." Although you may be the one who purchased something, others

have a right to its use. Concerns of the family, in progressing levels of importance

starting with more distant kin, are more important than personal endeavors.

In integrating myself into the village and culture of the school, I chose to

participate as much as possible in village daily life. I ate the same foods as the villagers,

worked on cooperative group projects with locals, and assisted in the chores of several

families whether preparing tamales for a ceremony, working on a ranch, or picking corn

in the harvest season. Because of my involvement with parents during the construction

of one of the CETMK classrooms, I was given a Huichol name, *Xaureme,* which was to

stick with me throughout my time in the Sierra.[37] Learning Huichol proved to be a very

difficult task, and few non-Huichol have ever achieved fluency in it. For that matter,

Spanish was generally used with me in my daily workings in the community, although I

made an effort to gradually introduce more and more Huichol into my own speech over

the year and a half in *Tateikita*. By the end of my research period, I could grasp a general

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[37] The name, in keeping in line with Huichol humor, carries a double meaning. It refers
to the stage of the corn when it is mature, ripe, dry, and ready to be picked (referring to
my time of arrival in the Sierra). It also referred to my "baldness" (the husk has begun to
fall away).

understanding of conversations in Huichol, especially when Spanish words were substituted, but my own speech remained limited.

The Huichol tend to be impressed by someone seeking to live as they do rather than worry about the conveniences of the city. They refer to people who can do so as "strong," which is not sex-determined, but rather comes from an internal strength that most Huichol feel Mestizos do not possess. The local doctor Ilsa, whose husband was in *Tateikié*, was the only woman other than *Kata* to live for an extended period of time in *Tateikita*. Her replacement, a male, did not last even a year, despite regular departures to the city.

Working in a Closed Corporate Community

I have previously stated that on the surface Huichol society appears to be typical of Eric Wolf's (1957, 1986) concept of a "closed corporate peasant community." In order to appear to the outside world as a closed community, the Huichol have constructed a number of mechanisms for solidifying their cultural integrity. Linguistically, the term *teiwari* (other) serves as a way to reinforce "us" and "them" distinctions. Similarly, distrust can serve as both a positive way to reinforce self-identity, yet at the same time function in a negative fashion to reinforce ethnic boundaries and stereotypes from the outside.

Huichol identity negotiation appears to revolve around the construction of internal and external stereotypes regarding culture. The propagation of myths and stories surrounding different cultures serve to solidify ethnic membership by distancing oneself from foreign values, concepts, and ideas. It can be regarded as a coping mechanism to the anomie coping mechanisms of the Huichol. The situation, then, becomes one of

whether or not the Huichol can maintain their illusion of being a "closed corporate community" in order to retain a separate identity, as long as possible, amid a changing cultural scenario.

Tateikita, while once more remote than it now is, has been the focal point of educational reform and experiments for the past decade. The recent arrival of the road, as previously mentioned, has changed the economy of the region and brought outsiders to the village by plane and vehicle. News is still sparse in the village, as newspapers and magazines only rarely reach the region, but battery-operated radios have become a staple in nearly every household. The presence of a radio station broadcasting from Jesus María, a Cora settlement at the Western edge of the Sierra Madres in Nayarit, has brought world and local news to the Huichol homeland. Sponsored by the *Instituto Nacional Indigenista*, the *Voz de los cuatro pueblos* (The Voice of the Four Peoples) broadcasts news in Spanish and four different indigenous languages throughout the day. For most, it is their only contact with the news.

The Concept of the *Teiwari* (other) in Huichol External Relations

A fundamental concept in Huichol relations becomes that of the *teiwari* (other). Von Groll (1997) explored this notion in her psychological thesis about the founding and first year of the CETMK. In contrast to Rojas (1999a), who found the CETMK as an experiment in finding an "intercultural space," the idea of the "negotiated other" still figures prominently into Huichol reasoning. Barth (1973) and Erickson (1993) discuss the importance of boundaries in ethnic group formation. One of the fundamental anthropological concerns to ethnic identity reinforcement involves the ability to distinguish one's self from that of the other. The Huichol term *teiwari* has been loosely translated by various sources as "other," "neighbor," and "Mestizo or non-indigenous"

(Furst and Schaefer 1994; Iturrioz Leza 1995:83, Von Groll 1997). From my

observations of the use of the term among those of *Tateikita*, it appears best to use

"outsider" or "not one of us." I have only heard it used with myself on a few occasions,

and it is often used in a derogatory way to refer to "that person" or in a plural sense as

teiwaritsie (those other people).[38] The use of the concept helps define the in-group and

out-group boundaries of Huichol membership, and is therefore fundamental to

understanding Huichol identity negotiation. The following section discusses the use of

"distrust" as a boundary defining mechanism between Huichol culture and the outside

world.

Huichol Distrust: Reporters, Franciscans and Ethical Conduct

I have mentioned previously that the Huichol are particularly suspicious of

outsiders. It is not caused so much by the fact that one is not Huichol, as it is by a self-

protection mechanism. Unless one is connected with a state or government organization,

people are generally silent and keep to themselves, choosing not to involve themselves in

the concerns of the outsider. After the secretive work of anthropologists and reporters

who have visited the Sierra and written about the romanticized "primitive" and "savage"

Huichol over the decades, the Huichol have made it especially difficult for anyone as an

individual to penetrate their life. Distrust and suspicion of visitors run rampant among

elders and adults, though less so among naturally curious children. The media,

accentuating and propagating rumors that the rural Huichol are indeed savage and

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[38] In my case, a primary teacher who was upset that I had reserved a seat on a flight to
Tepíc from Tateikita used it once. Just before the plane's departure, he had decided to
take his wife and child with him on the flight, yet there was not room for all of us. He
was expressing his disgust by asking the pilot to leave "the other one" and come back for
him later. I promptly relinquished my seat.

unfriendly toward outsiders, has played up Huichol distrust of the outside world. The use of media stereotypes justifies an apathetic attitude toward the Huichol, and subsequent reluctance of organizations to become involved in their assistance. The following cases illustrate cultural misunderstandings of the Huichol.

Shortly after my arrival into the heart of Huichol territory, an incident involving an American reporter was to quickly make the world aware of this isolated region of the world. In early December 1998, the American reporter Philip True wandered into the Sierra with little more than a fancy camera and hiking gear. His goal was to penetrate the Huichol world and document their culture for a future story in the *San Antonio Express Times* newspaper. Ten days into his solo sojourn into the rugged world of the Huichol, he was reported missing. Shortly thereafter, his body was recovered in a riverside grave not far from *Tateikita,* near the village of *Yoata*.

True's death became a matter of international intrigue, bringing reporters, government officials, and military personnel from both the United States and Mexico to the region, many stopping in *Tateikita*. The rumors surrounding his death were numerous: he had stumbled upon a marijuana-growing operation and was murdered; he had accidentally fallen off a cliff, was found and buried; he was murdered for his expensive accoutrements; he was killed for trespassing in homesteads and sacred sites (Zarembo 1998).

Rumors aside, the event sparked an international outcry to find the truth surrounding the incident. In a media frenzy, the Huichol were variously described as "uncooperative" and "unfriendly." How could an American reporter have died in such a pristine locale? As the stories and autopsy unfolded, he had indeed been murdered and

the police apprehended two Huichol suspects in the case. Although the true story may never be known, the brothers tried for the murder contested that the reporter had been drinking, snapping photos of places, and trespassing in and around their ranch (Zarembo 1998:11).

Talking with locals and showing them photos of the suspects (see Figure 5.2), members of *Tateikita* immediately responded with the following statements:

> No son huicholes. Son cholos. [CETMK estudiante]
>
> They aren't Huichol. They're cholos.[39] [CETMK student]
>
> ¡Mira como son! Son narcos . . . su ropa, todo. [Dueño de una tienda]
>
> Look at how they are! They're drug dealers…their clothes, and everything. [Shopkeeper]
>
> No representan a nosotros. Son de un rancho aislado. A veces hay. [CETMK maestro]
>
> They don't represent us. They're from an isolated ranch. Sometimes there are people [like that]. [CETMK teacher]

The initial Huichol reaction appears to be much the same as my own initial reaction to the photograph and story. The overwhelming reaction was that Chivarra and Hernández, the accused murderers of Philip True, were not characteristic of their own culture, but rather marginalized members of Huichol society, or "urban Huichol" who had very limited ties to traditional Huichol society.[40] In a discussion at the CETMK, I publicly denounced the tactics used by True in his research, affirming their own

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[39] For the Huichol, the term *cholo* represents "gangbangers" and others involved in the illicit drug trade, usually urban Mestizo youth.

[40] This is in spite of the fact that the brothers-in-law reported to authorities that they were in the process of making a visit to a shrine to leave offerings when they encountered True on the road.

conceptions that True had not followed "proper protocol" by visiting a remote region
without obtaining all the proper permissions, without speaking the language, and without
a native guide. Moreover, he had camera equipment openly about him and was taking
pictures as he went along. A "seasoned hiker" as True claimed to be, "should have
known better," according to Huichol sources. I compared True's demise to someone
visiting an unknown urban neighborhood or hiking alone in the mountains of the United
States. No one would do that there, so why would True think he could do so in Mexico?

Figure 5.2. Philip True Murderers as Portrayed by the American Media (Source:
Newsweek 1998:12).

What this case illustrates is the perpetuation of the myth by the media, particularly
the American media, of the Huichol Indian as "uncivilized." Those who knew of the case
and then saw how they (the Huichol) were presented by the media were upset with the
whole affair, seeing their misrepresentation as yet another form of "cultural domination"
by the dominant Mexican culture and American society. As locals learned that I did not
condone True's conduct, the case became a joking matter for them as they referred to

True as *tu paisano* (your fellow countryman) or *tu hermano* / *eku matsika* (your elder

brother) whenever his name was brought up.[41] From the perspective of intracultural

variation, the Huichol did not acknowledge the murderers as characteristic of typical

Huichol individuals. Instead, the Huichol immediately branded them as "outsiders"

within their own culture (by dress and actions).

A second case in point about stereotypical "Huichol distrust" is self-deprecated

coming from the vantage of Franciscan missionaries. The first story comes from a

student soccer trip to play against the Franciscan mission team at *Santa Clara*; the

second, from a community assembly meeting in *Tateikié* in Spring 1999.

In the first instance, after the soccer teams had played, they were invited back to

the mission for a meal. With myself and two other Huichol teachers as chaperones, we

arrived back at the mission where all were escorted inside to eat *pozole* (a soup-like pork

and corn dish). Students rushed inside to eat, but there was some apprehension on the

part of the two teachers to partake of the meal. They remarked:

> Quieren convertirnos . . . hacernos católicos.
>
> They want to convert us . . . turn us into Catholics.
>
> La comida mata. Te hace enfermo.
>
> The food kills. It makes you sick.
>
> Los padres . . . son padres de familia. Tienen mujeres y quieren más.
>
> The fathers . . . are parents. They have women and want more [of them].

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[41] *Newsweek* did not publish the author's written rebuttal of the negative media image portrayed of the Huichol since it attributed True's death to unethical conduct and lack of "common sense."

Reluctantly, all eventually went inside to eat. While the Franciscan brothers oversaw the meal, student musicians performed, as did a group of students from the mission school. Apart from the music, there was no observable intermingling with either the Franciscans or the mission students. After the meal, and subsequent return to *Tateikita*, some students fell ill from the food (more likely from consuming too much), but it was attributed by the CETMK director to Franciscan desires to do away with the Huichol:

> Los franciscanos nos quieren matar. Ponen veneno en la comida. ¿Por qué la comieron?
>
> The Franciscans want to kill us. They put poison in the food. Why did they eat it?

While this appeared to be the judgment of the school director, it was not that of the students. I, myself, became ill later, but from *lombrices* (intestinal worms), probably resulting from poorly prepared pork. It is interesting to note the purveyance of distrust by the Huichol director. If there was such resistance against the Franciscans, it seemed odd that students would be permitted to travel and compete against them in sport. Students even had made cross necklaces that they wore to the mission, and during competition. Some students had already self-proclaimed themselves as Catholics, while yet others merely wore the crosses as a sign of "friendship" and "good luck."[42]

The second event involving the Franciscans comes from the General Community Assembly in *Tateikié*. At this meeting, held over four hours away by truck from *Tateikita*, everyone arrived to find a state police presence at the meeting. Traditional

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[42] Huichol religion has appropriated Christian symbolism and iconography. For example, Huichol god's eyes used in offerings and ceremonies are similar in design to Christian crosses, but the eye represents *tau* (the sun god) or *tatewari* (grandfather fire), rather than the Christian god.

community-wide meetings by authorities are held twice annually. The presence of police

at the meeting seemed out of place. Although generally just observing, they did harass

some Huichol by searching their possessions and the area near the airstrip for peyote and

other "contraband."[43] When people asked why the police were there for a community

meeting, the response was that the Franciscans had "seen truckloads of Huichol passing

in the night with their faces covered and probably carrying arms to *Tateikié*." Everyone

joked about this during the two-day meeting, as what had really been seen were people

arriving from the far corners of the community to attend the meeting. Attendance is

mandatory for all adult males (though exception is made for those who are away or

otherwise "occupied," for which a hefty sum can be paid in lieu of attendance). In order

to arrive at *Tateikié*, the roads pass through the highest portions of the Sierra on the North

side of the Chapalagana River. At night it is especially cold and the road is treacherous,

dusty, and unpaved. What was probably seen was the fact that forty to fifty people will

crowd into the back of each truck, often standing. They will also cover their mouths with

bandanas to avoid choking on the dust. The Franciscans had referred to the arriving

Huichol as *Zapatistas*, which brought fear of an uprising and had ultimately resulted in

the arrival of police to monitor the community assembly meeting.

These stories illustrate both self-imposed and external "distrust" scenarios. They

show that the Huichol are aware of happenings outside the Sierra, yet at the same time,

they are coming to grips with their own history of domination by external forces. One of

the coping mechanisms for rapid culture change appears to be denial of these

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[43] This is despite possession of peyote by Huichol being constitutionally protected, most especially in the traditional homeland.

occurrences. The case of the Huichol murderers illustrates that rural Huichol have not come to grips with their own diversity. Are these individuals really Huichol, or are they something else? By clinging to limited definitions of identity based on appearance and actions, the members of *Tateikita* showed their disapproval of what happened.

At the same time that they are portrayed as "distrustful" and a "closed society" by Franciscans, the media, and other outsiders, the Huichol self-declare their own distrust of the outside world by their reactions to happenstance occurrences such as people becoming ill from food, or the story of why the police came to the assembly meeting being attributed solely to the Franciscans. As will be explored in the next chapter, the school becomes a location for the negotiation of Huichol identity, particularly among youths who are confronted with traditional values that they must "sort out" with foreign ideas.

CHAPTER 6
HUICHOL FORMAL EDUCATION AND THE CETMK

<u>Building the Dream: The Centro Educativo Tatutsi Maxa Kwaxi (CETMK)</u>

This chapter paints a picture of the organization of the CETMK, drawing from the

dialogue of Huichol faculty, students, and local community members of *Tateikita*.

Through narrative, I approach the daily life of the school, illustrating a typical day's

classes and activities in the school. The chapter concludes by situating the school culture

within the context of a life-long learning cultural initiative and then comparing this to the

perceptions of the CETMK by the greater community. The articulation, or

disarticulation, of the school culture with the local community is exposed in a way that

offers insights into culturally directed educational development projects.

<u>Personnel and Organization</u>

The CETMK is organized with eight faculty/staff members, an advisory board of

padres de familia (parents), and an outside coordinator, Rocío de Aguinaga, who

oversees the school's progress from within the ITESO (Instituto Tecnológico de Estudios

Superiores del Occidente), its primary sponsor. Along with the coordinator exist a

number of administrative assistants in Guadalajara that serve as curriculum development

advisors for the teachers at the CETMK or serve other administrative functions such as

ensuring that proper forms and information reach the Sierra, and that teachers receive

their *quincenas* (biweekly salaries). She insists that her only role is as an advisor to

assure that that "things go smoothly" so that the SEP does not decide to close the school

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or reorganize it in a way that takes the locus of control out of the hands of the Huichol, by placing it under administrative scrutiny that might remove teachers or courses. The other advisors are to help teachers with their shortcomings in standard academic areas such as mathematics and science. They are especially useful when Huichol teachers must teach these courses without laboratory equipment, electricity, or books. In addition, AS, teacher of Huichol culture, has an aide who helps ensure that he has copies of important materials to lecture from and that his lesson plans are complete and useful at all three levels of the secondary school. As AS has the least amount of formal education of all teachers at the CETMK, his advisor's assistance is especially helpful for him to organize his lectures on traditional culture, identity, and religion into an acceptable classroom format.

Each of the eight teachers at the CETMK is responsible for two or three subject areas at the CETMK. The following coded names and responsibilities are the teachers at the CETMK from the fall of 1998 tthrough the fall of 2000:

> **CSD**: Director of the CETMK. He teaches what is known as *Actividades Comunitarias*, a catchall phrase for history, geography, and civics.

> **ADS**: Director of the CETMK in 1998-1999. Though he stepped down as director, he continued to be an important teacher of music, dance, and theater at the school.

> **AD**: Teaches first and second year mathematics and writing in Huichol at all three levels. She is the only female instructor at the CETMK and oversees women's physical education.

> **FDS**: Local comisario in 1998-1999, FDS teaches indigenous rights to second and third-year students, teaches three levels of Spanish, and overseas daily journal writing in Spanish. He is also the school's musician and teaches music classes.

> **RS**: Taught two levels of mathematics and physics and chemistry to second and third year students at the CETMK until his departure in summer 1999 and subsequent replacement by L.

L: Replacement teacher for RS during the 1999-2000 school year. L is also the overseer of male physical education.

PGC: A Former teacher from Nayarit, PGC specializes in biology and was educated by scholarship in biointensive agriculture at a course in California. He teaches three levels of biology and biointensive agriculture using a "natural-organic view."

AS: The least educated of the CETMK faculty, but perhaps the most adored "father figure" or elder for the school. He teaches three levels of Huichol culture, and oversees daily journals done by students in Huichol.

E: Teaches carpentry and is in charge of school maintenance projects.

The cultural background of each teacher contributes to the unique teaching style of each of the instructors. A brief biography of each one is important to understanding their roles in the school culture of the CETMK.

Many family members in the local community are related to one another, and therefore teachers are related to one another as well. At the CETMK, familial relations between teachers are more distant. CSD, the director of the CETMK, was raised in the city (Guadalajara). When commenting about his youth, he stresses how alienated he was from his cultural identity, leading to why he chose to be a teacher.

> En la ciudad, estaba muy pobre. A veces no comí. Por eso me puse diabético. Tuve clases durante el día en la secundaria . . . la prepa, la normal . . . y a noche trabajé hasta muy muy tarde. Tuve mucha[o] problema en la ciudad porque no hablé español muy bien. Estudié más que los otros. Cuando regresé a la Sierra, no me aceptaron . . . ni mis propios parientes . . . porque yo fui. Solo después de unos años empezaron a aceptarme en la comunidad, y todavía, a veces, tengo problemas

> In the city, I was really poor. Sometimes I didn't eat. For that reason, I became diabetic. I had classes during the day in the secondary school . . . the preparatory, the normal [teacher's school] . . . and at night I worked until really really late. I had a lot of problems in the city because I didn't speak Spanish very well. I studied more than the others. When I returned to the Sierra, they didn't accept me . . . nor did my own relatives . . . because I left. Only after a few years did they begin to accept me in the community, and still, at times, I have problems.

CSD's story illustrates his difficulty in dealing with the external culture of the city. When he left, he was Huichol. But upon returning, he had to "prove himself" in order to regain acceptance by his own people. The most fluent in Spanish and knowledgeable about Mestizo culture and life, CSD uses his experience gained from the city to explain the importance of education to understanding who you are as a culture. He reinforces his belief in the CETMK through the poor experiences he had in the city. CSD is also the most accepting of new ideas and student cultural variability at the CETMK. His experience is that the best way to bring about changes in the system is to work internally from within it.

ADS's story is similar to that of CSD, but instead of teaching about the dominant culture, he instead focused on learning about traditional human rights, and on regional dance and music. He also became actively involved in politics, even running as a *suplente* with a representative on the PRI ballot in the mid 1990s. A forceful voice for tradition, ADS is highly educated, with a university degree in the humanities. His duties required him to be absent from the Sierra during much of his tenure as director of the CETMK, a reason for complaints by some. ADS is knowledgeable about political processes and procedural law, however, and for this he is admired within the local community.[44]

AD is married to a local in *Tateikita*. She is especially interested in art, spending much of her free time stitching bags, embroidering outfits, making beaded jewelry, and caring for her children. She is popular among female students, who generally segregate themselves from the male student population, forming their own cliques. It is not

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[44] Several shops within *Tateikita* have posters of ADS with the PRI candidates.

uncommon to find students trading patterns and designs with her. Without a secondary level of education, AD, like all teachers at the CETMK, is gradually working to obtain her official certifications to teach. She uses her artistic background to illustrate mathematical concepts to students, and uses Huichol nearly exclusively in the classroom. By working with the Center for Indigenous Languages at the University of Guadalajara, AD became literate in Huichol, and now teaches this to students at the CETMK.

FDS is both a serious and a joking character at the same time. Always pointing out that he is from *Los Lobos* (another ranch settlement four hours' walk away), FDS is charismatic, educated, eloquent, and highly musical.[45] He could not have been appointed local *comisario* without such skills. Always interested in indigenous rights, he is the voice of activism at the CETMK. Like ADS, his responsibilities as *comisario* and musician sometimes required periods of absentia from the school, calling for criticism of his behavior at times. But his ability to return with stories and news about activities outside the Sierra were important to the school and local community.

FDS is instrumental in teaching the skills necessary for educated, eloquent speech, perpetuating the oral traditions of the Huichol culture. He encourages literary skills in students, and helps them develop theatre and oral presentations to illustrate concepts about indigenous rights and law, especially pertaining to ancestral lands and sacred sites. Also, FDS organizes musical groups of female students, and has recently recorded a commercial cassette with several graduates of the CETMK.

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[45] Huichol distances are always expressed in terms of how long it takes one to walk to a location. When converting Huichol time and distances to Western ones, all numbers should be multiplied by a factor of 1.5, since most Huichol under approximate time without watches, and are familiar with terrain that is difficult for outsiders to traverse.

At the same time that FDS is a teacher at the CETMK, he must negotiate his duties with the surrounding local community, feeling each often unfairly criticizes him. FDS is the most closed individual of the CETMK as well (outside his school duties). While other teachers frequently maintain relations with students inside and outside the classroom, FDS does so with only a select group of musicians. In negotiating his roles as *comisario* and teacher, FDS was never reluctant to show his disinterest in outsiders, particularly Mestizos and anthropologists:

> ¿Por qué vengan aquí? Escriben sus libros de mentiras. Nunca nos consultan. Yo los veo, estoy observando que hacen. Aquí es nuestro territorio, *kiekari*. Vienen y compran cosas pero en secreto están escribiendo [haciendo movimientos de escribir en cuaderno]. Y usted. ¿Qué escribes en tu cuarto? Te conocimos, pero los otros, no.

> "Why do they come here? They write their books of lies. They never consult us [afterwards]. I see them. I'm observing what they do. Here is our territory, homeland. They come and buy things, but in secret they are writing (making writing motions as if in a notebook). And you. What are you writing in your room? We know you, but the other people, no.

RS was (is, because he continues to serve as an advisor while in the city) the most openly "Mestizo-ized" of the Huichol teachers, but only on the surface. Instead of dressing in traditional garb, RS, like his older half-brother CSD, preferred to wear non-Huichol clothing. For RS, this was *ranchera* style clothing--boots, shirt, and jeans. Because of his youthful age, he was most aggressive in Huichol sports. Yet at the same time, he endured the same harsh times in Guadalajara as his elder half-brother CSD, since they were raised together. RS spoke and understood both Spanish and Huichol very well, and was highly educated in mathematics. Married to his sister, a condition permitted under unrestrictive Huichol marriage taboos, RS served as a role model for young male students, in particular, who saw that they could be educated and still be Huichol. RS frequently helped me with translations at meetings. Many faculty and students were sad

when RS left the school for the city once more. He had spent the previous year unpaid

due to contractual problems and was deeply in debt. Taking a scholarship to become a

licensed architect, RS enrolled in a five-year program for certification in Guadalajara. He

continues to serve as a curriculum advisor to the new teacher that replaced him and still

visits his family in *Tateikita* periodically.

L came to *Tateikita* after having recently gained certification in mathematics and

the sciences from a remote village in the community. Young, like RS, L easily took over

as a role model for younger males. He did not arrive until several weeks before my

departure in the fall of 1999, relieving me from teaching third-year mathematics, and I

did not get a chance to know him well. Student reactions implied that he was "tough"

and "expecting," but at the same time, I heard no complaints about him as a role model.

PGC has a long past as a primary teacher in Nayarit and *Waut+a* prior to his

arrival to *Tateikita* in November 1999. With specialized training in biology and natural

sciences, PGC became the spearhead of an effort to expand the biointensive agriculture

program at *Tateikita*. Educated by one of the premier biointensive agricultural programs

in the World, *Ecology Action* in Willits, California, PGC learned all about biointensive

organic farming, and was brought to the CETMK to teach others how to make their soils

more productive.

PGC was my housemate for the first five months in the field, residing in the

community house with a CONAFE rural coordinator and myself. At the same time that

he is one of the most approachable individuals at the CETMK, he is the most elusive to

truly understand. Despite two years of knowing PGC, there are still things about him that

I do not understand. He has a long history of involvement with anthropologists, starting

with his filming by an anthropologist as a child when he first went on a "peyote hunt"

pilgrimage. He has also traveled extensively both in Mexico and in the Southwestern

United States, both legally and as a *mojado* (illegal transient). He admits that he could

have been a *mara'akame* but never desired to be so, despite having made many trips to

Wirikuta (the site where the peyote grows).

The "anomie" of Huichol identity is perhaps best represented by PGC. He

struggles to accommodate his Huichol sense of self with the part of him that knows of

ways beyond the local level. He repeatedly would refer to anthropologists as "liars,"

much like FDS, and would tease me with such remarks all the time. Yet while he was

distrustful of outsiders, he was always the first to welcome visitors who arrived by plane

on the airstrip. He was always clever, looking for a chance to make a situation turn out

advantageous, yet at the same time PGC was always the brunt of bad luck.

> Si me llevan a la ciudad, voy a la iglesia para rezar. Eso es que quieren.

> If they [evangelists] take me to the city, I go to the church to pray. That's what they want.

> Yo salí del mercado y pasé por una calle. Es una calle prohibida . . . [nombre borrado]. Ahí hay las viejas . . . las prostitutas. La policía me secuestraron y me llevaron a la cárcel. Tuve que pagar y sin mi sueldo me detuvieron. Decían, "Tu ojo. ¿Por qué está hinchado? ¿Te peleaste?" No me creyeron. Les pagué todo que tenía y en 24 horas, me dejaron en otro lugar.

> I left the market and passed down a street. It's an illegal street . . . [name deleted]. There . . . there are old women . . . prostitutes. The police kidnapped me and took me to jail. I had to pay, and without my paycheck, they detained me. They were saying, "Your eye. Why is it swollen? Did you get in a fight?" They wouldn't believe me. I paid them everything that I had and 24 hours later they released me in another location.

Upon hearing such a story, I was suspicious about its accuracy. No one ever did

find out the truth, but at the same time, PGC's story did not sound at all unfamiliar to the

stories of other people who had traveled to the city. Regardless the accuracy of PGC's

story, it reflected Huichol distrust in the greater system, and these types of stories

abounded in an oral culture such as the Huichol. Such stories inflicted fear in students

and those unfamiliar with places outside the Sierra, strengthening group solidarity. The

same went for those who had encountered problems on a previous year's peyote hunt,

where they were detained and the ceremonial harvest confiscated by the military

(Valadez 1998).

There is recognition among students and community members that teachers are

not infallible themselves, but are imperfect individuals who will sometimes make

mistakes. PGC mentioned that he used to have an alcohol problem, but that he does not

drink anymore because it "makes him sick. Even a drop." Yet, on several occasions,

PGC or FDS would "slip up" and go on week-long drinking binges where they would be

absent from courses at the school. Such happenings provoked an atmosphere of sadness

at the school, and jeers from students and faculty alike. Through social pressures,

problems of this sort were usually quickly resolved at the CETMK, and alcohol was not

as much a problem there as it was in the general community and primary school.[46]

AS is the CETMK's elder-in-residence. With only a few years of primary

education, AS has remained committed to life-long learning, having taught himself to

read and write both Spanish and Huichol. A quiet and reserved man, AS always prefers

to think things through before voicing his opinion or making judgments. A voice of

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[46] One community meeting tried to make alcohol sales to teachers illegal in *Tateikita*. It
was voted down, largely by the voice of primary school teachers and shopkeepers who
were making money off the debts of teachers. CETMK members made a pact amongst
themselves not to openly consume alcohol because of its negative effect on students' self-
esteem.

tradition, AS teaches Huichol culture and religion at the CETMK. At the same time that

he prefers traditional dress and conduct, AS remains open to new ideas and insights. An

avid "news hound," AS is constantly reading and studying when not tending to his home

gardens, or raising cattle on his summer ranch. Despite being in his late 50s, AS still

commutes daily from his home on the ranch known as *Robles* and is probably the

strongest of all the CETMK teachers. He is a philosopher, poet, and *mara'akame*

(thought he insists he is not "officially" one). Through his studies of Huichol mythology,

he probably knows more than the average *mara'akame*, yet he is humble, accepting a role

in ceremonies only when asked by the presiding personnel.

> Yo mismo me enseñé a leer y escribir. Nunca terminé la primaria. No
> acepté a su sistema . . . de los franciscanos. [Burlándose] Quieren
> sentarme junto con los *nunutsi*. Yo leo muy despacito. Está difícil de
> entender (refiriendo a un libro de historia *wixarika* que está leyendo).

> I taught myself how to read and write. I never finished the primary. I
> didn't accept the system…of the Franciscans. [Laughing] They want to
> put me with the little children [babies]. I read very slowly. It's difficult to
> understand [referring to a book on Huichol history that he is reading].

At the same time that AS knows that he is lacking in formal education, he knows

he is strong in other areas.

> Los niños no saben de los dioses. No los conocen. Por eso recitamos los
> nombres antes de cada clase. Para adorarlos . . . que sepan que les
> apreciamos.

> The children [students] don't understand the gods. They don't know
> them. For that reason we recite their names before each class. To adore
> them . . . that they know that we appreciate them.

AS is not without his critiques, which come mainly in the form of words from

local community members:

> ¿Cómo puede [él] dar clases en *Wixa*? No participa [en las ceremonias].
> No fue a Wirikuta con nosotros." Yo fui 15 veces, tal vez ésta es mi
> última vez. Soy viejo. (*mara'akame* mayor de la comunidad)

> How can he give classes in Huichol? He doesn't participate [in the
> ceremonies]. He didn't go to *Wirikuta* with us. I went 15 times; perhaps
> this is my last time. I am old. (eldest *mara'akame* and healer of the local
> community)

AS becomes very emotional at such comments, responding in near tears:

> Yo sí participo en mi cultura. Voy a las fiestas. Estudio. No tomo peyote
> porque me hace daño. Una vez cuando fue niño, lo tomé . . . comí
> mucho.[47] Me sentí mal, mareado. Después vi unas figuras . . . una víbora
> en el camino. Me asustó mucho.

> I, yes, participate in my culture. I go to the festivals [ceremonies]. I
> study. I don't take peyote because it makes me ill. One time when I was a
> child . . . I ate a lot. I felt bad, dizzy sick. Afterwards I saw some figures .
> . . a snake on the path. It scared me a lot.

Along with CSD, AS is the most outspoken proponent of abstinence from alcohol

for teachers, students, and community members. He makes a strong separation between

tehuino (a maize beer used ceremonially) and beer and liquor. The first is considered

cultural; the subsequent items are not.

The last of the CETMK teachers, E is the behind-the-scenes man. An

accomplished gardener and carpenter, E is the maintenance person for the CETMK,

supervisor of carpentry, and assistant to PGC in horticulture. E does not have a primary

education either, but does not let this get in the way of his work. He has some reading

skills and good Spanish-speaking skills. He has been instrumental in organizing parents

and students to create the CETMK classrooms, library, and dormitories (see Figure 6.1).

Apart from classroom teachers, the CETMK organization also includes a network

of *padres de familia* (parents) of its students who meet at least once a month. In CETMK

culture, parents are the threads that hold the school together, for without their support and

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[47] Whenever possible, I have attempted to leave grammatical constructions in their
original spoken manner. Many people, particularly those without formal education, have
their own limited Spanish dialect.

willingness to allow their students to attend, there would be no school. A significant

difference between the Huichol parent-teacher association and that of standard secondary

schools, both in Mexico and the U.S. is the level of involvement of parents within the

school.

Figure 6.1. Construction Meeting of *padres de familia*.

The *padres de familia* of the CETMK number about 75, with some parents in

charge of multiple students. What is immediately noticed is the commitment of fathers to

the educational process. At reunion meetings, it is the males who "speak up" and express

their concerns, sometimes in consultation with their spouses, but usually this is not the

case. The comments added by women are frequently ignored, unless they come from

single mothers who may be in charge of multiple children attending the school. As a way

to maintain close contact with the school during the long periods between meetings

(some parents travel by foot from as far as twelve hours away in order to attend

meetings), the president of the parents network is usually present at the school on a daily

basis, observing classes and giving reports to parents at the monthly meetings. Because parents cannot always be there to oversee the activities of their children, the president's role requires a great deal of care, attentiveness, and discipline. He is frequently the brunt of criticism when there are parents' complaints about their children's education or conduct.

The president of the *padres de familia* happened to be the same individual during 1998-2000, although it is a position elected annually by parents. Antonio says:[48]

> Yo. Yo no tengo dinero. Soy pobre. No me pagan. No puedo trabajar bien, pero estoy aquí porque creo en los niños. Esta posición no tiene el respeto de la comunidad, de nadie. Está difícil. No tengo otra cosa. Para mí, la escuela tiene que ser Huichol, de nosotros. *Wixa* cien porciento.

> I. I don't have any money. I'm poor. They don't pay me [for this position]. I can't work very well, but I am here because I believe in the students. This position [president of *padres de familia*] isn't respected by the community, by anyone. It is hard. I don't have anything else. For me, the school has to be Huichol, ours. 100% Huichol.

Antonio reiterates that he does not love the politics of the position, but loves to be close to the children. He cannot always see everything that is going on, but parents sometimes blame him for things when they go wrong. At one of the fundraising dances for the queen candidates for the school, there were problems. Many community members became intoxicated and demanded dances with the female dancers from the school. They made a lot of money in two nights, but at the same time, the effects were devastating. One girl was "robbed" off to the city to be wed; others felt very tired and "used" by the solicitors. When Antonio refused to sell tickets to several drunk individuals, a scuffle ensued, at which point Antonio resigned as head of the *padres de familia*, only to resume tasks several days later at the insistence of teachers and students.

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[48] Not his true name.

Also vital to the life of the CETMK is the organization of students who use the school as an experiment in youth-directed self-government. Because teachers leave the internal organization to come from a student perspective, the student body determines most extracurricular activities. These activities are primarily sports-oriented, including soccer, basketball, and volleyball. They are team sports that foster cooperation over individual achievement. By channeling student activity into cooperative sports and activities, no one is meant to feel "left out." If one is not part of a particular team for one reason or another, that person generally is expected to provide a supportive sideline role by helping to organize the event, providing music or commentary, or through serving food or beverages.

As mentioned by Rojas (1999a, 1999b), student assembly meetings serve as arenas for the practice of oral communication skills. The oral climate of participation has also been compared to greater community assembly meetings (Corona 1998). One aspect not mentioned by previous research, is the use of the assembly as a mechanism for reinforcing social control and traditional values. At each assembly meeting, a regular pattern includes the following:

1. Lista de asistencia (attendance roll call)

2. Elección del [de la] mesa de debate (the choosing of officers)

3. Lectura del acta anterior y análisis. (recap of the previous meeting)

4. Puntos (several points pertaining to happenings at the school)

5. Asuntos Varios (assorted points of concern to all)

Within a "Robert's Rules of Order" structure, the actual meeting takes place. Regular assembly meetings are held on Fridays, beginning at 11 or 11:30 am. It is not unusual for them to continue until three or four in the afternoon. At each meeting, all

students and teachers are both expected and required to attend unless they have special permission to be absent. They crowd into the classroom of the third year students (who also comprise the yearly elected officers). All teachers take seats outside the classroom, paying attention to the progress of the meeting and intervening when they feel it is necessary, either to speed up the progress or to express a point of importance. Lastly, the head of the *padres de familia* is also expected to be in attendance so that he can inform the other parents about the meeting. as well as express any opinions on behalf of the parents who cannot be in attendance.

The meeting begins with the reading of all class and teacher lists. Oral confirmation is required to show one's compliance with compulsory attendance. The next step is the selection of the officers of the debate table for that particular meeting alone. These individuals are selected by tallying votes from students, and their positions are expected to rotate so that the same person will never be the "secretary," for instance, on a regular basis.

After the selection of the meeting's officers, the secretary's notes of the previous meeting are read aloud to the entire student body. From this point, the meeting progresses to reports from the yearly elected committee officers, such as the Treasurer, who must report on the status of funds for the school store where refreshments and snacks are kept. Once the avenue of communication shifts from written to oral, the language shifts back to Huichol once again. At this point, there may be any number of important points to be discussed at the assembly meeting. For instance, proposals for an upcoming sports tournament or dance may be introduced. These points also include matters for general consideration by all such as reflections on upcoming examinations,

classes, teachers, and project updates, such as progress on biointensive horticulture and the building of the new library.

Like any democratic meeting, the debate table personnel control the pace of the meeting, but no topic is dropped until it has been thoroughly addressed to exhaustion. Teachers and parents are generally passive listeners, letting students sort out their own plans and activities. The pattern changes, however, when students have introduced items into the debate list that may include a discussion of upcoming examinations or some other point that may affect more than just the student body.

The last item in the presentation is, perhaps, the most important of them all. This is the *Asuntos Varios* (Miscellaneous Topics). This item, usually the longest, includes considerable mediation and arbitration on the part of teachers and parents. Under *Asuntos Varios*, the socialistic aspects of social control emerge. Each student, parent, or teacher can introduce any topic for discussion. These are sometimes complaints by students about the conduct of others at the school, or a parent may enter to publicly reprimand his or her son or daughter for inappropriate behavior. For example:

> Miranda enters the room with a stern look on her face. She proceeds to reprimand her daughter in front of everyone for having "run off" with another girl and disappeared for a couple days during which she didn't attend school. The two had been down at the river picking fruits, but they didn't inform anyone of their whereabouts and the family had been concerned. She comments:[49] "Didn't you think about your mother? Your brother? He didn't sleep because he didn't know where you were! How could you do such a thing [run off]?" At this point, YS begins to cry, covering her face with her multicolored scarf. The rest of the room is silent, realizing the graveness of YS's infraction.

These types of reprimands, while not a weekly occurrence, do serve to publicly embarrass the student while at the same time making the group aware that the behavior is

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[49] Paraphrased translation with the assistance of the teachers PGC and RS.

inappropriate and will not be tolerated. The same occurred with the conduct of a

CETMK teacher who had to publicly admit his behavior after a week of drinking:

> The student body president introduces the discussion of the absence of a certain teacher during the past week. All know that he had been drinking, as he had been seen wandering in the community listening to loud music at all hours of the day and night. The students are upset and they call the accused teacher into the room to explain the reasons for his behavior. Upon entering the room, he begins to speak in a mix of Spanish and Huichol: "Yo estoy muy triste. No tengo dinero. Ne tumini. Me deben por la hortiliza y no me pagan. La señora dice que quiere salir." (I am really sad. I don't have any money. My money. They owe me for the crops, but they don't pay me. My wife says that she wants to leave.) The teacher is in near tears at which point the students and teachers begin to ask why he chose to drink. "Why didn't he ask someone for money?" they ask. The teacher responds that it is a problem for him, that he has been borrowing for too long. He owes money to his kids in Tepic, but he also has his family here [in *Tateikita*].

The problem was resolved by group effort whereby teachers offered to loan

money to the individual and provide free meals until the teacher's payment situation was

resolved. In much the same way that the student was reprimanded, people showed their

disparagement through disappointment in the teacher's conduct, reinforcing the need to

be a positive role model for students.

The assembly system represents both the principles of Dewey's notion of a

democracy of education (1938) and Habermas' theory of communicative action (1992),

in which social actors are allowed to express their opinions freely without fear of

repercussions. Although not an ideal environment that Habermas admits himself is

necessary for a true emancipatory speech community, it is an avenue for discussion of

discourses and achievement of consensus. The portion pertaining to *Asuntos Varios* is

especially relevant because it is the point at which unwritten itinerary items can be

introduced into the conversation by anyone, whether student, teacher, parent, or local

community member.

The selection of candidates for the yearly elected student council positions is by democratic vote. An individual is chosen for a particular position not by wealth, but through one's effectiveness in oral skills, mathematics, or in planning. It is not a popularity contest. Since sports take an important role in student activities, one would expect that a popular figure would become the school president.

In 1998-1999, the president was not a star on the soccer or basketball playing fields. He was a musician who, while not the best student in his class, was quite skilled orally. He was probably chosen because his "neutral" status made him an excellent arbiter for matters erupting between student cliques.

Student council positions at the CETMK are not limited to males, either, as they are in the general community. The vice-president for 1998-1999 was a female from *Tierra Blanca*, a remote ranch settlement more than a day's journey away. The president for 1999-2000, BDD, was an exception to the previously chosen presidents. He was an athlete, but he was also the most intelligent of the students (i.e., highest exam scores in the CETMK) and an excellent speaker. Also, he was seen just as often with other athletes, as he was with the general student body, and was always watching teachers work, and helping out whenever he could. Although some might call him a "teacher's pet," he never singled himself out for special treatment. He just performed well.

The role of the student council president as mediator is especially complicated, as noted by the president, BDD, from 1999-2000:

> No me gustan. Los hombres ni las mujeres. No tengo novia. No tengo amigos. Esta posición está difícil. Quiero renunciarla pero no me permiten.

> They [the students] don't like me. The guys or the girls. I don't have a girlfriend. I don't have friends. This position is difficult. I want to resign, but they won't let me.

At the same time that BDD complained about the stress of his position, he also freely talked about his beliefs and identity:

> Yo soy católico, pero soy Huichol también. Creo en Jesús y creo en los dioses. La escuela me enseña del mundo ajeno mientras soy quien soy. No me pueden cambiar [los mestizos]. Ya lo sé quien soy.

> I am catholic, but I am also Huichol. I believe in Jesus and I believe in the Gods. The school teaches me about the outside world while [still] remaining who I am. They [the Mestizos] can't change me. I already know who I am.

BDD, along with one other athlete, had been friends together at a Catholic mission school prior to coming to the secondary school at *Tateikita*. BDD's mother was also a teacher in *La Cienega*, a nearby *ranchería* of *Tateikita*. His educational upbringing had no doubt affected his perceptions of education. In contrast to the others, however, BDD was highly competitive in his academic endeavors, a position that may have eventually caused some friction between himself and his colleagues. He avoided most of his criticisms by maintaining close ties with sports. Interestingly, the highest averaging student from the previous year also had a Catholic upbringing, and faced alienation from the others. He did not hold a council position, however, instead remaining a loner, for the most part. Upon graduation he attended a Jesuit Preparatory School, *San Juan Coselán*, outside Guadalajara. This is the same institution both BDD and his closest friend desired to attend.

Apart from social and administrative organization, the CETMK possesses a dormitory system that may serve as an important impetus for maintaining group solidarity among students and promoting the existence of a collective school culture. I have previously mentioned that students, if they have the opportunity to do so, often will board with relatives while attending the CETMK. Paying their way with any scholarship

money they may receive or by their parents, CETMK students who come from distant locations will stay locally in *Tateikita*. Some, who do not have relatives in the area, stay in the newly constructed dormitories at the CETMK that hold approximately five to six students each. While male students used these, females, principally for safety considerations, did not. Another group of four students from more distant settlements rented a small vacant two-room *ki* (adobe house) and remained there during the week, and sometimes on the weekends.

The local boarding of students has a positive effect on the school culture. Because they are present within the community on a continuous basis throughout the academic school year, they have the chance to bond both inside and outside the classroom. The ability to stay together fosters identity formation and preservation in two ways.

First, students do not make distinctions between their academic culture and their daily lives. School culture becomes, in essence, part of their lives and "ways of being, thinking, and knowing." Students are not thrust into an atmosphere where they must participate in one cultural behavior within the school and another outside of it. Native language is used inside the school and at home, rather than being limited to one environment or the other. For those who are not boarded, or come from more remote locations that require travel to and from the school on a daily basis, group solidarity is not as strong, since family obligations may take precedence over academic performance and participation.

Second, the boarding of students at the school and in the village make them learn to cooperate with others in order to survive. Similar to Johnston's *Indian School Days*

(1988) and Israel's research on the Jewish *kibbutz* (1983), students use the collective environment to experiment with roles and work together cooperatively on academic and nonacademic work. Student collectives can also use such an environment to resist forms of social control. In a case of possible resistance to their presence by the local community, students can effectively engage in activities that do not involve the greater community, such as organizing their own sporting events, playing music, and holding dances. At the same time that such student cooperatives may cause a separation of school culture from community culture, it can also help them resist rapid sociocultural change at the local level (such as the infusion of a capitalist economy and individualist values).

Indigenous boarding of their own students differs significantly from off-reservation boarding of students that previously occurred both in Mexico during the time of the *Casa del Estudiante Indígena* from 1926-1932 and in the U.S. until the 1940s. Both of these approaches towards indigenous education were assimilationist and ethnocidal. In the case of the *Casa del Estudiante Indígena*, in particular, native students were taken from their homes and sent to Mexico City to be educated where they were stripped of native dress and values in an attempt to send them back to their homelands as model teachers to encourage the same in their companions (Dawson 2001).

External Relations

The external relations of the CETMK can be broken down into three chief areas of consideration: funding, the primary, and the greater local community. The funding for the CETMK comes from a complex list of sources that include the *Instituto Nacional Indigenista* (INI) along with the SEP, PROGRESA, the ITESO, and various donation organizations.

In terms of the INI relationship with the CETMK, their actions come in the form of scholarships to students who perform well academically. Bimonthly examinations determine the top students who score, roughly, a B or higher (8 out of 10) average. These students then become eligible for money from the INI for their "good performance." The money is distributed to parents through CONAFE, a rural education assistance organization. CONAFE also distributes school materials such as notebooks, dictionaries, and pens and pencils to students annually, but only to those who qualify through their examination scores. While the idea behind the money is that it is to be used to reimburse parents for their children attending school, this is not always the case. Some parents will not use the money for their children, but instead will make use of it themselves. The scholarships, as they are called, are about $20 U.S. / month / student.

One of the main problems with this system is that the students who perhaps most need assistance do not receive it. While they are rewarded for performing well, the Huichol value system is not based on individual competitive performance, which these scholarships reward. Instead, introducing some sort of reward to those who are not performing as well academically and may need incentive to perform better might help reinforce Huichol traditional values. The lowest academic performing students usually lack materials as well, having to borrow them from other students because no free distribution system exists for classroom materials within the school, other than for texts that students are not permitted to take home.[50]

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[50] Students at the CETMK can "sign out" texts through the library for use outside school, but infrequently do so. It is not unusual to see only three or four names on the library list, though more books may be "missing." Students are not distributed texts to take home because of the irregularity of the SEP delivering free texts to the CETMK. Texts arrive

A second source of funding comes from national cultural assistance organizations such as SEDESOL (Secretary of Social Development), through its PROGRESA (National Program of Education, Health, and Nutrition) program, and DIF (Department of Infants and Family), that, while not direct educational institutions in and of themselves, are responsible for child and family welfare and security. PROGRESA awards mothers scholarships to assist in the nourishment of their children while the students attend both primary and secondary school. In addition, DIF provides food items and incentives to families in order to convince them to adopt a healthy diet for themselves and their children.

A third source of funding for the CETMK is from the ITESO, the Jesuit University of which the school's coordinator is from. With the insistence from the CETMK coordinator that the university does not have "catholicizing" intensions behind it (which I do not suspect as well), the ITESO does not directly provide money to students or the school, but rather assists in teacher development through seminars, the payment of curriculum and teacher aides, and assistance in negotiations with the Department of Indigenous Education (DEI) of the SEP for the payment of CETMK personnel.[51]

The most complicated of the funding sources for the CETMK comes from donations. These come from both private individuals and from NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) or other civilian groups. The CETMK receives assistance

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irregularly and change titles frequently, confusing both instructors and students who see no coherency between one year's materials and the next.

[51] The CETMK does not possess its own set of faculty positions. Instead, positions are borrowed from vacant positions at other primary schools throughout the municipality. There is always the constant fear that a position may have to be eliminated because there is a shortage of teachers in other areas.

mostly from Europe (Finland) and from an Adventist missionary organization known as the "Amistad Foundation." Amistad has been responsible for securing the materials for the new library and cultural center, one of the classrooms, and for sponsoring both the education of PGC in biointensive agriculture in California, and start of the horticulture project at the CETMK.

The funding of the CETMK is not without its criticisms. The problem from an administrative position is that the SEP naturally favors a *telesecundaria* "video school" model for rural areas. As a result, the CETMK is in a constant struggle to maintain funds to continue to operate and develop new programs. Criticism arises when the funding sources are beyond the hands of the Huichol themselves.

In the case of Amistad, their director and regional representative in Mexico offered to assist the director of the school with obtaining funding for the new library, most recently by acquiring books and materials. The decision to involve them was accepted as long as any work was done "in good faith." Their participation in the project came with some resistance from the coordinator, and others, who saw the school becoming externally, rather than internally, controlled. While some students have been offered full scholarships to attend an Adventist preparatory school after graduation, the tension remains strong among locals who know they need assistance and the fears that may result from losing control over their own dream.

Fears are especially evident in the eyes of the coordinator and some teachers and community members who say they are keeping a close watch on what is going on. But criticisms also reach the level of the local community, those who are not integrated into the culture of the school and, therefore, cannot understand the reasons why certain

decisions are made within the school. These non-participating members see the school as a model that began with a Huichol dream of education that has now moved to an ITESO-controlled bureaucracy and experimental plan. Illustrations of this include the bringing in of a Mexico-city based film crew to produce a video for school fundraising efforts through Europe and the ITESO's desire to use the CETMK as an environment to send teachers-in-training on their *semesters de campo* (semesters of practice teaching).[52]

A significant problem in the CETMK's external relations stems, not only from funding difficulties, but also, from the perspective of whom possesses the locus of control over the educational environment. In relations with the primary school, there is little to no association with its teachers and students, apart from a realization that students will eventually graduate from the primary and pass into the secondary school. Divisions appear to be based on economic models and misconstrued information or "rumors" that develop because of the lack of social connections between the social actors at the two schools.

As mentioned previously, many of the teachers at the primary school participate in the market economy, either as shopkeepers, or as consumers who have already integrated themselves more into a capitalist economy than those of the secondary school. If primary teachers (those with a much longer established residency in the local

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[52] Although the video was made, it was not used in the U.S. for fundraising because it was felt by the coordinator that U.S. organizations always have ulterior motives and requirements rather than freely giving to an organization such as the CETMK. The film crew's appearance was permitted but not understood by students who called them the *fantasmas* (ghosts) because they came, did as they pleased, and then vanished without a trace. Some students objected to being marketed in this way. In the case of *semestres de campo*, it is this author's feeling that such proposals, while read to teachers, are not fully understood when approval is consented. These practices will further enhance the divisiveness of the community from the school.

community) are a model for the attitudes of the *Tateikita* community itself, which I believe they are, then the divisions between the two schools will remain as long as there is no contact between the two environments.

The external relations with the local village community of *Tateikita* mimic those with the primary school, largely due, in part, to the fact that primary teachers have such a strong presence within *Tateikita* via their shops and relatives. The school retains support from the immediate families of the teachers and some from a couple of the local shopkeepers in the village, mainly ones who are close relatives or have had students graduate from the CETMK in the first generation (Spring 1998). Support, however, is not without its price, as assistance with travels for hauling materials, or with transporting people, will require payments, sometimes exuberant ones.

Apart from shopkeepers, students do not feel that they are a part of the local community, unless they are boarding with relatives. In the case of the student body president:

> No nos respetan en la comunidad. Hacemos mucho y nunca nos aprecian. Arreglamos la pista, la carretera, y limpiamos la comunidad. Ellos [de la comunidad] tiran basura y no cuidan a la comunidad.
>
> The community doesn't respect us. We do a lot and they never appreciate us [what we've done]. We fixed the airstrip, the road, and we clean the community. They [those of the community] throw garbage and don't care for the community.

The student's comments appear to reveal the truth about the disarticulation of the school culture with the local community. I have observed, and participated in, efforts to clean up the village, construct a path to the corral for a community rodeo, fix cracks in the airstrip, and trips into the Sierra to repair the dirt road. Never once was there community recognition of these activities. Failure to recognize CETMK efforts for the

betterment of the local community only served to further fragment and polarize the two cultures.

<div align="center">Life at the CETMK: Living the Dream</div>

The following narrative introduces the daily life of the CETMK. Drawing from fieldnotes from many daily observations at the school, the following is a pieced reconstruction of a typical school day. The firsthand narrative is accented with research reflections. Following the narrative, the Huichol idea about learning is exposed and examined in light of community definitions of appropriate education.

A Day in the Life of…

It is the start of another week of classes at the CETMK. Students begin their daily progression down the winding dirt road from the village and surrounding ranches. Some, like Sofía, have already been up for hours, having helped to prepare the morning meal for their host family; others, like Mauricio and Miguél, have spent that time walking from their remote ranch in order to arrive in time for classes; still others, like Angélica and Salvador, have not seen their family in a couple months. They were sent to the CETMK by their families, feeling it a worthwhile educational investment and much cheaper than the alternative of the city. It is more likely for males than females to be sent from afar to be educated. This is because in traditional settlements women usually marry between the ages of 13 and 17. If parents from remote areas are going to invest in the education of their children, they are more likely to do so with males, since they are the ones who must "work" and obtain employment, by traditional roles.

It is 8:00 am and the third year students have already arrived at school. For the next half hour they have Biointensive Agriculture class with PGC. PGC is already inside

the classroom, sitting looking over his notes. PGC informs me that today students are
going to learn about proper spacing of seeds in the beds. For what seems like months,
students have been working diligently at digging out a series of sixteen *camas*
(agricultural beds). "The soil is hard," PGC informs me. Looking out at the fields, the
soil is rocky and dry. It is hard to believe that anything can grow under such conditions,
but PGC is still optimistic "Dago says that it will. He says that "G" in Tuxpan already
has ten planted. "But he has help. I don't," PGC trails off.

We are interrupted by a group of students entering the classroom, girls tugging at
the back of each other's *patiacales* (head bandanas). They giggle and take their seats.
"This isn't phys. ed," grumbles PGC. The two students just look at each other and laugh.
I move outside as a last-minute flurry of students comes flying into the room, twenty-four
in all, taking their seats.

PGC begins lecturing from his seat at a table in front of the class. He addresses
them in *Wixa*, reserving Spanish for the measurements of the spacing in the beds between
plants, or the names of the different plants he is illustrating in his speech. Everyone is
copying down the notes intently, except "H," who sits in the back of the room. She is
staring out the window, watching some of the other students who have arrived and are
wandering around in the agricultural beds. H has a particularly hard time at the school.
Her brother is the *comisario*, yet she is a single parent and sometimes misses classes to
stay with her baby. She starts to write again, looking a little puzzled. PGC approaches
the board and makes some diagrams of the lifecycle of a radish plant. When he does so,
most pay attention, but in particular, a couple of female students in the back are busy
fiddling with a tape recorder and giggling. PGC continues on as if he does not hear them,

but he probably does. The two students start looking at each other's notebooks and peek at one of the male student's notebooks. PGC lets them copy without any hesitation.

That is the way most students are here. The system encourages them to succeed on an individual basis, and the students know they have examinations the next week. Much like finals at a college in the U.S., they all must take examinations in two-hour blocks in the following week. While sometimes examinations involve group projects, especially in *Derechos Indígenas*, students also know that they must perform well on these examinations individually, or face recuperation exams at the end of the year, or even having to repeat the whole academic year. The formal examination schedule to which the school culture must adhere appears at odds with traditional Huichol values that stress cooperation and group participation over individual achievement.

It is now 8:30 am and students line up by year in front of their classroom buildings while faculty form a line near the back. All the women are dressed traditionally in skirt, blouse, and headscarf; about 65% of men are dressed traditionally, the remainder in jeans and t-shirt. All have white sombreros or baseball caps. At this time every week, classes begin with saluting the Mexican flag and reciting the national anthem, sometimes in Spanish, other times in *Wixa*. The organization is militaristic, as the *bandera* (flag) is marched around the central plaza by the *esculta* (flag bearers). Following the national anthem, the flag is placed in a classroom where it will remain throughout the week.

Students, faculty, and staff at the CETMK honor the Mexican national flag, much as in any Mexican school. While the procession is foreign, the character is uniquely Huichol. They take great pride in honoring the flag correctly. The *esculta* (flag bearers)

will hold practices to ensure that things are done correctly "according to custom," much like a religious ritual (see Figure 6.2).

When asked why the flag procession is so important, a student responds:

> Lo hacemos como es de costumbre. Es importante porque el águila es de nosotros. El símbolo . . . es nuestro, de los aztecas.

> We do it according to custom. It is important because the eagle is ours. The symbol . . . is ours, of the Aztecs.

The teacher of Huichol culture (AS) adds the following:

> Los dioses nos miran . . . el cristo también. (sonriendo) Tenemos que soportarlo bien. Es importante para la escuela que tenemos orgullo en nuestra creación . . . nuestra vida.

> The gods are watching us . . . Christ too [smiling].[53] We have to support it [the flag] well. It's important for the school that we have pride in our creation . . . our life.

Following the national anthem, important news of the day is given. The student president first makes any announcements of interest, usually plans for sports competitions or preparing for upcoming fiestas.[54] Afterwards, faculty enter the middle of the horseshoe shape, adding any comments or announcements as necessary. Today, the student body president mentions that there will be a tournament on Friday and that he wants to have a dance to follow it. All the announcements are made in Huichol as he directs his voice to the others. It is only when he makes an emphatic point that language shifts to Spanish. He does this to be sure that all understand him completely.

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[53] On the side of a mesa opposite the river from *Tateikita* there is a spot of dead vegetation that at certain times of the year appears to resemble a cross or human figure with outstretched arms. It is easily visible from the mission and where the CETMK is located below the village.

[54] Plans for student-directed tournaments, fiestas, and activities compose the majority of extracurricular activities at the CETMK.

Figure 6.2. Esculta (Honoring the Flag).

A teacher enters the ring, following the student president's comments. He

reminds the students in *Wixa* that they have examinations approaching in the following

week, and that if they are going to have a tournament, they should postpone it until after

the examinations. He switches almost randomly between Wixa and Spanish; code-

switching to emphasize that students should perform well on the examinations. He is

concerned about the dance as well. He emphasizes that the students need to obtain

permission from the *padres de familia* for the *bailadoras*.[55] There is a sigh of disgust

among the students and cries of *waiku* ("no") from different sides. The teacher backs off,

letting students begin to discuss the tournament and dance openly (see Figure 6.3). The

president looks to his counsel and remarks that it will be the following Friday so that they

have time to get the invitations out to the other teams and receive responses, otherwise

someone will have to run to the remote villages and hand-deliver the invitations on short

notice. There is a brief moment of silence and shouts of *hu* ("yes") enter the discussion.

The student president announces that the tournament and dance will be a topic of debate

for the coming Friday's assembly meeting.[56] He makes no mention of the involvement of

parents. The current *comisario* and CETMK teacher FDS is not present and can provide

no input at the moment. He is doing paperwork at the agency, as frequently occurs. No

one seems preoccupied at his absence.

At this point in time, students are becoming restless. It is nearly 9:00 am and

classes are about to begin. Without further ado, the lines begin to break, marked by a

moment of silence. Each class heads to its respective classroom, with teachers following

soon behind them. FDS has still not arrived, and students wonder where he is, as he has

to give Spanish class.

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[55] In a typical Huichol dance, girls from the school represent the *bailadoras* (dancers).
Groups of three dances each (*tandas*) are purchased by people from the community and
students as a money-raising activity. At a previous dance, mayhem erupted with drunken
citizenry and the "robbing" of a dancer for marriage.

[56] Student assembly meetings are held weekly on Fridays. All students, teachers, and the
head of the parents' association are expected to attend.

As the first classes begin, students are restless. In the first year classroom, AD is introducing mathematics to students. She, unlike RS, is nearly entirely in *Wixa*.[57] She is well-collected, and begins to go over homework assignments, with each student coming to the front as called to have their work graded. The students are young and restless; some playing in the back of the room while AD is not able to see what is going on. There are 37 students in the classroom, ranging in age from twelve to fifteen.[58] Some are more interested in learning than others who have done little, of any, of the assignment. Afterwards, she has students do problems on the board.

Figure 6.3. CETMK Teacher Addressing Students.

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[57] Women's monolingual literacy rates are much higher than that of males, as males are more likely to have traveled outside the Sierra to work in fields or visit kin.

[58] Students' ages at each grade level vary by several years because many did not enter school directly from the primary, started at a later age, or were held back for academic reasons. The age variance between students' ages within any grade level at the CETMK appear to be stabilizing however, as well as beginning to be younger and younger as more progress directly from primary into secondary schooling.

In the second-year classroom, AS is attending to thirty-three students. He is teaching Huichol culture, and in this class no Spanish is allowed. Students must first recite from memory a long list of deities and give appropriate thanks to them. There is no misbehavior in this class, as all appear attentive. Following the recitation, AS introduces the day's lesson that pertains to *la identidad étnica* (ethnic identity) taken from a bilingual reader. He has brought several to class, but students are expected to return them to a pile thereafter. There are not enough books to go around, so many must share. AS chooses students at random to read from the book in Huichol, trying to see how much they understand their reading. After each section, he asks students to answer questions such as "What do you think about this?" and "Do you agree?" Noticing that I have been following along with the Spanish translation, AS asks for my own opinion, and I respond with an answer about the situation of other minorities who have been stripped of their languages and religions already. A student asks, "¿Hay indígenas allá?" (Are there indigenous people there?). The ensuing discussion turns to one of how the Huichol can learn from the lessons of other indigenous peoples who have not been fortunate to retain their language, lands, and religions, and now must rediscover their native identities. AS reaffirms my statements, taking what I have said and turning it into Huichol to make the ideas easier to understand for some who may not have grasped everything of what we have been discussing up to that point in time.

Since FDS has still not arrived, third year students decide to take advantage of the opportunity and start having an "impromptu" class meeting where they begin to plan the upcoming sports tournament and dance. As I walk into the room they shout "*¡Inglés!,*" to which I respond that FDS is going to be back any minute. Their enthusiasm,

particularly those of the third year, amazes me. They are excited to learn. When classes

are not held, students will grow restless and call for substitutions, as they had just done to

me moments earlier. FDS steps in behind me and asks if I want to give Spanish class.

Kindly, I pass over the opportunity and hand the class over to him. He takes the students

outside the classroom and has them sit on the ground to read their lessons. He has had

them writing folktales in Spanish. As part of the grading process, he wants them to recite

their tales aloud. After each student is done reading his or her tale, he has the student

bring the lessons up to him where he proceeds to grade the grammar and punctuation. In

this class, FDS is using entirely Spanish, wanting students to grasp a firm understanding

of the subject matter.

Each group of classes lasts about an hour, at which point teachers change

classrooms, and some take a break for a while. CSD has now arrived at the school to

teach *Actividades Comunitarias*. This class, an integration of history, civics, and

geography, is taken by CSD from a local to a global perspective. In the first year, he

wants students to understand their local culture … to know the location of sacred places

and to understand the prehistory of the Huichol. Who are their ancestors? Where did

they come from? While each examination unit is different, CSD prefers to build upon his

lessons by starting with local politics. His reasoning is that first-year students have not

yet developed the necessary cognitive skills to read and talk about complex global issues

like the environment and astronomy. When asking students to recite a list of sacred sites,

CSD realizes that they cannot name any but one or two, mainly *Wirikuta* (the land of the

peyote) and *Maxamu'u* (a local sacred spot referring to the head of the deer). They are

speechless about others. CSD begins to draw a map of the region, where he points out

different locations on the map. He concludes the day's lecture when students now know

the sacred directions. In many cases, they may have heard of the locales before but did

not know of their historical significance to the Huichol people.

At 11 am, there is a recess of a half hour. Many students rush up into the

community to buy *bolis* (flavored ice water from one of the shops that has a gas

refrigerator) or candy. Others go to a storage room designated as a "store" where the

students have purchased bottles of soda directly from a Pepsi truck that now visits the

village every two weeks or so. Still others are now going into the *COPUSI*, a cooperative

kitchen, where they can pay two pesos and receive some tortillas and beans (see Figure

6.4). This location is especially popular with students who have walked to school in the

morning from neighboring ranches. Many of them have not yet had a meal, and the

COPUSI meal may be their only one for the day. The COPUSI is extra-popular when the

cooks serve chicken soup, and it is not unusual to see faculty crowd-in to eat on those

days (for an additional fee of eight pesos).

Figure 6.4. *COPUSI* Dining Facility of the CETMK.

After the half-hour recess, students return to classes that continue until 1:30 pm,
when there is a two-hour break for lunch. During the three hour period prior to the break,
students are in class the entire time as teachers shift from room to room to give their
appropriate assigned courses.[59]

On this day, there is a substitution, and FDS is teaching a course in *Derechos*
Indígenas to third-year students. He had asked them to travel about in the community
and interview traditional authorities, creating lists of their offices and roles. They have
returned to give presentations on their research. Following their individual presentations,
PGC asks them to begin work on a play related to indigenous rights. He asks them to
hold a debate where the various positions of Huichol elders and citizens, cattle ranchers,
and government authorities will be presented (see Figure 6.5). A discussion follows, and
students begin to mill around the table at the front of the room. I ask FDS about some
papers he has with him. He responds:

> Están abriendo los ojos. En ningún otro lugar aprenden de derechos
> indígenas. Nuestra situación . . . la tierra. La bandera de México, el
> águila. Lo robaron de nosotros. Eso aprendí en una reunión en el DF.
>
> They are opening their eyes. In no other place do they [the students] learn
> about indigenous rights. Our situation . . . the land, the Mexican flag, the
> eagle. They [The Mexican Government] robbed it from us. I learned that
> at a meeting in Mexico City.

I ask FDS some more about the class, but he leaves them with me to supervise
and provide ideas while he goes to do some unfinished business in the agency. One
would think that the students would make use of the time to "fool around," but this is not
the case. FDS will frequently leave students unsupervised, allowing them to work
together and organize their own time. One student runs off to the library to get some

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[59] See Appendix E for course schedules of the three grades at the CETMK.

supplies for making a poster and preliminary diagrams; still others begin to choose who they want to portray in the play.

Figure 6.5. *Derechos Indígenas* Debate at the CETMK *Clausura*, July 1999.

Most students, who can, go home during the afternoon lunch break. Women may have to make more tortillas for the meal or cook and prepare food for their family. If there is time, a rest is taken. After lunch, all return to the school for class, crafts and music, or to work in the gardens. Recently, all students who are not in English class became obliged to work in the gardens to prepare the beds for planting. Soil and natural fertilizers are now in the beds, and students are being shown what to plant in each bed, and how to intersperse different types of plants to obtain the highest yield. Both males and females must work in the gardens. The idea is that students will take what they have learned from the gardens at the school, and bring that knowledge back home to their families, planting sustainable gardens there as well.

In addition to PGC, E is helping students in the gardens. Some female students carry buckets of water to the beds while the remaining boys and girls even-out the

fertilizer in the beds. Across the way, several students are exempted from working in the

fields today. Instead, they are cutting boards to be used for the roof of the new library

that is being built. AS is overseeing them in their work (See Figure 6.6).

Figure 6.6. Carpentry at the CETMK.

Carpentry and working in the fields are by far not the only activities students

engage in at the CETMK. There are also traditional crafts. During previous months,

elders have visited the school to teach females how to make pottery and males how to

make *batea* (a wooden container for holding ground maize). They have also learned how

to make an *upari* (traditional bench seat) using the same natural resources and techniques

that have been used for centuries, down to the black glue produced from tree sap.

After working on *talleres* until 5:30 pm, many go up to the village to play

basketball or go home. Others remain at the school for a music class with FDS. He is

teaching any interested girls at the school how to play the violin, guitar, and bass. They

will then have the responsibility of playing at the *Clausura* (graduation) of the CETMK

in early July.

We are All *Nunutsi*

To be a *nunutsi* is the plural in Huichol for "to be little babies" or "young children." The CETMK notion is that all people are little children with something to learn. No one is perfect, but all are in the educational environment together. Some will internalize more of their educational experience than others, but all will gain something from being a part of the CETMK, whether students or teachers.

For students, the learning process involves role-playing. In classes they may need to take the part of traditional authorities. In order to act out these roles, they have to understand the cultural context of each figure. At the same time that students are learning about traditional roles, they are altering them with their own changing conceptions of what it means to be Huichol.

Amy Stambach (2000), in her study of gender and schooling in East Africa, found that student role-play enhances their understanding of the outside world. She found that a significant part of their role-play involved the trading of items of clothing, especially their school uniforms. At the CETMK, students follow similar behaviors that reinforce the notion of "group property" over "personal property."

Students at the CETMK frequently trade articles of clothing and the word *préstame* (loan it to me) has come to mean much more than just the loaning of an object to another person. Borrowing occurs not only among students, but also between students and teachers. Once an article of clothing (hat, jewelry, jacket, or *moral*) is loaned to another student, the item will frequently complete a round of "new owners" before it makes it back to the original loaner. It is expected that the item will eventually return, but it will usually show evidence of wear-and-tear. If an item is destroyed in the

borrowing circle, the situation is used as an example at school meetings of a need to show respect for the belongings of others.[60]

Other items of personal property become group property as well. These include tape players and cassette tapes. Ranchera music is quite popular among students and any new tape will circulate through many hands until just about everybody has had it in his or her possession for a little while. The same occurs with regional music, popularized by a number of different Huichol groups that sing in both Spanish and Huichol. A number of local groups have emerged in recent years, all producing cassette tapes for sale in local communities. These tapes are played regularly, and form the most popular type of music among students and local community members of *Tateikita*. In addition to trading tapes, personal tape players are also redistributed, equalizing the difference in economic wealth between students that may have money to purchase these luxury items and those who do not. Batteries have become a prized commodity as students listen to music at all hours of the day (sometimes during class!).

Not only has music become a way to reinforce regional identity among Huichol, but so has a reinterpretation of the symbolism of *narcotraficantes* (drug dealers), particularly among young males. On the surface, it appears that students are idealizing these dealers through the possession of hats that contain the symbols of marijuana leaves, guns, and state names. The strong allure of these symbols for young students, is the idea of cultural resistance and separation. By wearing these symbols, individuals are showing

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[60] I have loaned jackets and other clothing items to students at their request, only to watch them circle around to other students, sometimes returning, sometimes not. Watches are also a frequent item to "make the rounds" among students.

their defiance of the state regime. Not once have I observed these symbols actually pertaining to any one's individual belief in the ability to traffic drugs or carry guns.

Teachers at the CETMK are constantly revising their curriculum, trying to improve their methodology. Matusov (1999) discusses the methods needed for a community of learners to maintain itself longitudinally over time. Each teacher learns how to act within the culture of the school in the same way that each new generation of students is incorporated into the school. For instance, first year students of the CETMK are still considered children by a lot of the older students. They will say that the students "still have a lot to learn." This is for the most part true. They learn the enculturation process by watching the older students and then come to mimic these behaviors over time.

The second year at the CETMK usually becomes the transition year for students. At this stage they either fit in or fall out of the system. This is the primary reason for the drop-off in class numbers between second and third year students at the CEMK (usually a loss of around 15%, or 8 to 9 of their students, to marriage or academic failure).

Margaret Gibson (1987,1997) calls this process "learning to play by the rules" in resistance and accommodation of newly acquired role expectations. These resistance or accommodation scenarios then become markers of continuity or discontinuity in the educational process; discontinuity that Spindler (1974:308) refers to as "an abrupt transition from one mode of being and behaving to another." For the Huichol, the discontinuity between home and school environments is minimized by the efforts of schooling within their own native communities. Unlike some native peoples' cultures, such as the study of early Papago Indian education by Macias (1987), Huichol children

are raised to be verbal, for boys in particular. The discontinuities appear to be more

gender-related than persisting broadly to all children, although the foreign concept of

competition introduced through the SEP's point-based grading system still segregate

some children's beliefs in accomplishment from those of others.

The process of being *nunutsi* is troublesome for students who find scientific and

cultural matter at odds with their internalized cultural knowledge. For instance, "how

does one associate bacteria into a belief that gods have caused misfortune when an

individual becomes ill?" Furthermore, "what about religion?" While texts espouse a

Catholic history, students are, at the same time, being bombarded with traditional

ceremonies and beliefs that do not fit into traditional epistemologies. For each child,

resistance or accommodation is different, but the acceptance of foreign ideas is more

permissible in an educational environment, such as the CETMK, than it is in the general

culture.

Spindler (1997) refers to the shock of Hano Hopi children upon learning that the

kachinas that visited them, as children, were not real. The choice for some is to resist the

fact. For others, a greater understanding is obtained of the reasons why religious

characters exist. For the Huichol children at the CETMK, there are relatively strong

sociocultural bonds between students that allow traditional knowledge to be used as a

complimentary, not opposing system of reality to the "Mestizo world."[61] A wider culture

of teachers and kin networks that emphasize traditional roles and conformity norms may

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[61] The students who wore Christian crosses to a soccer tournament, some openly
professing to be Catholic and also being Huichol, represent an excellent example of the
blending of systems.

further reinforce the regional Huichol culture of the area, much as Sindell (1997) found among Mistassini Cree children.

Talking the Talk, Walking the Walk

The biographical stories of the teachers' and students' experiences from the CETMK, together with the example of daily life at the school, paint a picture of the complicated role that all social actors immediately connected with the school play in its mission to preserve Huichol language and culture. How do these visions of Huichol identity compare to those shared by the surrounding community? Are the Huichol in *Tateikita* and other ranches as unified in their perceptions of what should be going on at the school? I have already pointed out the optimistic stance of students and faculty about their personal goals and those of the school, but when it comes to perceptions of the school from the outside, are they nearly as positive?

The answer to these questions is one of mixed sentiment. When critiquing the CETMK, the following comments were evident by members of the primary school and the local village:

> La escuela es escuela particular. Por eso no recibe el apoyo como la primaria." Carmelo dice "tal vez quieren telesecundaria por que no puede ser "political." (maestro de primaria #1)

> The school is pariticular [private]. For that reason it doesn't receive support [from the community] like the primary. Perhaps they want *telesecundarias* because it can't be political. (primary teacher #1).

> No es escuela de la comunidad. Es de [la coordinadora]. (maestro de primaria #2)

> It isn't a community-school. It is [the coordinator's]. (primary teacher #2)

Los maestros no tienen ni primaria. Son mal preparados. Voy a mandar a mis hijos a la ciudad. (dueño de una tienda)

The teachers don't even have a primary education. They are poorly prepared [trained]. I'm going to send my children to the city. (shopkeeper)

[El director] no hace nada, pero está cobrando dinero. Nunca está. (alumno)

[The director] doesn't do anything, but he's collecting money. He's never there. (student of the CETMK).

[El director] tiene dos plazas. Recibe mucho dinero. Más que nosotros [de la primaria]." (maestro de primaria #3)

[The director] has two positions. He receives a lot of money. More than us [of the primary school]. (primary teacher #3)

Dan clases en Wixa y dicen que es lengua extranjera. No es. Es español o ingles. (miembro de la comunidad)

They give classes in Huichol and say that it is a foreign language. It isn't. It is Spanish or English. (community member)

Each of these statements expresses serious problems that members of the community see with the CETMK. At one point, members of the primary refused to give up a storage room for use at the secondary school, despite maps delineating it as part of the secondary school's property. The issue was brought to local assembly meeting in *Tateikita* and members continued to refuse the handing over of the room to the secondary school, even though the primary school teachers did not use the room for anything other than storage of materials (and they had just had a new set of classrooms built by the SEP).

The other statements pertaining to the use of Huichol as a foreign language and the salaries of teachers are unjustified. Teachers are actually paid less than at the primary school and sometimes do not receive their checks regularly, unlike at the primary school. They also work longer hours without compensation. As for the formal listing of Huichol as a foreign language study area, the justifications by AS and CSD that students do not know their own culture (sacred sites, deities, etc.), are used to justify Huichol as a foreign language. Despite open invitations to members of the primary school and community to attend the secondary school and observe what is really going on, there has been little interest.[62]

The concerns about the particularity or community nature of the school are justified, however, due to the politics associated with the funding difficulties for maintenance the CETMK. Greater community involvement in the expression of their concerns could help rectify the situation. This is not being done, however, at this point in time. The next chapter will highlight the discontinuities and continuities of the school culture with the general community through data analysis of a sample group of CETMK students.

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[62] During my time working at the CETMK, I never observed any visitation of the school by members of the primary. And only once did a non-parent from the CETMK visit the school during an open workshop on Indigenous Rights sponsored by the NGO *AJAGI* and *RADPI* (Network of Lawyers for Indigenous Peoples).

CHAPTER 7
QUANTITATIVE DATA AND OBSERVATIONS

Introduction

This Chapter begins with a discussion of the complicated nature of Huichol ethnic

identity and culture change in *Tateikita* and the Sierra Madre region. Data are presented

from an analysis of questionnaires administered to 3rd year students forming the

paritemai (second generation) of graduates from the CETMK. These data are then

compared and contrasted to qualitative data collected in order to portray the culture of the

CETMK within the local community. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the

survey's results to the future of language and culture preservation among the Huichol,

declaring the political nature of community-centered schooling, and the CETMK's place

within the indigenous intellectual movement of Mexico.

Survey Results

Surveys in Spanish were administered to 23 of the 24 students in their 3rd year of

schooling at the *Centro Educativo Tatutsi Maxa Kwaxi.*[63] In the first part of these

questionnaires, students were asked to make free listings of what they considered to be

important aspects of three themes: Being Huichol, Traditions, and Education. Within

each of these themes, students were to list "anything that came to mind" under these

general headings. They then rated each item they listed on a scale of one to ten (or

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[63] See Appendix D for a copy of the Spanish questionnaire. A table of coded variables is
also included.

however many items they could list), declaring its importance to them. The third task for each free listing theme was to order each of the items. For example, if a student listed four items under theme one, he or she was first to rate the importance of each on an ascending scale of importance from one to ten and then put them in ranked order of importance according to the theme.

The second section to the surveys included a number of semantic scales pertaining to four themes: school experience, ethnic identity, traditions (Huichol culture), and technology. Each theme included fourteen semantic scales in which students placed an "x" on the appropriate location within each scale, ranking their perceptions in bipolar comparisons that included "political-apolitical," "important-not important," "special-common," and "useful-not useful."

The third section involved the ranking of a series of twenty-one material culture domains. These included everything from a watch, to music, the city, traditional and non-traditional alcoholic beverages, and a preparatory and university. I asked students to rank each of these items in a descending order of importance from one (very important) to five (not important at all), with a three being a marker of neutrality (indifference) on the part of the student.

The forth and final section of the questionnaire consisted of thirty open-ended short-answer questions in which students were asked everything from demographic data (sex, age, place of home residence) to their perceptions of their indigenous language, Spanish, English, and desires to remain in the Sierra or travel elsewhere for employment or education.

The questionnaires were administered in a classroom setting, but students were informed beforehand that the questionnaires would not affect their grades in any way, and they were informed of their right to refuse to participate, should they desire. Students could also leave any questions blank that they did not wish to answer. During the time that the questionnaires were administered, I remained present to assist the students with any questions they might have during the completion process. Students were further instructed not to indicate their names anywhere on the forms in order to retain anonymity, instead indicating their response with M (*masculino*) or F (*feminino*). Upon completion of the questionnaires, I assigned each questionnaire a number, using these for all subsequent data analysis in SPSS™ version 10.0.5 for Microsoft Windows™.

Demographic Data

Of the twenty-three students completing the questionnaire, 56.5% were male and 43.5% were female, indicating a slightly higher number of male students than females. One student did not indicate his or her age. Removing that outlier, the average age came to 16.59, or nearly 17 years of age. Both the mode and median were 17, accounting for 31.8% of the 22 students that indicated their ages on the questionnaires. This indicates a high mean age for students completing their third year at the CETMK. Figure 7.1 indicates student ages of those completing the CETMK.

Most students were either from one of two villages: *Tateikita* (30.4%) or *Los Lobos* (26.1%). The remaining 43.5% were from seven other ranch settlements, with two individuals not indicating their home residence (see Figure 7.2).
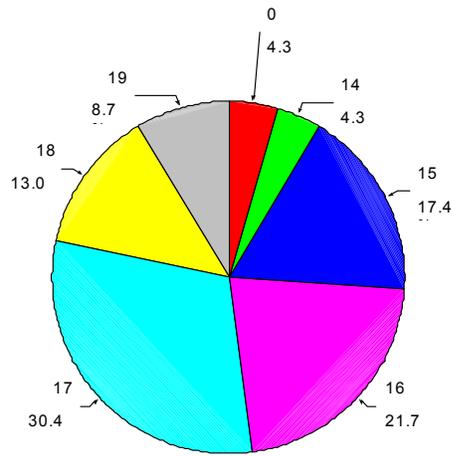
Figure 7.1. Percentages of Third Year CETMK Students by Age (n=23).
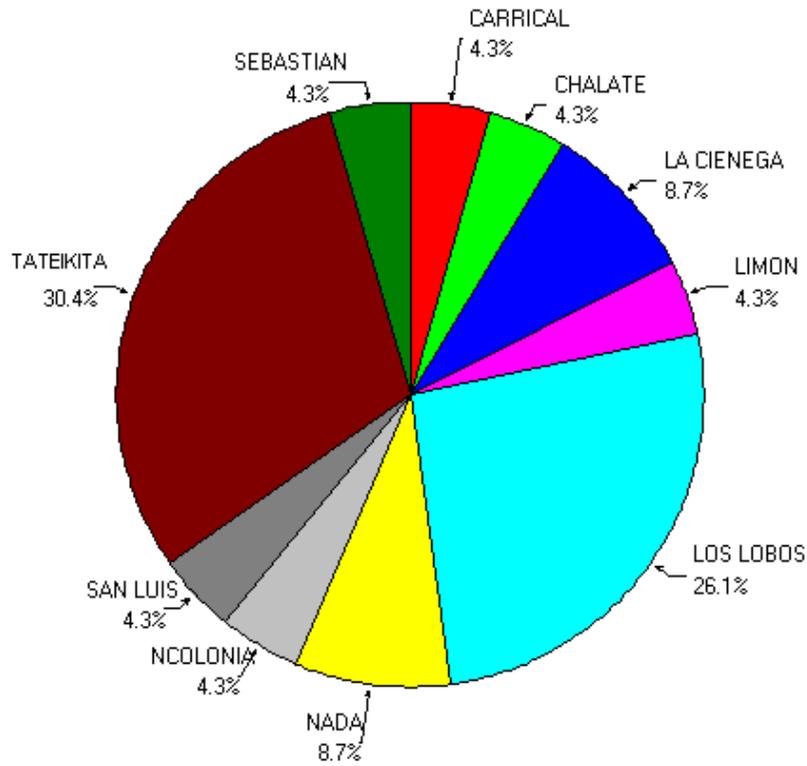
Figure 7.2. Pie Chart Indicating Student Home Residences (n=23).

Indigenous Controlled Schooling and Educational Attitudes

There appear to be close ties between the philosophy of education held by parents and that expressed by students at the CETMK. This is similar to the findings of Stambach (2000) and Byram (1986) of schooling in Africa and Denmark, respectively. In these studies, students of indigenous schools were enculturated into an educational environment where their limited understanding of the outside world resulted in their perceptions of formal education reflecting the values of their teachers. In such a tight social environment that thrives on the rhetoric of activist teachers, like that of the CETMK, these beliefs are not surprising.

Student Beliefs of Cultural Identity and Change

Student beliefs in their own senses of cultural identity reflect the attitudes of both their teachers and parents. In analyzing student perceptions about traditional aspects of their culture (language, dress, religion, family, traditions, and tehuino), there were strong R-values (Pearson's correlations) between all of these variables, although the weakest were surprisingly found to be in associations with the variable "family" and those of the traditional beverage *tehuino* (see Table 7.1)[64].

I can only speculate on why the two variables dealing with importance of the family and a traditional beverage do not come strongly associated with any of the other variables. The "family" when analyzed alone, revealed it still had a high frequency ranking among students. In fact, 17 of the 23 students ranked it as a five (very

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[64] Pearson's correlations are measures of linear associations between variables. The closer a value is to one, the greater the linear association between two variables (or R value). A value of zero indicates no linear association between variables, and a negative number, a negative linear relationship. Associations are measured at .01 (99%) and .05 (95%) confidence intervals.

important). The variable "family" may have shown little to no association with the others because one student chose to rate the family a two, or hardly important to him or her at all. With a small sample size, one low number can throw off a potential bivariate correlation. The mean was still a 4.6, however, despite this student's low response of family importance (see Figure 7.3).

Table 7.1. R-Scores (Pearson's Correlation Coefficients) of Traditional Practices.

Correlations

		LENGUA_R	VESTIR_R	RELIG_R	FAMIL_R	TRADIT_R	TEHUIN_R
LENGUA_R	Pearson Correlation	1.000	.601**	.397	.327	.668**	.037
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.002	.061	.128	.000	.865
	N	23	23	23	23	23	23
VESTIR_R	Pearson Correlation	.601**	1.000	.802**	.348	.830**	.006
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.	.000	.104	.000	.979
	N	23	23	23	23	23	23
RELIG_R	Pearson Correlation	.397	.802**	1.000	.380	.658**	.013
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.061	.000	.	.074	.001	.952
	N	23	23	23	23	23	23
FAMIL_R	Pearson Correlation	.327	.348	.380	1.000	.431*	-.137
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.128	.104	.074	.	.040	.534
	N	23	23	23	23	23	23
TRADIT_R	Pearson Correlation	.668**	.830**	.658**	.431*	1.000	-.010
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.001	.040	.	.965
	N	23	23	23	23	23	23
TEHUIN_R	Pearson Correlation	.037	.006	.013	-.137	-.010	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.865	.979	.952	.534	.965	.
	N	23	23	23	23	23	23

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

For *tehuino*, responses were more varied, which due to the small sample size involved may have contributed to its lack of association with the other variables. Moreover, the omission of a response by one student may have reduced its mean enough to cause any bivariate mean comparisons using such a small sample size to be inconclusive (see Figure 7.4).
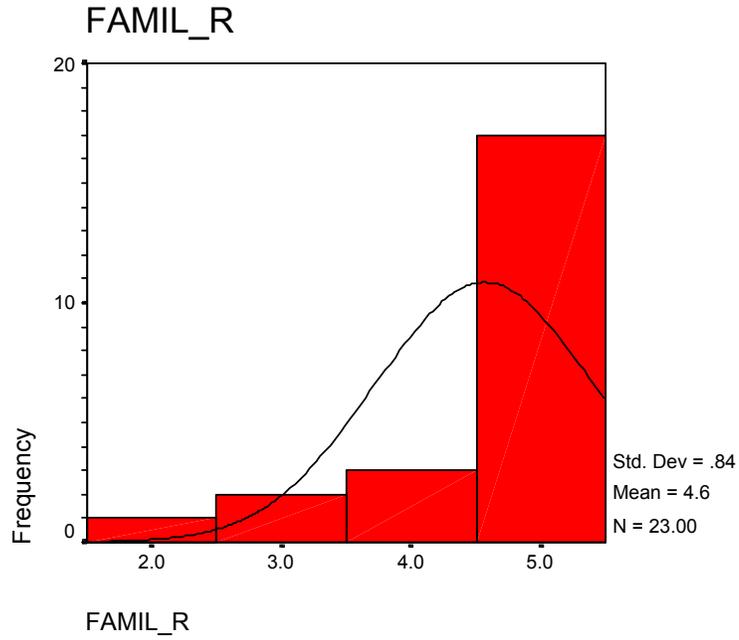
Figure 7.3. Histogram of Family Importance (5=very important).
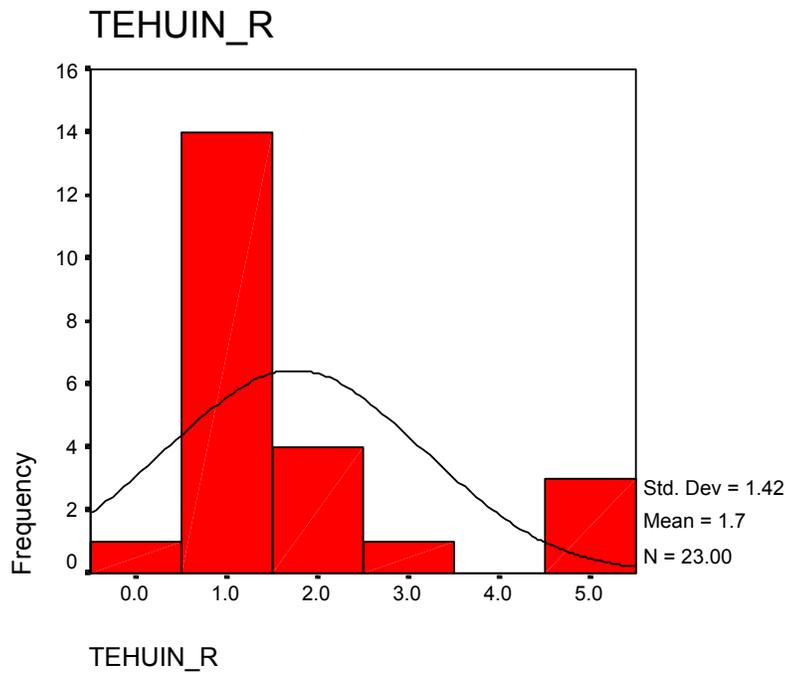
Figure 7.4. Histogram of *Tehuino* Value (1=very important).

Because all of these correlations are quite strong, I opted to run a "principle

components" (factor) analysis on the five variables pertaining to language, dress, religion,

family, and traditions.[65] I first ran these together and then ran separate tests for both male

and female students to see if the variable component loadings varied in weight

significance depending on sex.

The results of the first run, combining both sexes together, revealed the extraction

of one underlying condition uniting all of these variables, and explaining 64.88% of the

variance. "Family," however, was the least weighted variable in the analysis (.567). This

was followed, surprisingly, by "language" (.747). The other three variables (dress,

religion, and traditions) were the most important in the extraction (.921, .824, and .914

respectively). Regardless, there was one unifying factor to these variables, which I

identify with internalized "Huichol student identity" (see Table 7.2).

Table 7.2. Factor Analysis of Variables--Language, Dress, Religion, Family, and
Traditions, Irrespective of Sex.

Component Matrix[a]

	Component
	1
LENGUA_R	.747
VESTIR_R	.921
RELIG_R	.825
FAMIL_R	.567
TRADIT_R	.914

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 1 components extracted.

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[65] Factor analysis (principal component analysis) is a statistical calculation used to
determine the potential of a condition (component) underlying the relationships of a
number of dependent variables.

When a factor analysis is run separating the sexes, there was once again one component extracted for each sex. For males, the component extracted explained 61.79% of the variance in the initial eigenvalues (see Table 7.3). For females, the component explained 71.63% of the variance (see Table 7.4).

Table 7.3. Percent of Variance Explained for Males by Principle Component Analysis.

Total Variance Explained[a]

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	3.085	61.696	61.696	3.085	61.696	61.696
2	1.023	20.468	82.164			
3	.638	12.765	94.929			
4	.196	3.912	98.841			
5	5.797E-02	1.159	100.000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

[a.] Only cases for which SEX = 0 are used in the analysis phase.

Table 7.4. Percent of Variance Explained for Females by Principle Components Analysis

Total Variance Explained[a]

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	3.582	71.631	71.631	3.582	71.631	71.631
2	.809	16.188	87.819			
3	.519	10.374	98.193			
4	9.036E-02	1.807	100.000			
5	-2.00E-16	-3.998E-15	100.000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

[a.] Only cases for which SEX = 1 are used in the analysis phase.

The results of these separate factor analyses reveal that the same factor is underlying the responses from either sex. What is more interesting, however, is the weight of the various variables in the component extraction (see Figures 7.5 and 7.6 for males and females, respectively). For men, dress, religion, and traditions were the

highest weighted variables. For women, however, these were language, tradition, and dress. There may be a number of reasons for these differences.

Table 7.5. Component Loading Values of Cultural Variables for Males.

Component Matrix[a,b]

	Component
	1
LENGUA_R	.400
VESTIR_R	.959
RELIG_R	.945
FAMIL_R	.603
TRADIT_R	.865

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

[a.] 1 components extracted.

[b.] Only cases for which SEX = 0 are used in the analysis phase.

First, sex segregation may account for the differences in importance of language between male and female students. Males appear to be more flexible in their social groupings than females and are more curious to learn about the outside world. This may be the result of child-rearing practices that encourage male freedom (mobility) and independence (self-determination) (Grimes 1962). In contrast, the female population is more closely associated with domestic chores that appear to keep them tightly bound to one another in a monolingual environment. The result is that males are more susceptible to language shift than females because of their associations with a variety of social and work situations, both indigenous and non-indigenous. Also, traditional culture encourages males to be political leaders (although this is an equal opportunity to males and females at the CETMK), whereas from observations of elder females, they are largely passive, deferring their responses to their husbands. The push for men to be

leaders also involves the ability to speak Spanish well and emulate the behavior of

leaders they see outside the Sierra, who happen to be Mestizo (Schaefer and Furst 1996).

Table 7.6. Component Loading Values of Cultural Variables for Females.

Component Matrix[a,b]

	Component
	1
LENGUA_R	.967
VESTIR_R	.940
RELIG_R	.718
FAMIL_R	.559
TRADIT_R	.967

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analy

[a] 1 components extracted.

[b] Only cases for which SEX = 1 are used in
the analysis phase.

Second, men stressed religion more than women, who thought traditions were

more important. Once again, this may be explained by gender role differences. Men feel

they are being religious in their outward expressions, whereas women prefer to stay

attached to *la costumbre* (the custom). Women are the least willing to tolerate cultural

variance, and will always wear traditional outfits, regardless of the impracticality of

certain articles of clothing (e.g., plastic sandals and head scarves) that many consider

confining, yet continue to wear.[66] Men, by observation, are more likely to express

current "ranchero culture" styles. Men are also the ones who will most likely become

mara'akates or be in charge of some other cargo office such as the *kalihuey* temples.

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[66] There is a story in *Tateikita* that one time a Huichol woman tried to wear pants and met
with resistance by her own female peers who refused to accept her for being "different."

Women are not as familiar with these religious practices and therefore probably rate them lower than males.

In addition to a "known" analysis of factors in Huichol ethnicity, I also ran factor analyses containing control (independent) variables. In the first case, I included *teléfonos* (telephones), *grabadoras* (tape players) and *relojes* (watches) in the factor analysis to see if the original variables would still load higher in the component extraction. The result was that two factors were extracted, one resulting in the close association of the previous variables, and another resulting from the close association of watches and telephones (forms of technology). Tape players did not associate directly with either component (see Figure 7.5).
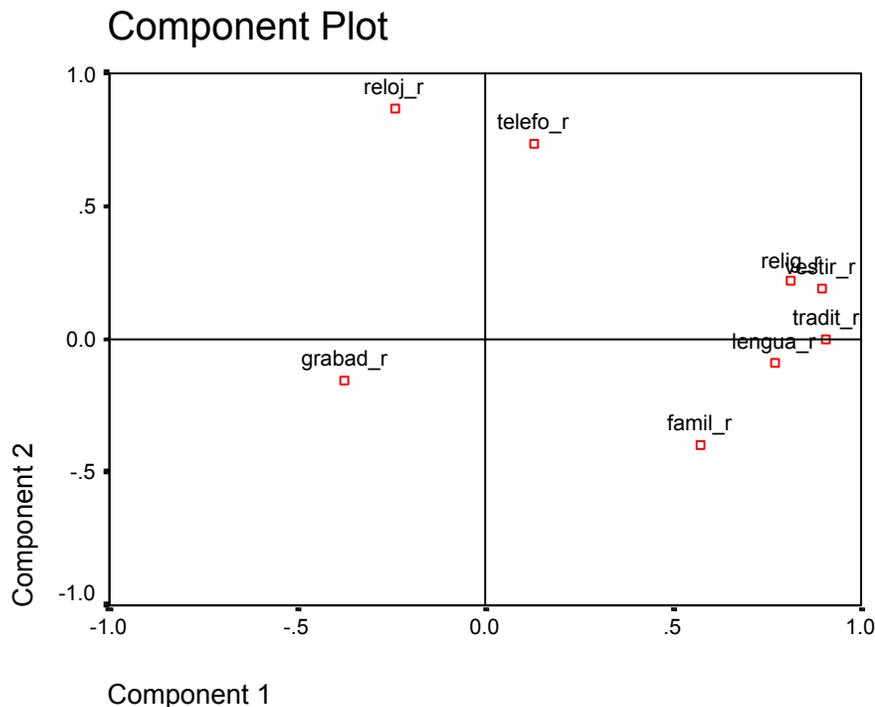
Figure 7.5. Overlaid Plot of Factor Components for Ethnicity and Technology.

In two subsequent factor analyses by sex, three components were extracted, although only two were significant, once again showing clusters of the variables underlying ethnicity in one component and technology in another (see Figures 7.6 and 7.7).

Component Plot
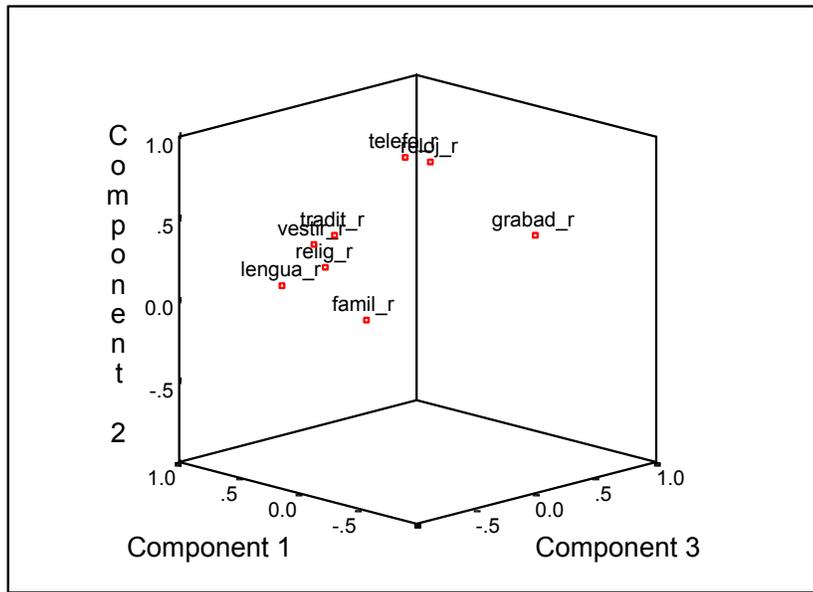
Figure 7.6. Factor Plot of Ethnicity and Technology Components for Males.

These control plots further substantiate the grouping of ethnicity variables as a significant component. Once again, the lower importance of family (best illustrated by Figure 7.7 for females) is indicated in the plots. The variable for importance of indigenous language falls within the first component in both factor runs by sex despite its loading value being .414 for males (still significantly lower compared to .8s and .9s for the other variables). For females, importance of indigenous language continued to load

high into the component for ethnicity, yielding a .945 in the equation, higher than all

other variables.

Component Plot
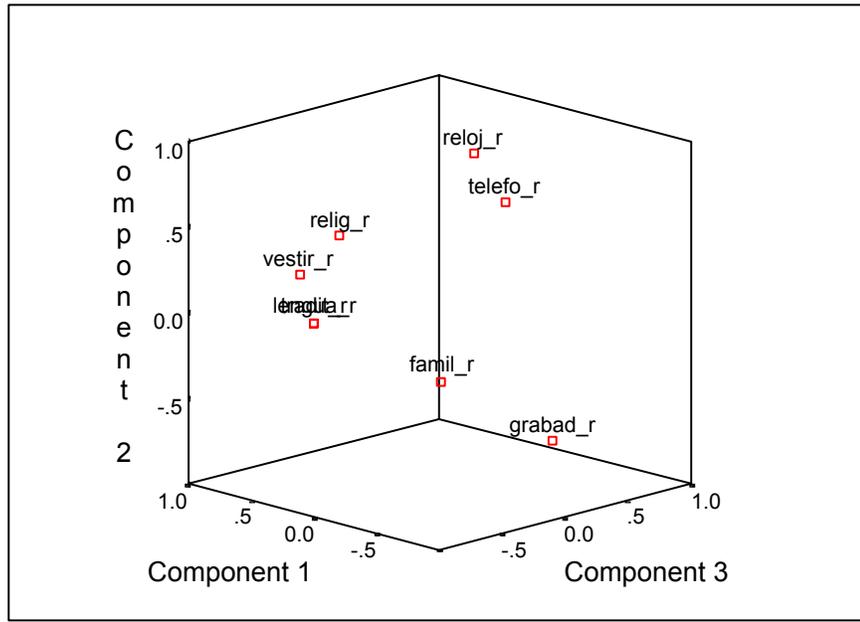
Figure 7.7. Factor Plot of Ethnicity and Technology Components for Females.

The Politics of Traditionality and Modernity in *Tateikita*

What Does It Mean to be Huichol?

Huichol ethnicity is in a constant state of change, marked by both group and

individual attempts to define one's ethnicity as Huichol. Particularly in the rural

homeland areas, I have shown that Huichol group identity is constructed by creating a

border, or line, between the other (*teiwaritsie*) and the self. Individual pressures to accept

new forms of identity representation, however, constantly lead to a renegotiation of this

border. In Chapter 6, I recounted the stories of Huichol teachers, students, and parents

who are at odds with the local community as they seek to redefine Huichol identity and

formally teach traditionally informal educational practices that include religious

traditions, language, and cultural values. Students, much like the adaptive Athabaskan

Navajo, are taking new elements of material culture and utilizing them to fit traditional

cultural practices. This blending of foreign cultural elements into Huichol ethnicity can

be seen in regional music, mixing of individualist and communal educational practices,

and in the appropriation of non-native symbolism, such as the Virgin of Guadalupe and

crosses, into indigenous identity expression. Nowhere are these changes as prevalent as

among students at the CETMK. Not only are they at an adolescent age where they are

struggling with their own identity expressions, but also they are more open to accepting

foreign values and material culture as if they were indigenous. These expressions were

seen in communal relations to personal property such as the trading and swapping of

music, hats, jewelry, and other clothing items to redistribute wealth communally.

Students frequently used Catholic symbolism, though most knew little about Catholicism

other than the symbols they wore. And most still attended and participated in traditional

ceremonies, despite the seeming appearance of being Catholic.

In defining indigenous ethnicity, those directly involved in CETMK culture not

only blend aspects of external curriculum with formal classes of Huichol language and

culture, but they also define the ways and methods for the informal or extracurricular

expressions of these newly formed renegotiations. While there is some degree of

difference between students and teachers about the degree of accepted behaviors, there is

a general consensus that students can "play" with aspects of their expression freely as

long as it does not harm others. The social collective is strong enough that individuals

expressing non-acceptable behaviors can be brought back in line with traditional norms

through group mediation, as was the case with alcohol abuse, stealing, disrespect for

personal or communal property, and failure to "do one's part" in group work such as in

the biointensive agriculture project or in student/school-sponsored activities.

Adaptation to new ways of being, however, is not without resistance. Community

members are actually the ones who are changing the fastest to a market-based economy.

This integration includes primary teachers who have a stake in the development process

of the local community. This shifting in value orientation by the local community has

created a rift between the cultures of the school that emphasizes traditional egalitarian

and communal practices and that of the community that is moving towards an

individualist orientation.

In Chapter 6, the local community did not accept the efforts of students and

people associated with the secondary school to "better their community." Rather, they

were met with resistance rather than accommodation. Even when it came to their own

residents, teachers were not respected for their work. Some like CSD and AS were

criticized for their positions of teaching traditional cultural practices within the school.

Moreover, because the school teaches indigenous rights, it has taken on a political

dimension that some community members wish to resist. When students were asked

whether they considered the school to be political or not, only three students indicated

that the school was not political. In contrast, thirteen students indicated that the school

was "very political" or "political," and another two indicated that it was "somewhat

political."

Statements made by some community members indicate their strong desires to

have a nonpolitical education, to the point of desires to send their children off to the city

to be educated or to the *telesecundaria*, which has a horrible reputation among CETMK

teachers and indigenous activists. What has developed is a separate intellectualist-driven

culture that the local community does not fully understand, nor desires to understand.

Community ambivalence to the educational environment of the CETMK cannot be

explained by simple resistance to a resident student population as the majority of

students, or 56.5% were from either *Tateikita* itself or the neighboring ranch community

of *Los Lobos* to which members of *Tateikita* have close kinship ties.

Huichol students in their questionnaires were thoroughly interested in education.

A strong correlation at the .01 or 99% confidence level of significance existed between

interests in a preparatory and university education (.664). When asked about their own

future aspirations, students were realistic, unlike representations found among American

school students who indicate they want to be "sports stars" and "rap artists" (Haas 1992;

Walker 1997). Students indicated realistic career aspirations available in their rural

homeland (see Figure 7.8).

From this chart of student career aspirations, 21.74% of the students completing

the secondary school expressed that they would have jobs in the *campo* (fields). In

addition, 13.04% indicated that they would work as *albañiles* (building construction

personnel). These are not urban-oriented occupations requiring migration to the city. In

fact, only 13% indicated they had traveled outside the Sierra before.

It is interesting to note that 13.04% (3) of the students, two of which were

females, indicated a desire to work in the art trade full-time. The percentages of students

seeking professional employment were varied. One student indicated her desire to

become a doctor, two an engineer, one a teacher, and yet still others indicated a generic

"professional" label that could include everything from lawyers to teaches or working for a business.[67] The category for *ingeniero* (engineer) is a generic term used around *Tateikita* to mean a construction supervisor. There are several within the community of *Tateikié*, even though there are not many ongoing construction projects.
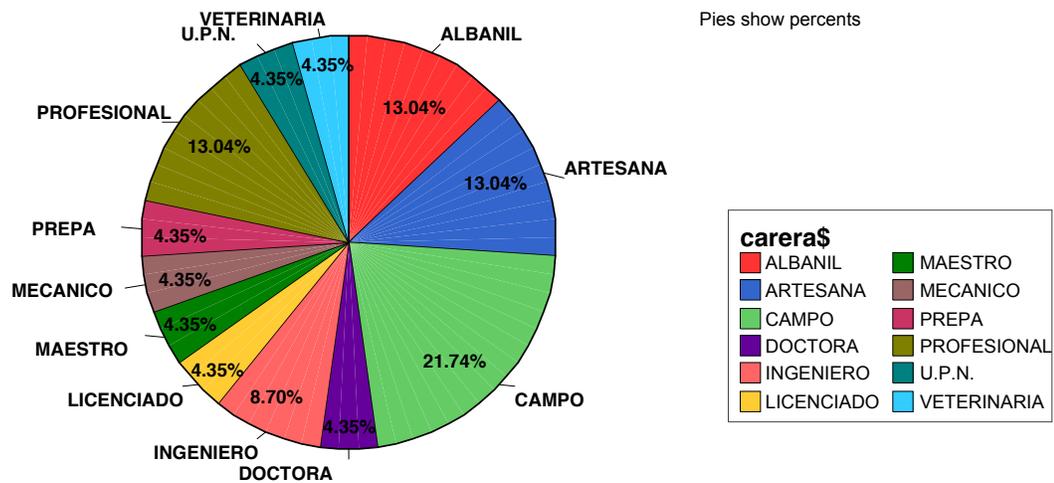
Figure 7.8. Student Career Aspirations (n=23).

So what exactly does it mean to be Huichol? If identity is strongly linked to rural residence, then the realistic occupational expectations of students are indicative of a desire to "stay rural." In addition, there are strong correlations ($p < .01$) between negative thoughts about the significance of a Franciscan mission in the village and perceptions of

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[67] The student who indicated her desire to be a doctor is now attending an Adventist preparatory school with aspirations to continue training to become a rural doctor in her home ranch community.

alcohol use and importance, indicating both are related to foreign culture. When comparing attitudes about Huichol religion and traditions to the mission, however, neither was significant at either 95% or 99% confidence intervals, although there is a negative Pearson correlation between religion and the mission, and between traditions and the mission's presence. This is likely due to the small sample size (n=23) of students.

The Pearson's correlation between attitudes about the importance of traditions and religion are significant at the p<. 01 level of significance, yielding a Pearson's correlation value of .658. Furthermore, students correlated the unimportance of the mission with the unimportance of the city (p=<.01 with a Pearson's R value of .647).

What was found was that most bivariate correlations were extremely strong if there were any correlations at all. I suspect that the strength of these correlations indicate a strong sense of "collective identity" surrounding the very aspects the school seeks to preserve in its mission statement … namely, traditions, language, religion, and dress.[68]

To be Huichol among the school population is to continue to be egalitarian and communal, respecting others' persons and belongings, honoring commitments to others (trust); maintaining family obligations; and truthfulness (being humble). While these appear to be general aspects of basic human values, they are especially important within indigenous epistemology because a breakdown in any one of these core values will damage the group as well as the self. This is especially detrimental when communal work patterns are necessary for the survival of a people.

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[68] Religion is separated from traditions to mean the expression of "religiosity" in one's life, whereas traditions refer specifically to cultural practices such as ceremonies and rituals.

In the case of the Huichol at the CETMK, all parties hold the traditional values generated from freelistings in highest esteem. Outside the school culture, however, there is a breakdown in communal value orientation, turning, instead, to "success" orientations associated with capitalist gain. It was not unusual to see shopkeepers offer services to support the school, but only at a price that would make it economically advantageous for them. This was not entirely the case, however, as one shop owner had had a student graduate from the school and enter a term of service as a promoter for CONAFE, a rural education initiative. He was therefore willing to assist the school regularly with transportation of students to and from sports tournaments and work projects in the Sierra. In return for his services, he generally recuperated the cost of gasoline for his truck and nothing more.

Observations in Language and Culture Preservation

Observations in language and culture preservation at the CETMK, and within the village, indicate that the culture of the CETMK promotes a much stronger retention of the native language than on the outside, where business dealings with *teiwaritsie* are becoming a necessary part of life. Previously, I have mentioned the emphasis of CETMK teachers on the use of native Huichol language in the classroom, and this continues to be the case. Since the mission of the secondary school is the preservation of the Huichol language and culture, I decided that data collection from students should focus on attitudinal data based on these two themes. Essentially, how do they define them and what do they think about them?

Data on language perceptions and use / disuse were collected from questionnaires. Using semantic likert scales, students were asked to rate the importance of the Huichol language to them. In addition, students were asked to do the same for Spanish and

English, for comparison. Students were also asked to indicate which language they used

primarily in the household, whether they could read or write their language, and whether

they could read or write Spanish.

All students indicated a regular use of Huichol in the household, with only

minimal use of Spanish (three students indicated they used both languages in the

household, but Spanish use was intermittent and only was used in conjunction with

regular Huichol use). When students were asked how they felt about their fluency in

Spanish, most felt comfortable with it. Two women, however, indicated they were not

very skilled at it.

When ranking students' perceptions about the importance of their language by

sex, there was not much difference between the responses of either males or females (see

Figures 7.9 and 7.10). In these histograms, the variables *lenguaf* and *lenguam* represent

the independent ratings from one to five on a semantic scale of the importance of the

Huichol indigenous language, in which one is "not important" and five represents "very

important." In both instances, the results were nearly identical, although there were three

more males in the sample than females. Because of the small sample size involved, the

variation between males and females is insignificant statistically.
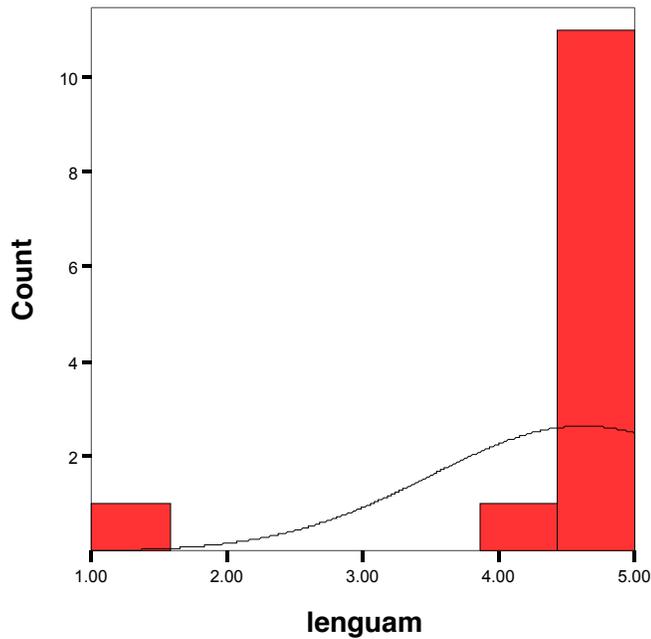
Figure 7.9. Male Rankings of Native Language Importance (n=13; 5=very important)

For comparison of potential language shift towards importance of English and Spanish for students, I also ran separate analyses by sex of student perceptions of the importance of English or Spanish in their lives. For Spanish, the mean response for males was 4.33 on a 5-point scale (with one student not indicating a response), expressing a belief that Spanish is and will continue to be an important means of communication for them in the future. Among female students, three did not answer the question. Of those who did, the mean was 4.43, showing an even greater belief in the importance of Spanish to them. Because three women did not answer the question, the sample size for women is only seven, causing value changes to affect even greater sways in the mean and standard deviation than for males who comprised a larger aggregate sample. If the women who

did not answer the question are factored into the mean as "zeros" (not on the scale), then

the mean is roughly equivalent to a 3, indicating "indifference" towards the Spanish

language (see Figures 7.11 and 7.12).
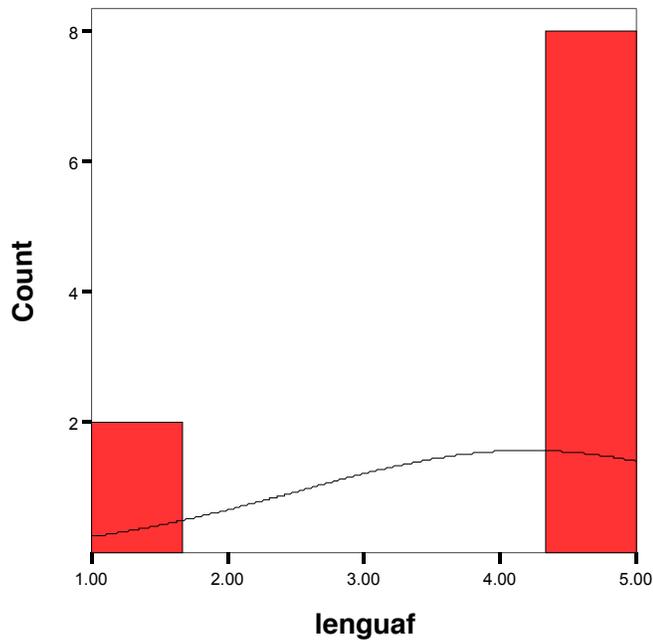
Figure 7.10. Female Rankings of Native Language Importance (n=10; 5=very important)

Once again, these means, even through small samples, show females are more

likely to be indifferent towards the acquisition of Spanish than males. If traditional

household roles are taken into consideration, women do not normally engage in

occupations outside the household. Men, on the other hand, will work in the fields of

others and sometimes travel to the coast to pick tobacco, chilies, and fruits. If they are

more inclined towards wage labor, than Spanish would certainly prove useful for them in

their negotiations for wage labor with Mestizos.
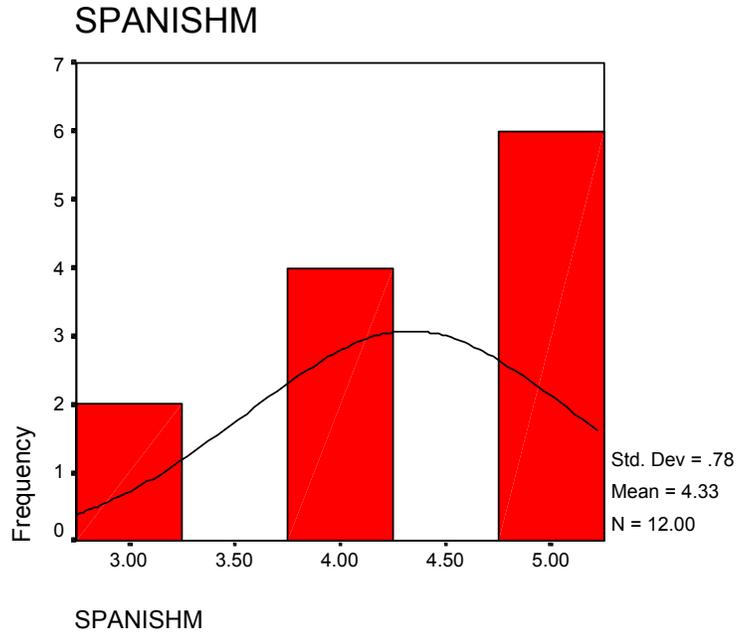
SPANISHM

Figure 7.11. Male Ranking of Spanish Importance (n=13).

The results for English importance were nearly equivalent between the sexes, with both sexes indicating means of 4.0 or higher ("important" when transposed to fall within the same guidelines as the other variables). A handful of students (three females and two males) felt "indifferent" about English, although no one placed it as either "not important at all" or "of little importance" (see Figures 7.13 and 7.14).

These results may reveal a growing interest in English (perhaps, because of my own presence influencing their responses), since the means were high. But, they may also indicate a belief that the English language is not immediately useful to them.
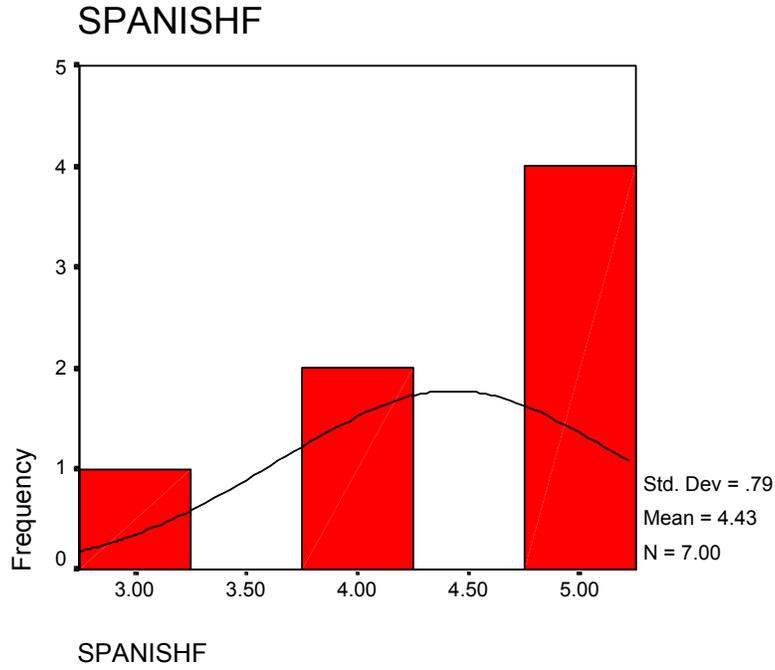
SPANISHF

Figure 7.12. Female Ranking of Spanish Importance (n=10).

ENLISHM
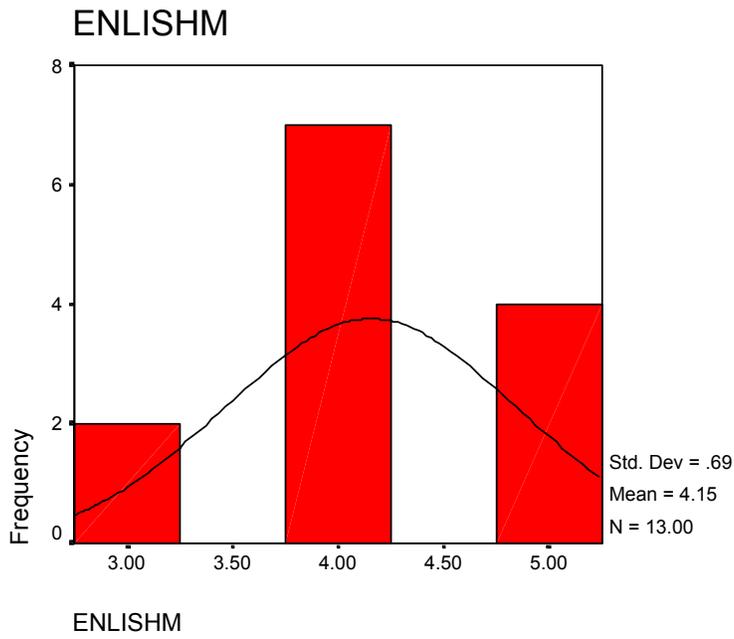
Figure 7.13. Male Rankings of the Importance of English.
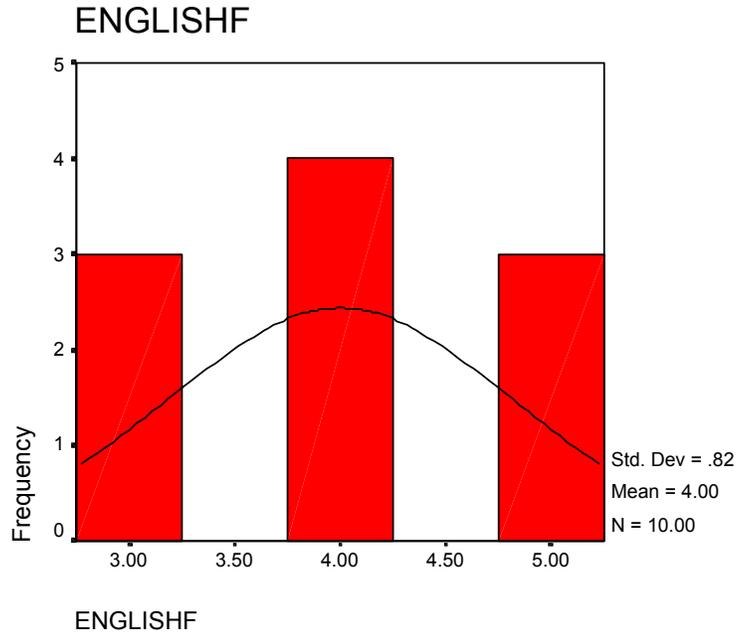
ENGLISHF

Figure 7.14. Female Rankings of the Importance of English.

Confronting Alcohol and Foreign Values

Teachers at the CETMK regularly profess to students not to become involved in alcohol and marijuana use. Students, for the most part, uphold these expectations, only consuming alcohol at fiestas and not becoming involved in illicit drug use.[69] There were frequently discussions about alcohol abuse's economic and emotional effects on the family, especially before any local fiestas or ceremonies. These discussions served as condensed informal DARE-type education programs.[70] One must not forget that the introduction of alcohol, other than the traditional *tehuino* beverage associated with

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[69] One student was involved in marijuana use, but others strongly opposed his habitual use, avoiding most social contact with him.

[70] It was not unusual to find myself being asked about alcohol use and abuse in the U.S. for which the Huichol often held stereotypical beliefs that there were no problems with its use in the U.S. (i.e. all used it responsibly).

ceremonies, is still relatively new to Huichol culture, and I have heard little evidence of a problem prior to the existence of the road into the village in April, 1998. The introduction of salaries for teachers, income from social development programs and scholarships associated with education has brought Marx's "commodity fetishism" (1934) into mainstream Huichol culture in *Tateikita*. The existence of money in a formerly cashless quasi-tribal system has put strains on family relations and the income and debt associations it has created may be responsible for at least part of the shifts in individualist orientation found among the most affluent members of the local society.

It is well known within *Tateikita* that many people purchase items on credit from stores, awaiting receipt of their income from rural development programs, or, more commonly, the State. Not only does the practice of *estar en la lista* (being on the list) dominate the daily lives of many people, but it is teachers themselves, principally primary, that build up the most debt with local shop-owners, many of whom are their own relatives. The shopkeeper collects repayment with interest when payment comes. It is not unheard of to see a 40% surcharge attached to tallied bills. Why such a lopsided debt system towards teachers? The answer is simple: they have the disposable income to spend on alcohol. To live from one paycheck to the next in order to pay off debt is not uncommon among some teachers.

It was not until the completion of the road from *Tateikié* into *Tateikita* that goods could be easily transported into *Tateikita*. This occurred in April of 1998. Shortly thereafter, the first foreign business vehicle to enter the local village was Corona™, followed closely by Modelo™, and, finally, Pepsi™. Before the arrival of trucks bearing alcoholic beverages into *Tateikita*, consumption was limited to fiestas and the occasional

traveler who brought these items back with him from outside the Sierra. With the arrival of alcohol, chiefly *cerveza* (beer), the concept of "being on the list" took on a whole new meaning. Instead of debts accruing from a delay in payment receipts, debts were accruing by those with little to no income to begin with. Many began to spend their paychecks on alcohol instead of food for their families, creating a downward spiral of indebtedness ultimately leading to interfamilial and intrafamilial conflict. Prices hovering at approximately eight pesos per beer (nearly a dollar a piece, by exchange rates at the time) did not appear to affect consumption by any means.

Much like its role in devastating indigenous communities in the U.S., alcohol's effects were quickly felt throughout the community of *Tateikié* and the village of *Tateikita*. Teachers, the number one consumer of alcoholic beverages, began to make drinking a regular part of their activities, individuals sometimes going on week-long binges where they would be absent from a school, leaving students and other teachers concerned. Not only did alcoholic beverages enter into daily consumption, but their presence began to taint ceremonies as well.

I must point out here that the Huichol in no way avoided alcoholic beverages before the arrival of beer and tequila from outside the Sierra region. Instead, consumption of alcohol was limited to religious ceremonies and village fiestas or national holidays. At these events, Huichol consumed what are called "traditional" alcoholic beverages, chiefly *tehuino* (a fermented maize beverage) that is used in various offerings to deities, religious leaders, and both given out to and consumed by attendees in ritualistic fashion. Now, beer and tequila have entered into religious ceremonies and fiestas. Instead of ritual-defined alcohol consumption, people frequently stand removed from the

ceremonies, drinking until the event becomes a *borrachera* (drunken debauchery), lasting for days after the end of a ceremony.

Events surrounding the infusion of alcohol consumption into Huichol daily affairs came to a head when a resolution was presented at the Spring 1999 General Assembly Meeting of the *Tateikié* community to ban *cerveza* and all "nontraditional" alcoholic beverages in the communities. The resolution overwhelmingly passed. The movement of Modelo™ and Corona™ trucks throughout the Sierra quickly stopped.

It did not take long, however, for corruption to taint the resolution. Within weeks of the ban, an underground "black market" began to operate, smuggling alcohol into villages within the community by trucks. The resolution pertained to businesses, but did not pertain to individuals, who would often purchase *cartones* (cases) of beer for themselves and then sell them back clandestinely at up to the equivalent of one dollar fifty cents each. Interestingly enough, it was not the shopkeepers themselves who were behind the selling (they were merely bribed to transport the beverages hidden in egg cartons or other boxes), but rather teachers, and in some cases *mara'akates* (shaman), who sought additional sources of income. In addition, people began to make the traditional *tehuino* for sale at sporting events and fiestas, something that was unheard of before the ban.

Months after the ban was implemented, alcoholic consumption was once again public as villages made "exceptions" for ceremonies and fiestas. At the Fall 1999 General Assembly, the community member appointed to enforce the ban was briefly jailed for his neglect of it. The ordinance was repealed and alcohol sales were permitted

once again, but it was unlikely that direct sales from Mestizo vendors would appear anytime soon in the Sierra. Sales were now permitted, but the trucks were still banned.[71]

Although I do not see a clear solution to the problem, I am convinced that there are ways to resist value deterioration among the Huichol. For students and teachers at the CETMK, their involvement in the culture of school that occupies a significant part of the daily life of its adherents does not permit the leisure time necessary for alcohol use and abuse found in the greater community. Teachers are found regularly with students on a more personal basis, rather than in indirect teacher-student relationships. Each student is treated like one's own child, much like Schaefer's (1996) observations in traditional child-rearing practices in which relatives are just as responsible for a child's well-being as his or her own parents.

Student involvement in sports also serves as a deterrent to engage in delinquent behavior. Students hold regular sports tournaments and will play in the evenings. It is only on the weekends, when some students are away from the school for a prolonged period of time, that activities fail to occur. Involvement in sports activities is not something that is parental-driven, however, but rather comes from the students themselves.

A third deterrent to a breakdown in traditional values among students comes from the level of civic participation, acknowledged or not, in the local community. In Chapter 6, the student body president expressed his concern over the lack of community acceptance of their assistance in the upkeep of the local community and in its economy

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[71] A subsequent visit to *Tateikita* in June of 2000 confirmed the lack of "big business" in the village. While beer was present, it was not as prevalent as it was previously and the price had not been reduced, still hovering around 10-12 pesos for each beer.

through the purchasing of *chatarra* (junk food) at the local shops in *Tateikita*. Despite

this realization that they are not accepted as part of the local community, students at the

CETMK continue to work to conserve resources and preserve their environment.

When asked to rate and compare the importance of alcohol and traditional

ceremonial beverages, students surveyed indicated a strong belief that traditional alcohol

was important, yet that of *cerveza* (used to represent all non-traditional beverages) was

unimportant to them. The scales used were a descending scale of importance from one to

five, one being very important and five indicating the item was not important at all.

Table 7.7 shows that the mean for students' scores of the importance of alcohol and

tehuino. A Pearson's correlation did not show a relevant linear relationship between the

two variables at either the 99% or 95% confidence intervals (R=. 253), although I suspect

this is the result of the small sample size as well.

Table 7.7. Descriptive Statistical Comparison of Alcohol and Tehuino

Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
CERVEZ_R	4.43	1.34	23
TEHUIN_R	1.74	1.42	23

When layering plots of student responses to the two questions about alcohol and

tehuino importance, a pattern emerges (see Figure 7.15):
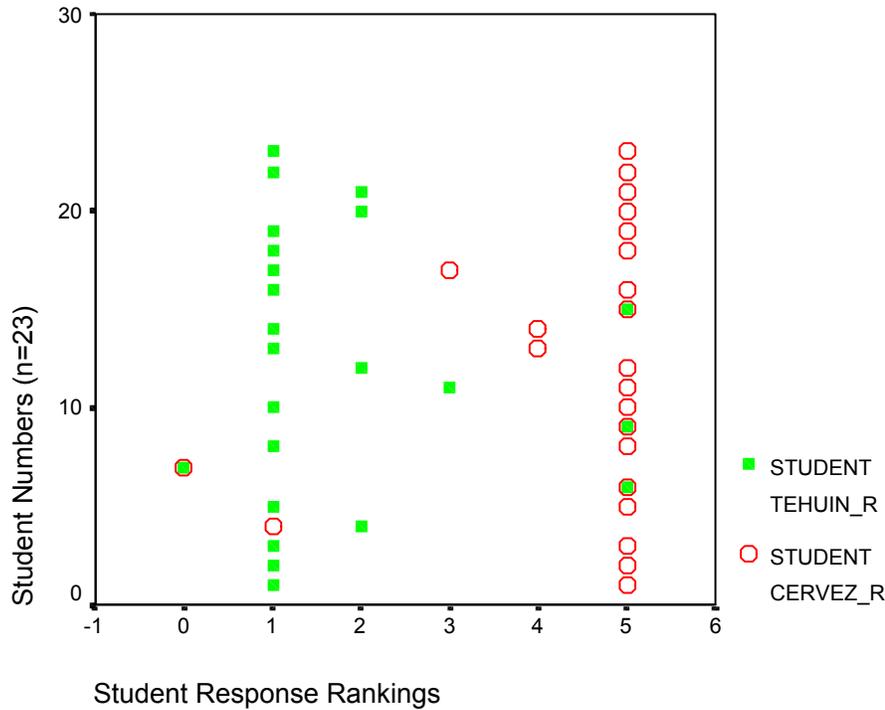
Figure 7.15. Overlaid Graph of Students' Rankings of Alcohol Types by Importance.

Looking at this graph, most students who ranked traditional alcohol (*tehuino*) as "very important" (one) also ranked *cerveza* as "not important" (five). If these figures are correct, students are not, as yet, appropriating the alcohol consumption patterns seen in the community.

<u>Culture and Knowledge Preservation</u>

The CETMK holds that its mission is the preservation of traditional language and culture. Other studies of education in indigenous communities by Modiano (1973) and Wolcott (1967) emphasized the formal aspects of indigenous education that involved the introduction of foreign values and language that were unfamiliar to students, resulting in student resistance and, in some cases, rebellion. Others, such as Rosaldo (1989) argue

that loss of a language does not necessarily mean the loss of a culture. In the case of Huichol society, the native language cannot be so easily separated from religious traditions and epistemology, a concept that Agar (1994) calls "languaculture." Students at the CETMK, unlike other youth who are educated in *telesecundarias* or in the city, are taught to realize that you cannot have one without the other.

Until the recent present, the Huichol have been lucky in their geographic isolation that has been advantageous to the maintenance of their traditional language and religion. As the wider community continues to change and religious practices fall into disuse, the new class of "thinking indigenous person" will be able to determine what it is that so many students point out as doing things "according to custom."

Just what are these customs? According to student free listings, Huichol customs (traditions) were their *land*, *language, dress,* and *fiestas,* in that order. Students and community members regularly talked about the land reclamation efforts, filling in truth with a little gossip when facts were unclear. It is important to note, however, that "relations to the land" was the most significant aspect of what students considered living "the Huichol way."[72] *Fiestas* was a generalized term used to refer to public ceremonies (festivals). There were three principal festivals named by students, those being the festival of the drum, the festival of the peyote, and the festival of planting. These are the three most visible ceremonies within the Huichol communities and therefore form the core of ceremonial practices of importance to students. Mentioned by two of the students was the annual *cambio de varas* (change of offices) ceremony held each January.

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[72] The realization that land was most important underlies the other variables of ethnicity in the rest of the questionnaire design, although it was not explicitly calculated into the factor analyses.

The attitude of teachers at the CETMK is one in which they hope that students

will learn "something" and retain that knowledge when they start their own families,

continuing to pass it on into a subsequent generation. This idea was evident when AS,

the teacher of Huichol culture, indicated his belief that students should take away only

what they consider necessary, putting the choice to retain what is learned in the

classroom solely on their own decisions of what is or is not important. The realization is

that students, as future adults, will decide collectively what is or is not necessary to their

cultural survival. Teachers view themselves mainly as providing tools for the students to

make reasoned and informed decisions.

Socialist Education and Identity Preservation

Students at the CETMK, despite problems with local community acceptance,

believe that they have an important role as mediating authorities between the statements

of teachers and their parents. In keeping with traditional communal beliefs, the results of

free listings by students of "things associated with education" were the following, in

order of importance:

1.	Respecto (respect)

2.	Ayudar en la comunidad (helping in the community)

3.	Enseñar a la familia (teaching the family)

4.	Enseñar a los ancianos (teaching elders)

These "top four" listings indicate a strong interest on the part of students toward

helping the family and local community. These listings appeared in this order despite

students' rankings of the family as not being as important as the other internal aspects of

their identity (language, dress, religion, traditions). I now suspect that the "family"

variable did not load into the ethnicity component in factor analysis as prominently as the

other variables because it is an external representation of identity rather than the expression of an internalized value orientation.

Huichol students at the CEMTK show a strong orientation towards the community. They continue to work on local projects and hope that by discussing their concerns with other students, teachers and parents that their concerns will eventually pass into the greater society for community assembly and resolution. Although this may be most difficult due to the present relations between the school and the community, it will potentially hold promise when students finish school and become participating adults in local politics. During 1999, students had a teacher from the CETMK as the local *comisario* who could share their concerns with the local village. This did not improve student voice at the local level, although at times the *comisario* attempted to introduce student concerns into local politics.

Schooling and Acculturation Reversal

One of the most pertinent questions at this point is whether the presence of an indigenous secondary school can break both language and cultural shift among Huichol youth. Approaching indigenous education from a "human rights" position has been helpful to the Huichol in establishing some sense of local control over their language and culture preservation efforts. Skutnabb-Kangas (1997:55) argues that "language rights in education are central for the maintenance of languages and of prevention of linguistic and cultural genocide, regardless of whether this education happens in schools, formally, or in the homes and communities, informally, and regardless of whether and to what extent literacy is involved." The establishment of the CETMK has been a significant step in the ability to make decisions about language policy at the local level, by indigenous peoples themselves rather than by SEP bureaucrats. The issue remains, however, of whether

these attempts at acculturation reversal will be successful or not in the long term. A large part of the success or failure of legitimizing Huichol traditional cultural practices is whether or not students will pass their language and traditions on to their children.

In the culture of the CETMK, the brightest who express individualized orientations towards learning will succeed the best academically. They are also those most likely to study outside the Sierra upon graduation.[73] Others who express more communal orientations will probably be those best inclined to preserve their language and traditions because they will create families and more likely remain in the Sierra. Education alone is only a mechanism to create "cultural awareness" and "sensitivity" to issues of identity and ethnicity. Without the practice of what is learned, acculturation will once again enter the formula, resulting in language and culture shift.

<p align="center">Politics and School-Community Relations</p>

The results of the student surveys, combined with the expressed opinions of students, their parents, and faculty at the *Centro Educativo Tatutsi Maxa Kwaxi*, indicate a strong sense of communal ties with the culture of the school. In the questionnaires I administered to 3rd year students at the CETMK, students viewed the school positively, but the responses were almost "automatic," including the following-type statements:

> La escuela nos enseña de nuestra cultura.

> The School teaches us about our culture.

> and

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[73] When it came to the start of a new open preparatory school in *Tateikita*, all recently graduating students who immediately wanted to attend a preparatory school, did so outside the Sierra, rather than remaining locally in *Tateikita*.

Tenemos que aprender cómo escribir y hablar bien.

We have to learn how to write and speak well.

On the surface these comments speak well of the secondary school and its mission to transmit Huichol culture to the children. On a sublevel, the responses from each student were nearly identical. What could be happening is one of two things, or the possibility of both:

> 1. Students' limited Spanish comprehension resulted in very brief almost "pre programmed" responses to a question asking them about the importance of the school to them,

and /or

> 2. Students were already enculturated into the culture of the school and were repeating the phrases they had heard from teachers, the director, and parents.

I suspect that elements of both conditions influenced student perceptions of their schooling experience at the CETMK. Although responses on the questionnaires were brief and limited in semantic depth, qualitative data from students and teachers presented in the previous chapter augments these generic-type responses, indicating that students could express their opinions about their education more fully verbally than in written responses. All but one female student indicated that the CETMK was a positive educational experience for them and would send their own children to the school in the future.[74]

The politics between the secondary school and the local community were not reflected in the questionnaires for two reasons: 1) At the time the questionnaires were

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[74] Family social networks are important for maintaining the diversity of the CETMK as more and more "local students" come directly to the school. The number of students from further away appears to be in decline, but oftentimes brothers and sisters will come to the school together.

administered, I had just begun to discover the political nature of community-school relations; 2) Community conflict over the school's expansion and agenda did not peak until after the questionnaires were administered. In hindsight, I believe it was a wise decision not to include questions about the political nature of community-school relations directly into the questionnaires as, these data were more substantially collected from informal interviewing and participant observation. I did, however, include a question where students were asked to indicate the politicality of the school "in general," which I have already mentioned in the previous section "What Does it Mean to be Huichol?" A question (#19) also asked students if they thought the school met the needs of the local community and to rate it. Most students did not rank this question. Instead, they wrote in responses such as "It serves the needs of the community because it is of the community." I wonder if, perhaps, students were not aware of any conflict or simply chose not to indicate any?

The Case Against *Educación Teiwaritsie* and *Telesecundarias*

Students expressed strong opinions about education in *telesecundarias* (video schools). Complaints came from both students and teachers who emphasized the following points:

> 1) No local language or culture taught.
>
> 2) Female teachers (matrilineal society, yet patriarchal)
>
> 3) Teachers are temporary (do not last)
>
> 4) Cannot handle limited Spanish-proficiency students

The Huichol see *telesecundarias* as an invasion into their territory of *educación teiwaritsie* (the others' education). Foreign teachers are non-indigenous and teach subjects that only fall under traditional SEP Mestizo-led education. As a result, the non-

indigenous teachers at these schools are at a disadvantage when dealing with the limited

Spanish proficiency of some students and are in no position to teach local customs,

religion, or language. Students who attend the *telesecundarias* must face disarticulation

between home culture and school culture because their home environment provides little,

if any, reinforcement for the foreign concepts and values transmitted in the

telesecundaria among parents who do not understand the foreign culture of the school. I

have previously mentioned in this dissertation that women are more likely to be

monolingual than males. As part of my work with the CETMK, I helped administer

monies to parents through PROGRESA. A requirement of the funds dispensation is a

signature or thumbprint of the parent guardian. In approximately 90% of the cases,

women could not sign their name, and neither could a fair percentage of older males. If

these observations hold true for the general population, then the ability of parents to bring

concerns to teachers about the education of their children, as well as the ability to

comprehend forms, could easily alienate parents from taking an active role in the

education of their children. This is in contrast to the high level of involvement of

students' parents in the CETMK.

A second criticism of *telesecundarias* is of the teachers. Despite the CETMK

having one female teacher (and the primary a couple), teaching through formal education

is usually a male's role in Huichol society. The *telesecundaria* uses more female

teachers than male teachers, reversing gender role expectations of women from passive to

more active, leadership-type roles.[75] In addition, Huichol society is matrilineal in many

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[75] I recommend that a study should be done on the effects of female teachers on the
career aspirations and educational attainment of female students in indigenous
communities where traditional gender roles for women do not include leadership roles.

aspects, yet there is no doubt that gender roles reinforce a patriarchal leadership system in the home as well as in the community.

A third criticism of *telesecundarias* is that the *telesecundaria* teachers are temporary and, therefore, don't last long. Teachers of *telesecundarias* are usually only performing a year of service in a rural environment before moving on to another institution. At the time I was in *Tateikita*, there were two female teachers at a *telesecundaria* in *Tateikié*. These teachers were serving their first year in the community and would spend one week to ten days away from the village for every three weeks of instruction. Another teacher, this time a male, at a *telesecundaria* nearby to *Tateikita*, was struck with an illness resulting from an insect bite. He was not expected to make it through the school year successfully. The Huichol perceive these outside teachers as "weak," particularly the females who they argue have a rougher time dealing with the cultural discontinuity between their own culture and that of the Huichol communities.

Lastly, *telesecundarias* are criticized for their inability to handle the limited Spanish-proficiency of students in a geographically isolated indigenous community. While students at the CETMK expressed that they could read, write, and speak Spanish, most still used primarily Huichol in the home. In essence, the *telesecundarias* are seen to impose Spanish fluency on children who would better benefit from a bilingual educational environment that can reinforce concepts in their native language when instructions in Spanish are unclear.

The number one complaint by students of the CETMK on the questionnaires was that the secondary school lacked books and materials, followed closely by more

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The reverse may be true for males who no longer see males in powerful positions of

classrooms. Among teachers, the complaint was that they did not have a faculty office, but instead had to occupy the students' library on a regular basis.[76] I have mentioned previously that students at the CETMK have limited textbook resources and must usually learn about physics and chemistry without the opportunity to do any experiments. At the *telesecundarias*, these subjects are presented through videotapes with teacher examples. Classroom materials are more readily available, but teachings of these subject areas are not related to the local environment in ways that only indigenous teachers can provide. This conflict is most noticeable when scientific values and theories have to be fit within Huichol epistemology and world cosmogony. Non-indigenous teachers' unfamiliarity with Huichol religion ill-prepare them to explain the connections in a way that accents native epistemology rather than contradicts it. In the case of the loss of Huichol students to the *telesecundarias*, at least in the case of the CETMK, I was able to verify the loss of only one student to the nearby *telesecundaria*. He was a student who was not performing well at the CETMK and would have had to repeat the year. Instead, his parents opted to place him in the *telesecundaria* close to home rather than having him repeat the previous year over again at the secondary school.

Community-Centered Schooling and Community (Dis)articulation

The idea of "community-centered" schooling is not new in educational anthropology, although theories about its role in promoting cultural preservation are still being investigated (Oppenheim 2000; Stambach 1996, 2000). At the recent meetings of

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authority.

[76] The library is a small room that holds filing cabinets containing students' records and the classroom texts. It has very few books other than past workbooks (which are used as texts by teachers, since students are not allowed to remove them from the library without permission). As of this writing, a new library is being constructed that includes faculty space.

the Society for Applied Anthropology (SfAA) in Merida, Mexico, a session was held on educational and community transformation. According to Oppenheim (2001), the relationship between school and community needs to take on a spiritual dimension that binds the two environments together cooperatively. In the case of the CETMK, the school is supposed to be a reflection of the values held by the greater community. What began to emerge was a realization that the CETMK was undergoing significant change.

First, while firmly establishing itself as a micro culture that shared the common goals of the wider pan-Indian ethic of the Huichol and other indigenous peoples of Mexico, the CETMK had become a culture "in and of itself" over the years, thereby isolating (alienating) itself from the local community. The experiences of teachers and students from the previous chapter illustrate their difficulties in establishing the kind of sharing, "spiritual community" that Oppenheim (2001) thinks will solve intra-community educational conflict. The isolation between the school and the community itself creates a level of distrust thriving on the discontinuities between the two environments, most especially forging community divisions between primary and secondary school teachers over misunderstandings about teacher credentials, or the need for more space or materials.

Second, there was little elder participation in the secondary school other than by those who happened to be parents of students attending the CETMK. Lastly, most students were now attending the CETMK directly after having finished the local primary school. They were becoming younger in age and did not understand the school history, resulting in a loss of the "special" status the secondary school once held for students.

In the model that follows (see Figure 7.16), I have attempted to reconstruct the
flow of information and social relations between the various parties involved in the
school: In this figure, T1 represents secondary teachers; T2, primary teachers; P, parents
of students; C, the local community; and S, the CETMK students.
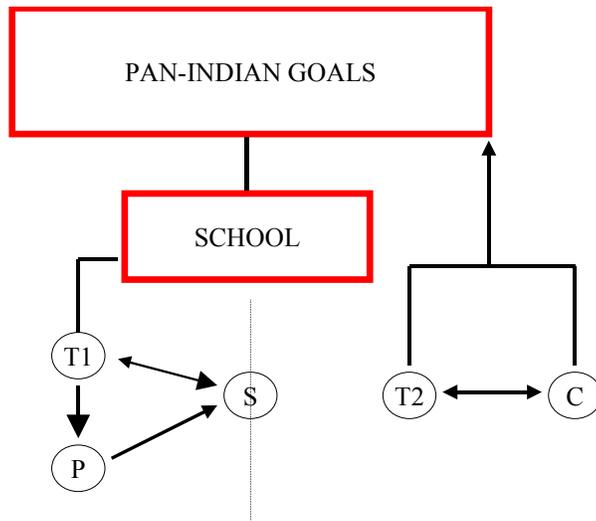
Figure 7.16. Model of School-Community Relations and the CETMK.

In this simplified model, the relationship of secondary school relations are
mapped to the larger pan-Indian community in a parallel fashion to that of the primary
teachers and the general community. In the flow of information, both cultures (the school
and the local community) are linked directly to the pan-Indian goals of the greater
Huichol community. For those in the general community, there is regular contact and
discussion of concerns between community members who expressed their localized
concerns into the organic superstructure. In the case of those involved in the CETMK,
teachers filter and transform the pan-Indian goals to fit the needs of the community of the

school. The flow of information is still largely "transmissive" based on the intellectual community.

Students are stuck on a line between the two communities. They are "bordered" in their identities since they are stuck on the periphery of the struggle for identity and social change. Students are not resistant to the culture of the school, although there are occasionally some who do not feel fully a part of it (illustrated in the quote by the student body president in the previous chapter). So, while the culture of the school is continuous, there is a lack of social articulation with the local community that has come to view students as outsiders, principally because of the lack of harmonious relations between the secondary school and the primary school teachers. The two cultures are now evolving separately, developing a separate set of values and practices.

The CETMK and the Intellectual Movement

In conclusion of this chapter, the secondary school in *Tateikita* possesses the unique ability to mobilize students around a "culture of schooling" that formally defines traditional values within an intellectual agenda of preserving religious traditions, language, and culture. The ability of CETMK students to work collaboratively with other students and apply the knowledge learned at the school to their own lives has been successful in instilling a sense of pride in their own identity among Huichol students. Repeatedly in questionnaires, students will list various aspects of their culture as important to them, ranking their language and traditions as having significant cultural value. Students appear to reject notions of individuality, stressing working with others communally. The competitive nature of educational values, while still emphasized in the formal structure of schooling at the CETMK (exams, competitions), is not compatible with Huichol culture. Those who are the most competitive are usually on the fringes of

the student body. This becomes a problem when students, parents, and teachers know

that a certain level of competitiveness is necessary in order to succeed in school and

continue on for further training.

The secondary school, however, is not without its problems coming mainly from

conflicting values between the local community and the school as their separate cultures

increasingly diverge. The school has become representative of the "intellectual

community," but has it really continued to be Huichol-controlled? Does it reflect class

divisions, especially an emerging intellectual class that uses knowledge as power rather

than economics? Chapter 8 will answer these questions, showing how new negotiations

of indigenous identity are emerging that challenge traditional cultural roles and

concluding with suggestions made to the school and local community about ways to

prevent the further separation of the two cultures of school and community.

CHAPTER 8
CONCLUSION AND FINAL DISCUSSION

Renegotiating Huichol Identity

This dissertation has been an applied anthropological study of education and language and culture preservation among the Huichol of *Tateikita*, Jalisco, Mexico. From ethnographic data collected within the *Centro Educativo Tatutsi Maxa Kwaxi*, the first indigenous designed and directed secondary school among the Huichol, and the local community in which it is located, I have attempted to document the community-school relations surrounding the implementation of indigenously-controlled education in Mexico, most especially among the Huichol. Qualitative and quantitative ethnographic methods were combined in order to uncover both the political climate of school-community relations and to measure the attitudinal perceptions of secondary school students at the *Centro Educativo Tatutsi Maxa Kwaxi* regarding their language and cultural heritage. Data were presented from the oral recounts of teachers, students, parents, and community members of *Tateikita* and the secondary school as a way to understand the present precarious situation of Huichol ethnicity amid newly emerging forms of ethnicity that place those involved in the culture of the school at the border of decisions regarding cultural preservation and culture change and modernity. Quantitative data from third year students of the secondary school, collected through a questionnaire, were used to show that students believed strongly in their own language and cultural

traditions, but at the same time, that they were emerging as a new form of intellectual class that embraced formal education and the values associated with it.

The creation of the *Centro Educativo Tatutsi Maxa Kwaxi* began with a mission to preserve the indigenous language and culture for future generations of Huichol. Originally created through community assembly, the inception and development of the school was controlled from the beginning by a group of intellectuals, both indigenous and non-indigenous, who sought to meld the informal educational practices of Huichol language and culture into a formalized curriculum for use in a secondary school. Leaders were chosen from among the Huichol who would serve as political and cultural role models for Huichol youth, instilling in them a pride in their cultural heritage and a desire to preserve it.

The result of a year and a half of research living in the local community of *Tateikita* and working in the *Centro Educativo Tatutsi Maxa Kwaxi* as a teacher and consultant revealed that the culture of the local secondary school had achieved, for the most part, the central points of its mission, which were (CETMK 1996):

1. Bilingual intercultural education via a "community school" model
2. Promotion of native language use and fluency by students
3. Retention of traditional religious practices
4. Promotion of community development and civic participation
5. Resistance to urban migration by Huichol youth
6. Creation of Huichol political leaders for self-determination

In each of these points, the secondary school was successful, most especially in points one, two, three, and six. The school was successful in encouraging students to learn to use their native language with pride, and to learn how to write in the native

language as a way to preserve it. At least within the walls of the school and among their peers, students continued to prefer to use their native language. They held strong opinions, however, about the importance of learning Spanish and using it for professional advancement. The retention of traditional religious practices, while encouraged within the school itself, were continuing to change among the students, resulting in a combination of traditional beliefs with foreign concepts and ideas that students felt were still a part of their ethnicity. The appropriation of these new ideas and concepts were considered by students to have become uniquely "Huichol." The culture of the secondary school tolerated these experimentations in identity representation by students, although there was some resistance in the community to their presence.

The boarding of Huichol students within the local community further served as a mechanism to strengthen group solidarity among Huichol students. These bonds are extremely strong, especially among kin, and in part determine the levels of acceptable ethnic expression on the part of students. The social networks of Huichol youth therefore serve as microcultures to both promote and limit ethnic change and identity expression.

The *Centro Educativo Tatutsi Maxa Kwaxi* is an environment that promotes the development of student-directed activities. Oral presentation skills are encouraged, as seen in the long student assembly meetings and self-directed organization of sports tournaments, school plays, and fund-raising dances. The development of these skills are encouraged for both males and females, and give women an active voice as potential leaders. The expression of oral skills is in line with traditional Huichol culture that has only recently had a written language form encouraged among its people. The introduction of women as potential vocal leaders challenges traditional gender roles that

placed political decisions solely in the hands of males. Student leaders are chosen based on their public speaking skills rather than on academic performance (with some degree of overlap). This leads to a model of true educational success based on an ability to work well with others, rather than on individual accomplishment.

Points four and five were the sources for community politics between the secondary school and the local village community. Because education in *Tateikita* moved from traditionally informal practices to formalized ones, there was both overt and covert resistance to the culture of the school by some locals, particularly those associated with the local primary school or employed as shopkeepers. Most of these complaints were unwarranted, being based on misunderstandings about how the school functioned.

In point four, it was learned that, despite attempts of the school to promote local community development and civic participation on the part of its teachers and students, these attempts were resisted by locals who considered the school as something that had become externally rather than internally controlled. Students complained about the regular disinterest of the local community in their efforts to improve local living conditions, and teachers met with resistance by locals who were jealous of them and their positions, creating a factionalization of the local community along kinship and economic self-interest lines. These divisions were especially apparent when the secondary school sought assistance from the local community for acquisition of classroom space or from outside funding sources that locals felt took away from the "community school" model by moving decisions out of their hands and solely into that of the secondary school's director, teachers, coordinator, and assistance organizations such as the Amistad Foundation and the ITESO in Guadalajara.

In the eyes of many locals, the school had become an experiment, and, as such, had lost touch with their local needs, wants, and desires. The responses by both the local community and the secondary school were to separate themselves from one another, thereby diverging into separate models of culture change and development. Whereas traditional communal egalitarian practices and their associated values were important within the secondary school, the outside culture of the village was beginning to move based on conversion to a capitalist economic model and developing the individualist values associated with it. Also, local response by community members was to refuse to participate with those involved in the secondary school, rather than to discuss and resolve the misunderstandings that had been created over teacher credentials, the need to secure funding, and matters of what is taught and how it is done.

The success or failure of point six, that of resistance to urban migration, is impossible to determine at this time. The first three generations of students to graduate from the *Centro Educativo Tatutsi Maxa Kwaxi* are now either in or just completing their preparatory studies. Students expressed informally and in questionnaires their continued interest in improving the living conditions in their homeland by gaining the skills necessary to return and raise their families, while successfully maintaining their language and traditional cultural practices.

Until recently, students wishing to attend a preparatory school had to leave the Sierra. Open preparatories, those that allow students to educate themselves at their own pace by taking periodic exams, are the favorite of locals in the village because they do not require extended stays away from home. Students completing their studies at the secondary school are opting, however, to attend intensive three-year preparatory

programs, some Franciscan (Catholic), others not. These migrations out of the Sierra may damage the ability of youth to properly reintegrate themselves into the local culture. This difficulty was evident in the stories of the director's difficulties returning to the Sierra, as well as those of other teachers of the secondary school who are being secured from outside the local community, rather than recruited from within it. The question remains of whether or not the students will follow through on their desires to return home.

Those who enter CONAFE, a rural educational assistance organization that provides education in remote ranch settlements for the first three years of the primary, are able to stay in their local communities and work with children in a way that permits them to maintain strong communal ties. While several recent secondary school graduates have opted for this track, most students feel that CONAFE will slow their chances for learning, since to be a "rural promoter" requires a year of dedication to teaching children in which they cannot attend school themselves. Completion of the second year, however, provides a monetary supplement for five years of study (three years of preparatory and two of the university).

<u>Indigenous Control and Community Schooling</u>

The research, while evaluating the mission of the school, was also centered on answering the following primary questions:

> 1. What impact does the establishment of an indigenous-controlled school have on Huichol culture and language? Does it fortify identity or is there considerable intracultural variation that will be exposed by examining the views of school culture and community relations, and therefore no difference from non-indigenous controlled education?
>
> 2. Are there conflicting attitudes about formal education (e.g., what is important and how it should be taught)?

The *Centro Educativo Tatutsi Maxa Kwaxi* seems to have a positive affect on the retention of the Huichol language and traditional culture, at least for those who are directly involved in the secondary school and take an interest in it. The school's mission to attract students from the Sierra has been successful also, at least for students in the community of *Tateikié*. Outside this community, not many parents elect to send their children to the Huichol secondary school. I suspect that the communities being largely autonomous, as well as their geographic isolation, has something to do with this decision, although the CETMK does have a number of students native to the community of *Waut+a*, an eighteen-hour hike from *Tateikita* in the neighboring state of Nayarit.

For those in attendance at the CETMK, the very strength of the school itself is fruitful to the preservation of the native language. The school, by very nature of being an all-inclusive culture for its adherents, fosters a cooperative learning community. Among males, their lives continue to be more flexible and appear to be the source of most experiments in ethnic identity expression. Male students are also the most at risk to the loss of their language due to the greater likelihood of continuing further education outside the Sierra, or taking jobs that require them to participate in the mainstream Mexican market economy.

Women, on the other hand, are not as likely to be mobile. The strength of their social networks already provides an ample environment for promoting the use of their language at home with their children. If males are going to appropriate Spanish more readily than females, attention needs to be paid to encouraging women to become fluent in reading and writing their language, since they will take the central role in a child's upbringing. Men are going to shift to using Spanish if they cannot find ample work in the

Sierra to keep them close to their wives and families, and they will likely encourage

Spanish in the household, in the limited time they are present. While the CETMK

stresses the ability of students to speak their language in the school setting, there is little

reinforcement for this in the cultures outside the school, especially in migrant labor. If

the written language is to be reinforced (and language shift reversed), students must not

only be taught how to write their language and keep daily journals, but need to be

encouraged to produce literary works (such as poems and short stories) that can be used

in the home with children. The CETMK regularly uses Spanish in all formal forms of

communication. Rarely, however, did students use written Huichol for anything outside

of schoolwork (see Figure 8.1).
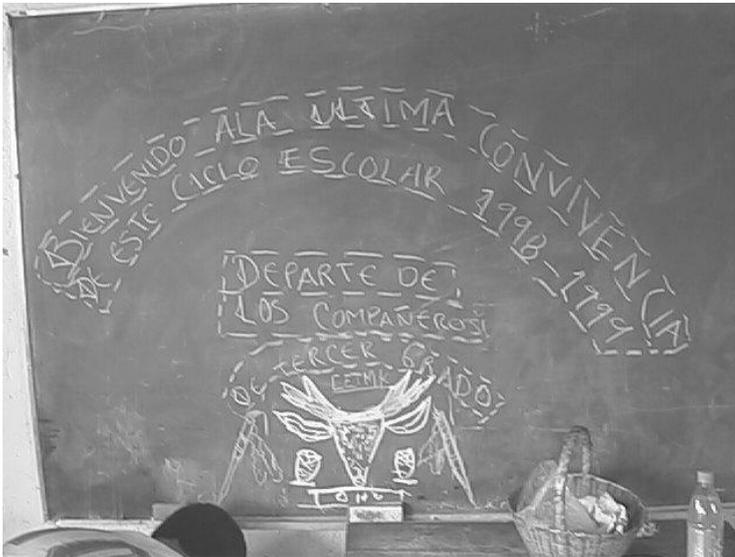
Figure 8.1. Student Notice for End-of-Year Banquet.

Cultural traditions at the CETMK were formally taught in a class on Huichol

culture. The class was successful in instilling students with pride in their traditions,

deities, and Huichol mythology. Student retention of what they were taught about their

own culture was limited to an understanding of basic ceremonies that they saw reinforced by observation in their home ranches and the local community.

Many members of the local community limit themselves to participating in only a key set of ceremonies (*fiesta de la sembra, fiesta del elote/tambor, fiesta del peyote, cambio de varas*). Students have come to identify participation in these key ceremonies as central to their identity and have, like others in the general population, not found the other parts of native mythology to be as important to them. Moreover, students have already developed attitudes about their ethnicity by the time they reach the CETMK, and teachers are often upset when first year students cannot identify sacred sites, deities, or explain why certain rituals or ceremonies are performed. The secondary school must therefore become an avenue for reclamation of these beliefs that receive little support within students' own families.

The success or failure of the CETMK's ability to preserve the native language and culture, and hence the answer to the first question, rests in a "maybe yes / maybe no" scenario. If students, individually, make a conscientious effort to practice what they learn in the classroom about their heritage and language in their own lives (with their parents and prospective families), then the answer will be a resounding, "yes." On the flip side of the coin, should students not use their newly acquired knowledge and skills outside the educational environment, then language shift and acculturation will continue to occur.

The differences from non-native education were outlined, in part, by the problems the Huichol see with *telesecundarias*, particularly non-native instructors who have no knowledge of the Huichol language or understanding of its culture. The model supports individualism rather than collectivism, Spanish rather than the indigenous language, and

the validity of external cultural beliefs rather than indigenous knowledge. Instead, the CETMK creates a learning community surrounding the school, and external beliefs are taught as complementary to indigenous ones rather than dominant to them. Students, teachers, and parents take an active interest in the activities of the CETMK, unlike a school with non-indigenous teachers. The resistance of students to the authority of teachers and the discontinuity between the formal educational system and their home environment are not what has been found by Baker (1997), Macias (1987), Wax (1964), and Wolcott (1967,1997), but rather more like the recent findings of Harrison (1993), Dementi-Leonard and Gilmore (1999), and Modiano (1973), who note the improved ethnic pride and loyalty to the school and processes of formal education, in general, when it is minority-directed or includes indigenous teachers.

I now turn to the second primary question: Are there conflicting attitudes about formal education (what is important and how it should be done)? Yes. The community has a separate educational agenda represented by the primary school, in which it has considerable economic investment. Teachers from the primary school and some community members are ambivalent towards the secondary school, stressing their belief that the indigenous language should not be taught as a foreign language, but rather it should be used, but with Spanish being the focus of all foreign language studies. Misunderstandings over teacher qualifications and pay also feed jealousies, and cause tension and occasional conflict, especially when alcohol is present. Some locals feel disenfranchised from the school because they do not have a say in its agenda or how it is managed.

The CETMK limits voice to those who have children in attendance at the school. Modiano's (1973:97) recount of Indian education in Chiapas in which parents and community members regularly interact because "teachers are expected to supply leadership to the communities" does not appear to be the case in *Tateikita*. Nor do her statements about cooperative work groups within the local community have much bearing on the basis of the CETMK's external relations.

Do the answers to these questions mean that the CETMK is yet another failure in indigenous education like those Baker (1997) thought she found in formal education programs in Sri Lanka and Tanzania? Not so, I suggest.

Living Rural and Being Modern: Some Recommendations for Huichol Education

Baker (1997) captured the formal educational environment of several schools and schooling systems in a global context. In her work, she presented the argument that native educational programs, no matter how rigid, failing, or misdirected they may appear to be by a Western viewpoint, must be recognized as "the employment of pedagogical practices that are consistent with the norms and values of a given culture" (Baker 1997:469). The culture of the CETMK is consistent with traditional values that stress non-competitiveness, humility, respect, and conformity. The school is continually at the forefront of experimentations in expressions of ethnicity, while at the same time clinging to a core set of values and traditions. The conveyance of Huichol youth as holding "bordered identities" requires their need to negotiate their lives between at least two sociocultural environments that are ever-changing at different paces, and in somewhat different directions. Two competing theoretical perspectives, those proposed by Habermas (1992) and Foucault (1992), are at work within the local community.

Traditional values support a Habermasian and Deweyan notion of social democracy and its associated values of reasoned inquiry and consensus based on shared norms of validity and argumentative egalitarian discussion. At the same time, a historical ethnic perspective is at work in the immediate community. At the secondary school, however, the school (intellectualist) culture uses a "presentist" set of historical genealogies to reconstruct their ethnic identity and social conditions along a set of guidelines determined by the intellectual community as "legitimate." By deferring to the voices of a select few, the culture of the secondary school closes itself off to inquiry from the community. After a prolonged period of disarticulation, the local community has simply chosen to remove itself from activities at the CETMK. Students are stuck between the two cultures, at least until they complete their schooling and enter the greater Huichol society. Students, however, are not only bordered between two competing indigenous cultures, but also are learning to negotiate their identities with the external dominant Mexican national culture.

Henze and Vanett (1993) state that we cannot assume that cultural identities are uniform, and that schools can merge the two or more competing identities into a uniform self that is bilingual and bicultural. Nor can they be subsumed into a bilingual intercultural identity that Rojas (1999a) suggests. Instead, argue Henze and Vannett (1993:123), being "between two worlds" does not mean the same thing to everyone. Huichol society has enough intracultural variation that formalized (i.e., standardized) cultural curriculum will always come under fire from one segment of society or another. Henze and Vanett (1993:128) found that even in Yup'ik Eskimo classes where Yup'ik was the language of instruction, "classroom control was maintained in English." In the

CETMK, teachers use Huichol nearly exclusively in the classes, but authority mandates

are made by teachers (unconsciously or subconsciously) in Spanish.

As with any educational environment, there is room for improvement within the

CETMK. In response to my findings in the course of research and evaluation of the

secondary school in *Tateikita*, I made the followed recommendations:

1. Greater elder consultation and involvement in the school.

2. Better networking with the local community and primary school.

3. Formation of artisan cooperatives associated with the school.

4. Use of the school and the new library as a community center with art, music, and literary activities that bring involvement of the local community into the school culture.

5. Realization that alcohol abuse is the primary cause for deterioration of traditional values within the local community and that its persistence negatively impacts the attitudes of student peers towards the local community and their own culture.

6. Literary encouragement in Huichol for all levels of the secondary school's activities so that the written language receives reinforcement in daily activities of youth and so that they can see its potential use for artistic expression and communication, as well as cultural preservation.

Each of these six recommendations was a suggestion of ways to mend the

diverging cultures of the primary and secondary schools, as well as to keep the dialogue

of identity renegotiation and culture change open. Bringing elders into the classroom

would involve the local community, making them feel that they had something to give to

the future of their people, rather than the ideas dictated by intellectuals. Networking with

the primary school and community can be done with a regular series of weekly or

monthly meetings that bring together teachers from both environments to discuss

approaches towards bilingual intercultural education. It may also heal wounds between

teachers, so that they can better understand why each school has a separate agenda that

must be followed, as well as why teachers stress certain aspects of traditional culture

formally, or must use, but not treat, Huichol as a foreign language in the secondary

school.

I mentioned previously in this research that the mean age of students entering the

secondary school is becoming lower and lower as students pass directly from the primary

school into the secondary school. Students enter the secondary school without prior

knowledge about how or why the school came to be and must be gradually introduced

(i.e., enculturated) into its culture. Every year there are several student problems that

crop up involving respect for the school and its communal property. Cooperation

between the primary and secondary schools may help to reduce these sorts of problems in

the future. Curriculum may need to be altered to fit the cognitive patterns of a younger

student audience as well or, in some areas, made more difficult, since students are no

longer taking time off between primary and secondary education.

Points three and four are both ways to get locals involved in music, art, or

interested in poetry or native religion to become more involved in the school and see

value in it. Huichol culture will continue to change both externally and internally to the

school, and unless there is greater communication between all parties interested in

education, there will be no availability to make changes in the curriculum per changes in

the local culture from which the students come.

Point number five concerning alcohol is important because traditional values

break down with the presence and misuse of alcoholic beverages by teachers and

community members. The point has been made at biannual meetings of the community

of *Tateikié* and in local village meetings (Unidad de Apoyo a Grupos Indígenas 1999).

Those who have problems with the misuse of alcohol need to be made aware of the effects of their misuse on their families, and especially children. Confessional-type apologies seem to work at the CETMK, as illustrated by the case of the teacher who missed a week's worth of classes due to a drinking binge. In that instance, traditional forms of open discussion and adherence to group norms proved fruitful to preventing further escalation of the problem and in beginning the mental healing process for the accused. The type of social repentance and sanctioning used at the CETMK could be adopted within the villages with guidance provided by local *comisarios*, *mara'akates*, and *topiles*.

Lastly, since the ability to read and write in Huichol is taught in the secondary school, students should be made aware of the possibilities this gives them for limitless self-expression. Huichol culture thrives on artistic endeavors, present in the crafts, music, and oral presentation skills of its people. A practical use for learning to read and write its language, however, remains without support in the school and in the local community. Encouragement of artistic endeavors utilizing the native language will help to preserve it, especially by making it more relevant to male students who are, through the findings of this research, the most at risk for abandoning traditional cultural practices.

Living rural and being modern does not have to be a separation from the past in order to move into a sustainable cultural future. Although these recommendations were presented to those in *Tateikita* and at the *Centro Educativo Tatutsi Maxa Kwaxi*, it is up to the Huichol community itself to decide their relevance and apply them to its own educational practices. What is tradition and what is not is something that is constantly

changing, and nowhere is this more apparent than among Huichol youth. The period of geographic, political, and cultural isolation for the Huichol is coming to an end.

<u>Suggestions for Future Research</u>

This research is but one case study in a growing body of literature on indigenous-directed education and language and culture preservation. Herein I have attempted to document the culture of a model indigenous secondary school among the Huichol with the hope that it will serve as a basis for further discussion about the processes involved in developing, implementing, and maintaining an indigenous school. While there have been other studies of indigenous language and culture programs, as cited in the literature review section, there are successful models of indigenous-run schools that have not been documented. First, this research, while centered on a study of formal secondary-level education in a Huichol society, can provide information for the development of indigenous education programs in the U.S., Mexico, and other nations.

Second, this study continues to be a work-in-progress. The community has recently obtained an open preparatory school and a new school library has been constructed within the past year. It is hoped that this library will serve as a community center that can bring community members, elders, teachers, and students together. It will be worthwhile to observe the effects of these new additions within the local community, to see their impacts on student retention of traditional cultural practices, particularly in the case of the open preparatory school that will offer specialized training tracks for older community members and nontraditional students. The open preparatory and the new library may be able to heal some of the wounds between the secondary school and the local community, by making locals aware of how CETMK programs can benefit them. It

may also help to build communication between newly defined and already existent

segments of the population with no history of social relations (most especially between

students and elders).

Since data on the ability of students to remain in the Sierra could not be calculated

into the final results of this research, it is hoped that further research will be done that can

track the retention rates of graduating students from the CETMK. I conclude with the

following (see Figure 8.2):

Figure 8.2. "Los Viejitos," Regional Dance at the *Clausura*, June 1999.

> "All the world's a stage,
>
> And all the men and women merely players;
>
> They have their exits and their entrances;
>
> And one man in his time plays many parts,
>
> His acts being seven ages." (Shakespeare 1623)

APPENDIX A
NOTES ON THE USE OF HUICHOL AND SPANISH ORTHOGRAPHY

All references to the Huichol people are made using the term "Huichol" for both singular and plural case representations. For example:

He is Huichol.
They are Huichol.
The Huichol are…

This is now the acceptable self-referent form, identical to that used for the Maya and other indigenous peoples (e.g., the Navajo, the Hopi, the Tarahumara). The use of non-anglicized plural forms for native peoples is derived from the translations of the names of indigenous peoples as "the people," which, in itself, is a plural noun. "Huichol" is also used as the adjective form as in:

The Huichol culture…
Huichol history is…

In rare instances, I have used the term *Wixaritari*, the indigenous plural noun, to refer to the Huichol people. The word *wixarika* used in this dissertation is the adjective form meaning roughly "of or pertaining to the Huichol people." This adjective is used for two courses offered at the *Centro Educativo Tatutsi Maxa Kwaxi* (CETMK): *cultura wixarika* (Huichol culture) and *escritura wixarika* (Huichol writing). These indigenous terms are also abbreviated by native speakers as simply *wixa*.

Throughout this dissertation I have used the original Spanish or Huichol whenever possible, followed by English translations. All words inserted in Spanish are provided with parenthetical English translations thereafter.

Huichol Phonology and Orthography

Vowels are pronounced identical to those in Spanish, except that Huichol does not have the "o" replacing it instead with the tonal "+."

The + is a high, tense sound, half-way between the "u" and an "i". It is a very difficult sound for non-native speakers to approximate. Among children and young people, the "+" is losing its tonal significance, and in many cases meaning is derived from context.

Consonants are pronounced the same as their Spanish equivalents with a couple of small exceptions. The "W" before an "i" is pronounced as a "v" rather than a "w." In all other instances, a "w' sound is produced.

The character"x" has two dialectical variations. The first, and most common, uses the "x" character to represent the Spanish "rr." This is the dialect throughout *Tateikié*, and, therefore, in *Tateikita*. It represents language shift away from earlier recordings of Huichol pronunciation (see Grimes 1964). In some of the other communities, however, the "x" retains its Aztec-Nahuatl origins and is pronounced as an "sh" in English.

For example:

Wixaritari may be pronounced as either (vi-rra ri-tar-i) or (vi-sha-ri-ta-ri)

APPENDIX B
HISTORIA CRONOLOGICA DE TATEIKITA

1725 Entrega el titulos virreales de San Andrés Cohamiata
1784 Fray José es el primer gobernador de San Andrés Cohamiata
1809 El territorio huichol tiene 74,940 hectares con cuatro comunidades:
        Tuapurie (Santa Catarina), Waut+a (San Sebastián), Tateikie (San Andrés
        Cohamiata), y Tutsipe (Tuxpan de Bolaños)
1930s Ejidos y comunidades mestizas invaden la Sierra
1960 La pista fue construído a mano de la comunidad de San Miguel Huaixtita con
        la ayuda del ingeniero José Jimenez
1963 La llegada de los Franciscanos a San Miguel Huaixtita por mula
1964 Se construyó la agencia de San Miguel Huaixtita
1968 Faltaban 4000 hectares más del territorio wixarika
1971 (?) Agua potable llegó
1973 Se arregló la pista
1973 Llego la carretera de San Andrés Cohamiata
1973 Se construyó el centro de salud de San Miguel Huaixtita
1976 Se fondó la escuela de los franciscanos en San Miguel Huaixtita
1978 Se instaló albergue escolar de San Miguel Huaixtita (la primaria)
        El maestro Miguel Chivarra es el primer maestro de la primaria
1991 Se fondó la Unidad de Comunidades Indígenas Huicholes de Jalisco (UCIHJ)
1992 La UCIHJ acude ante la OIT sobre el problema de la perdida de territorio
1995 En el otoño empieza conflicto religioso entre los franciscanos y los huicholes
1995 Se instala una escuela secundaria, la primera en la Sierra Huichola, CETMK
1997 Llegó Jesús Lara Chivarra (con su teléfono), Pancho Voliano, Pablo ___
1998 En abril llegó la carretera a San Miguel Huaixtita
1998 El Profr. Pablo Gonzalez Carrillo llegó a la secundaria para clases de hortaliza
1998 16 de diciembre se encontró el cuerpo del periodista "Philip True" de la agencia
        mexicana del periódico "San Antonio Express Times" cerca de Popotita
        (un rancho unos 3 horas de camino de San Miguel Huaixtita) Llega mucha gente
        de los EEUU. Recibe atención nacional e internacional
1998 Tensiones sobre el conflicto entre mestizos y huicholes aumentan. Empiezan
        reuniones sobre el conflicto
1999 Llegan a las Lic. Ángeles Arcos de AJAGI y Claudia Gomez de México para taller
        con los de la secundaria en SMH sobre derechos indígenas

1999 Marzo 21. Consulto nacional sobre las 4 preguntas del EZLN para hacer un ley
por que el gobierno de mexico no respeta a los acuerdos de San Andrés (Chiapas)
Salen 5000 delegados del EZLN de Chiapas para las communidades de Mexico.
Dos representantes llegan a SMH la semana de 16-21 de marzo. Por presión
política el maestro de Inglés estadounidense se sale de la comunidad durante la
semana a Guadalajara. El regresa después de vacaciones escolar (abril).

APPENDIX C
EZLN DECLARATION OF WAR

(Source: http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/mexico/ezln/ezlnwa.html)

First Declaration from the Lacandon Jungle

EZLN's Declaration of War

"Today we say 'enough is enough!'

(Ya Basta!)"

TO THE PEOPLE OF MEXICO:
MEXICAN BROTHERS AND SISTERS:

We are a product of 500 years of struggle: first against slavery, then during the War of
Independence against Spain led by insurgents, then to avoid being absorbed
by North American imperialism, then to promulgate our constitution and expel the
French empire from our soil, and later the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz denied us
the just application of the Reform laws and the people rebelled and leaders like Villa and
Zapata emerged, poor men just like us. We have been denied the most
elemental preparation so they can use us as cannon fodder and pillage the wealth of our
country. They don't care that we have nothing, absolutely nothing, not even a
roof over our heads, no land, no work, no health care, no food nor education. Nor are we
able to freely and democratically elect our political representatives, nor is
there independence from foreigners, nor is there peace nor justice for ourselves and our
children.

But today, we say ENOUGH IS ENOUGH.

We are the inheritors of the true builders of our nation. The dispossessed, we are millions
and we thereby call upon our brothers and sisters to join this struggle as the
only path, so that we will not die of hunger due to the insatiable ambition of a 70 year
dictatorship led by a clique of traitors that represent the most conservative and
sell-out groups. They are the same ones that opposed Hidalgo and Morelos, the same
ones that betrayed Vicente Guerrero, the same ones that sold half our country
to the foreign invader, the same ones that imported a European prince to rule our country,
the same ones that formed the "scientific" Porfirsta dictatorship, the same

ones that opposed the Petroleum Expropriation, the same ones that massacred the railroad workers in 1958 and the students in 1968, the same ones that today take everything from us, absolutely everything.

To prevent the continuation of the above and as our last hope, after having tried to utilize all legal means based on our Constitution, we go to our Constitution, to apply Article 39 which says:

"National Sovereignty essentially and originally resides in the people. All political power emanates from the people and its purpose is to help the people.
The people have, at all times, the inalienable right to alter or modify their form of government."

Therefore, according to our constitution, we declare the following to the Mexican federal army, the pillar of the Mexican dictatorship that we suffer from, monopolized by a one-party system and led by Carlos Salinas de Gortari, the maximum and illegitimate federal executive that today holds power.

According to this Declaration of War, we ask that other powers of the nation advocate to restore the legitimacy and the stability of the nation by overthrowing the dictator.

We also ask that international organizations and the International Red Cross watch over and regulate our battles, so that our efforts are carried out while still protecting our civilian population. We declare now and always that we are subject to the Geneva Accord, forming the EZLN as our fighting arm of our liberation struggle. We have the Mexican people on our side, we have the beloved tri-colored flag highly respected by our insurgent fighters. We use black and red in our uniform as our symbol of our working people on strike. Our flag carries the following letters, "EZLN," Zapatista National Liberation Army, and we always carry our flag into combat.

Beforehand, we refuse any effort to disgrace our just cause by accusing us of being drug traffickers, drug guerrillas, thieves, or other names that might by used by our enemies. Our struggle follows the constitution which is held high by its call for justice and equality.

Therefore, according to this declaration of war, we give our military forces, the EZLN, the following orders:

First: Advance to the capital of the country, overcoming the Mexican federal army, protecting in our advance the civilian population and permitting the people in the liberated area the right to freely and democratically elect their own administrative authorities.

Second: Respect the lives of our prisoners and turn over all wounded to the International Red Cross.

Third: Initiate summary judgments against all soldiers of the Mexican federal army and the political police that have received training or have been paid by foreigners, accused of being traitors to our country, and against all those that have repressed and treated badly the civil population and robbed or stolen from or attempted crimes against the good of the people.

Fourth: Form new troops with all those Mexicans that show their interest in joining our struggle, including those that, being enemy soldiers, turn themselves in without having fought against us, and promise to take orders from the General Command of the Zapatista National Liberation Army.

Fifth: We ask for the unconditional surrender of the enemy's headquarters before we begin any combat to avoid any loss of lives.

Sixth: Suspend the robbery of our natural resources in the areas controlled by the EZLN.

To the People of Mexico: We, the men and women, full and free, are conscious that the war that we have declared is our last resort, but also a just one. The dictators are applying an undeclared genocidal war against our people for many years. Therefore we ask for your participation, your decision to support this plan that struggles for work, land, housing, food, health care, education, independence, freedom, democracy, justice and peace. We declare that we will not stop fighting until the basic demands of our people have been met by forming a government of our country that is free and democratic.

JOIN THE INSURGENT FORCES OF THE ZAPATISTA NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY.

General Command of the EZLN

1993

Sexo (M o F):
Edad:
Año en la secundaria:

FORMA DE LISTA SEGUN TEMA

HAGASE UNA LISTA DE COSAS QUE, EN SU OPINION, PERTENECEN A CADA UNO DE LOS SIGUIENTES TRES TEMAS. DESPUES, MARQUESE DE 1 A 10 LA IMPORTANCIA DE CADA COSA QUE ESCRIBE. POR PUNTO FINAL, MARQUESE LAS COSAS MÁS IMPORTANTES BAJO CADA TEMA EN ORDEN DE SU IMPORTANCIA A USTED.

POR EJEMPLO:

TEMA: HACERSE HUICHOL

Lista de cosas	1 a 10 (importancia)	Orden
Mi lengua	**8**	**1**
Ropa tradicional	**7**	**3**
La Tierra	**7**	**2**
Asistencia	**6**	**4**
…	**…**	**…**

TEMA UNO: HACERSE HUICHOL (CULTURA WIXARIKA)

Lista de cosas	1 a 10 (importancia)	Órden

TEMA DOS: TRADICIONES

<u>Lista de cosas</u>   <u>1 a 10 (importancia)</u>   <u>Órden</u>

TEMA TRES: EDUCACION

<u>Lista de cosas</u>   <u>1 a 10 (importancia)</u>   <u>Órden</u>

ESCALAS DE SEMANTICAS

Sexo (M o F):
Año en la secundaria:
Edad:

BAJO CADA TEMA, PONGASE UNA MARCA (EQUIS) EN EL LUGAR APROPRIADO DE CADA LINEA DONDE SE SIENTE SEGUN SUS ACTITUDES Y EXPERIENCIAS

TEMA UNO: EXPERIENCIA ESCOLAR

1.   Buena |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Mala

2.   Difícil |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Fácil

3.   Importante |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| No Importante

4.   Útil |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Inútil

5.   Caliente |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Fría

6.   Fuerte |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Débil

7.   Bonita |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Fea

8.   Especial |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Común

9.   Activa |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Pasiva

10.   Political |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| No es political

11.   Personal |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Impersonal

12.   Organizada |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Desorganizada

13.   Interesante |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Desinteresante

14.   Rápida |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Despacia

TEMA DOS: IDENTIDAD ETNICA

1.   Buena |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Mala

2.   Difícil |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------| Fácil

3.   Importante |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| No Importante

4.   Útil |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Inútil

5.   Caliente |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Fría

6.   Fuerte |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Débil

7.   Bonita |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Fea

8.   Especial |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Común

9.   Activa |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Pasiva

10.   Political |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| No es political

11.   Personal |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Impersonal

12.   Organizada |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Desorganizada

13.   Interesante |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Desinteresante

14.   Rápida |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Despacia

TEMA TRES: TRADICIONES (CULTURA WIXARIKA)

1. Buena |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Mala

2. Difícil |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------| Fácil

3. Importante |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| No Importante

4. Útil |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Inútil

5. Caliente |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Fría

6. Fuerte |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Débil

7. Bonita |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------| Fea

8. Especial |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Común

9. Activa |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Pasiva

10. Political |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| No es political

11. Personal |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Impersonal

12. Organizada |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Desorganizada

13. Interesante |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Desinteresante

14. Rápida |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Despacia

TEMA CUATRO: TECHNOLOGIA [radio, avioneta, camioneta, carretera, electricidad]

1.   Buena |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Mala

2.   Difícil |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------| Fácil

3.   Importante |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| No Importante

4.   Útil |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Inútil

5.   Caliente |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Fría

6.   Fuerte |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Débil

7.   Bonita |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------| Fea

8.   Especial |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Común

9.   Activa |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Pasiva

10.   Political |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| No es political

11.   Personal |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Impersonal

12.   Organizada |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Desorganizada

13.   Interesante |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Desinteresante

14.   Rápida |--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------| Despacia

DE 1 (MUY IMPORTANTE) A 5 (NO ES IMPORTANTE), ?QUE LE VALEN LAS SIGUIENTES COSAS?   [3 ES NEUTRAL]

1.   RADIO
2.   GRABADORA
3.   AVIONETA
4.   CAMIONETA
5.   ELECTRICIDAD
6.   TELEFONO
7.   APARATO SOLAR
8.   RELOJ
9.   MUSICA
10.   LA MISION
11.   LIBROS
12.   PERIODICOS
13.   MASECA
14.   DULCES
15.   REFRESCOS
16.   CERVEZA
17.   TEHUINO
18.   LA CIUDAD
19.   UNA PREPA
20.   UNA UNIVERSIDAD
21.   GUADALAJARA

QUESTIONARIO

1. Cual es su sexo?   Edad?

2. De donde es usted?

3. Ha viajado fuera de la Sierra? Si la respuesta es "sí", adonde? Cuantas veces?

4. Participa usted en su religión tradicional (cultura wixarika) o es católico o de otra religión? Mas de uno? Cuantas?

5. Habla Wixa o español en casa? Si habla los dos, cual usa mas frecuentemente?

6. Puede usted leer y escribir el español? Hablar español?

7. Cómo le piensa su habilidad de hablar español?

8. Puede usted leer Wixa? Escribirlo?

9a. Tiene usted algún trabajo? Si tiene, de que?
9b. Si no tiene trabajo, que carrera quisiera?

10. Que tipos de trabajo tienen sus padres?

11. Es usted, o desea usted, hacerse mara'akame?

12. Que nivel de educación tiene usted?

13. Cuales características de ser Huichol puede apuntar usted?

14a. De 1 a 5 (peor al mejor), Cuanta importancia tiene el español en su vida diaria?
14b. Por que?
14c. Piensa usted que será mas importante en el futuro?

15. Que piensa usted de la escuela secundaria Tatutsi Maxa Kwaxi> Por que?

16a. Hay algo que quisiera cambiar de la escuela?
16b. Que es y por que?

17. Si usted puede empezar de nuevo, asistiría a la escuela? (o requería a sus niños que asisten)

18. Si hay que poner en orden de 1 a 5 (peor al mejor), Cómo es su experiencia de la escuela secundaria (o de su niño / niña)? Por que?

19. De 1 a 5 (peor al mejor), Cómo sirve la escuela secundaria a las necesidades de la comunidad?

20. Se afectan sus actividades hacia la educación por la presencia del Centro Educativo Tatutsi Maxakwaxi? Cómo?

21. De 1 a 5 (peor al mejor), Cómo se notan las siguientes características de su cultura?

Lengua
Manera de vestirse
Religión
Familia
Tradiciones

22. Cuanta importancia tiene el inglés en su futuro como Huichol?

Muy importante
Importante
Indiferente
No es importante
Nada importante

23. Por qué piensa usted que el inglés es del nivel apuntado en el anterior?

24. Si usted o sus hijos pudiera asistir a la universidad, asistiría? (o les permite que asistan) Si "no", por qué?

25. Cómo se ve a si mismo en 5 años? 10?

26. Qué materiales cree usted que faltan a la escuela secundaria? La biblioteca?

27a. Si tiene usted alguna problema con su salud, iría primero a la clínica o al mara'akame? Los dos?
27b. Cual vale mas?

28. Piensa usted que su lengua va a desaparecerse en los próximos años? Por qué?

29. Quiere usted quedarse en la Sierra o ir a la ciudad? Por qué "si" o "no"?

30. Asiste usted a las ceremoniales tradicionales> Por qué "si" o "no"?

Gracias por su tiempo y cariño! Nadie menos yo sabrá sus respuestas y su nombre. Sus respuestas ayudarán a la escuela, los padres de familia, y la comunidad entender mejor los cambios que le llegan a usted. Si tiene algún problema o pregunta, por favor búsqueme en la escuela o la casa de la comunidad.

Investigador,

Brad M. Biglow

Statistical Analysis Variable Notes

0=Yes ; 1=No

student=questionnaire number
sex=0 or 1
age=age
theme1=#1 ranked item as most important under theme #1 [hacerse huichol];
  0 is "no response"
theme2=#1 ranked item as most important under theme #2 [tradiciones]
  0 is "no response"
theme3=#1 ranked item as most important under theme #3 [educación]
  0 is "no response"
home$=home village location
viajes=0 or 1 for visits away from the sierra; visits to Mexico city
  are still a 1 (no)
shaman=0 or 1 for desire to be a shaman; 2 is maybe
Espanol=rank from 1 to 5 of importance of Spanish in daily life
Lengua_r=rank of 1 to 5 of indigenous language
vestir_r=rank of 1 to 5 of importance of traditional dress
relig_r=rank of 1 to 5 of traditional religion
famil_r=rank of 1 to 5 of importance of the family
tradit_r=rank of 1 to 5 of importance of following traditions
ingles_r=rank of 1 to 5 of english importance in the future [transposed!]
tech_ave=average of technology items on page 5 [10 items]: radio, grabadora, avioneta,
camioneta, electricidad, telefono, aparato solar, reloj, musica, libros
cervez_r=rank of 1 to 5 of alcohol importance
tehuin_r=rank of 1 to 5 of traditional alcohol importance
radio_r=rank of 1 to 5 of importance of having a radio
mision_r=rank of 1 to 5 of importance of the Franciscan mission in SMH
telefo_r=rank of 1 to 5 of importance of having telephone access
reloj_r=rank of 1 to 5 of importance of having a watch or clock
electr_r=rank of 1 to 5 of having electricity
period_r=rank of 1 to 5 of importance of having newspaper access
ciudad_r=rank of 1 to 5 of importance of the (a) city
prepa_r=rank of 1 to 5 of importance of having access to a prepatoria
univer_r=rank of 1 to 5 of importance of having a university
politi_r=rank of 1 to 7 of the politicality of the school [4 is turning point]
carera$=proposed student future career
grabad_r=rank of 1 to 5 of importance of having a tape player
shaman_s=0 or 1 of see shaman 1st for medical opinion; 2 is see both, 3 shaman first,
  4 clinic first

APPENDIX E
COURSE SCHEDULES OF THE CETMK

TERCER AÑO DE SECUNDARIA

	LUNES	MARTES	MIERCOLES	JUEVES	VIERNES
8:00-8:30	BIOLOGÍA (PRACTICAS)	BIOLOGÍA (PRACTICAS)	BIOLOGÍA (PRACTICAS)	BIOLOGÍA (PRACTICAS)	
8:30-9:00	HONORES A LA BANDERA	DIARIO PERSONAL EN ESPAÑOL	DIARIO PERSONAL EN ESPAÑOL	DIARIO PERSONAL EN ESPAÑOL	DIARIO PERSONAL EN ESPAÑOL
9:00-10:00	ESPAÑOL	ESPAÑOL	FÍSICA	MATEMÁTICAS	BIOLOGÍA
10:00-11:00	DERECHOS INDIGENAS	ESPAÑOL	QUÍMICA	MATEMATICAS	BIOLOGÍA
11:00-11:30	RECREO	RECREO	RECREO	RECREO	RECREO
11:30-12:30	MATEMÁTICAS	ACTIVIDADES COMUNITARIAS	ACTIVIDADES COMUNITARIAS	CULTURA WIXARIKA	ASAMBLEA
12:30-1:30	MATEMÁTICAS	ACTIVIDADES COMUNITARIAS	ACTIVIDADES COMUNITARIAS	WIXARIKA (ESCRITURA)	ASAMBLEA
1:30-3:30					ASAMBLEA
3:30-4:30	CARPINTERIA O HORTILIZA (TALLERES)	ARTÍSTICAS	EDUCACIÓN FISICA	INGLES	
4:30-6:00	TALLERES	CARPINTERIA O HORTILIZA	EDUCACIÓN FISICA	INGLES	

SEGUNDO AÑO DE SECUNDARIA

	LUNES	MARTES	MIERCOLES	JUEVES	VIERNES
8:00-8:30				)	
8:30-9:00	HONORES A LA BANDERA	DIARIO PERSONAL EN WIXARIKA	DIARIO PERSONAL EN ESPAÑOL	DIARIO PERSONAL EN WIXARIKA	DIARIO PERSONAL EN ESPAÑOL
9:00-10:00	CULTURA WIXARIKA	MATEMATICAS	ACTIVIDADES COMUNITARIAS	ESPAÑOL	DERECHOS INDIGENAS
10:00-11:00	MATEMATICAS	MATEMATICAS	ACTIVIDADES COMUNIDARIAS	ESPAÑOL	ESPAÑOL
11:00-11:30	RECREO	RECREO	RECREO	RECREO	RECREO
11:30-12:30	ACTIVIDADES COMUNITARIAS	FÍSICA	BIOLOGÍA	QUÍMICA	ASAMBLEA
12:30-1:30	ACTIVIDADES COMUNITARIAS	ESPAÑOL	BIOLOGIA	WIXARIKA (ESCRITURA)	ASAMBLEA
1:30-3:30					ASAMBLEA
3:30-4:30	ARTÍSTICAS	INGLES	EDUCACIÓN FISICA	HORTALIZA O CARPINTERIA (TALLERES)	
4:30-6:00	HORTALIZA O CARPINTERIA	INGLES	EDUCACIÓN FISICA	TALLERES	

PRIMER AÑO DE SECUNDARIA

	LUNES	MARTES	MIERCOLES	JUEVES	VIERNES
8:00-8:30					
8:30-9:00	HONORES A LA BANDERA	DIARIO PERSONAL EN WIXARIKA	DIARIO PERSONAL EN WIXARIKA	DIARIO PERSONAL EN WIXARIKA	DIARIO PERSONAL EN ESPAÑOL
9:00-10:00	MATEMATICAS	ACTIVIDADES COMUNITARIAS	MATEMÁTICAS	WIXARIKA (ESCRITURA)	CIENCIAS (PRACTICAS)
10:00-11:00	ACTIVIDADES COMUNITARIAS	ACTIVIDADES COMUNITARIAS	MATEMATICAS	ACTIVIDADES COMUNITARIAS	INTRODUCCIÓN A LA FÍSICA Y QUIMICA
11:00-11:30	RECREO	RECREO	RECREO	RECREO	RECREO
11:30-12:30	ESPAÑOL	CIENCIAS (BIOLOGÍA)	CULTURA WIXARIKA	ESPAÑOL	ASAMBLEA
12:30-1:30	ESPAÑOL	CIENCIAS (BIOLOGÍA)	ARTÍSTICAS	DERECHOS INDIGENAS	ASAMBLEA
1:30-3:30					ASAMBLEA
3:30-4:30	INGLES	HORTALIZA O CARPINTERIA	EDUCACIÓN FISICA	HORTALIZA O CARPINTERIA (TALLERES)	
4:30-6:00	INGLES	TALLERES	EDUCACIÓN FISICA	TALLERES	

APPENDIX F
GLOSSARY OF TERMS AND ACRONYMS

Comisario	Huichol mayor-police chief
Comunidad	Spanish term for a town. For the Huichol, it pertains to any 1 of 3 Traditional temple districts, each encompassing a vast geographic area. These traditional comunidades may or may not cross Mexican political Divisions (i.e., municipio and/or state boundaries)
District	English term for the Huichol use of Comunidad
Kalihuey	Sacred Huichol temple
Kawitero	Huichol elder
Ki	Huichol term for a nuclear or extended family household (residence unit)
Kiekari	Huichol term for their ancestral homeland
Municipio	Mexican geopolitical division analogous to a U.S. county
Ranchería	Spanish equivalent of an extended family "ki"
Rancho	Spanish term for a family-owned hamlet with cattle or other small animals
Rancho	Spanish term for small Huichol settlements (2 or more extended Family *rancherías*). Does not have governmental "services." I.e., Rancho los lobos, rancho ocolote
Tateikié	Huichol term for "place of our mother"
Topil(es)	Legislative assistants of the Comisario
Village	English term for Spanish pueblo that contains "services" (e.g., Tateikita)

Acronyms

AJAGI	Asociación Jaliciense de Apoyo a Grupos Indígenas (Jaliscan Association For the Support of Indigenous Groups)
CEMTK	Centro Educativo Tatutsi Maxa Kwaxi (Educational Center of Grandfather Deer Tail)
COCOPA	Comisión de Concordancia y Pacificación (Commission for Concord and Peace)
CONAFE	Consejo Nacional de Fomento Educativo
CONAPO	Consejo Nacional de Población
CONASUPO	Compañía Nacional de Subsistencias Populares (National Subsistence Company)

CURP	Cédula Única de Registro de Población (Individual Identity-Registration Card)
DEI	Departamento de Educación Indígena (Department of Indian Education)
DEIC	Departamento de Educación y Cultura Indígena (Department of Education and Indigenous Cultures
DGAI	Dirección General de Asuntos Indígenas (General Office of Indigenous Affairs)
DIF	Departamento de Infancía y Familias (Department of Children and Families)
EZLN	Ejército Zaptatista de Liberación Nacional (Zapatista National Liberation Army)
HUICOT	Centro Huichol-Cora (Huichol-Cora Center)
INAR	Indian Nations at Risk Task Force
INEGI	Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía y Informática (National Institute of Statistics, Geography, and Information)
INI	Instituto Nacional Indigenista (National Indigenous Institute)
NACIE	National Advisory Council on Indian Education
OIEP	Office of Indian Education Programs
PAI	Procuradería de Asuntos Indígenas (Office of Indigenous Affairs)
SEDESOL	Secretaría de Desarrollo Social (Secretary of Social Development)
SEP	Secretaría de Educación Indígena (Secretary of Indian Education)
UCIH	Unión de Comunidades Indígenas Huicholas (Union of Huichol Indigenous Communities)

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