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Visual purple: A context for cultural understanding through the visual arts

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The University of Arizona, 1994
VISUAL PURPLE:
A CONTEXT FOR CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING THROUGH THE VISUAL ARTS

by
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A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the
AMERICAN INDIAN STUDIES PROGRAM
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
In the Graduate College
UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

1994
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ABSTRACT

*Visual Purple* is based on the author's experience with the Old Pasqua Youth Artists (OPYA) which is a biweekly, after-school program for Yaqui youth ranging from five to fifteen years of age. The paper seeks to relate the primary experiences of seeing and drawing linking them to cultural concepts, socialization patterns, and community setting. The Yaqui children's perceptual understanding acquired through learning and development co-varies with their cultural environment and upbringing. Through a content analysis of the OPYA artwork with special attention paid to the children's interactions, she contends that this understanding manifests as a set of aesthetic principles, the knowledge of core cultural symbols, and shared interpersonal behaviors based on cooperation, watching, and learning. The data suggests that the rich symbolism of Yaqui culture aesthetically socializes the children giving them an eye for detail and the ability to pick up and readily relay visual concepts.
INTRODUCTION

The design for Visual Purple\textsuperscript{1} developed from my experience with the Old Pasqua Youth Artists (OPYA). I joined this biweekly program for Yaqui school-age youth as a participant observer through an independent study in February 1992. I enjoyed OPYA immensely and remained a volunteer with the program well after my official university study had ended. My interest in the program began when I happened upon an OPYA exhibit in the Arizona State Museum. I was impressed by the colorful luminosity of the desert landscapes and the affinity for detailed representation that the pictures revealed. Although my knowledge of children's art was limited, I felt a remarkable maturity and sensitivity from these young artists' work. This impression prompted me to pursue my interest in program participation, so that, each week, I would enter the Pasqua community building with the children after school, get art supplies from the cabinet, and spend the next few hours drawing and playing with them.

The Old Pasqua Youth Artist program is an after-school, voluntary organization for young Yaquis. The participants in the program range in age from five to fifteen. Most of them live in either New or Old Pasqua Village. Since the program is voluntary,

\textsuperscript{1} Both the origin of the term "visual purple" and my usage of it will be fully discussed in the beginning of chapter one.
the doors are open to any in the area who seek participation, thus, the number of members fluctuates.

Though OPYA is informally structured, it is guided by some formalized objectives. The first is to promote and develop the artistry of the Yaqui youth. This is accomplished by the continued act of creating and enhanced by the expertise of visiting outside artists. The program also provides a way for the artists and community to make money through sales such as the annual Chili Festival. The third goal of the program is that it be community owned and operated. Another aim is that the art produced is reflective of Pasqua Yaqui culture and values. Finally and necessarily, OPYA generates an atmosphere of fun and friendship.

Along with the voluntary informality, the program is non-curricular. Creation and learning come as a result of suggestion, observation, and direct experience rather than through rigorous training or "you will do this" instruction. All artistic decisions, such as medium, subject matter, and the length of time they wish to spend on the task, are left to the chattering youth. Among the children, there is a complete sharing of tasks and ideas without the hint of possessiveness and copycatting. The drawings come from one's own as well as other's inspirations.

From this cooperative atmosphere, I have come to recognize an "aesthetic" dynamic which is common among the OPYA members. The artists, for the most part, lean toward environmental and cultural subject matter which includes landscapes, religious figures and
symbols, low riders, trucks, and child-like ornamentation (hearts, stars, rainbows). The rendering is precise with an exacting two-dimensional line. If there is color, it is applied uniformly. I used the word aesthetic earlier because I intended for its meaning to go beyond reference to appearances and/or techniques. A picture is not only a visual product but is indelibly linked to understanding, communication, and expression.

Visual Purple is an exploration into the relationship between perception, knowledge, and drawing. In his book entitled Experiences in Visual Thinking (1972: 6), Robert McKim provides an example of these ideas in a diagram of three interlocking circles. The circles, arranged in a triangular configuration, share a common ground in the center. He suggests, that seeing (visual perception), imaginging/knowing (the mind), and drawing are aspects of an integrated process. He applies this relationship to the process of visual thinking. In terms of this discussion, however, the diagram relates the primary experiences of seeing and drawing and links them to cultural concepts, socialization patterns, and community setting. The Old Pasqua youths' artwork is the vehicle through which this tri-fold relationship is sought. This paper explores the realm of visual perception to uncover a probable connection that sight and the direct experience of living within a certain environment have with one's perception and understanding of the world. Culture and the knowledge and values vested within it contribute significantly within the forthcoming discussion. I borrow the term perception
from both psychological and anthropological discourse and use it to refer to both the ordering of sensory information (individual) and a world view or interpretational schema (cultural).

During the course of this paper, I will be using the name Yaqui to refer to Yaqui peoples and Yaqui culture. I have grown accustomed to hearing the descriptive identification "Yaqui" used at Old Pasqua and am comfortable with its usage. The equivalent of "Yaqui" in their native language, however, is "Yoeme." Yoeme is the language. Yoeme are the people. To highlight the importance of this identification, all words in Yoeme will be italicized. I also must mention here that I refrain from the use of personal names to protect the privacy of my informants.

Structurally, Visual Purple is organized by topical chapters which loosely reflect the three enjoining circles of McKim's diagram. The first chapter entitled "A Chair is a Chair" explores the physiological and psychological nature of visual perception. It introduces various learning theories and provides some cross-cultural examples of perceptual learning styles. Chapter two, "Fellowship and Flowers," looks at Yaqui culture and values as a socio-religious network. It treats Yaqui culture as a network of people who share a common community and world view. The aim here is to recreate for the reader the atmosphere at Old Pasqua implicitly to demonstrate from whence cultural knowledge comes. "The Mirror," chapter three, then examines the drawings from the Old Pasqua Youth Artists (OPYA) as reflections of the youths' internal
environment. By way of content analysis, it looks at subject matter, color, and style as creating an aesthetic which is particular among the OPYA artists. "The Interplay of Visual Purple and Visual Art" offers some concluding remarks which tie the ideas of seeing/knowing/drawing together. It suggests that a type of symbolization process is at work within the Pasqua community. As a socialization tool, this process contributes to the artistry of the Yaqui children. Color reproductions of some OPYA drawings are included in the appendix. They are numbered for easy reference. All photographing was handled by the author; figures 1, 3, 4 were taken at Old Pasqua during OPYA while figures 2, 5, 6, 7, 8 appear courtesy of Arizona States Museum Collections.
Perception is an intense phenomena. It is the link between tactile awareness and cognitive understanding of the world. The psychological approach to perception derives from the processes by which people organize and experience sensory information (Cole and Scribner 1974: 61). In other words, psychology is interested in the individual cognitive operations through which perception is achieved. In broader terms, however, we can treat perception as a function of total world view in addition to the ordering of sensory information. The former approach stresses the similarities inherent in perception, the latter the differences. Visual Purple, however, is interested in perceptual variability. The discussion begins with the eye and the physiology of perception moving then to what influences visual perception and accounts for perceptual differences between individuals and among peoples.

On the imperceptible level, sight is a grand cooperation between the mechanisms of the eye and the nervous system. Image formation takes place in the retina of the human eye. Light entering the eye is refracted by the cornea and the lens to produce a sharp image. This light image, then, travels through the nerve cell layers in the retina to fall on the fovea which is the central focus point for vision and is also the area granting the greatest visual acuity. The
fovea and the surrounding retinal tissue contain vast quantities of photoreceptors, light sensitive cells called rods and cones. The cones are color receptors which give us our sharp daytime vision. It is because of the high concentration of cones on the fovea that the fovea produces such a clear image.

The rods, conversely, are responsible for night vision and detecting shades of light and dark. They are not associated with the fovea since their concentration is greater elsewhere on the retina. Rods contain a photopigment called rhodopsin which has two components; opsin (protein) and retinene (a Vitamin A derivative). Under the influence of enzymatic activity, the retinene undergoes a shape transformation. This transformation results in the production of nerve impulses which transmit visual image(s) to the brain for interpretation. 2

In order for a person to see an object or scene, the visual information must be transferred to the brain from the eye. The input coming into each eye from the visual field creates a reversed and inverted retinal image. This image is converted to an electrochemical impulse that is then sent via the optic tract to the brain. The visual information leaves the eyes through the optic nerve, a branch of which is located at the back of each eyeball. These two optic nerve branches then form bundles which intersect

2 Rhodopsin was first isolated by a German scientist, Wilhelm Kuhne in his experiments with frog eyes. The rod pigment was a colored substance that he named sehpurpur, which means visual scarlet (Mueller and Rudolph 1966: 78). In English it is often refered to as visual purple. Rhodopsin is so far the only isolated photopigment and thus plays an important role in our understanding of sight. It is for this reason that I borrow the term "visual purple" as the colloquial title for this paper.
and cross. Here, some of the information from the right eye crosses to the left brain and some from the left eye crosses to the right brain. There is a left and right visual nerve tract each containing information from the left and right eye and from the left and right visual field. These two tracts converge in the visual cortex located in the central back portion of the brain. The nerves in the visual cortex, then, order this information and send it to the visual association area for interpretation giving meaning to the scene relative to the environment.

Vision is an active process; there is no such thing as passive sight. Nor is perceiving an object a direct copy of the object as it exists. Physiologically, visual perception is a function of how the visual cortex unscrambles the retinal image and how that information is interpreted in the visual association area. The association process involves an integration of experiences and memories into the final interpretation. It is in this stage of association that we classify or conceptualize the object in accord with our past experiences with it.

On a more physical level, we can perceive a scene or a series of objects by physically scanning the visual field. Each of our eyes is involved in registering information from both the left and right visual fields. To accomplish this, our eyes are literally in constant motion. Because the area of sharpest vision is so small, the eyes must continuously move in order to keep images moving over the fovea. When we stare at an object, it becomes blurred. Similarly,
scanning allows us to see a complete scene simultaneously while only having one portion of it in focus at any given moment.

Another important characteristic of vision is its selectivity. Arthur Koestler (1964: 528) offers a physiological basis for this. At the lowest peripheral level, there are processes which condense or compress visual input. Specifically, not every photoreceptor within each eye registers a separate signal or image. If this were the case vision would be something akin to a kaleidoscope. Instead, visual signals are arranged as form. Because not every detail of a thing is necessary to see its form, design, or even importance, there exists conscious and unconscious selection processes when scanning the visual field.

How often is it that a person changes something about her appearance and it takes others days to notice, or, someone thinks he has lost his keys and in a frantic search doesn’t see them laying on the table. In these cases it is less possible that the person did not see the differences in the surroundings than that he failed to notice them. This is a major difference between sight and perception. Sight is a physiological, mechanical apparatus recording sensory input, whereas, perception is an integrated process requiring association and understanding. Not perceiving a person’s change of appearance is much like not noticing the way one’s pants rub against a leg. So much information about the external environment is ingested by the senses that the perception of stimuli must be
selective lest an individual become overwhelmed by the barrage of sensory input.

Perceptual selectivity, thereby, involves attention, awareness, and intention where perception is a type of visual scanning. The eye scans at a rapid pace and so attention is constantly shifting without losing focus. Similarly, conscious experience is a combination of many small focussed ideas and thoughts or feelings that remain on the periphery. Perception, then, can be subdivided into peripheral perceptions and those perceptions which receive attention and undergo conscious interpretation.

What I would like to do in the next section is look at some of the forces which help shape these non-peripheral perceptions. Regardless of how perception is defined, it is related to experience. The ways in which individuals or cultures order things in the natural world is, in part, a function of their experiences with them. Experiences take the form of memories which aid in interpreting the surrounding world. A child's memory base is small and is filled primarily with sensory information because the first learning experiences come as a result of hands-on, tactile awareness. Color, for instance, is a more important visual characteristic for a small child than form. As a child grows older, however, and acquires cognitive and differentiation skills, his or her experiences with objects and perceptions change. The child becomes more adept at comparison and conceptualization. That is, he or she can use the experience to decide what is alike and different and classify it
accordingly. This notion of ordering or creating a structured meaning for the world is related in large part to language. Which language is employed and how and in what context it is used has everything to do with shaping concepts and classifying them.

A concept can be defined as a mental representation that is stored in memory. I take care here to limit the notion of "concept" to those which are formed through perceptual association. Perception of shape, for instance, is a concept. Shape perceptions essentially involve grasping the structural or spacial features of the objects being perceived. These structural perceptions are fitted into what Rudolf Arnheim calls visual concepts or visual categories. "What matters is that an object at which someone is looking can be said to be truly perceived only to the extent to which it is fitted into some organized shape" (Arnheim 1969: 27). The perception of shape starting at the retinal level is based on the condensation of form into its simplest state. Details and nuances of the perceived object modify it to an extent but do not contribute to the visual comprehension of the object.

Arnheim's position is similar to gestalt psychology's in that it deals with the perception of wholes and of basic structural features. It is opposed to the traditional view that visual information is fitted suitably into a conglomeration of shapes according to a person's past experience. If this were true, he contends, shape perception would be cognitively inferior because it would be limited to the "automatic gathering of incoming material" (Arnheim 1969:
Perception is the result of higher mental associative functioning. It involves skill which is acquired through time, development, and experience.

Ilona Roth (Frisbey and Roth 1986:19) provides another example of how concept formation and visual perception are indispensably related. The mental representation of a chair, for instance, may consist of something one sits on with four legs. This representation carries with it a conceptual category of the shared structural and functional characteristics. If this category did not exist, every chair would be a novel object. If every object were novel it would be exceedingly difficult to recognize and make sense of the world around us. Memory, too, Roth argues, would function inefficiently without the ability to organize knowledge into categories. Without them, we would be forced to store trivial information as to the specific characteristics of every chair we saw rather than retain only the essential information about chairs in general and about personally important ones. To borrow an old adage, we wouldn't be able to see the forest for all the trees.

Roth's example provides us with the most useful and common relationship between perception and memory—that of recognition of things seen. Acquired visual knowledge not only helps to detect the nature of an object in the visual field, it assigns the object a place in the system of things constituting a total view of the world (Arnheim 1969: 90). Perception, then, forms a visual concept after the perceived is given shape. When a chair is seen as a clearly
defined object and it sufficiently resembles the memory image of the chair category, then the chair is seen as a "chair."

It is easy to say that due to perception a chair is a chair, but how does the chair become a chair? I have alluded briefly to the notion that there is a development process involved in the sophistication of perceptions. The ways in which this process works, however, requires elucidation. In this next discussion on the cognitive aspects of perceptual development, I draw most heavily from Piaget's theory. His work is useful in its analysis of the successional "stages" characteristic of intellectual development. This is important not only for the understanding of perception but will be significant later when discussing Yaqui children's drawings.

According to Piaget's theory, our growth into mature intelligence, or formal cognitive structures, is a function of four stages: the sensory-motor period, the preoperational stage, the concrete operations period, and finally formal operations. These stages are relative and are by no means confined to specific age groups. In most cases, however, there seems to be a continuity in the ages relevent to these stages. The first and second stages are most relevent for this paper for they constitute the "formative years," wherein an individual's learning capacity is great. It is these stages, within the first six or seven years of life that perceptual skills sharpen enough to enable understanding of oneself in terms of the surrounding environment.
The sensory-motor period, spanning roughly from birth to two years of age, is characterized by action. At birth humans are essentially reflex babies meaning they suck, grasp, and cry. Awareness is self-absorbed and actions self-absorbing. After spending any amount of time with babies and toddlers, it is apparent that they spend a great deal of time engaged in repetitive action. At this stage, making a new sound, movement, etc. is a discovery and the repetition is the recapturing of the new experience. Gradually, the child is able to make these actions not by chance but with intention. This signifies a change from looking or touching for its own sake to looking and touching in order to manipulate an object for its reaction.

This stage is extremely important to the larger discussion of perception because the knowledge gained herein is primarily of sensory origin. Take vision as an example. Vision begins undirected and passive. An infant looks and sees objects but does not follow their motion with its eyes. This sort of semi-focus becomes active looking, a watchfulness which drinks in the scenery. The gaze, then, grows into a state of recognition where familiarity becomes important.

This visual development is related to what Piaget terms object concept (Flavell 1963: 130). This is perhaps the most significant accomplishment in the early years. Object concept is essentially a coming to know objects as having a life of their own apart from the child. Objects occupy space within the realm of time.
For instance, if a ball falls off the table and rolls behind it the child understands that the ball still exists though it cannot be seen. The child knows to look for the ball behind the table or wait to see if it rolls back into view. This may not seem like a great feat of intelligence but life without an object concept is unmanageable. With object concept, the environment is no longer plagued with confusing appearance and disappearances. It has form.

Stage two in a child's development is titled the "preoperational subperiod" in Piagetian terms. Between the approximate ages of two to six or seven, the intelligence of action becomes one of action and completion. After having acquired a sufficient amount of perceptual and physical maneuverability, action is no longer for its own sake but for a result. The result of the completed action is perceived as either a success or failure. Similarly a preoperational child can treat perceptual cues as a sign that something is to follow. This is the beginning of understanding causation.

Infants and toddlers begin by perceiving things in a qualitative manner; that is, they gain knowledge by sensory means, through color, texture, or sound. With the development of object constancy and emerging logic and differentiation skills, the child gathers more qualitative details from his or her surroundings. These details are increasingly supplemented with quantitative information which relates more to depth and spatial relationships. The meanings
created from the early primary experience are modified by the changing thought patterns to create contextual meaning.

The preoperational experience comes to grips with totality. Flavell (1963: 151) provides a good example for this total experience. He likens the sensory-motor stage to a segment of super 8 film where the perception of the scene is one frame at a time. A child with preoperational perception, however, can grasp the simultaneous and all-encompassing view of the scene. Preoperational thought is based on representations of reality, not just singular acts in reality. In a sense, the sensory-motor period is a private affair involving the child's actions of discovery in reality. The preoperational child, on the other hand, makes references and representations of reality that are public or understandable on a larger interpersonal scale. These references are in essence conceptual intelligence. This knowledge enables comprehension of symbolic systems which are culturally relevant. Language, for instance, constitutes a symbolic system. When this point is reached, the foundation of our conceptual framework is at work and the chair becomes a chair.

A "chair" is a fairly straightforward category. In most languages and cultures, there is bound to be an example of a "chair" equivalent that is based on similar physical and functional characteristics. Take a more complex concept like "home," for instance which is a visual concept whose shape and content varies considerably among peoples. To some, "home" is equated with one's
house or dwelling—a round, square, or multi-leveled shelter. To others, the association of "home" may be with a neighborhood where one grew up; or home may be bound to a particular territory and linked to concepts of heritage and origin. Complex identifications such as this are not easily reducible to categories or conceptual assignment because they co-vary with other aspects of one's cultural environment and upbringing. This suggests that some concepts or percepts are achieved through alternative processes other than the classification channels posited by Roth or Piaget's developmental sequence.

Piaget's theory, for instance, does not recreate the full range of meanings within a cross-cultural context. Piagetian theory highlights four main components which are said to be determinants of developmental psychological processes. These are biological factors, equilibrium factors, social factors, and cultural and educational transmitters. The last component is said to be reducible to specific language influences. This, however, does not take into account different cultural values or value systems which meaningfully contribute to the developmental process (Pinxten 1987: 37). This, Pinxten contends, is Mangau's criticism of Piagetian theory. He asserts that culture specific operations and paradigms be allowed to complete Piaget's model (Pinxten 1987: 37-38).

Piaget's theory, for instance is linear, sequential and based on individual mental processes. Its graphic equivalent would resemble a staircase which escalates onto a long, flat landing. Mental
development, then, progresses from the bottom stair to the top one then levels off through adulthood. Once the top stair, concrete operations, is reached then the developmental unfolding ceases. Humans, however, are interactive beings who are constantly experiencing and learning from their surroundings. For this reason, it is useful to imagine development as part of a concentric framework. Development as a continual, circular process allows all factors of one's life, cultural and environmental, to contribute to it.

L. S. Vygotsky's theory is useful within this context (1978). He contends that learning and development are related where development lags behind learning. This lag creates the "zone of proximal development" (1978: 86) which is unique within the sphere of human learning. This zone approximates the distance between a child's actual and potential development. It is the difference between developed mental functions resulting from completed developmental cycles and those which are in the process of maturing. Imitation is the primary means through which a child's potential unfolds. Imitating children and adults, thus, enhances a child's own capacity for learning and development. Therefore, the child's social and intellectual climate is of utmost importance to his or her development. A child's internal speech and reflective thought arise from interactions between her and persons within her environment which then give way to the child's own voluntary action (Vygotsky 1978: 90).
Vygotsky's theory links individual development to a social environment. Children's verbal and play-oriented imitative behavior recreates important patterns within their specific social and cultural community. In this way, children grow into and become part of their surroundings. This spherical, interactive notion of development will be particularly useful when considering the learning of the Yaqui children because it helps to explain how cultural knowledge is transmitted.

Before moving to a cultural discussion, however, it is necessary to look at learning as a process unto itself. People, for instance, do not learn in the same manner; there is a great variety of learning styles between individuals and among people who may or may not share a similar culture. Following is a review of the prevalent human learning styles. I include these as an introduction rather than present them as definitive studies because the data is sometimes guilty of overgeneralization.

Codes of organizing and processing information vary both individually and culturally. These variations can be conceptualized as groupings of four oppositions: global/analytic, impulsive/reflective, verbal/non-verbal, and field independent/field dependent (More 1987: 19). The global/analytic strategy can be expanded as the relational differences between simultaneous, holistic processing versus sequential, ordered processing where the learning focus is on the whole or the parts, respectively. Impulsive/reflective learning modes are akin to "trial and error" and
watch-then-do approaches. This establishes an important feature of learning from failures and mistakes as either contributing or inhibiting development. The verbal/non-verbal strategy differentiates between persons who are inclined to use imagery to understand and remember concepts as opposed to those who tend to label and define. Field independence has to do with a person's ability to separate a figure from its background, a part from the whole. A field dependent person, on the other hand, is less able to separate the parts of a whole and is usually more socially conscious and intuitive (More 1987). These modes of learning relate to different perceptual strategies that can be employed to create understanding. They may be individually or culturally determined.

Several studies have looked at perceptual learning among Native American groups. Their findings are used here to identify trends which are not meant to proclaim truisms blanketing the incredible diversity among Native peoples. Marashio (1982) examined learning through traditional means citing Sioux and Tewa examples. More (1987) concentrates on Native learning styles from a Canadian perspective. Pinxten's study (1987) deals with spacial and geometrical understanding within a Navajo context. Rhodes (1988), too, approaches the topic from a Navajo understanding. Though these studies focus on different Indian cultures from different geographical regions, they all reach similar conclusions. First, they are directed toward teachers with conclusions being drawn for use in educational settings. What they have found through
primary study and citation is that Native children tend to be more
global than analytical and reflective rather than impulsive in their
thought patterns. In a multi-cultural classroom, for instance, the
Indian children, generally, are quiet and much less outspoken than
their non-Indian classmates. They internalize situations and
information and often require prompting to verbalize their
understanding. More (1987: 20) offers the illustration that Indian
children use imagery to learn and remember difficult concept as
opposed to the verbal processes of labelling and defining. This is
consistent with traditional learning through story, myth, and legend.
Though the vehicle is verbal, the vital information is conveyed
visually through images.

These findings are grounded in the holism of American Indian
and First Nation Peoples thought where relationships are
which reveals the identification of wholes over parts. He recounts
the painting of a mural by a Native artist. The painter stood before
the immense blank wall for several hours just looking. He then
began to apply red to all the regions requiring that color. He
proceeded with application of all other colors in this manner. The
forms, then, did not unfold until well into the painting process. The
painting was completed without a paper or a wall sketch. The
painter had envisioned the whole piece before he had commenced
painting it. This illustration serves as an example of a non-linear
perceptual process. In this mode of thought, everything becomes
part of everything with few discrete observable categories (More 1987: 24). This is not to suggest that non-linear thinking presupposes this style of painting or that it is a characteristic shared by all Native people. The Yaqui children, as will be described later, employ a very different strategy of picture production.

Rhodes (1988: 23) further distinguishes between Native and Anglo (Western) thought focussing on differences in learning style. He cites Marth Becktell's unpublished manuscript (1986) where the Navajo learning style is characterized by: 1) observing, 2) thinking, 3) understanding/feeling, and 4) acting. The comparable Anglo learning style includes: 1) acting, 2) observing/thinking/clarifying, and 3) understanding. The Navajo reflective style underscores the importance of the perceptual process as a precursor to some sort of action or decision making. Watch-then-do and listen-then-do thought modes provide the critical pathways for informational processing. As a cultural learning style, children would acquire skills and understanding from the family and community with a minimum of questions and explanations. It is a process of refining one's perceptions about riding a horse or making a tortilla until becoming personally comfortable enough with the task to try it. This stands in marked contrast to "trial and error" learning which occurs through the feedback process. This type of learning through failure and mistakes is said to inhibit rather than facilitate learning among many Native American children and adults. The learning styles "typical" of American Indians may or may not correspond to
the age-related, incremental stages of perceptual and cognitive development put forth by Piaget. There have been no studies conducted in this area. By and large, however, the styles reflect knowledge acquisition as corelative with perceptual comprehension and a social environment. Even though the modes of thought may be generally applicable, the meanings generated occur within the context of culture specificity.
The preceding chapter cited several examples of the ways in which perceptual information begets understanding. Although perception is a human phenomenon, its process need not be consistent among all peoples. Perceptual understanding is both individually and culturally sanctioned which creates a diversity in the frames of meanings arising from it. The perceptual and conceptual process through which the Yaquis create their frame of meaning, for instance, is a function of their unique world view (Chilcott 1985: 25).

Fellowship and flowers are used here as metaphorical representatives of this world view and of the socio-religious nature of Yaqui culture that springs from it. I hope, in the following pages, to introduce Yaqui culture in two ways. One approach describes the geography and atmosphere of Old Pasqua as a formative setting. The other illustrates the prevailing world or life view held by many contemporary Yaquis. The aim is to paint a picture of Yaqui life as an internal and external cultural landscape which serves as a setting for the transmission of knowledge evident in the children's visual creations.

It would be useful, however, before espousing on Yaqui culture to determine what "culture" means within the coming context. A classic, anthropological definition of culture views it broadly as
"the way of life" of a people (Peoples and Bailey 1991: 17). In the case of the Pasqua Yaqui, however, this definition is insufficient. The Yaqui, for instance, access three languages (English, Spanish, and Yoeme) and live within the city limits of Tucson, Arizona. They are neither exclusive nor remote. Yaquis go to Texaco, Circle K, and Fry's. So the question is, what differentiates a Yaqui from a non-Yaqui. After all, to Heather behind the convenience store counter, a Yaqui looks Hispanic.

In this sense the Yaquis at Old Pasqua are an enclave, a culture within a larger culture. "Yaqui", then, is both an ethnic and social identification in a cross-section of Tucson citizenry. Identity defines the cultural characteristics of an ethnic group where identity, background, and origin are constantly revalidated through cultural expression (Keyes 1979: 4). Yaqui cultural expression is largely socio-religious in nature, and therefore, it is through their social and religious systems that "Yaquiness" is transmitted. So, in mentioning Yaqui culture, I am referring to a set of shared meanings and practices which make the members of the community distinct from those non-Yaquis living nearby.

Pasqua village itself sits in the vicinity of Grant and Oracle roads in west central Tucson. Its area encompasses some 40 acres. The village has an atmosphere similar to that of other barrios in Tucson. Pasqua streets are lined with modest accommodations. All dwellings are single level with a yard that is often fenced in by chain links. For a person accustomed to plush landscaping and
million dollar stucco contracts, Old Pasqua would likely seem aesthetically unkempt. When one understands, however, where the grass is greenest, the neighborhood has considerable charisma. Among the homes and streets, there is a real sense of community where everyone knows everyone else. In this neighborly air, people congregate in yards for afternoon banter while children play and zip around on their bikes. The richness of the community lies in its people. A yard is just a yard, but within people there is life.

Whether one likes to admit it or not, Pasqua suffers from ills that plague other communities. Alcoholism is evident in the amount of broken glass and bottles scattered on the ground of the neighborhood’s vacant lots. The youth are considered at risk for adolescent behaviors such as early pregnancy, school attrition, and alcohol use. This condition consequently was the main impetus for creating the Old Pasqua Youth Artists organization (OPYA). It began as and continues to be a prevention program which provides positive support and feedback for the community children. One may wonder how a community can thrive under the weight of such disadvantages. In this case, it does because the strength of Yaqui community and culture lies in the social and religious realms rather than within the economic or institutional ones. Religiously and socially, Pasqua is a tightly knit unit.

Yaqui religious or ceremonial organization is interlocked functionally and ritually though individual and group commitments.

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3 This information was taken from Muriel Painter's book, With Good Heart, (1986).
This organization is comprised of four main societies, the church group, the Matachin society, the Kohtumbre Ya’ura, and the native dancers. Membership into these societies occurs as a result of apprenticed training through observational learning or a manda which is a sacred vow to Jesus, Mary, or a saint promising offerings or ceremonial duty in return for divine alleviation of stress or suffering.

The societies are further sub-divided into titled positions characteristic of the functions which they uphold. The church group, for instance, consists of the maestro who is the religious leader, the sacristan, the altar women, the flag bearers, and the angels. Both young and old hold these important church-based positions. The Kohtumbre is a military society comprised of the caballeros and the fariseos. They are in charge of the Lenten ceremonial events occurring both in the plaza and in households. They supply the necessary labor needed to "set the ceremonial stage" and also enforce proper ceremonial behavior throughout the community. The chapayekas, masked members of the fariseo society, provide much of the ritual drama for the "Gloria," the climax of the Yaqui Easter ceremony, serving jointly as evil conspirators and clowns. The Matachinis are a group of men and boy dancers under vows to the Virgin Mary. Finally, the native dancers are notably the musicians, singers, and dancers associated with the arts of pascola and deer dancing. Rewards of society membership confer access to heavenly blessings, personal satisfaction in religious expression, and unity
with the Yaqui way of life of feeling, identity, and integration of the individual toward the group (Painter 1986: 137-38).

The fabric of Yaqui social life is also characteristic of this integration. Its weave extends beyond the borders of one Yaqui community into the fibrous network of Yaqui villages in southern Arizona and Sonora, Mexico. Kinship acts as social cement. The interpersonal relationships fostered in a strong kinship system play a significant role in yielding social cohesiveness. They bring people together in extended family units. At a community level, they also serve as a measure of social order by reinforcing proper behaviors and values within the cultural community. This is true within many Native and Mexican-American communities, as well.

This concept is well illustrated by several of my experiences as a visitor to Old Pasqua. One afternoon while talking to a Yaqui friend she told me that she had a party at her house over the weekend. I automatically assumed that the party was among a group of friends or peers. Her gathering, however, was family, her sisters, their families, her mom, a few neighbors, and food, food, food. I could just picture it. The adults gathered together telling stories and laughing while the kids horsed around in groups behind the tables and couches. It sounded like a real coming together much like the gathering my family has at holidays.

From her story, I gained an appreciation for the strength of Yaqui relatedness, of kin, and of identity. Within the village, there is the sense of lighthearted communion that carries along with it a
depth of seriousness. During OPYA session, the adolescents talked to me about who they were related to in the program. I was surprised at the extent of cousinhood that tied many of them together. I also learned that among the children there is the widespread belief that one should have children early in life. I recall countless times the look of consternation on their faces when I told them I hadn't any children of my own. "You should have had a child when you were fifteen," one of the youngsters said. The conversation extended into the hypothetical situation of what if I'd had a baby when I was fifteen. That, I responded, would be a drag because I would have had to quit school. My questioner offered the similar experience of her cousin, who was eighteen, now. In the same vein, the children had trouble reconciling that I moved to Tucson so far from home without any relatives. "Aren't you lonely?" I was asked on occasion.

These comments candidly reflect both the social understructure and social nature of a Yaqui community. The generational flow is active, and not only contributes to the respect for the family, but facilitates intergenerational communication through the frequent social gatherings. Traditionally, the social get-togethers took the form of pahkos, all night fiestas held at individual residences which kept the community in touch between ceremonial seasons. The Pascola dancers, literally translated from Yoeme as "old men of the fiesta," act as the ceremonial hosts of the
gatherings. As these practices flourish, the bond between Yaqui beliefs and Yaqui blood endures.

As is common when people congregate, they talk. In communities, like those of Native Americans, where getting together is important, talk becomes more than an idle pastime. Talk, in the form of story, is a means of communicating which goes beyond the telling of a tale. Any who have had the opportunity to read poems or prose written by Native American writers will notice that they allude freely to the richness of storytelling as a setting for transmitting gossip, history, facts, and humor. Story is about being together through time, sharing, and learning. Storied communication is an indispensable part of Yaqui culture and community. Their verbal arts of speaking and singing are well developed as formal means of cultural communication. It seems to follow that the informal passage of information through story would have similar import.

From this conceptualization, I would like to preface the next section of the paper with a story. Rather than present it as fact, I hope the story will serve as an illustration upon which to base further discussion of the Yaqui belief system and world view.

In the wilderness dawn before Christianity, a single tree was emitting vibrations, a communication which the Surem could not understand. The people were scared and confused by the voice of the tree. They sent for Seahamut (flower woman) to interpret the tree's message. Its voice, she said, was God speaking. He wanted the people to accept the seed and cultivate, to
learn good and evil and the way of baptism. It is said that some tried to hide what the tree said by ripping it from the ground. Those who accepted the message, however, continued to live in Yaqui country. Those who rejected it went underground (to the wild places) taking the yo ania with them. Some of them became ants.

In the absence of a context, this story ought to confound someone encountering it for the first time. A top ten question might be, "yo what?" Without the necessary cultural knowledge to add meaning to the story, such a reaction is to be expected. In the next few pages, I hope to bridge some gaps in knowledge, not only to provide a cultural context for the story, but also to bring to light some key concepts in the Yaqui world view.

The Yaqui people practice a syncretized Catholicism. That is, they have blended their traditional religious system with the Catholicism brought by the Jesuit missionaries in the 1600's. The result of this hybridization is an integrated religious system comprised of seemingly opposed elements. The best way to approach such a complex system is to introduce it within the framework of two overlapping realities. I will present each with its important symbolism in order to provide a background for some of the images appearing in the next chapter.

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4 The Yaqui concept of reality is very different than that of Western European origin. They understand the world as having multiple realities which cross boundaries of time and space. Within this thought frame, past-present-future is a fluid entity allowing for the interaction of the ancient and current, the sacred and the secular. These ideas are not fictitious; they are real.
One must begin with the oldest world, the enchanted world of the *huya ania*. This world predates the advent of Christianity and agricultural to the Yaqui. It can be conceptualized as a wilderness. It is a natural place teeming with plant and animal life and an abundance of spiritual power. The power of this world is of the impersonal type said to be left over from the creation of the universe (Chilcott 1985: 23) Therefore, the spiritual dimension of the *huya ania* does not exist in a personal sense but rather reflects the awesome forces of the macrocosm. Its association is neither with good nor evil but with its capacity for unlimited renewal through the cycles of nature.

Originally, this was the realm of the *Surem* who are the ancestors of contemporary Yaqui. They are known as the little people who freely inhabited the region around the Rio Yaqui before the introduction of agriculture, living in complete balance within the natural setting of the *huya ania*. Although one speaks of the *Surem* in the past tense, they still inhabit the same areas in Sonora and live within the Yaqui communities of southern Arizona, unseen. As related in the story, the Surem rejected baptism and took their realm "underground." This means that they continue to exist as a part of reality in the Yaqui cosmological scheme though they are invisible in the sense that they cannot be perceived at will.

The story, too, mentions the *yo ania*, another aspect of the *huya ania*. The *yo ania* can be conceptualized as the wildest, remotest, most enchanted dimension of the *huya ania*. It is honored
for it is ancient, awesome and terrifying; it serves as a source of power and inspiration. Its manifestation is associated with the Pascola dancer.

The traditional sequence of Pascola dances is in dedication to various animal spirits of the *huya ania*. For instance, a Pascola wearing a goat mask is said to have received his dancing skill from the mountain goat spirit of the *huya ania*. The Pascolas are present as hosts of large fiestas such as, Palm Sunday eve, Easter eve, Holy Cross, and St. Ignatius, fiestas of promise, certain death ceremonies, and weddings (Painter 1986: 241). Their role as ceremonial hosts includes providing entertainment through dance and verbal interaction and furnishing watery refreshments (ibid). As ritual clowns, the Pascolas have the opportunity to sublimate anxieties and frustrations in socially recognized and approved channels (Painter 1986: 269).

The Pascola always appears bare to the waist with a blanket around his hips. Rows of bells or cocoon rattles dangle from his wide belt while rattles encircle his calves. His hair is tufted in a red ribbon representing a flower. The Pascola wears an oval mask of carved wood painted black with white designs. Often a symbol of a lizard or cross will appear on the brow. Course white hair sometimes five to seven inches long simulates bushy eyebrows and a beard.

The Pascola dance itself is characteristically light-hearted in tone. There can be from one to four Pascolas performing with their
musicians where each dancer employs his own individual styles of arm movement and foot shuffle style step. The Pascola performs a masked and unmasked dance. For the latter, the Pascola pushes the mask to the side of the face and dances to the music of a Mexican harp and a violin (Spicer 1980: 102). The masked dance, where the mask covers the face, is performed to the music of a tampaleo (drum) and a wooden whistle played by a single musician. I have seen the masked dance performed several times and assume that it is most widely used for public display. During a night-long fiesta, however, the Pascolas perform a series of dances starting to the music of the violin and harp and continuing to the tampaleo. The corresponding unmasked and masked dances are determined by the sequence of songs and dances selected by the performers (Painter 1986: 264).

Pascola dancing is often performed in conjunction with deer dancing. These two art forms are reknowned signifiers of Yaqui culture both within and beyond the community. For instance, the Pascola and deer groups participate in the Yaqui social and religious events of the pahko and the last week of the forty day Easter Ceremony. The current generation of youth dancers perform for extra-community functions such as Tucson Indian Day in Armory Park, as well. It is not uncommon for the deer dancer to perform at public cultural events. During Native American week at the University of Arizona, the deer dancer appeared as part of the weeklong series of cultural events as did the Apache Crown Dancers.
The deer dance itself is an ancient and revered ritual. Whether in a public or private setting, it conveys a certain solemnity. The dance is simultaneously sacred and popularized. Often when discussing Native American art forms, they issue of sacred versus secular arises. This is especially true in the Southwest where many traditional practices have sparked the interest of the non-Indian community and led to commercialization. In the case of the Yaqui deer dancer, sacred or popular, need to be mutually exclusive. The dance may hold ritual significance in either sphere. Here I quote Refugio Savala, a Yaqui poet, who captures the feeling of the dance in the following description.

The deer hunters' song[s] are very beautiful in composition. The poetry is characteristic of the life in the wilderness...

Three men are seated on the ground with faces toward the sunrise, with the hats lowered upon the forehead. One of them (with a pan full of water), beats a gourd bowl floating bottom up in the water, with a short stick bound with corn ear barks to produce a muffled noise. The other two singers each have a thin rod made of hard wood exquisitely carved into many teeth laid on top of another small gourd cup on the ground. With the right hand the singer holds another wooden wand, which he wags on top of the toothed rod; the sound it makes is something like filing iron. With all this noise, the songs are almost inaudible.

Out of these hunting songs, the "Deer Dance" was originated. The dancer's bonnet is made of white rag: above it the deer head is securely mounted. With it on his head, the dancer imitates the deer going down to a stream of water. He is half naked with a skirt made from rebozo, a Mexican shawl, and a wide leather belt around his waist decorated with innumerable shells of
deer hoofs hanging loosely on chamois strings. He has in his hands a pair of gourd rattles which he wields harmoniously with the songs. His movements are quick and blitheful. Bound to his legs are the curious rattles made from the worm cocoons. This kind of rattles we call "tenoibim" (Savala and Sands 1980: 78-9).

The deer symbolizes the sea ania, or sacred flower world, which is commonly regarded as the huya ania in bloom and gains association with its most fruitful aspects such as streams, rain, and clouds. From this world, sailo maso, little brother deer, comes. It is his spirit which fills the deer dancer. The sea ania provides not only the inspiration for deer dancing but also the ancient art of deer singing. Evers and Molina's book *Yaqui Deer Songs* (1990) includes translations of the deer song's poetic incantations reflective of the sea ania.

The huya ania as the enchanted, natural world encompasses all of this Old World knowledge and power. Though it seems to be one step removed from twentieth century human reality, it can be felt at any time through visions or dreams by those who are attuned to its resounding presence. The dimensional concept of the huya ania is purely a Yaqui concept. It is, for the most part, a reality which is not experientially open to non-Yaquis, though we may bear witness to certain of its token representatives. Even for Yaquis, first-hand experience of its reality does not lend itself to daily exposure. It must be sought or, in some cases, it is given.
The reality of daily life is quite different from the honored world of the *huya ania*. There are routine considerations such as, job, food, family, and whether or not the car runs. This "mundane" reality is one of oppositions -- good/bad, left/right, stop/go. For Yaquis, the primary opposition is between good and evil. The talking tree spoke of good and evil in connection with baptism. In other words, the Yaqui accepted a new reality when they accepted Christianity and incorporated it into their existing belief system. This reality of dialectically opposed morality and mortality has become enmeshed with the reality of cyclic nature to a point of common origin. Edward Spicer says that "we might call this an oppositional integration; it involve[s] continuing interaction to two opposing conceptions of the universe within a common framework of religious expression (1980: 70).

Old Pasqua is a fairly conservative, church-centered community. The Yaqui word for church, *teopo*, means God inside (Spicer 1980: 65). The Pasqua Neighborhood Center consists of the main office, the church with its plaza holy grounds, and various community buildings. The church and the rooms where the Old Pasqua Youth Artists program is held are adjacent occupying the same building. This collection of structures serves literally as the community center for business, recreation, and worship.

The church is distinguished by the two rought iron crosses projecting from the roof. The building is a white, Spanish-style adobe, the front of which opens into the sanctuary. Inside are rows
of backless wooden benches that face the long altar on the western wall. The altar is brightly decorated by saintly statues, flowers, and madonnas. Large crucifixes occupy the central focus. Except for the altar area, the church is rather plain in comparison to many large Catholic sanctuaries.

Yaqui Christian beliefs, however, are far from plain. They combine Catholic doctrine, medieval liturgy introduced by the Jesuits, and pre-Spanish beliefs and behaviors. God himself is a somewhat anthropomorphic figure which decreases the likelihood of his being envisioned as the great, white-bearded patriarch of Western Christianity. God, in Yaqui terms, is understood to be the source of infinite love and solicitude toward humans residing in a heaven bathed in light and full of flowers. Jesus, on the other hand, is a less remote figure. He acts as the intercessor between God and people for individual salvation. Jesus is thought to have been a wanderer crossing the landscape of the world. Some Yaqui believe that he travelled through Yaqui country in Sonora while others think Jesus may have been Yaqui (Painter 1986: 75). His blood as it fell to earth during the crucification turned to flowers 5. Jesus threw the first fiesta creating its participants and ceremonial instruments and most members of Yaqui ceremonial societies serve under a vow to him. Mary, Itom Ae, the compassionate one, is the kind mother. She is the revered head of the church groups and the Matachin society. At all times of the year, she is honored with flowers.

5 The Yaqui's widespread uses of flowers and "flowerness" are centered on this sacred belief.
I assume that the reader has at least some familiarity with aspects of the Christian canon, namely, the concepts of salvation, a "do unto others" morality, and the teachings of the Christian Bible. These are all well integrated into the Yaqui belief system. The Yaquis, for instance, identify strongly with Jesus' moral and behavioral practices. The Yaqui notion of "with good heart" is a good example of this. A good heart relates to the understanding of the virtues of honesty, respect, and proper intention. It does not necessarily reflect piousness but has to do with being true with respect to oneself and to others. Showing up at a ceremony drunk, for instance, is not acting with a good heart. The drunkard would be shunned in the eyes of the community for his or her improper actions. Having a good heart is essentially a personal attribute, an individual distinction within the scope of the Yaqui socio-religious behavioral code.

This distinction between good and bad has larger applications. Each year, the Yaquis hold diverse rituals, ceremonies, and ritual dances during the forty days of Lent which together function as a ceremony for world renewal. The Gloria, the ceremony's climax, dramatically performs the annual renewal as good ritually defeats evil. The drama provides an opportunity for community-wide atonement but it also has a cosmic significance which exceeds the players and their actions. On Holy Saturday, the day before Easter, the chapayekas ritually storm the church or ceremonial ramada. The chapayekas are members of a masked society who side with the
Roman legion as Christ's persecutors. The figures in the fashioned masks represent pure evil. The masks form the bad guys of Yaqui history. During the Lenten season, their evil power and influence escalates. At the climax of the ceremony, a ritual battle ensues between the forces of good and evil. The Little Angels, a white clad group of boys and girls, represent the side of good. It is these children of purity and innocence who defeat the evil legion with flowers. It is believed that the more witnesses there are to the performance, the easier it is for the Angels to triumph. Their victory restores the balance of good and evil, thus, keeping evil from taking over and destroying the world. To regain this balance requires the participation of the community and of outside visitors. The natural, restorative harmony of the *huya ania* is borrowed to bring much needed renewal to this world, thus, leading to the triumph of fellowship and flowers.

As a word of summarization to this cultural section, I have included a photograph of a mural painted on the back of the Old Pasqua Neighborhood Center (figure 1). The mural supplements words about the culture with a cultural depiction. It offers a pictorial recreation of the Yaqui cosmology. From the right side of the painting unfolds the lush splendor the the natural world. Its magical bounty is reflected in the water, foliage, and the distant mountains. In the foreground is the deer amid a bed of flowers. On the left sits a man in the desert. He is a Yaqui man in a Yaqui land. He plays a tampaleo (drum) and a Mexican whistle. Ritually, he is
the accompanist for the Pascola dance both the music and the dance of which exist as inspiration from the *huya ania*. Jesus rises from the center of the mural, arms outstretched. He is the bridger of worlds, the intercessor for human salvation the benevolent Teacher and Healer. Jesus symbolizes the divine goodness that enfolds all realities. In front of him flies an eagle bearing the Yaqui flag posing as a figure for Yaqui cultural strength and pride.
Seeing Yaqui culture through the eyes of the mural allows the viewer to recognize the communicative powers of the image. The image in this sense conveys more than painted forms. The mural's inherent meaning is linked to the simultaneity with which it communicates a host of important concepts in Yaqui culture. This all-at-once quality is characteristic of the communication pathways of artistic expression.

The complete and simultaneous existence of a painting or drawing does not suddenly appear as a manifestation. It begins as nothing, an empty, blank space. A work of art comes about only from the hand and inspiration of its creator. In materialistic sense, then, something (the art) comes out of nothing. A picture is a two-dimensional representation arising from something inside the artist. The process of creating a picture is an interactive learning experience between creator and materials, and, creator and creation. In this sense, a picture is a personal expression. However, a piece of art can act as a communicative vehicle for its viewer. It can relay something about the artist's environment which may or may not have been conscious during the creative process. Art, especially children's art, is by nature communicative. On one hand, a picture is what it appears to be, a reflection of form, style, and color. On a
deeper level, however, it is a many layered representation of its creator's reality.

In this sense, then, artwork is reflective of the artist's reality--his or her value system, environment, training in a sense one's experience. When dealing with children's art, there are different theories as to what this reality is. Lowenfeld (1957), from his work in art education, links creative development to the observable stages consistent with children's cognitive growth. Briefly stated, a child begins in the scribbling stage moving from the production of floating objects to the use of a baseline or horizon at about age six. Brittain (Young, ed. 1990:181) held this to be true within Western cultures. However, it may not be applicable cross-culturally. Alland's cross-cultural study among six groups of four to six year olds found compositional differences among them that directly related to their cultural and geographical environment (1983). Children are receptive vessels. In Vygotsky's view (1978: 123), the human organism is highly plastic and is influenced by the changing historical and cultural context into which it is born. Children's intimate surroundings, then, contribute a great deal to the creation process. If it did not, then, surely all children would be drawing the same things in the same manner as a characteristic of their age group.

This chapter entitled "The Mirror" looks at children's art. Specifically, it treats the art of the Old Pasqua Youth Artist program (OPYA) as reflections of a cultural countenance, a face of an
inner reality. I hope that "The Mirror" reflects the kind of art produced at OPYA showing in turn the visual intelligence that lies beneath the pictorial surface. This approach demands more than just a visual art analysis. Therefore, the discussion in this chapter will examine the art from three angles, namely; the youths' behavior and interaction while drawing and learning; their ability to pick-up and successfully convey images from Yaqui culture; and, their handling of new visual ideas, techniques, and compositions. "The Mirror" then reflects both art and artists.

Before embarking on this descriptive analysis, however, I find it necessary to reiterate some information about the Old Pasqua Youth Artist program. The OPYA program is a biweekly after-school program for the neighborhood Yaqui youth aging from five to fifteen years with the majority being between the ages of eight and thirteen. The program operates in an air of informality. Children are constantly in and out of the community building. They are supervised, even though supervision is handled quietly with the subtle presence of deferential treatment of young for old. Some of the children draw, some do not. For those who do, there is no instructor who says, "here's what we are going to do today." Periodically, visiting artists join the program bringing in specialty instruction. Working with the visiting artist(s) is strictly voluntary, however. With individual choice as the daily directive, the children's artistic spectrum is open ended.
The whole artistic process is founded on free, individual choice. All the art materials are provided by grant money. They include paper, colored and graphite pencils, chalk and oil pastels, watercolor and tempura paints, paint brushes, and an array of miscellaneous and seasonal items, such as glitter, gourds, and beads. In large part, all of these media options are continually available for use by the program's participants. Given this range, however, drawing is the medium most actively used. Drawings in pencil or chalk pastels are the most prevalent.

I will begin the discussion of the Old Pasqua arts with a look at chosen subject matter. Discussion of certain artistic elements will follow from this. During my year with OPYA, I watched the creation of at least 200 pieces of artwork though only about thirty are under consideration for this study. Generally, I found that Yaqui youths' works fell into three main categories all of which have to do with culture: natural environment, Yaqui cultural identifiers, and Mexican-American cultural images. Landscapes and animals, comprise the environmental category, and, with Yaqui cultural identifiers occupy a similar position as most frequently depicted. The third category includes the imagery of low-riders, trucks, and decorative and holiday ornamentation that are part of Chicano culture shared by Yaquis and non-Yaquis.

The colorful luminescent beauty of the OPYA landscapes caught my attention before I joined the program. The landscapes are more aptly labelled mountainscapes, where the outline of the peaks
separate land from sky. The mountainous forms take on the jutting, jagged characteristics of the western Tucson mountains. This singular mountain silhouette is often the focal area or the only line on the page. The detail for such pictures lay in their coloring. Some of the landscapes explode with chromatic brilliance. The soft vibrancy of chalk pastels lends itself to this effect and, therefore, serves as the primary medium for these scapes. In most cases, the children use paper towels to buff and blend the chalky colors after they are applied. The result is much like a vibrant sunset or a dark, starry night scene. Based on the sheer variety of landscapes that I have seen, the colors themselves seem less important to the creators than the effect of producing colors.

Not all the scapes, however, lack linear detail. Often a road or a river can be seen descending from the mountains usually near the middle of the drawing. The desert land may be dotted with cacti or perhaps a small tree. The geography, though, is unmistakeably desert. It is interesting to note that the details are drawn with pencil and are then carefully colored in if the picture is in color. The careful draftmanship of details such as cactus thorns stand in remarkable contrast to the looseness of the chalk medium. This condition shows a move toward detailed representation of real-life which grounds the viewer in the pictorial setting but does not attempt to mimic reality by recreating the spectrum of perceivable subtleties. The pencilled scapes are fairly common but their volume
does not compare to the chalk landscapes. There are no examples of this pencil style landscape included at the close of this paper.

The landscapes that do appear in the appendix, however, provide a glimpse of the variety among drawings that share the mountainscape form. They vary in their choice of color and in their interpretations of depth and perspective. The third one uses line in an interesting way. The tone of the picture is experimental and loose. The pencil markings reflect the speed in which the drawing was executed. The drawing emits a virtuosity of form in space and which stands unique among the plethora of OPYA landscapes. The OPYA artists rarely break up the mountain mass with lines unless they are to delineate a road or a river. Figures 2 and 6, for instance, outline mountains, but do not bisect their form. In figure 3, the artist not only bisects the mountains but criss-crosses the lines so that they form their own shapes within the mountains.

On the whole, the pencil drawing style is fairly consistent among all the children. The lines tend to be thick and heavy giving the marks a deliberate look. The style is the antithesis of sketchy where many, quick light lines are laid down to delineate basic forms. The Yaqui youth approach drawing much like Anglo children I have witnessed. That is, they draw one thing at a time filling the detail of each object before advancing to other empty space on the page. This suggests that what is being drawn and the process of drawing is more important than the compositional elements of a finished product. This idea is consistent with Lowenfeld's conclusion that
the final creative product becomes increasingly more important than the creative action as a child matures (1957: 217). A younger child in the motor stages will be activated by the process of drawing. The older child who is refining his or her skills will spend more time on a piece and will give more regard to its completion. Of course this does not imply that the finished drawing has no value to the child. At OPYA, the drawings are made with sale in mind, therefore, the outcome is very important.

Mainly, this drawing style reflects a lack of formal drawing training. I saw a change in one young man's drawing when a visiting artist showed him the benefits of light sketching. It helped him to better develop his object forms and arrange them on the page. So in this sense, the drawing style exhibited among the OPYA artisans is not so much developmentally related as it is reflective of a lack of formal drawing training.

Drawing, too, is the primary medium for depicting Yaqui cultural images. These images themselves have tremendous variation within the context of children's drawings. The variety of subjects includes crosses, flowers, the Yaqui flag, pascola masks, things relating to the deer dancer, and lettering which mentions OPYA or Yaqui. Rarely are any of these elements drawn exclusively, rather they are depicted in combination. Flowers, for instance, are a favorite addition to any picture. Crosses are frequently drawn with a garland of flowers encircling it. A flower may appear through the detail of a deer dancer.
Often, the cultural drawings appear in a decontextualized setting. For instance, most deer dancer drawings look like portraits in the sense that the dancer is the isolated focus on the page. He is pictorially divorced from the context of his dance as part of the deer dance group. He is portrayed accurately as far as the details of his costuming, but rarely appears with the musicians and deer singers. Some of the drawings appear but usually the drawn dancer is grounded in a desert setting or under a ramada.

The presence of this decontextualization may lie in the nature of interpretation. It is obvious from the detail of the deer dancer that the child is familiar with the dance. In fact, the dancer is the focus of the ritual; he is the actor. The musicians and singers sit off to the side on the ground. So for a child of ten or eleven, the dancer himself might be more important than the context in which he dances because he is the most visible. I find these rendered images extremely interesting for, like the drawn landscapes, they show an affinity for isolated detail which take compositional precedence over background details. On one hand, this is consistent with the naivity of children's representation, but on another it shows a move toward representing subjects as symbols in the sense that the rendered figures or objects take on the full range of meaning, unaccompanied. I recall a boy who was perplexed by his drawing of a deer dancer because he couldn't get the nose right.

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6 The portrait of the deer dancer, pascola, and tampalero (figure 8) indicates that there are exceptions to my general "rule." The drawing shows the figures in company rather than in isolation.
Meanwhile, the rest of the paper was blank. I do not know if the musicians are symbolically less important than the dancers or whether their exclusion is an expedient choice on the part of the artist. Some cautious questioning would likely disclose the children’s interpretations of this.

As an example of this decontextualized symbolization, I include in the discussion a powerful piece done by a seven year old boy. The context of the drawing is very sparse. Only a person familiar with Yaqui culture would know that this is a drawing of a chapayeka. The boy has paid careful attention to detail. The chapayeka masks, both on the figure and those scattered around the bottom of the page, are true to their actual form. They are rectangular having horns projecting from each side. Some masks are drawn from the side view so they reveal their characteristic big noses. The boy even included a modern chapayeka mask of a Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtle. All of the masks and the figure represented in the picture are on fire. The boy’s observational skills are impressive. His drawing conveys an understanding not only of the appearance of the chapayekas but also their ritual role. For instance, the masks are burned in Judas’ conflagration at the close of the Gloria. I do not remember if this piece was created near Easter, however, what it reveals is a symbolic event during the climax of the Gloria.

During my work at Old Pasqua, it has come to my attention that certain subject depictions are not appropriate for all audiences. Such is true with portrayals of the Gloria. The drawing discussed above, for instance, was not included in the public
The picture of the mask and flowers (figure 4) serves as a more common example of an OPYA cultural depiction. The flowers are typical of the ones drawn at OPYA where a multitude of petals emerge from the flower's center much like a rose or a carnation. It is rare to encounter a tulip or daisy shape. It is also true that red and red hues are common colors for flowers. In Yaqui religious belief, flowers represent the natural world, the _huya ania_, and its replenishable power and purity. Ritually, red ribbon carries this same significance. I doubt that such a connection is accidental. Perhaps association of red is taught to the children or perhaps it is simply perceived by them to be true. In either case, the children are portraying flowerness rather than actual flowers.

The mask in this picture is also interesting. It is a pascola mask, though not of the traditional type. It lacks the bushy eyebrows and beard but utilizes the pascola color scheme. The face is plainly a mask given the around-the-head tie which has been drawn underneath it. The large features of the mask give it a racially African look. The style of the drawing exemplifies the heavy outline characteristic of many OPYA drawings. Perhaps, the child was experimenting with a different visual solution to a traditional Yaqui form.

This painting also stands as a good example of the artist's two-dimensional perspective of three dimensional objects. For
same plane even though experience of reality says that the strap is at the back of the mask and the hair is in front. This is actually a sophisticated drawing in the sense that it represents all the dimensions of the mask from a single angle. It lacks the spatial logic of Western perspective but it reveals a knowledge of completeness on the part of the thirteen year old artist. As a picture, the forms are compositionally balanced with an eye for detail.

Another stylistic aspect which emerges from this picture and others is the uniformity of the color plane. In other words, color is applied evenly and consistently. Rarely are there any intensity gradations within a single color which suggest shading or volume. The coloring in the mask picture recently discussed exhibits this uniform tone. Each color occupies its own time and space. These color observations are more applicable to drawing and painting than to pastels which readily lend themselves to blending.

I have not conducted a detailed enough study to posit that certain colors take precedence over others in terms of their frequency of use or relative importance. The Yaqui youth seem balanced in their use of graphite and color. Color is important, however, when used with specific reference to Pasqua Yaqui and can be illustrated with some examples. Some visitors from out-of-state joined OPYA to introduce beading and simple basketry to the kids. Three of the boys chose a bunch of beads and formed a cluster on the floor. All three boys made necklaces of tiny beads arranged in
three bands of color, light blue, white, and red. This was when I was still quite new to the program and I thought, ahh, the stars and stripes. Thankfully, I didn't open my mouth as one of the boys offered that those were the colors of the Yaqui flag. The flag is composed of vertical bands of light blue, white, then red. Now that I am aware of this, I have noticed the color combination used in some of the drawings of flags, crosses, and in decorative lettering.

The third category of subjects, those shared with Mexican-American culture, is handled in much the same manner as the other two with one exception. The lines that delineate forms are applied heavily in two-dimensional space. Background is sparse centering primarily on objects rather than scenes. Color, again, is smooth and uniform. Their distinction from other types of drawings lay in who does the drawing. Decorative works showing patterns of hearts or stars and portraits of teddy bears are primarily works of young girls. To my knowledge, Yaqui girls, of any age, do not draw cars. It seems to be a subject matter reserved for the males who are visually and verbally interested in low-riders and "bad" hydraulic systems. Most of the trucks depicted are pick-up trucks many of which have gun or ladder racks projecting from the truck's bed. The drawings of vehicles are attentive to surface details such as lights, bumpers, and the size of the tires, and are usually drawn from a side view. I do not find the relationship between gender and certain subject matter to be a cultural sanction in this community more
than any other. In fact, these are the only instances where I have found any distinction between girls and boys drawings.

As I participated in OPYA, I learned from observation. My experience gained as a participant observer played a great role in my ability to recognize an aesthetic dynamic underlying the OPYA artwork. As the artists and I became more comfortable with one another, however, I began to do what I call "little experiments" to challenge the dynamics of form and color that were at work. In a sense, I adopted a methodology of introducing various visual solutions with the intent on watching the young artists' reactions. It was through these "experiments" that I got closer to the root of their artistic sensibility. This in turn allowed me to see the wellspring of visual intelligence and sensitivity they had which enabled them to take interest in and pick up what I was doing.

My usual course of action during the three hour program was to sit down at the table and draw. Sitting by myself, I would make pictures in different styles each week. Eventually, one or several of the kids would become interested. Sometimes they would simply ask questions; other times they would want to try what I was doing. Nearly always, the child's re-creation ended with a feeling of success and a picture with a life of its own.

This approach is an exercise beyond imitation. Imitation is a useful tool in that it can help a person practice, and thus, learn elemental artistic concepts so that he or she can then apply it unaided. However, my "experiments" were studies in black and white
contrast, mixed media, decorative form, and classical perspective. What were artistic concepts to me, were "kool pictures" to the viewers. So after I showed them what I was doing, they began their own with or without help. They handled these new things with an amazing degree of sophistication. On one occasion, I was making some organic-looking colored forms in oil pastel. An eleven year old girl, "copied" my forms and added her own color scheme. Where my picture was dominant in the primary colors, hers was comprised of greens, oranges, and browns. Borrowing from color theory, her picture was tonally the opposite of mine. I don't know if she had ever formally seen a color wheel or if her choice of color was strictly intuitive. In either case, her drawing displayed a remarkable artistic sensibility for her age and relative training.

I, too, tried things that required different types of skill. One day I brought my spirograph set to OPYA. Spirographs produce single-line circular patterns which require a degree of motor coordination and concentration. They are done in pen, so if a mistake is made is ruins the symmetry of the design. Complicated, multi-colored designs can be created by overlaying different patterns. Of the children who took interest in this activity, none of them had ever previously tried it. Within the space of a half hour or so, most of them were able to make near perfect forms. Amazingly, a girl of about thirteen came over, deciphered which combination of rings produced the most difficult pattern to execute, and made it perfectly the first time.
On another occasion, I was asked by an eleven year old boy to join his project. He was working on a 24x36 inch piece of oak tag which had suffered through some vigorous erasing. On his mural, he had constructed two long geometric buildings sitting on the horizon line and had several cars and trucks floating around the bottom. The drawing just wasn't working and he was stumped. One of his helpers suggested adding some roads. I offered the possibility of drawing a skyline of a city in the background behind the buildings so the picture would have some depth. As three or four of us painted the two-layered city scene, it grew into a creative scenario. The painting was the modern age where cars without wheels, or hovercrafts, cruised the one way streets to the magic city. Other children started painting skylines at night. The room was hyped into an artistic frenzy. Four people signed the painting and the boy took it home to hang in his room.

The group dynamic that day took the form of a cooperative learning environment where each artist was learning from and sharing with the others. It is obvious from this example that the Yaqui children are willing to share their ideas rather than being possessive of them. This lack of individual competitiveness is common among Native American children who come from cultures where sharing and cooperation are core values (Little Soldier 1989).

The following week, he and I made another mural. This time we each made our own compositional elements. I was thinking of perspective in an urban/rural setting. We shaded the city so it was
layered in the distance. I painted a big tree in the foreground that rose from the surface of the painting. He made a fountain beside the tree. It was looking good. Then, as he painted around the fountain, I dabbed the paint with my fingers to give the grass a little texture. My comrade said it looked dumb and tried to paint over it.

Unfortunately, tempura paint is not the most versatile medium. The others around looked at my texturized paint and replied, "no, it's got to be smooth." So, much for my "lesson" on depth and texture. The boy took the painting home but said he never hung it up.

Aesthetically, the Yaqui children's viewpoint is quite different from mine. I had thought that color was arbitrary until I had violated the children's cultural aesthetic which differentiates between color and colors. The smooth application of color has an important relation to its intensity. A uniform color is more intense and bright that a color which, dabbed by fingers, has become disrupted by paler, thin areas and darker, thick ones. For the Yaqui children, color must exist in its purest form whether it is pencilled, painted, or chalked because it is representative of something in their reality. Color may symbolize the ancient, natural world where color abounds; it becomes sacred in the sense that it requires proper handling. More specifically, color could possibly be tied in meaning to flowers which would link it to the ultimate good and holy grace. I was not shunned for my aesthetic violation. The color complex, then, is not a taboo in the strictest sense, instead it seems something associated with custom or preference.
Another aspect of the OPYA aesthetic dynamic is their use of paint as an extension of the pencil. They draw and paint in the lines just as they color in pictures. The fluidity of this liquid pencil is employed as an exacting medium. This artistic feature is shared by many of the children making it in a sense cultural. It could also be attributed to age and artistic development. The older artists, for example, display a broader use of blended and non-blended colors, thus showing a greater "freedom" with the medium. Generally, the OPYA artistic sensibility focusses on line to delineate both form and detail which greatly contrasts an impressionistic sensibility.

From experiments such as these, I recognized that the children were eager to try new things and readily pick up on what others are doing. No one is considered a copycat for imitating. The learning process behind the artistry of OPYA consists of shared ideas and concepts. The children watch and learn from each other or guests, then, incorporate that knowledge into their own sphere by testing and repetition. This supports Rhodes' claim about Native American learning styles. First, the Yaqui children observe, then they incorporate this information through thinking and feeling in order to finally act, or try the drawing themselves. Their actions are neither spontaneous nor impulsive because they consider the whole situation fully before execution. If they are uncomfortable with their own skills or ability, they will not put forth the trial effort.

Scholars in art education link creative development to meaningfulness. Just as people effectively communicate through
relationships, so a child needs to have an emotional relationship with his or her artistic tools, imagery, and medium for effective visual communication. Without an interest or attachment to something, the expression becomes arbitrary.

The best food will not taste good if there is no appetite for it. It may cause indigestion. The same is true for imposed technique. This is true for all levels for art education. The drive for expression must precede the learning of techniques (Lowenfeld 1957: 62).

So, perhaps to those who witnessed our painting, my dabbed green grass was like biting a chunk of bitter baking soda in a creamy chocolate cupcake. In another visual recipe, maybe the grass would have illicited another reaction. This quote supposes that creative development is linked to appreciation of and affinity for certain mediums. Small children, for instance, have difficulty with watercolor because they cannot control its liquidity on the page. They are not of the age where mistakes contribute to the aesthetics of a piece of artwork. With this in mind, perhaps the mural painters were not developmentally ready for the effect of finger dabbed paint or, conversely, they felt that the texturized grass made the painting look too juvenile.

It is more probable that the grass violated a fundamental aesthetic principle which relates to color intensity and their realistic conception. Realism is a tricky word to clarify. Webster defines is as an effort towards the faithful reproduction of nature. In the case of OPYA, however, realism is not so much naturalistic as
it is grounded in observation and the ability to reproduce visual information (Dondis 1973: 69). The children's style of fine-line detail stands in opposition to impressionistic and expressionistic styles where details are unveiled through bold strokes and color changes. Their aesthetic style is careful rather than impulsive which too is characteristic of their learning style. This true-to-life sensibility varies according to the subject matter and the medium being used in the depiction. It is interesting to note that the Yaqui drawings do not employ a photographic realism in the sense of conveying all the visual information contained in a scene; rather, they include only as much as needed for a sense of closure. The drawings of the solitary deer dancer and the landscapes with one or two cacti are good examples.

This dynamic of realistic representation reflects upon characteristics of the Yaquis as a people. They are fairly traditional and conservative living within the culturally prescribed codes of behavior and belief where disfavor is gained through seeking individual power and excellence beyond one's means. Similarly, among the youth's artwork, there are virtually no flagrant displays of non-conformity or examples of extreme individual expression. The children know what is and what is not appropriate and abide by it.

My inobstrusive manner allowed me to participate within this context without posing a threat. I was able to lend meaning to my projects by allowing the children to take interest on their own
accord. I neither taught nor forced them but rather let their interest and subsequent pursuit develop naturally. I found this to be an effective approach especially with Native children who previously reacted negatively to the nosy inquisition of an Anglo, OPYA volunteer. My findings support an active, watch-then-do learning style among the children. It is primarily through watching each other that artistic workmanship circulates through the program. They observe, perhaps ask a few questions, then try the task on their own. Perceptual understanding is a key feature in both learning and the experience of making art.

"The Mirror" is indeed a reflection of art and artists. It reflects the dynamic style, the face of OPYA. It reflects this face's variety of expressions. It reflects a visual intelligence behind this face. The point to this chapter was not to conclude that Yaqui kids are good artists. In fact, not all of the OPYA participants are gifted and talented visual artists. As a group, however, they are informed with a knowledge that comes from within which, in turn, reflects back upon their drawings.
What knowledge informs the Yaqui youth's drawings is indeed a cultural question. One way to address this question is to evaluate the drawings in terms of subject matter. In this case, what is drawn and what is not drawn are equally revealing. The visible subjects include landscapes, animals, cultural figures and symbols, and an assortment of popular images like low-riders, trucks, hearts, rainbows, etc. There are a number of things, however, that are not represented. It is exceedingly rare, for instance, for anyone at OPYA to draw people. The exception to this are the figures of the deer dancer, the Madonna, and Jesus who are all cultural entities. The children do not draw anything reflective of home life or school. There are no pictorial representations of families or pets or houses, and scarce references to television imagery. I know from my art-making experience with non-Yaqui children that children in the Tucson area do draw pictures of their homes and families, of dinosaurs, and sports teams.

The question, then, is what accounts for this difference? Certainly, most children have a home life. The Yaquis, in particular, have a nuclear and extended family network that is strong. One reason for its lack of representation may lie in the distinction between public and private life. The majority of the OPYA drawings reflect the public sphere of Yaqui life. They pinpoint the
recognizable ritual figures and symbols that are openly displayed during performances and/or routine worship, whereas, they do not reveal anything personal or private that may also have influence on their lives. By this I am making specific reference to family and homelife. One the other hand, maybe Yaqui family structure is so firmly in place that it is rendered non-visual in the eyes of the children. The care and support of a family and community, for instance, could be perceived on a level other than visual, and therefore, would not even exist within the realm of possible subject material.

Whatever governs the choice of drawing subject matter is clearly a cultural choice. The reason being is that the choice is consistent among all the OPYA artists who are creating within the program's free environment. Furthermore, one does not learn indiscriminantly all there is to know about Yaqui culture from the OPYA drawings. The children, for instance, do not draw or paint scenes from the annual Easter Ceremony. Given the cultural and symbolic importance of the Gloria, its lack of depiction seems strange unless one considers that there may be some taboo or preference at work which makes one subject more appropriate for permanent representation than another. For the Yaqui, it is not so much a case of subject prohibition as it is dealing appropriately with a portrayal. Who can see it, who should keep it, ought it be destroyed are important questions. Audience is critical and gains
complexity when considering the ramifications of a touring OPYA art exhibit.

Another aspect which may influence the choice of subject matter relates to the treatment of art in the home and in school. In Alland's cross-cultural drawing study, he found that school, together with the amount of visual stimulation in the environment, played an important role in shaping young drawers (1983). I asked the Yaqui artists on several occasions if they ever drew at home. Most of them replied negatively. Keeping in mind the original premise that seeing, knowing, and drawing are interrelated, if there is no drawing at home, then there would be no stimulation for the children to draw home scenes. Since drawing is not actively pursued at home, then perhaps schooling has some influence in the ways which the children see and interpret.

Roughly eight-five percent of the children participating in OPYA have either gone or are currently attending Richey Elementary School, a K-6 institution. The school, Arts Genesis, and the San Ignacio Yaqui Council together participate in a socially and culturally integrated program called Project Choki. The project is a community-based multicultural arts education program. Under this program, the school provides culturally relevant material for its seventy-five percent Yaqui student population. The program focuses on fostering skill and appreciation for the arts. In the fall of 1993 alone, there were artists sharing their knowledge of pottery, creative writing, dance, mask making, and mural painting
with the students. Several weeks ago, I walked through Richey's halls. The main display case adjacent to the office held within it a tribute to Yaqui culture. Inside were a deer dancer headdress, two pascola masks, a tampaleo, and sets of cocoon rattles with the Yaqui flag in the center of the display. The hallways were bordered with fifth and sixth grade artwork of the important instruments and tokens of their rich culture. The school, then, is providing a wealth of input into culturally directed art. It is also providing a diversity of art experiences to enhance the student's artistic knowledge and skill. The school environment, therefore, cannot be ruled out as a setting for relevant learning and knowledge acquisition.

Learning, in a sense, occurs within three educational forums (Rhodes 1988: 25). Formal, in-school education is clearly a significant contributor within this sphere of Yaqui learning. The second setting occurs as formal, out-of-school training. It is within this environment that children most often receive religious instruction and training from elders. Informal, out-of-school, the third educational level, is characterized by experiential learning from friends, family, and direct observation.

Learning, then, does take place on a non-instructional level. I contend that the knowledge which generates the OPYA aesthetic and sharing of ideas is transmitted on this non-instructional level. It is acquired through watching and listening to others as part of the experience of growing up Yaqui in a Yaqui community. Unless one is in training for a particular dance group or ceremonial society, these
paths of knowledge are not explicitly laid down. There is no chart or book in the church which lists the Yaqui religious code and all appropriate social and artistic behaviors.

Their cultural knowledge comes as a result of perceptual understanding that is attained at a young age. Teaching does not presuppose learning. However, a ritual activity that is not aimed specifically toward learning nevertheless contributes to it because it displays socially relevant information in an intelligible form (Landsmann, ed. 1991: 41). Similarly, while imitating others in culturally patterned activities, a child generates the opportunity for intellectual development (Vygotsky 1978: 129). At Pasqua, OPYA provides an excellent forum for these types of non-instructional learning. The setting for the program is cultural and is, therefore, non-threatening to the children. Drawing, through practiced representation, gives them the opportunity to repeatedly exercise their knowledge. Also, the cooperative program groups children with varying capability levels so that they can learn from and be challenged by each other.

There is a developmental variety among the OPYA participants which is most easily discussed through the activity of picture production. All the artists draw Yaqui cultural subjects beginning as early as age four or five. The visual sophistication of these drawings, however, increases with age. The drawings of older children, for instance, suggest a greater degree of aesthetic development because of the increasing compositional complexity.
With age comes the awareness of background detail and a handling of shading for volume. Older children have more refined skills and have more artistic experience both in OPYA and in school. Their artwork therefore reflects this refinement. There is, then, an age-related difference in the look of a picture whether or not the subject is the same.

The drawings seem to gain sophistication after the age of ten. This is not surprising since this is when children advance toward the threshold adolescence and its sphere of awareness. During this time, children characteristically move away from family identifications in favor of peers. Peer groups, then, become the primary away-from-home influence. This transition is reflected in the Yaqui children's creations. The Yaqui boys, for instance, begin drawing cars and trucks around this age. A car is certainly not a new sight to them, but it represents a pre-pubescent identification that the Yaqui boys share with their perhaps non-Yaqui, school friends. The children's emerging pre-occupation with low-riders shows that they identify more strongly with Mexican-American culture than with Anglo culture.

Within the OPYA drawings, there is evidence for both age-related, biological development and development which arises from social influences. A great deal of the knowledge which informs the children's drawings, however, is manifested through social and cultural channels. Individual mental contribution is less apparent. In theoretical terms, every function of a child's cultural
development appears twice. First, on the social level, the interpsychological level between people; second, on the individual one, the intrapsychological level inside the child (Vygotsky 1978: 57). The Yaqui artists' incorporation of socially and culturally mediated perceptions is unrefutable.

Cole and Scribner have cited numerous studies done in the field of cross-cultural perception (1974). Most of the studies focussed on differences in perceptual style as characteristic of global/analytic or field dependence/field independence mechanisms. The data in these studies arose from interpretation of two-dimensional photographs, drawings, and illusions. Little research has been done in the area of cross-cultural interpretations of real visual scenes and situations. Likewise, there have been no tests enacted to see how or what Yaquis do or do not perceive. If, however, perception, experiential knowledge, and drawing are inextricably linked, then drawings are informed by the perceptual level and, therefore, reveal something of it.

In turn, then, a well-informed and developed visual sense would contribute to the process of picture production because drawing is a visual medium. I wonder if the rich symbolism of Yaqui culture has in some way aesthetically socialized the children giving them an eye for detail and the ability to pick up and readily relay visual concepts. From my experience at OPYA, I noticed a strong relationship between watching, learning, and representing. It seems plausible that there is a fundamental relationship between cultural
symbolization and perceptual acuity. If this is true, then it must be a function of culture.

Chilcott in his article on Yaqui world view and the school (1985) asserts that the role of symbols and the process of symbolization in Yaqui culture has yet to be adequately studied. He feels there needs to be study in the areas of reference frames and also in the ways that Yaquis structure meaning. He suggests that if a comparison were made of recently introduced frames and the enduring, primal and synthetic frames, then symbolization as a transfer of information would be observable in Yaqui children. This, he says, would effectively map those frames through which knowledge is obtained and transferred.

Difficulty arises when trying to study internal processes such as frames of reference and aesthetic socialization. "Simply showing a relationship between some aspect of a culture and some aspect of individual performance does not tell us anything about the nature of connection between them" (Cole and Scribner 1990: 7). The more I expound on this intricate relationship the more complex and enmeshed it becomes. The circular model of seeing-knowing-drawing captures the total experience of all realms of a person's life. It accounts for the psychological, physical, social, and spiritual as changing aspects influencing a person's behavior, or in this case, drawing. In this way, then, a drawing shows understanding; it communicates and expresses that which lies inside. These interactive spheres of a person's life cannot be
compartmentalized any more than the Yaqui's overlapping realities can be separated from one another.

Under this basic premise that seeing (visual perception), imagining/knowing (the mind), and drawing are inextricably linked, the Yaqui children's artwork genuinely reflects these other two spheres. In Vygotsky's view (1978: 88), human learning presupposes a specific social nature and a process through which children grow into the intellectual life of those around them. By the time a child is of school-age and perhaps joins OPYA, he or she is already socialized and is an acting and informed member of Pasqua Yaqui culture. Whether or not this child has had the opportunity to draw is not important because by watching and drawing with other Yaqui peers, the child begins to visually convey this internal information. In this way, children effect the learning of children. The specificity of Yaqui children's aesthetics leads to the contention that the socially transmitted cultural landscape is not only vivid but cannot be separated from any facet of the lives of the young artists. This internal perceptual and conceptual understanding manifests as a set of aesthetic principles, of core cultural symbols, and of interpersonal behaviors.

In order to determine whether these transmissions were truly a Yaqui cultural phenomenon, I would have to expand my study, considerably. I would need to include drawings of Yaqui children from the other villages in southern Arizona where culture and community are equally as strong. I could also study the drawings of
Yaqui adults in the Old Pasqua community to see if any parallels exist intergenerationally. This expansion could determine whether or not the specific relationship between seeing-knowing-drawing, or its counterpart watching-learning-representing, is truly a feature of Yaqui culture. From my findings, I can conclude that the process is at work within the Old Pasqua community. However, it is premature to concede that something is cultural from a minute investigation of a small segment from Yaqui society.
APPENDIX A

Figure 1

Figure 2
REFERENCES


