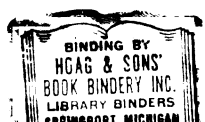


COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF
LATIN-AMERICAN COMPADRAZGO

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
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ABSTRACT

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF LATIN- AMERICAN COMPADRAZGO

By

Luis Berruecos

The growing interest in anthropological literature on the institution of compadrazgo in Latin America is analyzed cross-culturally in this work.

Some reference is made about the historical antecedents of compadrazgo in Europe and its incorporation into Latin-American societies. A description of its general features is also provided.

The compadrazgo, a Spanish word used to refer to the particular set of relationships established between people in some Catholic and secular situations, is analyzed in its structure and function. The principles of intensification versus extension, the vertical versus horizontal relations, the selection criteria for choosing sponsors, the comparison of compadrazgo with social institutions of similar kind and some general theoretical problems are described.

Later on, a comparative analysis of the structure and function of compadrazgo in some Mexican-American communities in the United States and in Latin American countries as well, provides a framework for the elaboration of some propositions concerning the functioning of this social mechanism.

The institution is analyzed in the light of three different societal types: Indian, Peasant, and Urban. Some propositions are set forth with the idea of explaining what kinds of bonds the analyst may expect to find in these societies, given certain general principles.

Finally, some suggestions are made for future research on this subject.

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AMERICAN COMPADRAZGO

By

Luis Berruecos

A THESIS

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En agradecimiento póstumo y a la memoria de quien, con profundo interés y amistad, me alentó siempre a estudiar el compadrazgo en México, mi Maestro, el Ingeniero Roberto Julius Weitlaner (1883-1968).

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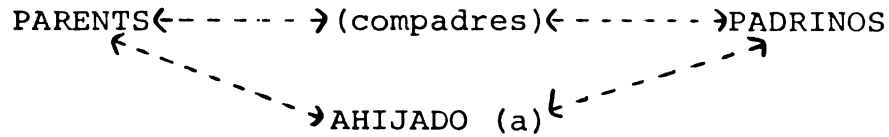
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In anthropological literature concerning Latin America, a good deal of attention and comment has been devoted to the complex of relationships known as Compadrazgo. This Spanish term refers to the particular set of relationships established between people not only through the life cycle rituals of the Catholic Church (such as Baptism, Confirmation, First Communion or Eucharist, Marriage, and Extreme Unction) but also in other non-catholic secular situations, such as witnessing the blessing of an animal, a house, or a new tractor. These are usually relationships established between the owner of the object being blessed and the sponsor(s) of the event. The object is used as a pretext to establish (or cement) the relationship.

Compadrazgo relationships are established between the parents of a child (the one towards whom the ritual is directed, referred to in Spanish as ahijado or ahijada by the sponsor or sponsors) and the sponsor(s) of the ceremony

(referred to as padrinos: padrino if a man and madrina if a woman).¹



The use of the word "ritual" indicates that religious ritual or ceremonial activities can be used in the creation of these non-consanguineal (biological or genetic) and/or non-affinal ties. Not all societies where this institution exists place as much emphasis on the ritual aspects of the relationships. In some cultures, the ceremonies associated with the establishment of the new bond take a very complex and sophisticated form, whereas in others the ritual involved is very simple. It has been mentioned that the compadrazgo relationship--not the padrinasgo relationship between the sponsors and the child --remains (contrary to Church dogma) the central one in the triangle of compadrazgo. From an emic perspective, these compadrazgo relationships or bonds are often more important than the biological ties of kinship in western society.

¹These relationships are also referred to as: ritual co-parenthood, ritual co-godparenthood, ritual co-godfatherhood, ritual co-godparenthood, ritual godparenthood, ritual kinship, fictive kinship, ceremonial kinship, godparental complex, compadre mechanism, godparentalism, or, simply, all of the above without the preceding words "ritual" or "fictive."

It should be recognized that the compadrazgo pattern is referred to by different terms in different areas of the world where this institution exists. For example, it is known as Compadresco or Compadrão in Brazil, Compèrage in France, Comparaggio in Italy, Kum in Russia, Kumtsvo in Yugoslavia, and Koumbari in Greece.

Some researchers view compadre bonds as only one of a set of three components existing in the general institution of ritual co-sponsorship (parents-child, parents-sponsors, sponsor(s)-child). Thus, they distinguish and give emphasis to the relationship between the god-father and the godchild (padrinazgo) as well as the relationship between godfather and the parents of the god-child (compadrazgo). Compadrinazgo, then, is the term used to denote the whole set of involved relationships. (However, social significance is found in the compadrazgo, while religious significance is found primarily in the padrinazgo.)

On certain occasions compadre bonds are established with kinsmen (consanguineal or affinal), thus adding another dimension to an already existing tie or bond.

Since it is our belief that this system of relationships reflects some very important aspects of the social organization of the societies in which it is found, a brief comparison of its forms along certain general social dimensions (ethnicity, rural-urban, class, etc.) may yield

some questions concerning the variability of this type of social bond.

Included in the following chapters will be a general account of the historical antecedents of the institution and a more detailed description of its general features. The latter will include information concerning the nature of the system of relationships, their purpose, the requirements needed for the sponsors and the ritual, obligations and expectations of the three parties involved in the relationships. Subsequent chapters will include analysis of the institution in Mexico and Latin America, consideration of some theoretical problems posed by the students of this social phenomena, and the author's comparisons and conclusions regarding the institution.

Selection of Cases

Originally, the area of Mexico was selected for research, and special areas within it were carefully chosen according to different socio-economic settings to see if there was any variation in the patterns of compadrazgo. As the research developed, more and more references were found, and it was decided to extend the investigation to Latin America since two common denominators appear throughout the area: Roman Catholicism and the Spanish language. References were grouped according to a number of variables, such as kind of group (Indian, Peasant, and Urban), country, socio-economic type of setting, etc. The

references used were also grouped according to topic, geographical and socio-economic settings, theoretical and methodological articles dealing with compadrazgo.

Problem Areas

Some of the many aspects that should be discussed in the process of this investigation are the selection criteria, i.e., the ways in which people choose their compadres; the typology of compadrazgo patterns (sacred vs. secular types); ceremonies and ritual involved; purpose; requirements; obligations and expectations of the parties involved; qualities that are sought in the candidates for the relationships; the elaboration vs. attenuation of the relationships; variation in compadrazgo patterns as adaptation to modern situations take place (including a taxonomy of variations related to ecological factors and some hypotheses postulated for each taxa in relation to particular socio-economic settings); and how compadrazgo relationships differ from other dyadic relationships, e.g., social, economic, patron-client, etc. Some other overt implications and kinship vs. non-kinship considerations will also be analyzed.

Taking into account the idea that the societies to be studied are in a Kroeberian way, "part-societies, part-cultures," there will be an analysis of how the units of the societies (be they barrios, communities, or classes) take an institution and modify it; there will be systematic

comparisons between classes and groups or strata and a test of this against other areas of Latin America.

A comparison of compadrazgo bonds established between members of Indian societies and people from non-Indian communities will be considered, as well as the number of compadres and the situations that influence the establishment of the bonds and the situations that are present in traditional or Indian societies and urban places as differentiated from Intermediary or Peasant societies. These will be examined in terms of historical, ecological, and socio-structural characteristics; there will be an analysis of extensive vs. intensive and multiple vs. single bonds and sacred vs. secular types of relationships, beyond or within the confines of the established links between the family or the barrio.

CHAPTER II

COMPADRAZGO

Historical Antecedents

Mintz and Wolf (1950:341-368) have written about the historical antecedents of this particular social pattern. They found references as far back as 354 A.D. in which parents usually acted as sponsors for their own children. Later an Edict was issued by Justinian, who ruled from 527-565 A.D., prohibiting marriages between spiritual relatives; in 813 A.D., the Council of Munich prohibited parents from acting as sponsors for their own children altogether. An extension of the ties of ritual kinship with a concomitant growth of the exogamous group appeared from 800 to 1000 A.D., and the incest group was extended to cover seven degrees of relationship. God-parents of Baptism and Confirmation became separated and two new kinds appeared: "Catechismal" and Confession godfathers, the later abrogated by Pope Boniface the Seventh in 1298 A.D. (op. cit.:343-4).

The growing centralization of the feudal structure, as reflected by the Church, had a counterpart in the

functions of compadrazgo, i.e., the structuring of individual or familial relationships vertically between the members of different classes and the solidifying of social relationships horizontally among members of the same rural neighborhood in their struggle against prevailing forms of land tenure (op. cit.:346-8).

Many attempts were made to control the proliferation of compadrazgo ties, but it was not until the beginning of the Industrial Revolution with the disappearance of the feudal order that compadrazgo lost its function and was replaced by more impersonal forms of organization (op. cit.: 351-2).

Compadrazgo was kept intact in Southern Europe since the disintegration of the feudal order was less rapid there. The complex was then transmitted to Latin America where it was accepted, since it was, in general, congruent with pre-columbian institutions. Paul (1942:79,80) makes references to aboriginal forms of compadrazgo among the Aztecs in a ceremony functionally equivalent to Baptism. The Mayas are similarly mentioned by Ravicz (1967:239).

The development of this social pattern throughout time is a very long one, and its historical roots are important in understanding some of its functions today. One point must be very clear here: The attenuation of this pattern in Europe as a response for increased industrialization is the counterpart of its elaboration in Mexico and Latin America, as shall be seen in later pages.

General Features

As stated earlier, the word "compadrazgo" is used to refer to the particular set of relationships established between people in Catholic as well as secular situations. To understand the establishment of ties of compadrazgo, it is advantageous to examine how they are initiated for a particular ceremony. In the case of Baptism, the parents of the child to be baptized are expected to ask a man and a woman (in some ceremonies, one person is enough), generally married and Catholic, to become the padrinos of their child. The prospective padrinos are usually asked after they have been visited two or three times in a formal way and have been presented with some gifts. It is expected by the parents that the padrinos of their child will gladly accept the honor conferred to them, and the date of the ceremony and name of the child are then determined. The petition may be denied for several reasons, e.g., the prospect of moving to a different place or being very sick, but it is generally accepted.

Ideally, these relationships are established to provide the child with people to whom he could turn should the parents die and also with sponsors who will see that the child attends school and church and behaves with proper respect to his parents and other relatives. The relationships involve different expectations:

1. The parents of the sponsored child are expected to speak to the child's padrinos in a formal way, help them in any matter in which they may need aid, invite them often for dinner, exchange gifts with them, and, in general, relate to them as "real" relatives.
2. The child is expected to respect his sponsor(s); greet him (them) in a very polite manner (sometimes by kissing his [her] hand); obey, care for and love him (her) (them). Sometimes, they are even supposed to work for their padrinos in exchange for living with them while attending school out of town.
3. Materially, the sponsors are expected to provide for the child should the parents die, pay the priest's fee for the ceremony, and pay for any clothing which might be required. In addition, the sponsor is to see to it that his godchild is raised within the laws and the traditions of the Catholic Church, fulfills his duties as a Christian and as son, and attends school and makes good grades. He may occasionally give him some money to buy his books or clothes, pay the tuition for elementary school, or send him to a college or even to a university.

In the case of the Confirmation sacrament, the Church requires a baptized and confirmed adult of the same sex of the initiated. The ceremony must be administered by a bishop in his parish when the child is around five or six years old.

In some areas, a godfather, a godmother, or both are necessary for First Communion or Eucharist sacrament. The ceremony is a very simple one.

For marriage, the parents of the couple are usually the sponsors of the ceremony, but not necessarily. Sometimes the baptismal godparents of the bride and the groom are expected to act as sponsors, if they are still living, and they are supposed to give gifts to the newlywed couple as well as provide guidance and counseling to them and act as mediators if any problem should arise in their marital life. In other cases, as shall be seen, because there is variation in many aspects of these relationships, the sponsors of the wedding couple, if still alive, are supposed to act as baptismal sponsors to the first three children born to them. This tradition tends to change from place to place.

The Extreme-Unction sponsors are not as usual as the other types but are still found in some areas in Mexico (i.e., Puebla, Morelos). Their duty is to provide the religious assistance of a priest when the initiated is dying and, if he finally dies, to provide some economic help in the funeral expenses and put a cross at the grave

with an inscription of the date of birth and death of the deceased, as well as the initials of his name. Sometimes a passer-by is chosen for this sponsorship, without having any previous relationship to the family of the deceased. The relationship is established between the sponsor and the closest living kin of the deceased.

As pointed out previously, there is a proliferation of those *compadrazgo* ties which we have labelled as non-sacred or secular. There are numerous instances of these found throughout Latin America, and there are additional factors that intervene to provide a variety of these secular patterns. In many cases, these types involve the use of some sacred objects, such as holy water for blessings, or even the presence of a priest in the ceremony. Examples of secular versions of *compadrazgo* are found throughout the area: blessing of sacred objects (crosses, medals, scapularies) or of other items such as trucks, tractors, cars, bullocks for cultivating the land, houses; sponsors for first nail or hair-cutting or ear-piercing, for nursing, or for voluntary-willing bonds. Graduation, Carnivals, "Mayordomias," and "Novena" sponsors are other examples. Other instances include rosary or gospel *compadres* when someone is sick, Easter *Compadres*, etc. The relationships are either established between the sponsors and the owners of the objects to be blessed, in which case *compadrazgo* ties exist, or involve persons, as in case of sickness,

where both levels are operating, that is, compadrinazgo bonds.

CHAPTER III

COMPADRAZGO IN MEXICO AND
LATIN AMERICA

Having defined the compadrazgo and mentioned some of its main functions and equivalents in other areas, research is next directed to an analysis of how the institution works in terms of structure and function, in order to see how it is related to other institutions of similar organization.

The importance of compadrazgo as a vehicle for understanding the social organization and other aspects of the societies in which it is found has been proposed by various anthropologists (Paul, 1942; Rojas, 1943; Weitlaner, 1945; Mintz and Wolf, 1950; Foster, 1953; Sayres, 1956; Pitt-Rivers, 1958; Deshon, 1963; Van den Berghe and Van den Berghe, 1966; Ravicz, 1967; and Osborn, 1968). The relevance of and interconnections between compadrazgo and other institutions is unquestionable.

The analytical characteristics of ritualized personal relations, which, of course, include compadrazgo,

have been described by Eisenstadt (1956:90) as being particularistic, personal, voluntary, and fully institutionalized. People act towards one another in terms of their respective personal properties and not in terms of universal categories; these relations, because of their particularistic connotations, are not anonymous, i.e., directed towards universalistic categories of people, but are very personal and intimate and are sanctioned by some of the most important and severe (usually ritual) sanctions of the societies.

Once transmitted to Latin America, the *compadrazgo* found widespread acceptance and was combined with native ideologies. Thus, early Catholic and native ideologies have become so interwoven that what we have now is not a mere combination of two elements, a grafting of one upon another, but rather what might be called a complete fusion to the extent that today the Indians themselves, for instance, are unaware that any such historical process has taken place (Wisdom, 1952:120).

An interesting aspect of *compadrazgo* is that, unlike the involuntary ties of kinship, those of ritual sponsorship are formed on the basis of choice (Paul, 1942: 72). Choice, as a recognition of the inequality of the relations, also plays an important role in the vertical aspects of the relations (López, 1969:92).

Compadrazgo relationships involve respect. This has been analyzed in different ways. Lopez has said that

the key to understanding compadrazgo relationships is the dual nature of the "respect" involved. It is both a valued good and a medium of exchange, that is, it has more than just intrinsic value, and it is inherent in the triadic structure of compadrazgo that parents owe more to god-parents than vice versa (op. cit.:86-8). Ravicz, on the other hand, emphasizes that it is commonly stated that there should be more "respeto" for padrinos than for parents (1967:239), and this reflects the greater importance of compadrazgo over padrinzgo relationships, to be discussed later.

Kinship and Compadrazgo

The reciprocal term "compadre" comes into use after the ritual has sealed the relationship. This term, as Ravicz puts it, overrides kinship terms and personal terms (1967:240). This brings us to a brief discussion of some kinship vs. non-kinship considerations when analyzing different patterns of compadrazgo. In this respect, it has been pointed out that the distinctive formal difference between ritual kinship and "real" kinship is that the first is voluntary and the second is involuntary. Both affinal and consanguineal kinship enter into the genealogical record, while ritual kinship does not. It is the non-genealogical character of ritual kinship that distinguishes it from affinal kinship (Paul, op. cit.:142-4).

Some anthropologists have argued that the term "fictive" kinship for compadrazgo relationships should not be used because it invites confusion, since no fiction is involved, from the emic point of view (Pitt-Rivers, 1968: 409).

"Ritual" kinship is institutionalized kinship or pseudo-kinship, and it is like kinship because it borrows much of the behavior and terminology which characterize several of the type relationships that comprise the elementary family (Paul, 1942:140). Compadrazgo has no resemblance to the family or other kin group in organization, terminology, or behavior and does not create a family situation among compadres (Ravicz, op. cit.:242).

Another feature that characterizes this type of relationship is the idea of incest: its rules apply primarily to extra-marital sexual unions and have their principal advantage in expecting more harmonious relations between the individuals to which the rules apply (Erasmus, 1950:46). Similarly, it has been stressed that the Roman Catholic Church prohibits marriage with a goddaughter, toward whom the relationship is not even affinal but spiritual only (Kroeber, 1948:208). Compadrazgo, thus, sanctions the rule against incest and maintains harmony between people (Ravicz, 1967:248). This aspect has been interpreted in terms of regarding this institution in some ways as a sort of modern clanship, to the extent of having

in common the taboo of sexual relationships and marriage between persons thus related (Toor, 1947:94).

Compadrazgo, Classes and
Community Integration

The ideal model of compadrazgo relationships is to provide economic security as well as moral and spiritual guidance to the initiated (Rojas, 1943:213). But, as stated earlier, it is very clear that compadrazgo relations override padrino relations: ritual assistance among adults has been the more important in prehispanic times as well as today (Ravicz, 1966:287).

It has been said that ritualized personal relations serve as a mechanism of social control and mitigate some types of tensions and strains which are inherent in the structure of some types of predominantly particularistic societies (Eisenstadt, 1956:94) and that compadrazgo is a meaningful device to keep relations open and for mobility purposes (Adams, 1965:271-2). Compadrazgo has been proven to provide control and aid in different situations (Ravicz, 1967:247-8), especially as a mechanism for controlling aggression (Sayres, 1956:352). Thus, social stability is promoted by compadrazgo, both within classes and ethnic groups and between them (Foster, 1953:9,10,23).

Godparenthood serves as an instrument both of vertical and horizontal integration. On the vertical side, it formalizes relationships between generations (Paul, 1942:56,57,69). Compadrazgo has been also said to bring

separated families together in special relationships of pseudo-kinship nature (Ravicz, 1967:239) and to act as a cohesive and integrative force within the community and between classes and ethnic groups by formalizing certain impersonal relationships and channeling reciprocal behavior modes into customary patterns, so that the individual achieves a maximum degree of social and economic security and spiritual assistance (Foster, 1953:9,10,23).

The binding force of compadrazgo for solidarity and integration has been also stressed. The system of compadrazgo in Latin America effectively binds the people together in such a way that in the smaller communities the individual is part of a beehive where the community acts, feels, and thinks as a single group (Tennenbaum, 1960:30). Compadrazgo links together two families, and the spiritual bond is of greater importance than blood ties (Whetten, 1948:398-400); even relationships between families (social or commercial) can take the form of compadrazgo (Stavenhagen, 1965:63). Kinship extensions in Indian Mexican societies are tenuous, it has been said (Wolf, 1960:5-6); even ritual co-parenthood, so vital in Creole Latin America, seems to be more a matter of form than of function. No significant web of social relations intervenes between the level of the individual household and the organizational level of the community. The linkage between family units and the community is thus effected by the participation of heads of the households in the system of ceremonial

sponsorship, and this system is the governor of all relationships in the Indian Community, its sine qua non. Where this system fails or breaks down, the integrity of the community is threatened and the position of the Indian in the larger society undergoes a sudden change; this is taking place today, Wolf argues, and whether this is temporary or permanent depends on the character of the economic development in the larger society.

It has been pointed out that among its multiple functions compadrazgo plays an important role in transmitting the cultural heritage of a society and supplementing parents in their role of socializing and also providing security for the younger members. Thus, compadrazgo contributes towards the persistence of the existing social system (Paul, 1942:78) and on some occasions even gives children a chance to participate and express themselves when, in some communities, they can act as sponsors for some non-sacred situations (Ravicz, 1967:247-8).

Mintz and Wolf (1950:342,358) emphasize one of the most important functions of compadrazgo: furthering social solidarity and cross-cutting socio-cultural or class affiliations. Relations of ritual kinship through Baptism or similar relations are frequently established by Ladinos and Indians and between Indians of different sub-groups and communities, giving rise to a network of personal, social, sacred, and economic relations. Almost invariably it is the Indian who solicits the relationship, rather than

the Ladino, who extends courtesies which he does not give to other Indians but yet which are not equal to those which he would give to a Ladino compadre (De la Fuente, 1952:87). In this respect, Redfield once wrote, "Indians ask frequently Ladinos to become their compadres, but I have yet to hear of a Ladino who asked an Indian to be his compadre" (1962:224). Compadrazgo integrates society on both horizontal and vertical planes. Among upper classes in Spanish America, family relationships are intensified at the expense of widening pseudo-kinship ties and the proliferation of occasions on which sponsors are named among the lower rural classes tends to be lacking. Perhaps eventually, as impersonal social controls and mutual aid mechanisms are developed and extended in Latin America, the compadrazgo will revert to the modern Spanish form (Foster, 1953:24-6). Compadrazgo also affects the social structure through the linking of status-classes (Ravicz, 1967:247). An example is provided by the Tupian Guaraní migrants of the south of Paraguay, where kinship ties have been replaced by compadrazgo, creating close bonds between people. In this case, each person has many compadres among individuals of other classes and occupations (Steward and Faron, 1959: 333).

The institution exists among all social classes, the upper classes perhaps having a greater number of occasions when padrinos can be utilized (Toor, 1947:94). Relationships between families can take the form of

compadrazgo even if the original purpose of them was, for example, commercial or social (Stavenhagen, 1965:63). Very commonly godparents are sought from superior social and economic strata, though this tendency varies from place to place (Foster, 1953:9). Sometimes we see compadrazgo clearly related to status differentiation, although compadrazgo ties cut across class or ethnic lines (Van den Berghe and Van den Berghe, 1966:1236). Compadrazgo, as well as friendship in general, provides a highly flexible set of relationships that extend, literally, over much of one's own country and often into many other nations. Where a two-class system seems to operate, compadrazgo relations will be extended between classes (Adams, 1965:271-2). The sponsorship pattern is thus highly elaborated, and persons preferred for godparents may be relatives, friends, respected individuals, or persons from the same or a different social class (Paul and Paul, 1952:181-2).

Some authors have argued that the compadrazgo does not always serve as an integrative mechanism. For instance, Osborn (1968:605) has pointed out that instead of being a mechanism for social integration, compadrazgo brings to light the differences between Indians and Peasants and does not serve to integrate them. De la Fuente (1952:87) and Redfield (1962:224) argue that Indians usually ask Ladinos to sponsor their children but the reverse has never occurred, and Stavenhagen (1965:63) has added, that although at first sight compadrazgo may appear to be an

institution in which Indians and Ladinos face each other on a level of equality, in fact it contributes to accentuate the Indian's condition of inferiority and dependence, since compadrazgo is one of the many institutions in a complex system which keeps the Indians subordinated to the Ladino in all aspects of social and economic life. López (1969: 92) approaches this problem saying that relations between compadres are not inherently equal but it is inherent in the basic triad of relations that they be unequal: parents owe more to godparents than vice versa. Vertical relations occur whenever possible and the most common of them are with unrelated patrons: if a compadre is of a higher status, the relation must be asymmetrical, and the vertical choice is recognition of the inequality of the relations. ✓ Compadrazgo relationships can be equal, but only if reciprocal, if each man asks the other to sponsor his child. Otherwise, relations are structurally balanced in favor of the sponsor, and the asymmetry is most obvious where the sponsor is his compadre's superior, according to age and social status, but even lateral bonds are inherently and behaviorally asymmetrical. Ritual kinship is, thus, as liable to exploitation as any form of friendship, and like friendship it depends upon a balance of reciprocal favors providing a basis for trust between individuals which may or may not be put to the service of political and economic ends (Pitt-Rivers, 1968:411-2).

It has been said that mobility within the prestige sector depends greatly on the availability of open relationships such as compadrazgo, especially through the gaining of and exercise of power (Adams, 1965:271-2). It is now very common to see that in Latin America the families which used to have the control of power still maintain some power by strengthening their unity and cohesion through a complicated web of relationships of affinity and compadrazgo. In this way the families insure the loyalty to the elite class and also give support and protection to Indian and Mestizo families (Aguirre-Beltrán, 1967:153). Sometimes compadrazgo has provided a method for formalizing the paternalistic relationships that exist between members of the wealthier employing sector and their employees. Elsewhere it has been used to strengthen relationships between individuals who need a specific bond for economic and political purposes (Adams, 1967:159).

In Mexico, a Mestizo leader needs a biological family, a political family, compadres, and a reputation of loyalty. Material success is at the bottom of the scale; first comes the protection of the family, the compadres, and the friends. The leadership of Latin America (in general terms) upholds the ideals of paternalism, charity, and the compadre system (Tannenbaum, 1960:119,129,22).

Sometimes compadrazgo becomes a major factor contributing to extreme cases of nepotism in government: a successful political figure may be suddenly faced with

requests from his compadres for their share of security in the form of jobs or "favores" (Cline, 1963:66-7) depending upon the degree of trust between individuals who establish compadrazgo relationships. This trust may or may not be put to the service of political or economic ends (Pitt-Rivers, 1968:412). One of the ways by which the effective power seeker extends his activities over a wide range is by being able to call on a wide network of kinsmen and compadres. The exercise of power depends not on the total amount of such contacts but on the ability to mobilize what is necessary for tactical advantage at a given time. With the changing basis of power it becomes increasingly important to maintain a wide series of contacts (Adams, 1967: 59). To illustrate this point, consider a brief reference by Lomnitz (1971:93-105) in which she discussed the specific case of compadrazgo among middle class people in Santiago de Chile. In this case, it can be seen that the compadrazgo operates as a system of reciprocity which involves a continuing exchange of complementary services ("favores") performed and motivated within an ideology of friendship. The services which compadrazgo may help to acquire (job placement, social introductions, loans, etc.) are always conditional upon having the right friend in the right place at the right time. The essential point is to have as many friends and connections as possible. The institution thus may be seen as a mechanism to build-up a powerful, self-perpetuating national bureaucracy. The

institution is also a major resource of the middle class and promotes group solidarity, acting as a mechanism of intra-group stability.

The flexibility and variation of compadrazgo patterns has been attributed to the ability of the societies to keep relations open (Adams, 1965:271). It is precisely this flexibility and growth potential of the compadrazgo that has permitted it to fulfill the needs of the people and consequently to succeed as a viable mechanism for integration (Foster, 1953:25). Since in Latin America only persons united by ties of kinship, compadrazgo, or real friendship can trust one another (Gillin, 1965:510), the institution is presently quite widespread. The strong and widespread bonds of familism and compadrazgo, coupled with personalized individualism, are representative of the complexities of interpersonal relationships in Latin America (Heath, 1965:476). Proliferation of native forms also has been characteristic of Latin American compadrazgo, which often has been explained in terms of reinforcement of already existing ties vs. extension of the family circle. The emphasis on compadrazgo bonds over padrino bonds in Latin America, combined with the above characteristics, make Latin American compadrazgo contrary to the original Spanish pattern (Foster, 1962:215), where the original roots of the institution must be encountered. Since compadrazgo opens a range of patterned activities and sentiments whose uniqueness is extended to new sets of

individuals and since it signifies the achievement of a new status and an increase in the total number of statuses on an individual, its acceptance is easily understood.

Compadrazgo provides emotional support by sanctioning the rule against incest and by maintaining the harmony between people (Ravicz, 1967:247-8). It provides psychological and/or social security for the individual as a program of psychologically constricting and socially enervating restraints and controls (Sayres, 1956:352). Compadrazgo formalizes certain impersonal relationships and channelizes reciprocal behavioral modes into customary patterns (Foster, 1953:23). Since access is open to all, social differences are minimized and this has some psychological effects. Compadrazgo thus provides a model for interpersonal relationships, organizes them, and sets them in action, giving security and psychological satisfaction to the participants (Ravicz, 1967:250-1).

The use of compadrazgo as a system of reciprocity of favors has been recognized and studied by Lomnitz (1971:93) and commented on previously. Through the mechanism of reciprocity, compadrazgo has been able to fulfill many of the needs, basically economic in nature, of the people and succeed as a viable institution (Foster, 1953:25). The idea of respect involved in compadrazgo is both a valued good and a medium of exchange. Compadrazgo relations are considered reciprocal if respect is equal; otherwise they are asymmetrical (López, 1969:86-92).

Ritual kinship, as noted before, is as liable to exploitation as any other kind of friendship bond (Pitt-Rivers, 1968:411-2).

One of the main functions of compadrazgo is to provide economic security for the people involved in it (Rojas, 1943:213). Thus, compadrazgo also has some economic functions of security and can be regarded as a system of exchange of goods through redistribution and reciprocity.

In ethnically mixed societies, it has been found that compadrazgo is a mechanism for sanctioned competition. The form of compadrazgo appears to reflect the degree to which expected rights and responsibilities are fulfilled by other systems. Compadrazgo serves as a complementary system to these other systems in the social structure (Ravicz, 1967:250-1).

As stated earlier, compadrazgo often provides a method for formalizing the paternalistic relationships between employers and employees (Adams, 1967:159). A brief description of paternalism and a comparison of it with compadrazgo will be discussed in later sections.

Compadrazgo can operate to extend the number of formalized personal relationships, or it may serve to intensify a relationship already established. Compadrazgo may be ranked with reference to the degree to which it stresses one or the other of these two principles: extension or intensification. Another avenue for

maximizing the relationship is the acquisition of supplemental sets of godparents in the course of successive life crises (Paul, 1942:56-7). When the intensification principle operates, the already existing bonds (affinal, consanguineal, or even "ritual") are strengthened when people choose relatives for sponsors; on the other hand, the extension principle operates when the family circle is widened or extended by converting non-relatives into "spiritual" kins (Adams, 1967:159; Foster, 1953:24-5; Ravicz, 1967:241).

The way people choose their sponsors is important in defining the relationships as being either vertical or horizontal, asymmetrical or symmetrical. The relationships, as pointed out earlier, can either reinforce already existing bonds or create new ones. Different tendencies have been found for different types of communities, and it seems that this is associated with historical, linguistic, economic, social, and cultural factors and characteristics. Three levels are usually found or employed in seeking sponsors: relatives (affines, consanguineal, or even "ritual"), non-relatives (friends, employers, important public persons), and strangers (a passer-by in an emergency baptism, for instance, since the parents of the sick child to be baptized cannot act as sponsors of their own children).

Some propositions have been made regarding the selection criteria: a group will have more occasions on

which ceremonies of ritual kinship are celebrated if it is more "advanced" or has more contacts external to the group, with the exception of the upper social classes in the cities. There appear to be no rules which dictate who may be a godparent. Godparents are chosen from among relatives or non-relatives, from within the ethnic group or from outside it, from within the same economic level or from higher economic levels (Guiteras, 1952:101-2).

The problem of continuity and change of this particular institution has not been studied profoundly. The way in which some features change due to the impact of industrialization and urbanization has not been studied either. However, some comments applied to specific cases deserve attention.

In studying cultural changes in urban areas of Yucatán, Mexico, it has been mentioned that compadrazgo relationships, which in the village parallel and support the parental and parent-in-law relationships, become less important as institutions of control as urbanization increases (Redfield, 1962:168-9). In the urban environment of Mexico City, the presence of secular bonds has almost vanished, but the institution is still a highly viable mechanism used by peasant migrants from Tepoztlan (Lewis, 1965:432-5), and close to the city, in San Juan Teotihuacan, the institution still keeps and retains its importance (Gamio, 1922:243).

Compadrazgo and General
Social Patterns

Various social institutions share aspects of commonality with compadrazgo which need to be mentioned here. In pointing out important theoretical considerations of compadrazgo, some anthropologists have mentioned the similarity between this institution and others, such as Paternalism, Patron-Client, Friendship, and the like.

Defined by Wolf (1966:12-7) as a friendship in which each member of the dyad acts as a potential connecting link to other persons outside the dyad, instrumental friendship reaches beyond the boundaries of existing sets and seeks to establish beachheads in new sets. Instrumental friendships thrive in social situations which are relatively open, where friends may act as sponsors for each other in attempts to widen their spheres of social maneuver.

It can be said that compadrazgo approaches this pattern of instrumental friendship when the relationships are equal and asymmetrical, or (to use López' reference) when both parties have the same obligations and expectations towards each other due to mutual sponsorship of children.

When instrumental friendship reaches a maximum point of imbalance so that one partner is clearly superior to the other in his capacity to grant goods and services, we approach the critical point where friendships give way to the patron-client tie. The patron provides economic aid and protection against both legal and illegal exactions of

authority. The client, in turn, demonstrates his esteem and loyalty to his patron, provides information on the machinations of others, and promises his political support. The relations remain reciprocal, each party investing on the other.

Similarities can be seen between patron-client relations and compadrazgo relationships in which "in return for the favors granted the client is expected to perform certain services." The survival or creation of a paternalistic system depends on the needs and on the existing social organizational patterns and traditions (Bennett, 1968:476). Compadrazgo vertical relationships are thus similar to patron-client relations since in both "the individual will seek out such patrons (in this case compadres) in order to receive certain benefits and protection" (*ibídem*); above all, the patron serves as an intermediary (entrepreneur in Barth's terms, 1963:5) who can deal with the official and the professional world (Bennett, op. cit.:475).

It has been said that in almost all societies individuals have the predisposition or capacity to form friendships. Compadrazgo falls within the definition of "inalienable friendship" offered by Cohen (1961:352). Such "friendship" is entered ritually or ceremonially. Once joined, it ideally cannot be withdrawn and is governed morally by supernatural and quasi-legal sanctions that pervade many areas of life. This type of friendship will be found in the community with maximal solidarity and is

essentially an ideal or abstract category, a common denominator or theme, upon which different societies construct variant types. Similarly the rationalizations for such friendships, the functions which they may serve, and the particular contexts in which they occur vary among the societies characterized by the maximal solidarity.

The dyadic contract model offers a means by which every adult can organize his societal contacts outside his nuclear family by means of a special form of contractual relationship. The contracts are informal or implicit and non-corporate. They are dyadic in that they occur only between two individuals. These factors are implicit in *compadrazgo*, which unites neighbors and friends of equal or different socio-economic statuses (Foster, 1963:1174).

Wolf (1965:97) adds that one of the ways in which the functions of the relations between community-oriented and nation-oriented groups are established is expressed through cultural forms or mechanisms that differ from culture to culture. Examples of such relationships include the Chinese *Kan-ch'ing* studied by Fried (1953), the Japanese *Oyabun-Kobun* studied by Ishino (1953), and the Latin American *Compadrazgo* studied by Mintz and Wolf (1950), among others.

In conclusion, some general points of discussion have been given and comments and viewpoints have been extracted from the literature on *compadrazgo* to show some differences in the definition of the institution, to see to

what extent it is related to other institutions in the societies in which it is found, and to analyze some of the functions of the mechanism in different societies as proposed here under different sections.

The next section and the summary will present an examination of some of the general theoretical problems and implications inherent in the compadrazgo, as studied by some anthropologists, and an analysis of them in light of the ethnographic cases and their cross-cultural comparison. Finally, some general conclusions about the institution will be drawn.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This section includes a brief description of the patterns of compadrazgo adopted by different groups, emphasizing the secular vs. sacred and vertical vs. horizontal relations and the selection criteria of friends vs. relatives chosen as sponsors. The social, economic, political, religious, and psychological functions of compadrazgo will be correlated to the societal types of communities studied (Indian, Peasant, and Urban) in order to see how variations encountered are affected or caused by different factors. Finally, cross-cultural comparisons will be made and a final analysis will be presented.

Theoretical Problems

One aspect that is rarely discussed and studied by anthropologists is the way in which this particular social institution functions in different socio-economic settings as an adaptive strategy used by people in different circumstances.

Therefore this research studies the compadrazgo as a social institution of maximal importance in Mexico and

other Latin American countries, focusing on the vertical as opposed to horizontal types of relationships; the already mentioned selection criteria (friends as opposed to relatives) related to the maximization of security and the minimization of insecurity; the quality, strength and variation of the relationships; the emotional and material considerations surrounding compadrazgo; the ways in which it serves to reinforce either power or already existing ties or sometimes both; the relationship between this institution and status, role, prestige, and other aspects in which the compadrazgo is strongly associated with other institutions of the societies.

It is proposed to examine the literature dealing with compadrazgo in order to determine the particular patterns of adaptation of the institution as a mechanism for social integration. Some aspects that will be analyzed are:

1. The selection criteria;
2. the qualities that are sought and the types of relationships;
3. the patterns of reciprocal or unilateral obligations;
4. the elaboration as opposed to attenuation of the relationships; and
5. the ritual involved in the establishment of the links.

Although the institution usually functions as a mechanism which provides integration for a group, sometimes it does not. In these latter situations it is hypothesized that other voluntary-types of institutions assume the functions of the compadrazgo. This mechanism which represents the general principle will be studied and the factors which govern the formation of such social relationships will be determined. Some hypotheses will be presented which will structure the examination of these problems, based on the assumption that compadrazgo is strongly associated with the characteristics of the socio-economic settings in which it operates.

The institution of compadrazgo will be treated as the dependent variable and the selected socio-economic aspects will be treated as the independent variables. This particular framework will differ from those previously mentioned insofar as this is based on a cross-cultural comparative study of an institution whose importance in the Catholic Latin-American countries is maximal.

We will operate with two models of societies: open and closed (or Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, or Folk and Urban, or Indian and Peasant and Urban). The nature of interpersonal relations found in these two types of societies are different: in the open societies, the basis of interpersonal relations could be non-kin, impersonal, or contractual; in the closed-type of societies the basis

of interpersonal relations follow kinship lines according to tradition.

Therefore, it is assumed that:

1. In Latin America, there has been a movement away from closed and towards open-type of communities.
2. Closed societies are usually characterized by being:
 - a. Preliterate, homogeneous, religious, familial, personalized primitive, and peasant communities (Folk according to Redfield, 1947, cit. in Harris, 1968:192).
 - b. Moral, collective, cooperative, joint bonds, reciprocities, barter and exchange, divine sanction, intimate personal relations. (Tonnie's *Gemeinschaft* or Durkheim's mechanical, 1887 and 1933, cit. in Harris, 1968:192).
3. Open societies are characterized by being:
 - a. Literate, heterogeneous, secular, individualized, depersonalized urban societies. (Redfield's *Urban*, 1947, cit. in Harris, 1968:192).
 - b. Relations between strangers, independent, depersonalized bonds, purchase and contract, secular sanctions (Tonnie's *Gesellschaft*, 1887, or Durkheim's Organic, 1933, cit. in Harris, 1968:192).

Consequently, it is postulated that in traditional societies compadrazgo's role is different from its role in modern societies. Also, there is variation in the two patterns of functioning of compadrazgo that will be described and explained. To be more specific, the following relationships are postulated:

1. In societies in which the quality of interpersonal relations are less structured on the basis of traditional status (kinship, patron-client, etc.), or in societies having "focal" economy or little social differentiation (i.e., economic, educational, political, racial, ethnic), intra-community compadrazgo bonds will be relatively absent. When present the bonds will be without the intensity of reciprocity or range of obligations usually attributed to them. Such communities will tend to emphasize extra-community compadrazgo bonds and their incumbent responsibilities due to the way in which these societies are structured.
2. In closed, corporate, peasant communities with subsistence agricultural economies and little differentiation in terms of class structure, the pattern of compadrazgo bonds will be variable, exhibiting a range between extra-community and intra-community patterns. The intra-community bonds will tend to follow kinship lines (between

kinsmen) while the extra-community bonds may exist between social equals (same class or occupation) or unequals, between ethnic equals or non-equals.

Here more variation of patterns and flexible social relations for integration will be found due to the changing nature of these societies.

3. In relatively larger, differentiated communities with defined economic patterns, a variety of patterns would be expected: extra-community and/or inter-family bonds would be characteristic of the upper-classes or social elements. The lower elements will demonstrate two-pattern bonds with local economic or political elites or with local economic equals but with different sets of economic, social or cultural characteristics. The intensity or reciprocity between equals among lower elements will be significantly less than the intensity of relationships or reciprocity between unequals. In the lower strata intra-community or extra-family bonds with both elites (more intense) and with equals (less intense) will exist.

In order to work out the present study, the following methodological tools will be used:

1. Data relevant to compadrazgo will be gathered by reviewing all the ethnographies and monographs which comment on compadrazgo in Mexico and Latin

America. A process of selection by geographical, ecological (socio-economic settings), and linguistic areas will follow after all the material has been collected. Some historical materials will be used to illustrate some general features.

2. Local kinship systems will be analyzed to see how "fictive" ties differ from biological-affinal ones.
3. An application of specially designed questionnaires related to issues such as social class, economic, political and religious status, role, familial and extra-familial relationships, other types of voluntary associations and some study of the genealogies were used in previous fieldwork on this subject. Any correlation between these aspects and the compadrazgo as it is found in other communities will be explored. Other important things to look for are: patterns of residence and settlement; village and extra-village relations; market systems; power structure; behavior patterns; ritual; and some other geographical, political, religious, and economic considerations. Interviews, the use of tape-recorder, movie and photographs, participant observation, contacts with the civil and religious hierarchies, collection of life histories and biographical data are other techniques used, along

with the role of a student interested in the customs, language, and behavior of the people.

As mentioned earlier, a primary study was done in the communities of San Sebastián, Puebla, and Hueyapan, Morelos, in Mexico utilizing techniques such as mapping, survey, and census to determine the physical and strategic characteristics of the communities. The anthropological techniques of participant observation and non-directive as well as directive interviewing (and unstructured or informal interviews as well) were also utilized.

The area selected for this study was originally Mexico. It was planned to make a cross-cultural comparative study of how the system of compadrazgo works and operates in different socio-economic settings; but as more sources became available the study was extended to some other communities in Central and South America. The topic chosen is important because, if properly studied, compadrazgo could be one of the mechanisms which could gain greater understanding as to how the social organization of a particular group is structured, how it functions, and how it is related to some other aspects of these societies.

Finally, cross-cultural comparisons of Latin American varieties of compadrazgo will be made in order to see how different patterns are affected by the different strategies employed by the people in the participation in the compadrazgo network of relationships.

Comparative Analysis

As stressed throughout this paper, secular and sacred bonds of compadrazgo are regarded as a means of either reinforcing already existing ties (biological, affinal, or ritual) or extending the family circle by creating new ones. Other social considerations include the constant references given about the importance of compadrazgo over padrinnazgo relationships and about the relations being either symmetrical (with socio-economic and political equals) or asymmetrical (with socio-economic and political unequals). In some cases the relationship is reciprocal if symmetrical, or more often not reciprocal or asymmetrical and in favor of one party. In certain cases, symmetrical relations tend to be present within the boundaries of the community, and in some other circumstances asymmetrical relations are frequently established with people living beyond the frontiers of the society under analysis.

Some anthropologists use the term "interethnic compadrazgo" to denote relations, usually asymmetrical, established between people of different socio-economic and political status. The functions of compadrazgo have been concentrated on five aspects: social, economic, political, religious, and psychological. These will be correlated to the societal types studied, as pointed out before, as well as with the different dimensions of the relations and the selection criteria.

By functions of the relationships is meant the ways in which people manipulate different strategies to obtain certain benefits or to satisfy certain needs: these could be social, in the sense of filling an established norm of the society; economic, in providing material assistance, loans, exchange of money, or redistribution of goods and services (whether or not the relations are reciprocal they are still economic in this respect); political, in the sense of establishing a patron-client type of relationship by which the patron provides services in exchange for political support; religious, as far as fulfilling a moral need following the canons established by the Church; and psychological, in the sense that *compadrazgo*, according to some anthropologists, has been proven to be effective in filling psychological needs aroused by anxiety of the expected vs. real behavior between participants and in providing security to the participants (see Table 1).

In Latin American anthropological literature, *compadrazgo* is more effective and of more importance in Indian and Peasant societies than in the Urban areas, but the *compadrazgo* is a viable institution in these latter societies. Migration of Indians and Peasants to Urban environments inevitably brings changes to the lives of these people as they become adapted to the new settings. The institution of *compadrazgo* in its sacred forms has remained highly viable in these environments and among

these urban groups, and it has been noted that secular types of compadrazgo tend to disappear in these areas.

As far as the selection criteria, the pattern in Indian villages is to choose non-relative sponsors from outside the community. In Peasant societies, relatives could be chosen, especially if they live in the cities, because they can be of some help in getting jobs, when travelling, in housing, or in other matters. Non-relatives are also selected in Peasant societies, either from the same or different socio-economic status. In Urban societies, the sponsors are chosen from the upper-classes. In the lower urban classes, vertical relations with higher class non-relatives may also be present; in the case of the middle-classes, both situations tend to exist.

In this research compadrazgo institutions and functions were analyzed in 109 ethnographic cases. References to secular types were found in 33 out of the 52 Indian societies studied, in 21 of the 38 Peasant societies, and in 2 of the 19 Urban (see Table 3). On the other hand, references to selection of friends for sponsors were found in 29 cases of Indian societies, 31 of the Peasant groups, and in 5 of the Urban societies. In 10 Indian and in 10 Peasant societies relationships were found to be established with relatives, whereas in 12 groups from the cities relatives are usually asked to sponsor compadrazgo relationships (see Table 2).

Taking into consideration the secular vs. sacred types, all were found to be present in the three societal types but in different ways: in Indian groups, secular types tend to be present more abundantly than in Peasant societies but still less than in Urban environments, where the usual pattern follows the sacred versions of compadrazgo. There is more variation in patterns and flexibility of the institution, as far as selection of sponsors, in Peasant societies. In 45 cases out of the 109 in which this information is provided, 75 different kinds of secular types of compadrazgo relationships were found. In one society, besides the sacred relations there were 17 others present. In other cases, 13, 11, 10, or less numbers of secular types were reported (see Table 4).

The intensity of the bonds is more obvious in extra-community Indian compadrazgo, in intra- and extra-community Peasant compadrazgo, and in inter-family bonds in Urban societies. Conversely, there is amelioration of reciprocity or range of obligations of the bonds in intra-community compadrazgo in Indian societies and in extra-family bonds in urban environments.

Compadrazgo relationships tend to be more asymmetrical where there are inter-ethnic bonds between Indian and Peasant groups; relations of reciprocity always favor Peasants. In Peasant-Urban relations, more symmetry seems to exist in the relations; but if asymmetry is present, it is in favor of the urbanities rather than the peasants.

Horizontal ties are not so frequent in Indian or Peasant societies as in Urban environments, especially between upper-class elements. Conversely, vertical ties are more prevalent in Indian and Peasant groups (where there are extra-community ties), as well as in the cases of extra-familial bonds in Urban societies.

In conclusion, according to the information available, the following statements concerning compadrazgo are proposed:

1. Vertical relationships established with relatives in Indian societies tend to have greater social functions and to be more prevalent than vertical relations established with friends in the same societies with the same function (e.g., some communities in Puebla and Yucatán in Mexico; in Perú as opposed to other communities in the same places).
2. Vertical relationships established with relatives in Peasant societies tend to have fewer social functions and tend to be less present than in the case of vertical relations with friends with a social function (e.g., Michoacán in Mexico; Belize; Puerto Rico, Martinique, and Brazil).
3. Vertical relationships with relatives or friends in Urban societies are not as significant in providing social functions.

4. From an economic perspective, vertical relations with friends in Indian societies (Arizona in the United States; Chiapas, Nayarit, Mexico, Morelos, Oaxaca, Puebla, Sinaloa, Sonora, Tlaxcala, and Yucatán in Mexico; Guatemala; Perú) are overwhelmingly more important and more numerous than vertical relations with relatives for the same economic purposes.
5. In Peasant societies (Arizona in the United States; Guerrero, Oaxaca, Puebla, Quintana Roo, Sinaloa, Sonora, Tlaxcala, Veracruz and Yucatán in Mexico; Guatemala; Belize; and Colombia), vertical economic relations with relatives are more prevalent and important than vertical economic relations with friends. (Michoacán and Morelos in Mexico; Guatemala, Belize, Puerto Rico, Martinique and Brazil).
6. In Urban societies (such as New Mexico and Kansas in the United States and Puerto Rico), vertical economic relationships with friends predominate over vertical economic relationships with relatives (as found in places such as a community in Texas and another urban community in Puerto Rico).
7. Vertical relationships with relatives and friends in Indian societies rarely fulfill political functions.

8. Peasant vertical relations with friends (in a Guatemalan community) are more frequent for political purposes, than peasant vertical relations with relatives (such as found in Belize and Colombia).
9. Urban vertical relations with either friends or relatives for political purposes, are not mentioned at all in the literature.
10. In Indian societies (such as in Oaxaca, Puebla, and Yucatán in Mexico and in Guatemala), vertical relationships with relatives have more religious functions than vertical relationships with friends (as found also in Puebla in one case).
11. Peasant vertical relationships with friends (as found in Michoacán in Mexico; Puerto Rico; and Brazil) are overwhelmingly more important for religious purposes than peasant vertical relationships with relatives.
12. Religious functions of urban relationships with either friends or relatives were not found in the ethnographies.
13. There is just one reference in the literature of compadrazgo about providing psychological functions in an Indian society in vertical relations with relatives (Puebla, Mexico).

On the horizontal dimension, the following information was found:

1. In Indian (Chiapas, Nayarit, Oaxaca, Quintana Roo, Sinaloa, Sonora, Tlaxcala, Veracruz and Yucatán in Mexico; and in Guatemala), Peasant (Coahuila, Michoacán, Morelos, in Mexico; Belize; West Indies, Martinique, Colombia and Brazil), and Urban (Illinois, New Mexico, California, Kansas, Texas in the United States; Mexico City, Puerto Rico, Paraguay, Argentina and Brazil) societies, relationships are predominately social when established with relatives rather than friends.
2. In the three societal types, relations are overwhelmingly economic when established with relatives (Indian communities in Puebla, Mexico, and in Colombia and Bolivia; a Peasant community in Puerto Rico; and a Urban community in Chile) rather than friends.
3. No political or psychological functions are reported for either societal type on this dimension.
4. Horizontal relationships in the three societal types have more religious functions when established with relatives (like in some Indian societies of Chiapas, Nayarit, Quintana Roo and Yucatán in Mexico; in Peasant societies in the West Indies

and Martinique and in the Urban environments of San Juan, in Puerto Rico) rather than friends (for a summary, see Table 1).

In general, the persistence of compadrazgo in Latin America over a period of more than four hundred years can be explained by its flexibility. Perhaps the most fruitful view of such relationships is the one which emerges when they are analyzed as adaptive strategies.

Obviously, the compadrazgo institution has flourished in countries with strong Spanish, Portuguese, or French cultural influences with the related importance of the Catholic Church as a major religious institution. It is precisely in these countries where we found some references to aboriginal forms of compadrazgo, and it is exactly there where the institution has had more acceptance (Mexico, Guatemala, Perú, and Colombia, especially). Conversely, in Latin American countries where the influence came from British, American, or North European cultures, compadrazgo tends to be unimportant as an institution of extension of interpersonal ties and contacts (e.g., in countries such as British Honduras or Belize, West Indies; or, on the other hand, in Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Argentina with heavy influences from Germany and Italy).

All this information has been gathered primarily to answer the main question proposed at the beginning of this paper, i.e., why is it that the institution of compadrazgo,

being present in the three different types of societies studied, functions in different ways. The answer to this must be found in some of the observations proposed here as well as in the final statements regarding the structure and function of Latin American compadrazgo in the following contexts:

1. In the analysis of the nature of the quality of the interpersonal relationships and the ways they can be structured, either on the basis of traditional statuses or on the basis of minimal social differentiation in terms of social structure.
2. In the type of socio-economic setting and in the ways in which the environment effects the social structure and social relations.
3. In the nature of the economic systems found in these societies and in the way they are related to the social organization and to the rest of the aspects that conform the culture.
4. In the ways in which other institutions provide some of the functions that compadrazgo tries to fulfill.
5. In the nature of the structure of familial relationships.

6. In the ways in which the institution of compadrazgo helps to maintain, through "homeostatic processes," the equilibrium of the societies or to integrate (or disintegrate) social relations; or to define the nature of the relationships, or to narrow or to widen the gaps between different groups or segments of these groups.

It is hoped that some insights have been given in the discussion of the nature of this institution of maximal importance in Latin American Catholic countries.

This paper represents an attempt to describe the complexity and diversity of the compadrazgo relationships in order to stimulate further research on the structure and function of this institution.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CODE OF CASES STUDIED

APPENDIX A

CODE OF CASES STUDIED

Case No.	Town	State	Country	Author
1			U.S.A.	Eggen (1937)
2	Chicago	Illinois	U.S.A.	Press (1963)
3	Pascua	Arizona	U.S.A.	Spicer (1940)
4	Martineztown	New Mexico	U.S.A.	Vincent (1966)
5		New Mexico	U.S.A.	Weaver (1965)
6	Bernalillo	New Mexico	U.S.A.	Gonzalez (1967)
7	San Jose	California	U.S.A.	Clark (1959)
8	Kansas City	Kansas	U.S.A.	Lin (1963)
9		Texas	U.S.A.	Madsen (1964)
10	Mexiquito	Texas	U.S.A.	Rubel (1966)
11			U.S.A.	Grebler y/o (1970)
12	Zinacantan	Chiapas	Mexico	Colby and Van den Berghe (1966)
12	Zinacantan	Chiapas	Mexico	Cancian (1965)
12	Zinacantan	Chiapas	Mexico	Vogt (1970,1969,1966)
13	San Luis and Jamiltepec	Chiapas	Mexico	De la Fuente (1965)
14	Larrainzar	Chiapas	Mexico	Holland (1963)
15	San Cristobal	Chiapas	Mexico	Van den berghe and Van den Berghe (1966)
16		Chiapas	Mexico	Laughlin (1967)
17		Chiapas	Mexico	Van den Berghe and Colby (1961)
18		Chiapas	Mexico	Villa Rojas (1967)
19		Coahuila	Mexico	Wilkie (1971)
20	Mexico City	Mexico D.F.	Mexico	Lewis (1965)
21	S.Juan Teotihuacan	Mexico D.F.	Mexico	Gamio (1922)
22			Mexico	Rojas (1943)
23			Mexico	Tylor (1965)
24	Cuijla	Guerrero	Mexico	Aguirre (1958)
25	Jesus Maria	Nayarit	Mexico	Weitlaner (1945)
26	Huizquilucan	Mexico	Mexico	Garibay (1957)
27	Tzintzuntzan	Michoacan	Mexico	Foster (1969,1967)
27	Tzintzuntzan	Michoacan	Mexico	Brandes (1968)
28	Naranja	Michoacan	Mexico	Friedrich (1970)
29	Uruapan	Michoacan	Mexico	Hubbell (1971)
30	Erongaricuaro	Michoacan	Mexico	Nelson (1971)
31	Hueyapan	Morelos	Mexico	Berruecos (1968)
32	Tepoztlan	Morelos	Mexico	Lewis (1965,1960,1951)
32	Tepoztlan	Morelos	Mexico	Redfield (1930)
33		Nayarit	Mexico	Cerda (1943)
34	Mitla	Oaxaca	Mexico	Leslie (1960)
34	Mitla	Oaxaca	Mexico	Parsons (1936)
35	Tehuantepec	Oaxaca	Mexico	Covarrubias (1947)
36		Oaxaca	Mexico	De la Fuente (1965)
37	Yalalag	Oaxaca	Mexico	De la Fuente (1949)
38		Oaxaca	Mexico	Dyk (1959)
39	Oaxaca City	Oaxaca	Mexico	Foster, D. (1971)
40	Palantla	Oaxaca	Mexico	Merrifield (1959)
41		Oaxaca	Mexico	Nader (1967)
42	Huautla de Jimenez	Oaxaca	Mexico	Pike (1948)
43	S.Miguel Su-chiltepec	Oaxaca	Mexico	Plasencia (1970)
44	Jamiltepec	Oaxaca	Mexico	Ravicz (1965,1968)
45	Ojitlán	Oaxaca	Mexico	Rubel (1955)
46	Chinantla	Oaxaca	Mexico	Weitlaner and Castro (1954)
47	Zacatipan	Puebla	Mexico	Arizpe (1970)
48	San Sebastian	Puebla	Mexico	Berruecos (1971)
49	Tenango and Sta.Monica	Puebla	Mexico	Dow (1970,1969)
50	Tecospa	Puebla	Mexico	Madsen (1960)
51	Atla	Puebla	Mexico	Montoya (1964)
52		Q.Roo	Mexico	Villa Rojas (1945)
53		Sinaloa	Mexico	Beals (1945)
54	Potam	Sonora	Mexico	Spicer (1954)
55	S.Bernardino	TLaxcala	Mexico	Nutini (1968)
56	Tequila	Veracruz	Mexico	Soustelle (1958)
57		Yucatan	Mexico	Deshon (1963)
58	Cantel	Yucatan	Mexico	Nash (1958)
59	Chan Kom	Yucatan	Mexico	Redfield (1950,1941)
59	Chan Kom	Yucatan	Mexico	Redfield and Villa Rojas (1934)
60			Mexico	Bastarrachea (1970)

Case No.	Town	State	Country	Author
61	Chichicastenango		Guatemala	Bunzel (1952)
62	San Carlos		Guatemala	Gillin (1951)
63	Sta.Cruz Chichinautla		Guatemala	Reina (1967,1959)
64	S.Miguel Milpas Altas		Guatemala	Spielberg (1968,1964)
65	Panajachel		Guatemala	Tax (1963)
66	S.Luis Jilotepeque		Guatemala	Tumin (1952)
67	Chimaltenango		Guatemala	Wagley (1949)
68			Guatemala	Whetten (1961)
69	Quetzaltepeque		Guatemala	Wisdom (1940)
70			Belize	Solien (1960)
71			Belize	Taylor (1951)
72	La Habana		Cuba	Miranda (1936)
73	Jauca		Puerto Rico	Mintz (1960)
74	San Juan		Puerto Rico	Seda (1958)
74	San Juan		Puerto Rico	Scheele (1969)
75			Puerto Rico	Steward (1969,1965)
76	Tabara		Puerto Rico	Manners (1969)
77	Cañamelar		Puerto Rico	Mintz (1969)
78	Nocora		Puerto Rico	Padilla (1969)
79	San Jose		Puerto Rico	Wolf (1969)
80	Carricaou		W.Indies	Smith (1962)
81	Morne-Paysan		Martinique	Horowitz (1967)
82	Saucio		Colombia	Fals-Borda (1955)
83		Nariño	Colombia	Osborn (1968)
84	Aritama		Colombia	Reichel-Dolmatoff and Reichel-Dolmatoff (1961)
85	Santiago		Chile	Lomnitz (1971)
86	Muquiyauyo		Peru	Adams (1959)
87	Huaylas		Peru	Doughty (1968)
88	Moche		Peru	Gillin (1945)
89	Marcara		Peru	Gherssi (1953)
90	Lima		Peru	Mangin (1965)
91	Kauri		Peru	Mishkin (1946)
92	Hualcan		Peru	Stein (1961)
93	Chucuito		Peru	Tschopik (1951)
94	Vicos		Peru	Vazquez (1965)
95	L.Titicaca		Bolivia	La Barre (1948)
96	Tobati		Paraguay	Service and Service (1965,1954)
97			Argentina	Strickon (1965)
98			Brazil	Azevedo (1965)
99	Vila Reconcavo		Brazil	Hutchinson (1957)
100	Arembepe		Brazil	Kottak (1966)
101			Brazil	Leeds (1965)
102		Matto-Grosso		
			Brazil	Levi-Strauss (1943)
103	Cruz das Almas		Brazil	Pierson (1951)
104			Brazil	Wagley (1963,1965)
105	Cunha		Brazil	Willems (1961)
106	Buzios		Brazil	Willems and Mussolini (1952)

APPENDIX B

TABLES

TABLE 1.--Summary of Variables and Functions.^a

Characteristics: Selection Criteria:		Relatives						Friends								
		Vertical			Horizontal			Vertical			Horizontal					
		Indian	Peasant	Urban	Indian	Peasant	Urban	Indian	Peasant	Urban	Indian	Peasant	Urban			
Social	Dimension of the Relationship:	2	92		1	43	60	19	2	77	48	27	45	75	11	
		48	94		12	44	69	27	4	78	58	70	48		96	
		58			13	45	32		6	79	88	71			101	
		59			15	52	70		7	96	90	76				
		86			16	53	71		8	97	91	77				
		87			18	54	80		9	102	94	79				
		88			25	55	81		10			81				
		90			33	56	84		11			100				
		91			34	57	98		20			105				
					37	58	99		21							
Economic	Dimension of the Relationship:				38	59			74							
							75		85							
					3	44	59	84	10				27	81		6
					24	48	60		74				29	100		8
					34	50	63						32	103		76
					35	51	67						64	105		77
					37	52	68						70			
					39	53	69						71			
					41	54	70						77			
					42	55	71						78			
Political	Dimension of the Relationship:				43	56	82						79			
Religious	Dimension of the Relationship:															
Psychological	Dimension of the Relationship:															

^aNumbers given are the code numbers of the cases studied.

TABLE 2.--Selection Criteria.^a

	Friends			Relatives		
	Indian	Peasant	Urban	Indian	Peasant	Urban
3		12	2	1	12	2
12		13	8	3	57	3
14		14	10	25	64	6
15		15	74	52	82	7
16		16	90	58	83	8
17		17		59	84	9
26		18		60	87	11
31		27		70	96	20
34		30		80	98	29
37		32		92	100	32
41		57				41
42		63				97
43		64				
44		66				
48		74				
49		75				
51		76				
53		77				
54		78				
55		79				
61		81				
63		82				
65		83				
66		84				
67		87				
68		94				
86		96				
88		99				
91		100				
		103				
		105				
Totals	29	31	5	10	10	12

^aNumbers given are the code numbers of the cases studied.

TABLE 3.--Presence of Secular Bonds of Compadrazgo in Three Societal Types.^a

	Indian	Peasant	Urban
3		17	9
4		22	10
12		27	
13		28	
16		29	
17		32	
18		63	
22		64	
31		68	
34		74	
37		75	
41		76	
44		77	
45		78	
48		79	
49		82	
50		84	
51		87	
52		89	
53		98	
54		104	
55			
56			
59			
60			
63			
67			
68			
69			
88			
91			
92			
93			
Totals	33	21	2

^aNumbers given are the code numbers of the cases studied.

[illegible]

²Numbers given are the code numbers of the cases studied.

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